

The Duty of  
The American People

as to the

Philippines

1

E. M. 3  
1944

UNIVERSITY OF  
MICHIGAN  
LIBRARY

## Introduction.

It has occurred to the writer to connect together a few facts that everybody knows by means of a few thoughts that every one entertains.

He has not attempted a discussion of political economy or of international law. The ideas set down in the following pages are only those that seem to grow naturally out of the new conditions created by the record-breaking achievement of Admiral Dewey.

The first Sunday of May, 1898, opened a new vista by which to forecast the events of the Twentieth Century. Since the adoption of its Constitution the government of our United States had agricultural land to give or to sell to all comers, until within the last few years. Since the government land offices were closed many new doctrines have been heard; Socialism, Anarchism, etc. It may be that in the wisdom of the Power that overrules the actions of men, Admiral Dewey has been the appointed means by which the solutions of these questions shall be deferred for another hundred years or until they can be answered by a generation that is wiser than we.

If in such connection a few simple thoughts, inartistically put together, can at all aid to bring about a concrete conception of national duty, the writer will have done all that he can at utmost hope for.

As these words are being written the second division of the army of occupation has been landed on the island of Luzon, Spain's arsenal has been occupied; guns have been taken from her sunken ships by American sailors, and erected in fortifications built by American hands upon the captured territory; two of the island gun boats are sailing under American colors, and in that capacity have visited and exercised authority over the smaller seaports; practically nothing of conquest remains to be done except the proclamation of it.

Here then is a question for the people of the United States: Shall these Philippines be retained; or, if not, what other disposition shall be made of them?

If the United States remit the right of conquest the natural result follows that they revert to their original possessor. That is Spain! Before assenting to this conclusion, it must be remembered that war has been made upon the postulate that Spanish colonial government is insufferable. Only the continued, persistent ill effects of Spanish government at our very

doors would have drawn our attention to the great evils that it entails. When it became impossible to overlook these things, it has been well said they have been found "intolerable." So intolerable! that we have made war to correct them. If then the United States should place back a large population under what it has called intolerable conditions, it either condemns itself as having made war upon insufficient grounds, or it becomes a party to the political crimes against an innocent people that would ensue upon such action.

To return the islands to Spain is to stultify ourselves as a nation.

The question of indemnity is not involved in this consideration. Indemnification concerns the return of dollars for dollars lost or expended on account of the party from whom the indemnity is due. It does not apply to questions of virtue or character. As it would be impossible to indemnify a man for being a liar, so in the same sense no money could indemnify a great nation for breaking a trust that it had voluntarily assumed or for ignoring its moral obligations.

If there is justice in these thoughts it would not seem possible for the United States to return the Philippines to Spain either freely or upon the payment of money for their repurchase.

It must be admitted that this is not an agreeable conclusion to reach. The government of these islands would constitute a new obligation of a character to be avoided, if possible. There is no colonial secretary among our cabinet ministers, and no class among us, used to the government of dependent peoples. Political appointments naturally go to those citizens who have made themselves prominent in political affairs. But political education among an independent people brings out just the reverse qualities from those needed to govern a dependent people. Men in political life with us necessarily defer to the wishes and opinions of those among whom they move and by whose good will they maintain their positions. This necessity creates an entirely different habit of mind from that of the man whose business it is to take care of the people about him and to enforce his will upon them. We are thus not only devoid of a system for colonial government, but cannot readily secure the personnel from which such a system is to be built up.

Under such circumstances the obvious course would be to dispose of the islands to some responsible power having experience and proper organization for management of colonies populated by dependent races.

If surface indication may be accepted as demonstrating a current of desire, the North German Empire is willing to relieve us of any responsibilities we may have incurred as to the Philippines. It has even been suggested that Germany would take the islands off our hands and guarantee this country the payment of an indemnity from Spain. This would probably be a better fate for the islanders than to be delivered up to their original mis-

government, and we might derive some additional benefit by securing more satisfactory commercial relations with Germany. To secure better treatment in the German custom houses and more liberal markets there for our exports would be a gain worth having.

If such advantages were sure to be obtained and to be permanent there would from the merely commercial aspect be a strong argument in favor of withdrawing from the islands in favor of Germany, under proper treaty stipulations. On the other hand it should be remembered that the party opposed to this country in Germany, are the Agrarians, or large landed proprietors. This is a powerful party, has strong affiliations with the government, and might under favoring circumstances secure control of the Reichsrath. They are largely dominated by interests growing out of the culture of sugar beets and would bear us no good will, but rather the reverse, for thrusting on them the great cane sugar product of the Philippines as a competitor in the use of German capital and as a rival applicant for government bounties. The beet growers of Prussia and Hanover will not thank us when the Imperial Government encourages sugar cane in the Philippines; nor would the islanders feel that we had treated them properly to hand them over to an empire whose most powerful class would be eager for the destruction of the chief industry of the islands.

The political divisions and interests of North Germany being what they are, the temporary advantage our commerce might gain in the Baltic by a transfer of the Philippines could not be permanent. In the end we would find we had taken no commercial benefit from a transaction in behalf of which no justification other than commercial advantage could ever be alleged.

Failing an honorable escape from the Philippine difficulty by a transaction with North Germany, it is still possible to look further for help from the great European powers.

Russia, of course, is out of the question. She has even more of the continent and fewer islands than ourselves, and is so far less fitted than ourselves for the management of extra continental territory. The indomitable resolution of the Tsar or governing classes of Russia is gradually pushing her out upon the seas that reach her extremities, and eventually she will have a seafaring class and commerce of her own—but that is a question for another day.

Austria, under the guidance of her venerable Emperor, has become one of the most conciliatory of all the great Powers, and through Trieste and the Dalmatian coasts possesses a commercial marine having the best traditions of early Italian commerce. But the struggle to maintain the integrity of her own empire is too keen and undecided to permit of distant enterprises; and beyond that,—her mission is to the Balkans.

In our relations with France there are certain points of resemblance to those with Germany. Each buys largely our

agricultural products, and in each there is an agricultural influence warmly opposed to us. There are other adverse sentiments which would be well for us to conciliate in France. Ownership of Spanish bonds, religious sentiment, and race affinity have united to irritate different classes of the French people about the present war, and even to create anxiety lest the islands of France in the West Indies might be attacked by the American people in a mad lust for conquest.

France has been a useful ally to us in the past and may be again. Both sentiment and prudence would forbid giving her any just cause of offense, and would even justify a strong effort to conciliate. It would be interesting to watch the graceful genius of France build up an oriental Paris on borders of the Indian Seas. Yet the reasons that would make it ignominious to trade a dominion for the smile of Germany would apply with equal force to prevent seeking by the same means the favor of France.

The Philippines could not be transferred, either to France or Germany, upon any reasonable terms without incurring the anger of the disappointed nation to a degree much beyond any benefit to be won from the other.

Entirely different considerations arise in reference to Great Britain. England has something substantial to exchange with us for a great oriental territory. Hardly more than a day's swift steaming from any port on our Atlantic seaboard she holds one of the strongest fortresses in the world. The Bermudas hold a great place in our colonial history and our ancestors would be amazed could they contemplate the vacuity of the modern American mind in regard to them. But England has remembered them and has built a sea fastness there whose strength might well have brought a smile to the face of her Admirals, when they read President Cleveland's message about Venezuela.

There is also Jamaica, inhabited by self-governing people of our own race, and situated but one day of rapid steaming from the entrance to the proposed Nicaragua canal. To exchange the Philippines with England for the Bermudas and Jamaica would not be getting a strict *quid pro quo* in territory and wealth of population, but the incidental advantages would make a fair equivalent, and there would be no sacrifice of national dignity in such exchange. Neither would there be the sense of having sacrificed the interests or safety of the islanders. England is not always gentle in her treatment of aboriginal peoples, but she never deliberately robs them, while at Singapore and in the Straits settlements she controls with happy effect a large population of nearly the same race as the dominant tribes of the Philippines. From her experience in government of colonies England has trained up a class of skilled administrators for whom we have no equivalent class now in being, and by having men so trained she would be able to reduce the Philippines to settled conditions and to maintain order with less difficulty than we shall be able to do.

North Germany and France would not be pleased by such exchange with England, but neither would feel the degree of resentment that they would entertain were the other made recipient of our good will.

If England were willing to exchange Bermuda and Jamaica for the Philippines, the United States might very well accept the opportunity to be free from more distant responsibilities, and at the same time to protect her own shores.

But it is not probable that England would make such exchange. She has enough in the East and not too much in the West Indies; and while present cordial relations exist, would prefer Americans to have some community of interests with her in Eastern questions. The Philippines are many times larger than Jamaica, but their present commerce is not proportionately greater, and Jamaica and Bermuda are bound to England by many vested interests, by family ties and by long and treasured historic relations.

Under all the circumstances it would appear that having entered upon the Philippines, we cannot release ourselves from the care of them without loss of dignity and honor. Whether in following the new departure thus opened before us as a nation, we shall still keep honor and dignity, depends upon the manner in which we gird ourselves for the task.

There is encouragement that the two most successful of colonizing nations have been the English and the Dutch; one very near kindred of race to ourselves and the other of kindred not remote. It is reasonable to believe that the same race characteristics which have led them to success will also be found among ourselves; and it would not be reasonable to fear, that our more free republican institutions had disqualified us for the task.

To achieve the proper administration of these islands there are facts to be considered and problems to be solved.

Primarily the great question of administration resolves into maintenance of peace and order; development of commerce; education of the people, and colonial finance. To consider these heads in the order given will ensure better comprehension of the exigency of dollars entailed by the whole.

## Maintenance of Peace.

To maintain the peace of the islands will require acquaintance with the character and conditions of the peoples living there. Recent events are bringing out many facts about the natives of Manilla and the surrounding districts on the island of Luzon. The Tagals are but one of the larger tribes among a very considerable number having diverse characteristics. These different tribes seem to have grown up from various crossings on the original negroid (or Papuan) people by incomers from the Malay peninsula, China and Japan. Settlements made from

these several quarters at different times, and having different degrees of contact with Chinese or Japanese civilization, have produced a curious medley of tribes or race subdivisions. The Visayas are said to have had some degree of culture and a written language at the time of the discovery of the islands by Magellan; yet in the interior forests of Luzon, some of the smaller tribes still exist in a state of most degraded cannibalism. Thus on the discovery of the islands the difference in scale of development of the inhabitants of this limited region, as compared with our own Indians, would be greater than that between the Aztecs or Incas, and the Digger Indians. Since the Spanish settlement of the Philippines the lowest tribes have not risen a particle, but the more intelligent have embraced Christianity and become largely infused with European blood.

Under this description come much the larger part of the inhabitants of Manila, the population of which city is estimated by ex-United States Consul Elliott at 400,000. The surrounding Tagals comprise some 1,500,000 more, and are the race from whom the inhabitants of Manila derive the greater part of their native blood. The Visayas of the islands lying next to Luzon are also Christians and somewhat more numerous. Besides these there seems to be no single tribe of any considerable importance, unless it be in the southern island of Mindanao, where the people are of more nearly pure Malay stock, and where there exists the semi-independent sultanate of Buhaten. It is evident that, very different situations will occur from those of which we have experience in dealing with our American Indians. Manifestly the Filipinos have great agricultural aptitudes, as only an agricultural and intelligent race could produce the volume of exports sent out from these islands. That they should have been able to exist for more than three hundred years under Spanish domination proves them to have a very much greater power of endurance than the natives of the Antilles, who have wholly disappeared under the same influence. That they have submitted so long to that domination indicates that they are not of the stern warlike character of Mahrattas, Sikhs, or Pathans, with whom England has had to deal in the peninsula of Hindustan. In the main their character seems to be what their blood would indicate. They appear to have something of the tenacity of the Chinese; something of the loyalty, adaptability and artistic temperament of Japan, and underneath all something of the craft and of the liability to fierce bursts of passion, characteristic of the Malay. But of the whole population, at least the Tagals and Visayas must be accepted as a permanent people, capable of competing with any in the struggle for existence; not degenerating when crossed with European blood, and likely to improve in coming generations. Yet neither in numbers or in character are they able to stand alone.

It should be remembered that the southern islands of the Philippine group and the dependent Sulu Archipelago are the



original homes of those pirates of the Chinese Seas who in old days terrorized all Eastern commerce. While the increase of naval power in those waters may have rendered piracy impossible, the character of these southern islanders has changed during fifty years in no essential particular. They would be uncontrollable by the combined strength of the Visayas and Tagals, even if these two tribes should harmonize sufficiently to form a permanent government, which consummation the history of past conflicts between them gives no ground to expect.

The conclusion is inevitable that for their own sakes and the peace of the world these islands must be controlled from outside; but also that their population is capable of being so controlled without great difficulty, and is abundantly able to repay the care that shall have to be exercised on their behalf.

A high English East Indian officer is reported to have said that "an army of twenty thousand islanders would make the Philippines as safe as a church." He naturally had in mind an army constituted as the Imperial Sepoy army of India. That army is composed of one native enlisted man for about each one thousand of inhabitants and is stiffened by about one-third of European troops. All commissioned officers are English and the artillery is manned by English.

An army bearing the same proportion to population in the Philippines as England's army in India would not call for more than ten thousand troops, and eventually that number, when the islands have become quieted and the Line thoroughly accustomed to American service, may be found sufficient. But for the present all the questions of the Far East radiate toward the Philippines. There are a number of half subjected tribes to be held in order, and there must for some time be a remnant of disaffected population among the Spanish sympathizers.

Unquestionably it will be prudent to maintain for the present a show of strength beyond such force as would be needed under the ordinary conditions of police duty in times of peace.

Besides the army on land, another important instrument for maintaining the peace of the islands deserves to be considered. There is hardly another group in the world that shows so many miles of sea coast. They lie compactly together, presenting from east and west a main shore line to the Pacific and to the China Sea, but through the midst of the group there appears one broad channel, starting from the south shore of Luzon and dividing the islands into nearly equal parts until it expands into the Sulu Sea. Across this inner channel scores of smaller channels lead to the ocean or the sea and by their subdivisions create the thousand or more islands that make the archipelago.

The two main shore lines and the inner channel make, roughly, four thousand miles of coast, that would need constant supervision in the interest of commerce and internal peace.

It is a consequence of this formation of the group that its population is always accessible from within. No formidable

gathering together of populace is possible because communication in all directions may be cut off by gunboats, so that even the Spaniards could control the situation until they lost command of the sea.

An half dozen light draft gunboats, suitably armed and equipped with one hundred and fifty men, could be as efficient to maintain order as ten times the force in disturbed regions of India.

This has an important bearing upon American control, because such naval force, everywhere accessible, would lessen the demand for American regiments to stiffen a native army.

Probably troops in the field would require an American regiment with each brigade; but for garrison duty, or for short expeditions in from the shore, where the sea force would have to be reckoned with, there need be no other than native soldiery commanded by American officers. The European force in India is kept at one-third of the total, but with no hostile frontiers to defend, and with access for artillery by water to every vital point, one-half this proportion will probably be found ample to hold a native force up to its discipline.

The conclusion to be reached is that for maintenance of order among the islanders, and as security against unexpected and sudden descent from any neighboring hostile power, a combined land and naval force of twenty thousand men will be ample, and that so soon after completed conquest as will allow of time for pacification, this force may be converted for four-fifths of its number into native recruits.

The expense of this force will be one of the most important points for consideration, when we are ready to take up the general subject of colonial finance, but it might seem appropriate under the head of peace and order to consider certain questions touching the moral government of the people. Universal gambling and cock-fighting seem almost as much opposed to Anglo-Saxon notions of law and order as do the scarcely more destructive vices of piracy and murder, but at this distance it is difficult to determine how much of these vices may be integral of native character, and to how much they are indebted to the associations forced upon them for the last three centuries. For this reason it seems more appropriate to take up the consideration of these evils along with the general topic of education.

## Education.

It is proposed to give the word education its fullest scope and under it to consider all those things which would draw men from a lower to a higher condition of mind and body.

The widely differing circumstances of different tribes, which has been already referred to, is one of the interesting phenomena

in the geographic distribution of the human race. It also complicates the question of education, but probably does not render it more difficult. On the contrary it would seem probable that the more advanced tribes, seeing how far they had already gained above their savage neighbors, would be stimulated to make yet farther progress.

The lowest of the races of which we have found description are the Ajetas, a dwarf negro people, living in the forests that border the Eastern coast of Luzon. The greatest stature of the men is four-and-a-half feet, and in size as well as habits of life they resemble very closely the dwarfs of Central Africa. Like them, the Ajetas are forest dwellers, are exceedingly skillful as hunters, use poisoned arrows, live in small scattered communities without any apparent form of government and are exceedingly shy. Geronière, who gives a very intelligent account of them, says: "They seemed to be rather a large group of monkeys than human beings. Their voices resembled the cries of those animals and their gestures were exactly like them. The only difference apparent was that they could use a bow and arrow and knew how to light a fire." These people are not numerous, and have continued to exist only through the protection of their dense forest and the un-enterprising character of the Spanish masters of the island. They seem to be a strange survival of the very earliest man and are probably incapable of development, and in all probability will disappear as the forests are opened up to commerce.

Another race that Geronière describes are of higher development but of very unpleasant habits. He assisted at a celebration by the Tinguians of a victory over the Guinanès, in course of which the warriors mixed the brains of their defeated enemies into a rum punch and drank the compound with much zest. Yet these, like some other cannibal tribes, seem to be a well-developed race. The people are described as tall, with regular features, straight hair, well-proportioned frames, and of complexion like the natives of Southern France. They live on the northeast water-shed of Luzon, not more than ten days' march from Manila. Neither the Tinguians nor their especial enemies, the Guinanès, who appear to be of much the same stock, can form any large part of the population of Luzon. Fifteen or twenty thousand would be a full estimate of their number, from the facts at hand. They give the impression of mental capacity equal to any of the Pacific islanders—Fijis or others—and would probably take to work if a railroad were laid through that section of the island.

The Igorroti are a more numerous tribe, also living in that part of Luzon whose waters drain to north and east. They are in a state of development more like some of our North American Indians than most of the other Philippine races, but as they have considerable plantations of potatoes and sugar-cane they probably have more natural aptitude for agriculture than most of our native American tribes.

From such incidental notices of some of the inferior tribes it is natural to come back to the Tagals, whose partial civilization, number and energy of character make them the chief element with which the predominant power governing the island of Luzon will have to deal.

It is of the highest interest to know that this naturally intelligent race have rules of local civil government that imply township organizations not unlike that which prevails among the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Each minor district, marked by local boundaries, is organized as a township. Each year a chief officer is elected by the people, who acts as a local magistrate for the adjudication of local disputes of small amounts, and who is authorized to inflict punishment for minor crime; but matters of large importance he must submit to the governor of the province, who in his turn is responsible to the Governor-General. This, of course, involves as a finality government by military, and per consequence, by arbitrary power, but the important matter is that in the thousand concerns of daily life on which general happiness depends the people are governed by representative officers of their own choice, and this system is one not inaugurated by the Spaniards, but was in full working order when they occupied the island of Luzon.\* It is the natural product of the genius of the people.

The working of the system results in the formation of an order of nobility, or perhaps more properly speaking, in a recognized order of aristocratic leadership. One of the duties of these local officers is to attend to the collection of taxes. Any one who has held the dignity of head of the tax collectors becomes a permanent member of the order of local nobility. Twelve of these local nobles form a committee to superintend elections, and it is their duty to call together the older men of the community for the annual election. Three names are then chosen for nomination to the Governor-General, out of which list he selects one to be the District or Township Chief for the year. This officer's title is "Gobernadoreillo," meaning literally the "Little Governor."†

At the same annual election, which corresponds in effect to our town meetings, all the minor officers are chosen. These are the *alguazils*, or constables, in number to correspond with the population of the township; two township clerks; an overseer of palm trees; a public vaccinator; a schoolmaster, and a road supervisor.

In the matter of vaccination and schools the ancient Tagal system demonstrates its ability to embody the advances of modern ideas.

\* See Geroni te's "Twenty Years in the Philippines," Eng. Ed., Chap. V.

† As a badge of office the Gobernadoreillo carries a gold-headed cane with which he is expected to strike publicly any fellow-citizen detected in minor faults. Here, by the way, we see the genesis of Aguinaldo's proposed decoration of office. He has simply taken the Gobernadoreillo's gold-headed cane and put a fringe to it, if newspaper reports be correct.

As a system it would be difficult to find anything more perfectly adapted than this to meet the needs and best aspirations of any local community. But as with all other lines of human effort the test of efficiency must be judged by the results.

Unfortunately the natural harmony of result that might have been expected is distorted by a malign influence that has worked for the ruin of Spain and all that is Spanish for the last three centuries.

The bigotry of the Spanish character broods over every mental and physical influence emanating from the peninsula. Thus when Christian missionaries went to the Philippines they could only be members of the Church of Rome, and unfortunately for their converts, and for the consequences of their teachings, they were of the Church of Rome as organized by Spanish methods and dominated by Spanish thought.

They gave such development to the Roman church as would spring from the birthplace of the Inquisition and be administered by the countrymen of Torquemada. It is such a church as would be the natural offspring of that country where alone in the world the monasticism of the fourteenth century still finds approval.

Yet, so great is the vital spark of Christianity! It is still to this selfish, misbegotten, perverted Spanish ecclesiastical structure that all the recent civilization of the Philippines owes its existence.

From this church the islanders derive all they have of Christian faith; and by it has been fostered to a great degree their capacity for combined effort in a large way for purposes of agriculture, manufacture, and art. It has brought them into touch with the movement of thought through the world and has taught them something of the true value of conduct in life. The church has been for them at once a fostering mother and a foul oppressor. It has given them life and goaded them to rebellion.

Necessarily there is reverence and attachment for the good they have received, no less than resistance and hatred because of the evil.

The history of the Spanish Church in Manila seems to have been much as might have been foreseen from a knowledge of its antecedents and of the childlike but acute people with whom it had to deal. It gained their confidence by sympathy and humble deportment until it had mastered their language and the peculiar influences of fear and reverence that dominated their lives. Then the astute fathers substituted Satan and Purgatory for the *Tic-balan*\*, and trading on the inborn superstition of the half civilized people made themselves their masters. They corrupted the township elections and perverted the mind of the Governor-General in his selection from the list of nominees. They secured the most fertile situations for their monasteries, and appropriated

---

\* A class of evil spirits which the Tagals regard with great terror.

lands for the monastic farms over vast stretches of country. They organized culture of cane, tobacco, and the abaca upon an enormous scale and took care that all the profits should result to the monastery or the monastic clientele. They saw to it that the business of teaching school should be an empty form, but that the pay for the service of teaching should come in full to the church.

Birth, marriage, and death became to the church no other than providential occurrences by which more land or more money might be wrung from the faithful.

The monastic corporation may be born, but it is not supposed to die, and it certainly does not marry. There is therefore all the more reason why the child-like Tagal, male and female, should dutifully wait on the wants of the fathers.

If there were no other reason why the United States should take over the administration of these islands, it would be found in the difficult position to which the Catholic Church finds itself brought by the mismanagement of its officers. No other nation can adjust so well as ours these difficulties. Strange as it may seem, the reason obviously is that in no other country does so perfect a concordat exist as here between the Church and the Government. Like the English constitution the mutual understanding existing in the United States between State and Church works all the more perfectly because it is unwritten. If it were necessary to state the principle of adjustment between them by a single sentence, it might be said, "Government concerns itself with the corporal existence of all men; Church with the souls of those it can reach," with the corollary that the Government shall decide at what point the dividing line may on any occasion lie.

In this connection it is not necessary to analyze too finely. While the Roman Church is not generally acceptable to the Saxon mind, it will readily be seen there is no quarrel between our institutions and the Roman Hierarchy. The clergy of Rome has in this country, in face of many discouragements, won for itself a position of influence and respect. Its fathers have demonstrated that their church can adapt itself to the requirements of free institutions.

Thus it providentially happens that while on the one hand the native Christian population of Luzon is all stirred into moral revolt by the un-pastoral character of their spiritual leaders, so that they strike wildly, not wholly seeing what the evil is, yet, on the other hand the guns of Admiral Dewey have opened the door of advent for a new school of moral instructors who have grown up under such surroundings as enable them exactly to supply the wants imperfectly called for by the moral consciousness of the revolted people.

In dealing with the Filipinos the first object of American statesmanship must be to gain the confidence of the two leading tribes—the Tagals and the Visayas. Although separated by channels of the archipelago, as well as by memory of old tribal

feuds, these, in view of the dominant power, may be treated as one people. The process is the same for both, and when they are won the problem of the Philippines has reached solution.

As already stated, they have natural aptitude for self-government, and the ground-work of free institutions already well established among them, but in many respects they are indeed but children of a larger growth.

Morally timid and superstitious, easily swayed by their emotions, pleased by spectacular effect, affectionate and revengeful, they are in precisely that state of mental development where proper religious teaching becomes the most important factor of life.

The statesman who can control the situation raised by present events must know how to deal with this mental attitude. He must provide the necessary religious and secular instruction for these people, both children and adults. In doing so he will be wise to call to his aid the Roman clergy of this country. He need not fear the essential influence of a creed that has produced a St. Francis or a Father Damien. He need only take care that he is acting with men of the proper brand.

By this course there can be retained for the Filipinos that sympathetic adaptation to the mental needs of undeveloped races, of which the Roman Church has so often demonstrated its peculiar possession; while at the same time means can be found to clear away the mass of corruption and lust that has gone so far to destroy the value of what good work the Church has done.

The line of division by which the good can be kept and the evil abated, will be found to run for great part between the secular and monastic priesthood. A mock celibacy has no place in modern civilization, least of all in such a climate and among such people. On the other hand the village priest living among and bringing to the people the sympathy of a higher nature, and supervised in his work by pure and patriotic prelates, is an ever-ready instrument for general forward movement.

It will be a considerable undertaking to break up the monastic establishments. Some resolution will be required in dealing with the friars, and some tact in disposing of the lands and personality of the various corporations. A very large part of the cultured land of Luzon are said to be occupied by the monks. It will not do to let these lands go out of cultivation, but the same peasants who work them now as serfs of the convents, will be glad to continue to work them as tenants of the State.

It is not to be supposed that the Roman clergy in America will lend their aid to any policy opposed by the Propaganda at Rome. But on the other hand the Roman Propaganda has moved a little forward and will be able to understand that the Church stands to receive more for legitimate Church purposes from a given number of square miles of land, cultivated by free communicants, than from the same district when the income has to filter through the treasury of the local convent.

Probably judicious use of religious teaching will be the best means to limit the private indulgence in cock-fighting and gambling. The American people are not free from debasing vices, and the cock-fighting habit is not morally equally worse and probably more easily subdued than the whisky habit. But the public countenance which is given to these vices by the State lottery is something that neither the conscience of our people nor the good of the islands can accept, or permit to continue a moment after the responsibility for it shall fall upon us.

In dwelling at some length upon the religious aspect of the question of the Philippines we have not overlooked the more obvious difficulties of civil administration. Not only must we educate the Filipinos to the level of free institutions, but we have still to educate those who are to teach the Filipinos these desirable things. We have lawyers in plenty and some soldiers, but the Indian civilian officer should be something of a lawyer, something of a soldier, and should combine these characters with a strong admixture of farm sense.

In the United States there exists no class of family tradition as in England or Holland, where from generation to generation for two centuries has been handed down to nephews and younger sons the experience and field lore of hundreds of commissioners, collectors and adjutants. These men returning from government in the East have taught the younger men at home how to govern the Oriental.

At the outset we shall have to govern by the military arm, but with all respect to General Merritt, this is not a system that can be suffered to continue long.

Military education casts the mind into a mould too rigid for ready conformity with exigencies of commercial and agricultural life. It should not be our purpose to dragoon the Filipinos, but to draw them by ties of peace and commercial prosperity into better conditions.

To appreciate this difficulty is the first step toward overcoming it, and with the will to succeed we shall no doubt find the means of success. It is first to be noted that the Filipinos are not unintelligent. There are very many of our laborers whose intellects are not more alert than many of these islanders. Accordingly any of us who are used to large industrial undertakings are in a way to make successful administrators. This might not apply to those engaged in textile operations where the employes are largely women and children, who have their energies deadened by constant indoor life; but any masters used to controlling gangs of working men in the open would be likely to have the sort of mental training that would make them capable to manage the districts or provinces into which the Philippines are divided. Our railroads and great iron establishments will be found not bad schools from which to graduate administrators for such provinces and districts. There are hundreds of young engineers with some practice in the field who would go out for



minor positions with the same sense of duty and something very nearly the same of education as that taken to India by Lawrence, Edwardes and Roberts.

Now that the door has been opened upon so noble a sphere of work we cannot believe the spirit of human progress will permit it to be closed.

## Commercial Development

Without the expectation of marked industrial improvement in the Philippines this country would not be justified in its own eyes to retain them; while other nations, who have interests in the far East, would regard a long continuance of present disturbances, very much as disturbances in Cuba have been regarded in the United States.

It will therefore be among our first duties to study the natural resources of the islands with a view to their quick development, and to such occupation of the native mind as will prevent disorder. The theory of land tenure is that all the land belongs to the State until disposed of by donation, sale or rental. This is a perfectly familiar idea in our home legislation. No matter what form of government may be determined upon as best suited to the circumstances of the islands, whether they be erected as dependent States, or governed territorily, or administered as the English do their Crown Colonies, in neither case need there be any confusion about the disposition of unseated lands. The United States has always had its land offices open within the limits of some of the sovereign States of the Union, and there appears no reason why the same system should not be applied in Luzon as well as in Illinois or Minnesota. On the opening of such offices means should be taken to have the fact well advertised over the whole world. The attractions that can be offered are such that a considerable source of revenue ought to be derived from sales of land as well as a much greater advantage accrue from introducing a new population. An office for sale of land has existed under the Spanish colonial government; but it has made little or no effort to survey the lands nor bring them into the market. For all practical purpose they have been held out of the general reach and subject to the convenience of the convents to take up what they might from time to time care to possess. What the Spanish asking price has been for unseated lands does not appear. Most likely it was but a few cents per acre, and it would not be wise to make any advance when we shall have entered on control. In view of the long and expensive sea voyage the price for agricultural lands especially will have to be kept low in order to encourage settlers.

Important as the unseated farm lands of the islands must be they form but a small part of the land values coming to the dominant power. The timber and mineral lands are likely to

prove of very great value. Probably for purposes of administration some apportionment of values will have to be made between the United States as sovereign of the archipelago and such local government as may be established. The latter would seem to be the better medium for getting the best value out of the timber and mineral lands. These are questions that must be left for the future and the wisdom of Congress to determine. We can do no more than indicate in a general way what the resources of those lands are supposed to be. Beyond collecting gold or silver already in sight, the science of metallurgy has had no attractions for the Spanish mind. Hence there has been no attempt at scientific explorations of the islands.

Gold is known to exist and is thought to be smuggled out of the country in considerable quantities by the Chinese traders. In a country governed by rapacious or unchecked officials little better could be expected. Large amounts, known, to be in hands of individuals would have been subject to heavy taxation, hence the whole business has been private and contraband, and under such conditions the gold product could not reach an amount of commercial importance.

The failure of Spain to develop the production of gold in the Philippines does not argue against its existence, any more than the like failure in California, where it was known to the Spaniards long before '48.

A stronger doubt as to its existence in large quantities might be found in the narrow territory through which the quartz must run, if it exist at all. But on the other hand, the Luzon mountains may be a distant extension of the West Australian reefs and like them immensely rich in auriferous rock.

At present the gold is extracted only from surface workings. Gironière says the natives washed out from one to ten francs a day. More recent accounts speak of mines worked by hand-pumps, which we take to be wells sunk in the river gravels. The only conclusion derivable from the facts at hand is that the possible gold output is worth careful examination.

The same metallurgic neglect obscures the data as to iron ores. There are well accepted reports of the existence of excellent iron ore in large quantities along the western shores, but no effort appears to have been made to trace them up. Santiago of Cuba is the oldest city in America, and some of the best iron ores have been overlooked in its immediate suburbs until recently developed from the United States.

The same conditions may easily exist in the Philippines, and taken in connection with the coal supply, which is known to exist, the resulting possibilities are most momentous. The relative locations of the coal and iron ore have not been found stated, but no point on these islands can be more than a few miles from the sea, and with a seafaring population willing to work and find themselves at three or four dollars per month, the cost of bringing the coal and iron together may prove to be less than

in any other iron region. There is at least a possibility of dominating the whole western coast of the Pacific with iron made in the Philippines.

Copper has been found at points along the coast in a granular condition, of quantity sufficient to pay for collecting and sending to market. This seems to indicate the existence of veins that will pay to work.

Leaving the metallurgy of the islands as a matter well worth careful investigation, there is no want of certainty about the agricultural products. The exports of sugar, tobacco, hemp fibre, dye-woods, coffee, etc., are such as to give the islands a well established place in the world's commerce. This commerce was first opened up from Mexico, and until the beginning of this century was carried on from there in Spanish bottoms. An American house, Russell, Sturgis & Co., was one of the first non-Spanish houses established in Manila. The total exports have reached \$27,000,000 in one year. A population that can produce in such quantity, under the discouragements of Spanish rule, must have great agricultural aptitude, and under a better system be able largely to increase its output. Of the hemp fibre these islands have a monopoly. As is well known, it is not hemp at all, but is taken from a species of the banana plant, called by the natives abaca. It is indigenous in the Philippines, and has never been successfully cultivated elsewhere. If produced more cheaply its uses might be much enlarged.

The present article of commerce is prepared but from the coarse outer rind of the plant. Inner filaments exist of different degrees of fineness, which are sorted out by the natives into various textile products. Some of these are as delicate as the finest lawn and more lustrous. These are worn by wealthy people in Manila, and are of a quality that has caused them to be written of as of vegetable silk. Were the islands not Spanish it would be a matter of surprise that these fabrics have not become a large object of export. But as they are, it is a fact that out of Manila this material can only be found in certain museums or in the vestment rooms of the monasteries of Southern Spain.

There is every probability that an intermediate condition of the fibre, between the coarse outer and excessively fine inner tegument, is susceptible of being woven into a strong cloth like linen, which would be the best of all garments for military wear in hot climates, and by introducing it into the uniform of the island soldiery a strong impulse would be given to the development of local textile manufacture.

Another neglected article of commerce is to be found in the forests of these islands. For present purposes they are said to be practically inexhaustible. Under proper oversight by government they may long remain so, and by the small cost at which timber should be brought to navigation the woods of the Philippines may serve a very useful and needed purpose in supplying the depletion of our American forests.

Among the minor products are mother of pearl and mica. These articles are used for glazing such windows as are glazed in the islands. As the latter article sells at six dollars a pound in this country and as window and plate glass, according to size and quality, vary from four cents to twenty cents per pound it is evident that the opportunity exists for a profitable exchange.

The production of coffee has been taxed almost to the prohibition point, and with proper encouragement might be much enlarged. The hillsides of northeastern Luzon are said to be especially adapted to its culture.

In connection with the coffee crop the internal development of the island of Luzon will have to be considered. This crop will bear the relatively high rates that will in the first instance have to be charged on railway traffic, and can thus be made the means of settling up the disturbed, or at least, little known, interior regions. Starting from Manila a line via Bulacan and Pampanya up the valley of the Baluing River could, without any excessive engineering outlay, be laid across the mountains and down the Mayot or some other affluent into the great Cagauyan River valley, which constitutes the best part of the north end of the islands. This would bring the best coffee district of the islands into direct communication with Manila, which metropolis must always be the source of supply for banking capital and means of transport. The higher slopes of the hills along this line would probably be found excellently suited to the tea plant, the culture of which could be introduced from Canton, at least as easily as it was brought to Ceylon and Darjiling by the English.

One such line of railway as this will probably be found best to build under some convention by the State, but beyond that there need be no expenditure for public improvements other than some building of wharves and macadamized roads, to provide means of access from the navigable waters to the hill country that presses so closely on all sides.

## Colonial Finance.

The possibility that the United States shall have to consider questions of colonial finance opens new lines of political thought and causes doubt in several directions whether the part of wisdom would not lie in declining to take the responsibility involved in giving answer.

As to any particular colony, shall it be run under its own especial budget, or shall its receipts and expenditures be merged in the general accounts of the government, as the national post-office accounts are merged?

If run under its own budget shall the colony be worked for a profit, or will it be wise to provide reasonable assistance from the national purse in expectation of large future direct or incidental income?

Again : If desired to merge the colonial budget, will it be possible to do so without applying the national fiscal system of duties and excise in full to the colony ?

Yet again : If it runs under its own budget shall the national fiscal system be extended to it, or shall its own system be preserved intact or modified ?

These are general questions which apply to every colony of any form whatever, and have been variously answered according to time and locality.

It would be beyond the present purpose to trace the probable results of each variation in the answer to these questions. The object here is to show that the Philippines should be self-supporting in every particular, with sufficient surplus to reimburse all reasonable expenses and outlay on part of the dominant power. As the exactions of Spain have been quite beyond reason it is evident that these islands have in the past done more than the United States should require, but there remains the possibility that their recuperative power has been overstrained, so that on return to proper conditions they may fall below the standard of self-sustenance.

It will be seen that their real condition cannot be so bad as this, and for purpose of comparison, we shall suppose that they will be constituted as a dependent realm, having its own proper fisc, and ruled by governor and council, who shall be responsible to the Congress of the United States for the proper collection and expenditure of the income and outgo of the moneys provided by the fisc.

As the character of the population does not admit of fiscal responsibility, it is assumed that the present system will be continued, subject to such modifications as the governor and council may make under restrictions of the powers granted to them.

This supposed system of government is the form under which the English administer the Empire of India, and the Indian fiscal system will be the safest parallel from which to draw conclusions as to the management of the Philippine revenues.

Not only is information as to the Indian budget readily accessible, but the general conditions have certain broad lines of similarity. The governing people are the same race as ourselves and naturally the same ideas in jurisprudence and commerce will influence expenditures ; while the dependent people have in the main the same characteristics of patient but unintelligent industry. Hence the general rules best suited to the Philippines may be worked out from Indian examples. There are sources of income in India, such as the opium duties, not likely to be tolerated by the judgment of our people, and there are items of expense upon the frontiers and famine relief that have no analogy in the islands, but in a large sense it may be assumed that the proportion of population to fiscal movement will be found the same in the communities of Hindustan and the Philippine archipelago.

This rule would make the Philippine budget stand in about one twentieth of that of India, and make it amount to an income and outgo of fifteen million dollars per annum, or an amount not very different per capita from the State of Pennsylvania. It might naturally be supposed that, in dealing with a less highly organized population and one used to a very much less scale of cost in living, the fiscal movement should be proportionately less.

This consideration is however offset by the need of the Filipinos to sustain such quasi-national expenses as are implied by a small permanent army and a marine sufficient for purposes of local police. The executive branch of the administration with its staff will need also to be sustained on the scale usual in the East, which implies a certain amount of display to impress the eastern mind, that is not called for by the intelligence of the American people.

The largest item of India revenue is the land tax. This is based on the theory of government ownership of the land, so that the tax assumes in the native mind the form of a rent, and is collectible from the land or by distraint. It is allotted by villages and accepted by the people as one of the necessary processes of nature, like the rising and setting of the sun.

The equivalent tax in the Philippines is the cedula, from which about two million dollars are said to be collected. Spain, with her usual blindness, has urged this tax beyond the breaking point; that is to say, instead of making collectible from the product of the land, she has assessed it upon the person, and collects by processes that involve slavery for the delinquent taxpayer. As the minimum charge for cedula is said to be \$1.50 per annum, and as farm laborers get only five cents per day, many must fail to pay the tax and consequently lose their cedula for the year. This is a pass which permits men to go about and attend to their work, and a failure to produce it on demand renders them liable to arrest and criminal punishment. This evil seems to be the chief among many causes of native dissatisfaction that have led up to the present insurrection.

The remedy will be found in going back to the principle of village responsibility, and in assessing the amount of cedula due from each community upon the village as a whole. Made up in this way the amount will not be so onerous, because it can be distributed more evenly in proportion to property or land values and by making the chief man in each township or village responsible for the collection they will find other means of collection than transportation or forced labor in the mines. Their compensation would come from increased local influence, and if part of the tax were used for road building or other village improvements they would benefit by increased value of their property. Even if it should be found necessary to remit a portion of the receipts from the cedula it would be better to lose a part of the revenue derived than to resort to violence against personal liberty in order to collect it.

The next item in position on Indian Budget is tribute from feudatory princes. The equivalent amount of revenue for the Philippines would be \$150,000. There is no such amount subject to collection on the island of Luzon, but possibly there may be among the southern islands. The amount is not so large as to figure as an indispensable item in the budget for the Philippines.

The succeeding item on the Indian budget figures at \$3,300,000 from product of forests. Presumably the greater part of this is from the teak forests of Burma. The equivalent income in the Philippines would be \$160,000, but this amount should be capable of a large increase. If reports may be credited the island of Luzon itself should supply an amount of teak equal to Burma. The mountains are said to be heavily timbered with this wood and mahogany, and they have sharp descents to the neighboring sea, under these conditions the expense of getting timber to market ought to be as light there as anywhere else in the world, and the destruction of our home forests may be averted by drawing on these almost inexhaustible woodlands.

The income of India from excise stands at twelve million dollars or the Philippine equivalent at \$600,000. An itemized comparison is not possible, as the Philippine receipts are not published, but the tobacco monopoly alone must yield the island government as much as this. One million dollars per annum would not be an extravagant estimate for excise receipts among the islands.

The receipts from customs in India are very light for the population of that empire. They figure only about thirteen million dollars. Obviously this small result is due to peculiar English notions. Duties must not be levied on Indian imports, because to do so would hamper English merchants and manufacturers. For the same reason export duties on wheat and cotton would not be permissible, while opium figures for all it is worth in the direct tax against the farmer on its production, and could not be exported if it had to meet another charge at point of shipment. By these means India easily loses a large natural income and ceases in this item to be a safe indication of what should be done at Manila.

It should be remarked at once that the great Eastern question typified as the "open door" is not involved in any points that may result in considering the custom duties of the Philippines. The world will not suppose that we conquer the Philippines to make a present of their trade to England, France and Germany. The "open door" regards China only. It would have been useless to ask Spain to throw open the door at Manila, and if we take over the Spanish islands we take them as Spain leaves them. It may be good policy to support England in the "open door," as to China, and the moral influence of our fleet in the Bay of Manila will tell strongly in that direction; but we are no more bound to open Manila than to open New York or San Francisco.

The determination of the custom dues for the Philippines must be, first, by what is best for those islands; second, by what modifications may be possible in existing conditions to increased trade with the United States.

With a combined incoming and outgoing commerce of fifty million dollars, there should be no difficulty in getting revenue enough to supply the new demands of the budget caused by any abatements that may have to be made from the cedula or other excessively onerous internal taxes.

Import duties of about forty per cent. on gross imports has proved to be a rate easily carried in the United States, and if reports may be accepted as true that are rife about the old methods of customs officials in Manila, the Filipinos would be pleased indeed with that rate if fairly and honestly collected.

Export duties also are collected there. It is true that this is a form of impost to be used with the utmost circumspection, as it undoubtedly tends to discourage production. But where an article is produced at less cost than anywhere else in the world the product partakes of the character of a monopoly and may safely be asked to pay export duty. In the abaca fibre and in the finer grades of timber the Philippines possess just such articles, so that this form of revenue need not necessarily be excluded from consideration. As we are supposing the islands to be governed as a dependent realm and not as an integral part of the United States, the provision of the Constitution against export duties does not apply, and the whole subject is open to the widest and most intelligent treatment.

In one sense it is fortunate that the Filipinos have been inured to corruption, for the reason that, while new methods are necessarily liable to entail some mistakes and make some losses, the margin created by honest methods ought to be more than large enough to carry the new authorities over the experimental period.

Without undertaking to go into detail it may be assumed that a customs impost of twenty per cent. upon gross commerce, or of forty per cent. upon imports can be carried without detriment to the commerce of the islands. This possibility implies a very satisfactory and elastic revenue, for if our figures are correct a considerably less amount of customs receipts than this will provide for all the required expenditures.

The salt tax in British India produces eleven per cent. of the entire revenue; or at its Philippine equivalent, \$1,600,000. A tax that jumps into evidence with every pinch of salt is not one to be too readily adopted. The Gabelle, or salt tax, of the *ancien régime*, was one of the most obvious influences in bringing about the French Revolution, and since that time financial students have been timid about recommending it. But as salt is an article of universal use and yet is in some sense a luxury, it has the characteristics suited to full taxation. The proper way to treat the salt question in the Philippines would be the levy of a



moderate duty, with a slight preferential in favor of that imported from the United States; and added to this might be a slight excise upon the salt sold at the municipal "estancos."

The sale of revenue stamps on the scale of India would produce in the Philippines \$750,000, and if this source of revenue has not been used on the islands, there would be in such fact another proof of the natural elasticity of Philippine finances. Following the above items of the Indian budget are those which include income from the imperial mint, post-office, telegraph, court fees, irrigation rentals, State railways, etc., with all making an aggregate from these items of fifty million dollars. Following the ratio of one-twentieth, this would give an income from public works of \$2,500,000, but public works in the Philippines can hardly be said to have any existence. There is the Cavite arsenal, and some light-houses and harbor improvements, but they cannot be classed as productive of revenue, and for the purpose of this rapid outline it will be better to consider the main sources of income as having been marked out as shown by schedule given below.

Upon the other side of the budget an estimate of expenditures can be obtained in the same manner by reference to the Imperial Indian accounts. Apart from interest and famine relief the great items of Indian expenditure are the army, revenue collection and public works; in addition to which are naturally the expense of civil and judicial administration.

Famine is a thing not heard of among the Filipinos, and it may be assumed that if we retain the islands they will have no debt charged upon them from any hypothecations that Spain may have made for her own benefit. If it shall appear that debts have been incurred for public improvements of real value, a different condition would arise, and it may be assumed that the improvements would take care of the debt. Of the other items that calling for much the largest appropriation is the army.

The Indian army costs about \$400 per man annually. This is hardly more than one-third the cost of the army of the United States, but it must be remembered that the latter is much the most expensive per head in the world. High pay, larger rations, excessive number of officers, and heavy transportation charges with other incidentals amply account for that high cost.

There is no need to carry the same scale into the Philippines. Our officers are fully capable of organizing a native force on the general plan of the Indian army. Nor need there be any undue anxiety as to the behavior of such a force. The Tagals keep faith loyally under just treatment, and it does not appear that even under the Spanish régime the native troops were untrue to their salt until the naval collapse of the first of May demonstrated the break-up of Spanish power.

As already suggested, by keeping the artillery in control of white troops, even a less proportion of the home army need be kept in the Philippines than England keeps in India, because of

the gunboats and complete command of the waterways for rapid movements from point, so that any disaffected body could be instantly isolated. As the cost of living in the Philippines is even less than in India, the naval expense may be carried jointly with the land force at \$400 per man.

We estimate this force sixteen thousand officers and men, and add to it a small division of the home army, calculated at five thousand men, largely composed of artillery and cavalry.

The Indian charge for collection of revenue seems excessive, as it amounts to fourteen per cent. upon the entire revenue. This high cost is largely due to the expense of collecting the opium tax which is thirty per cent. upon the gross revenue. The collection charge is also ratably higher, because of the very small proportion of the English revenue in India secured from customs, which form of income is secured at less cost than any other of the great items of national fisc. The Indian land tax collection figures 12½ per cent., and other items, apart from opium tax, at 11 per cent. of the gross income.

Our own customs rate is about five per cent. for collection, and considering the few ports and compact character of the Filipino trade the cost there ought not to be greater. Certainly ten per cent. on gross revenue should be the maximum allowed for the income of the island government.

Public improvements, especially the irrigation and railway system have been forced on the English Government of India by the peculiar formation and the isolated positions of vast masses of the population, situated so that a failure of crops in one region was incapable of being overcome, for lack of communication with other parts of the peninsula. Hence arose the absolute need for facilities to combat famine. No such appalling conditions are possible among the Philippine islands. A few docks and a few macadamized roads, which can be constructed to pay their own charges are all that will be demanded of the government, and other improvements may be left for the ordinary course of commercial development. No estimate therefore on this head is needed. Civil administration, including the medical staff and the police, calls for twenty-three million dollars in British India. The proportionate amount of the Philippines would be \$1,200,000, which may seem large, but a certain amount of ostentation on part of the government is the truest economy in dealing with orientals, and this figure should not be reduced, even although the medical needs of the islands are likely to be very small in comparison with Hindustan.

The Education and Printing Bill for India, reduced to the Philippine scale, would stand only at \$500,000. This is much too small. Education for the Filipino is both more easy to take and more necessary to have than for the Hindu masses. It has been the neglected duty of the Church, and will be a natural charge against the properties which the monks have forfeited by

non-user for purposes of their trust. The amount of appropriation should be not be less than \$1,000,000.

These few leading heads may be sufficient to indicate the character of the budget needed by the Philippines and at least suggest certain general lines of thought. The income and outgo of public works will probably come in time, and with them will come interest on public debt; but for immediate purposes the items of miscellaneous disbursements and receipts are large enough for such unforeseen contingencies.

And the table of probable receipts and expenditures, as given below, is deemed a fair indication of working quantities, and as such worthy of attention :

#### RECEIPTS.

Land Tax (or Cedula) . . . . .	\$5,000,000
Forests . . . . .	1,000,000
Excise (tobacco tax, etc.) . . . . .	1,000,000
Customs . . . . .	10,000,000
Salt . . . . .	750,000
Stamps . . . . .	750,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	1,500,000
	<hr/>
	\$20,000,000

#### PAYMENTS.

{ Army and Marine: Native, 16,000 men	
@ \$400 . . . . .	\$6,400,000
{ American, 5,000 men @ \$1200, 6,000,000	\$12,400,000
Collection of Revenue . . . . .	2,000,000
Judiciary . . . . .	600,000
Civil Administration . . . . .	1,200,000
Education . . . . .	1,000,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	2,800,000
	<hr/>
	\$20,000,000

### Conclusion.

While these thoughts have been getting themselves together events important in the history of the world have been shaping themselves more rapidly than the intervals of other occupation would permit the pen to work.

The Philippines are now held by right of direct conquest as well as by implication of the terms of peace. Yet many of our most estimable citizens are weary beforehand of the trouble of keeping them. Let them remember that trouble is not avoided by running away from it. If the United States had not undertaken ten years ago to construct a modern navy the trouble of

this war with Spain would have been avoided altogether, because there would have been no "Maine" to be destroyed in Havana harbor. But if there had been no navy Spain would have retaken Florida on the plea of breaking up filibustering from the lagoons of that peninsula.

If we are never going to fight, the Dominion of Canada will certainly want the territory now comprised in the States of Maine and New Hampshire, to make winter ports for her foreign commerce, just as Russia demands the Liao Tang peninsula, with Port Arthur.

There are five hundred times as many Germans in the city of New York as in the city of Manila, and the Emperor of Germany would feel that it was but an obvious duty to the Fatherland to occupy New York as a coaling station with a proper sphere of influence over the Hinterland of West Chester County and New Jersey.

If we do not cross the Pacific to the Orient the Orientals will not delay to cross it to come to us. San Francisco and Portland would make admirable trading stations for the Japanese, unless England should occupy them to forestall such an ignominy falling upon her race.

There is but one course open to brave men ; to go forward in the path opened by that higher power which rules the destinies of man ; whether we call that power Providence, or give it some other name more acceptable to the notions of the day.

The determination of one fact only remains. The coal supply does not exist in Luzon. The solidarity of the Philippine Archipelago should not be broken up. How can it be maintained without incurring for ourselves the consciousness of over-severe pressure upon a defeated and submitting adversary ?

But one solution presents itself as easily conceivable. Let the Peace Commission be liberal in money matters. Our bill of expense for the conquest of the Philippines stands only in the coal consumption of two monitors, the transportation charges for a few thousand men, and last, though largest item, the loss of less than one hundred lives.

Never before was such territory won upon such terms. For so much of it as has not been occupied by our troops, or was not contemplated by the protocol, let us pay the unexpended margin of our war appropriations, or such other sums as may be proper to show the world that we can be generous as well as just.

PUBLICOLA.