

IS UNCLE SAM A FAILURE AS GOVERNOR OF AN ALIEN PEOPLE?



Sultan of Maguindanao (third from left, seated) and his head men.



Francis Burton Harrison, Governor-General of the Philippines.



Governor Carpenter of Mindanao and Sulu and the Sultan of Sulu.

W. Morgan Shuster recently returned from a visit to the Philippines. He is well qualified to speak of the American administration of the islands because of his service as Collector of Customs at Manila, as a member of the Philippine Commission and as Secretary of Public Instruction. He is best known, of course, from his short tenure as Treasurer-General of Persia, from which office he was ousted by England and Russia, whose displeasure was aroused by the reforms he was putting into effect. Not yet 40, he began his career as a stenographer in the War Department.

Morgan Shuster, Returning From the Philippines, Praises Work of Harrison and Carpenter, but Says Neither American People Nor Congress Know Their Own Mind With Regard to the Islands

By W. MORGAN SHUSTER
ON my return some weeks ago from a visit to the Philippine Islands I made the statement that for the first time the United States had approximated successful colonial government—so far at least as the Philippine insular government is concerned. I have been asked to justify that statement. The task should not be difficult. In describing the colonial administration of Governor-General Harrison as an approximately successful example I had in mind the handicaps under which he has necessarily worked and the somewhat remarkable results which he has achieved. Successful colonial administration may be defined as the execution of a given plan of government, temporary or permanent, with the minimum of friction and physical force consistent with justice and public order. The plan of government may be wise or not, practical or illusory, wasteful or efficient; it may be progressive or reactionary—that is not for the administrator to say. In the case of Gov. Harrison has met with great success. He has been a great believer in the appeal to reason rather than to force. He has had faith in and trusted the people over whom he was sent to rule.

Without those handicaps he would not have travelled far in the Philippines. Whoever his skill or knowledge of statecraft or of administrative technique. In 1913 he undertook to govern the Philippine Islands with the understanding that the Philippines were to have complete control of the two legislative branches, a thing that had never before been allowed. For several years previously, while there was an American majority in the upper house, the Philippine Commission—there had been deadlock over the annual appropriation bills and constant friction between that body and the Philippine Assembly, composed of elected Filipino representatives. Under Gov. Harrison these disputes disappeared, and I so much have the Philippine people been made to feel that they were participating in the actual government of their country that they have been more than willing to follow his advice in all matters which he considered of sufficient importance to lay before them with his recommendation. Before he assumed office American control of the islands had been a thinly veiled, if at times benevolent, dictatorship, military or civil. Gov. Harrison changed this, and the practical results of his method, which was severely criticised by certain elements in this

country and by many Americans and foreigners in the islands, have surpassed all expectations. There has been a state of peace and order throughout the country which has never before existed, even when there were nearly 100,000 American troops in control. There is no semblance of assistance to the present government in any part of the islands. Even in Mindanao and Jolo there is peace and safety, where but a few years ago armed forces were always necessary and often inadequate. To Gov. Harrison is due the credit for being willing to undertake the government of the islands with Filipino control in the Legislature. He also undertook to carry into effect a policy of "Filipinization" of the public service. He has done both things with consummate skill and success. It was Gov. Harrison who had the moral courage to take over from the United States army officers and troops the government of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, containing among them 650,000 inhabitants nearly 350,000 here and nearly 300,000 there. It was freely predicted that this step would result in the wholesale massacre of Filipinos and Americans. He selected for the post of Department Governor of Mindanao and Sulu his executive secretary, Frank W. Carpenter, who he felt, was best fitted for the task. Carpenter is one man in ten million in the handling of men. He was inaugurated in January, 1914,

and toward gloom and outward anxiety. All American troops were withdrawn from this department, the Philippine Scouts were placed in garrisons and the maintenance of order was left to the civil Government with its Filipino and Moro constabulary force. Today, after two years of magnificent stewardship, Carpenter is everywhere credited with having accomplished the impossible. He has made friendship between different races and hostile factions blossom where distrust and hatred grew. He has gained the respect and admiration of those of every race, nationality and religion with whose representatives he has dealt. He has turned districts which for years were shambles into orderly communities. Among a people described since Spanish times as hating Christians, respecting nothing but force—and but slightly that—he has governed with firmness and patience, but notoriously without military assistance. He has successfully appealed to the intelligence and some sense of justice of savage people who were credited by but few with possessing either quality. His work is perhaps the brightest individual accomplishment since American occupation of the Philippines. The man whose faith in humanity made this task possible was Harrison. The recent failure of the House of Representatives to pass the Senate bill, with the so-called Clarke amendment providing for Philippine inde-

BACK TO NATURE CURE ONLY SALVATION FOR WAR SICK HUMANITY

England, Says Rider Haggard, Must Not Forget That Her Greatness Came From the Land

By EDWARD MARSHALL.
AFTER the great war, what? What of the workman? What of the farmer? What effect will the out of door life of the trenches have upon the men who had spent their lives previously in factories? What effect will the industrial cataclysm have on the women of England, her Dominions and her colonies, who have gone into productive labor, not only in factories, but on farms? Will the United Kingdom see an exodus of workers urged to the great out of doors and thus to the vast empires outlying reaches? Will there be a rush of emigration to the United States? I wished to ask these and other questions of the greatest expert to be found in London, and from all lips was referred to a man whom I had thought of as a romantic novelist—to Sir H. Rider Haggard. From the world thrilling, world famous novel "She" to the social and economic questions involved in predictions of what will follow this war was a far cry, but I quickly learned that the advice was good. In our talk which is recorded here will be found not the slightest mention of dear, plucky Allan Quatermain, or of the mysterious, ever living princess of the Dark Continent who "must be obeyed." H. Rider Haggard, having made a comfortable fortune out of very vivid literature, retired to quiet agricultural life on a large scale in England and has become so great an agricultural expert that he has been selected by his fellow countrymen to tour the spreading British Dominions and colonies in order that he may study what may be best done with the men who will be discharged from military service after the war and who, it is believed, will have been by the war's outdoor life unfitted to take up those indoor occupations which they followed after the war began. He is a very pleasant person, this once great novelist who is now a great sociological agriculturist. We had a long talk at my hotel in London, just before he started on a journey round the empire. "I began life as a public servant," he explained. "It was quite by accident that I became a novelist. Some one told me that I could write a book and I wrote 'She' to prove the contrary. It ended whatever possibilities I may have had for success at the bar, which really had been my ambition. What I know of Africa—that which I used in my books—I had learned while living there as a member of Sir Cameron's staff, of which I am the oldest survivor. He was a great man

"After that I drifted into Government work again and served on sundry commissions. The last, to which I still belong, is not dead, but sleeping until after the war. It is the Dominions Royal Commission, selected by the entire empire, for it was appointed by the King on the nomination of the Dominions. Its function was and will be to investigate the trade possibilities and therefore the resources of the empire. "In connection with this work I have visited Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland and parts of Canada, thus acquiring a great deal of knowledge of the actual conditions prevailing in all the vast areas. "Now that the war has come it is apparent that when it ends, as I hope and believe it will, an avictory for the Allies, all things will be changed and my notes will become not useless, but history. This war's effect will be far reaching beyond even our most extravagant dreams. "One of its results, which already is beginning to show, will be a melting of conventions. The bonds of red tape in government will be burst in many places, the formalities of both government and business will be set aside in part in Great Britain and her associated territories; the English race which has been wandering in the darkness of sophistries, guided, uncertainly only, by political catchwords, will come face to face again, I hope, with things as they are. "This, I believe, will be a great thing not only for my own people, but for the world at large. I am certain, for example, that it will result in a far greater friendship and cooperation for good than ever has existed between our country, the United States, and my own. "But England is learning fast in these days of war some things which all—perhaps even you—must learn. For instance, she is learning that it is not so much wealth that matters, but men, women, families and homes that are happy, even if they be more or less humble. "The argosies of Tyre and Carthage were rich and wonderful in their day, but where are they now? Tyre and Carthage lived by trade, neglecting Mother Earth, and Mother Earth grows greener from their bones while their memories are recorded only in the pages of the histories of 2,000 years ago. "But the immemorial East was living then and still lives on the land and by the land and of the land, and, like Antares, gathers strength from touching Mother Earth. To-day she is as was the East when Tyre and Carthage flourished and as she was thousands of years before they gained their power by trade. As she is to-day so will she be when the commercial nations of today if they remain commercial shall have passed away. "You will ask me," said the great novelist who has become so great a social and economic student, "what I am driving at. I am driving at the truth that if nations and empires are to endure they must root themselves in the land. No tree can flourish for long that tries to suck its strength from bricks and mortar; it must dwindle presently and perish.

"So it has been and must be with peoples. So must it be with empires, so also must it be with great republics unless they get out of the cities and



Sir H. Rider Haggard.

back into the fields. Elsewhere there and will be the same as Rome's after she collected all her nations' best within her city walls. "What happens in the cities? The birth rate goes down. There is little room and smaller joy for children there. A hotel, however fine, is no

place for babies, and the streets are worse. "In the cities have been set up living standards to which few can attain. If the mother must wear smart clothes and spend money upon herself in many ways not calculated to be found of what use or comfort are children to their mothers anyway? Hence, race suicide. The finer and more prosperous folk may be the less deflected they surely will be to produce large families, and the poorer they will be the less able they surely will be to properly support and rear large families. But on the land children very quickly grow to be of service to their parents, and, doing this, they soon become props of the State. "Now as to the grand which lies in my journey, I am departing early in an honorary capacity, as a use of income to myself, to say nothing of the sacrifice entailed in leaving my country and my family at such a time, for the purpose of endeavoring to help see to it that the emigration out of the United Kingdom which must follow the great war shall be directed into various portions of the British Empire. "You say that will be a bad thing for the United States? I answer that we can't help that. Our duty is to look at home and to work for our own people, although I must admit my firm belief that the more there is in your great country of the old American race the better I believe it will be for the world, ourselves included. For, mind you, those evils of which I have spoken as if they might be peculiar to Great Britain are also rampant in your New America. "The world and its glories in the future will be to those who have most cradled their homes, and cradles cannot be better filled than by babies of Anglo-Saxon blood. "I anticipate many difficulties in the work. I am by no means certain of success, for reasons far too many and too long to be enumerated in this talk, but I can only say, if I fail, at least I shall have done my best, and others will take up the work. "What can be done must be done now. I fear and hope I am wrong in fearing great troubles to follow this tremendous war. "Its effect on the belligerent nations will be deep and revolutionary. In England the most startling thing with which we find ourselves face to face is female employment outside the home. Hundreds of thousands of women now because of the war have found their metier. From a multitude of homes they have emerged and now are doing their full share in the world's work, and incidentally doing it exceedingly well, when the lack of previous experience is taken into consideration. "Will they be content to lapse again into an aimless security with nothing in front of them save, perhaps, loveless marriage, or that combat with social conditions which is likely to end in their own ruin? "Examples of this kind could be multiplied did space permit. The Filipino people will not soon forget the famous 'bump duty rebate' nor the cotton cloth and other tariff legislation under which they suffered from a paternal and altruistic Government. "If the experience of other nations possessing colonies has demonstrated any one thing it is that colonial government to be successful must be both stable and just. Stability can come only from a definite knowledge and acceptance by both the rulers and the governed of the policy to be pursued. It is manifest that if the sovereign state does not itself exhibit a definite and understandable programme of government, no stability can come into the minds of the political 'wards' who are so vitally concerned. "The history of nearly eighteen years of American occupation of the Philippines shows conclusively that neither the American people nor their Congress have ever known their own mind about the Filipino people and their needs, with sufficient clearness to formulate a policy. The emotions of the American people have been conflicting and their information has been meagre or inaccurate. "With the people swayed by the conflicting desires to be just yet not to let anything go, the complicated political machinery which requires American popular will has reached a point beyond which, until we are able to look ahead with indifference on the most recent example of the working of American colonial government, a vote on the Philippine bill passed as a protest, to bridle a titular political leader. This may be successful American politics, but it is successful colonial government?"

Author of "She" Explains His Theories, With Which He Found Col. Roosevelt in Accord