

sion of trade and the labor problem. Valuable original tables elucidate his statements.

Two principal conclusions must be forced upon the student from this cool array of facts and figures. The first of these is that all colonization which has resulted in the development of a stable liberal government, absolutely or partially independent of the mother country, has been in the Temperate Zones and under the control of the Anglo-Saxon race, guided and always influenced by the Anglo-Saxon system of political and social morality. The astonishing feature of the times is the curious notion which to-day permeates the English as well as the French and German mind, that in the present madness for territory these nations expect to see a development of their new tropical possessions in Africa along these same lines and to reproduce the same vigorous growth in the Tropics which has characterized that of the Temperate Zones,—and all this with full knowledge of the experience of the past.

Four hundred years of tropical colonization controlled by these four great nations has resulted in the apparent necessity for policies of administration varying but slightly in autocratic character, as a governor is always appointed by the home power, with more or less representation of the native races through suffrage. There has been no permanent colonization of the white races in the Tropics, and the always limited and unstable character of this colonization has affected the possibility of the growth of an educated spirit and of any desire or attempt on the part of native races to secure any independence of government. Sufficient representation in local administration has been granted to satisfy an indolent people of a low grade of intelligence and limited education, and the sordid commercial spirit has been the controlling influence in the past, with its unspeakable outrages, and of the present, with its reforms, because of the growth among the people of the home government of the feeling of the moral necessity for a more enlightened policy. During these centuries there has always existed the necessity of a standing military force of the white races, with a small proportion of the native or mixed elements, to swell the roll of private soldiers. Incipient war has generally existed, and the colonies where it has figured least aggressively have been those in which there has been a shrewd recognition of the wiser policy of providing the semi-civilized rulers of the illiterate native tribes with an

PROBLEMS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.*

Mr. Alleyne Ireland, known through his articles in recent magazines on various problems of colonial government, now appears with a more systematic treatise under the title of "Tropical Colonization." It is perhaps needless to say that the subject is treated in its practical economic and political bearings, and not in its ethical relations: a treatment for which the author has the qualification of several years' experience in the British colonies and dependencies in various parts of the world. He modestly calls his work "an introduction to the study of the subject." After a lucid explanation of the experiments and practice of government of colonial possessions by the four great colonizing nations, England, France, Spain, and Holland, he proceeds to the discus-

*TROPICAL COLONIZATION. By Alleyne Ireland. New York: The Macmillan Co.

assured income as a return for the recognition of the sovereignty of the power in control.

In view of this experience of the past, Mr. Ireland approaches the treatment of the colonial problems in the United States with some diffidence. After a recapitulation of conditions as they exist to-day, he sees little material for representative institutions at present among the people of our new possessions, with the exception of those of Hawaii; and even here, with true British caution, he talks about that constitutional impossibility to the American mind — a judicious limitation of the franchise. In consideration of the fact that in the matter of education Hawaii might serve as a model for the world, and that in few countries is the percentage of illiterates so small — that the inhabitants have largely adopted American manners and customs, and (almost of greater importance) no foreign nation has established a commercial connection to rival that of the United States — he can see no difficulties in the way of self-government with limited representative institutions but without that responsible government which must lie with the national authority. He quite fails to understand our distinction between state and national authority. He doubts the possibility of any hasty attempt to carry out this idea in Puerto Rico, where, with a population of 806,000, eighty-five per cent or more of whom can neither read nor write, the mixed blood and Spanish methods, together with custom and heredity, have produced a peasantry antagonistic to American civilization.

When the situation in the Philippines is to be treated, the difficulties become enormous. With a population of near 9,000,000, where not even five per cent can read or write, and where ninety-nine hundredths are profoundly ignorant, superstitious, and quite amenable to the control of the remaining hundredth, he just refrains from predicting ultimate failure for the United States when he acknowledges the shrewdness of this educated remnant, who are familiar with native dialects and customs.

Mr. Ireland tells us he has met with a certain feeling in the United States, which he predicts will postpone success; namely, a public sentiment that the experience of other nations in the tropics is of no value to us. Thereupon he declares the commercial problem, or the question of labor, to be the second vital difficulty in the case. He recognizes the fact that the products of the tropics are, next to the breadstuffs of the temperate zones, of greatest importance to the human race; these

tropical products are sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, spices, and fruits, most of which require, during the important season, continuous labor. The ease of life where necessities are obtained with but little effort, together with the climatic conditions which discourage energy, have made it impossible to cultivate profitably any of these products without the maintenance of slavery or an indentured or coolie system, abhorrent to the American mind. This indentured system, which prevails in Hawaii, is the main problem confronting us there, and every day's delay in fixing the status of that island allows the increased importation of contract laborers from China or Japan to complicate the situation. In short, he recognizes the fact that if the sordid commercial spirit is to control the management of our tropical possessions, as it does that of all other nations of the world, it would be well to disabuse the public mind of some popular fallacies. Of these, the most melodious to the public ear is the assertion that trade follows the flag, and that tropical colonies deal primarily with the sovereign country. England, with her supreme advantages, can only sell to her tropical subjects "seventy-one cents' worth of goods each a year, and she draws from each only sixty-six cents' worth of supplies. This is the result of a century's work in increasing the purchasing and the productive power of the people of the British colonies. . . . The United States is of more value as a source of supply to the United Kingdom than the whole of the British Empire." The trade between the United Kingdom and her colonies is not increasing, but assumes a smaller relative proportion year by year; the colony, as it develops, seeking the open market more and more.

So far as it is possible to judge from the valuable tables presented in the book, Mr. Ireland concludes that it may safely be asserted that the flag has very little influence upon trade; that in non-tropical colonies whatever advantage might once be attributable to the flag is fast disappearing, and in tropical colonies the trade is so small relatively that an increase of thirty persons in their population is less profitable to the United Kingdom than an increase of one person in the population of Australia or Canada. The politician and the statesman of the United States cannot ignore the experience of the enlightened nations of the world. If we enter the sordid contest for supremacy in trade, ignoring the great moral principles which we have claimed to dominate

our national economic and social system, we will be compelled to follow in great measure the methods of these nations. There cannot longer logically exist those restrictions upon trade which are the foundation of the destruction of the permanent peace of nations ; and in the great rivalry, compulsory labor can alone be counted upon.

ALICE ASBURY ABBOTT.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.