

Reviews of Judge Elliott’s “The Philippines” (1917-18).



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Foreword

By

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After he completed his three year term as an Associate Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court and Secretary of Commerce and Police of the Philippine Commission, Charles Burke Elliott returned to Minnesota to practice law and write a two volume study of recent developments in the Philippine Islands. The first, “The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime: America Overseas” was published in 1916. Elihu Root, who was Secretary of State under President Roosevelt, 1905-1909, contributed a “Prefatory Note.” The second came out the next year: “The Philippines to the End of Commission Government: A Study in Tropical Democracy.” Both books were published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company of Indianapolis.

They were reviewed together. Four reviews in prestigious academic journals are posted here. The reviewers have favorable opinions of portions of Elliott’s studies but also identify shortcomings and areas of disagreement. Two point out numerous misspellings.

1.

206 *The North American Review* 954-956 (December 1917).

The Philippines, To The End Of Commission Government, and The Philippines, To The End Of The Military Régime. By Charles B. Elliott.
Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917.

Americans desiring general information in regard to the Philippines may consult a great variety of fairly reliable and well-written works. There are available in English no fewer than twenty rather popular accounts of these islands. This number includes four books by D. C. Worcester and one, *The Philippine Problem*, by Frederick Chamberlin; it does not include books dealing with special phases of the Philippine question, reports such as that of Charles T. Magoon upon the legal status of the islands acquired by the United States in the war with Spain, nor books dealing with larger matters of foreign policy to which the Philippine problem is germane, such as C. A. Conant's *The United States in the Orient* or Coolidge's *The United States as a World Power*. Nor are important autobiographies like those of Admiral Dewey and Theodore Roosevelt, both of which contain matter of lively interest regarding the Philippines, reckoned in making up the number of direct sources of information.

Despite this extensive literature, there is still room, and indeed need, for a more thorough and authoritative work than has yet been produced. Philippine history has been investigated usually in a somewhat perfunctory manner, rather with a view to satisfying curiosity than to establishing historic truths. The Philippine "question" has been largely treated as a subject for debate. Public interest in the work accomplished in the Philippines by the American Commission has been, except when influenced by political opinions, of much the same nature as that inspired by the Panama Canal. Travel books and books descriptive of administrative accomplishment are acceptable and those by writers of wide knowledge and considerable authority, such as Worcester and Chamberlin, are of great value. But even when the full merit of these last two writers, in particular, is recognized, it remains true that a comprehensive work on the Philippines, historic in point of view, and conservative in judgment is sure of a welcome from serious students and from all who desire to base their judgments upon an adequate consideration of the facts.

Such a work has now been given to the public. In two volumes Charles B. Elliott has treated practically every important class of facts relating to the

Philippines, shirking no difficulties, yielding to no predilections, treating of the remote past with surprising accuracy and fulness, judging the recent past with judicial fairness and with the realism of a scientific historian. The extent of the field covered in these two volumes is remarkable. The sources that had to be consulted include not less than four hundred important books, pamphlets and official documents. The early history of the islands, the whole theory and practice of colonization, the Spanish and the American administration of Philippine affairs, problems of economics, special problems of transportation—all these and many other topics are clearly and compendiously treated. Readers who realize that large works are properly the outcome of a more rigorous process of sifting and selection than are smaller ones will understand the magnitude of the labor performed by Dr. Elliott and will know how to value the definiteness of the results he has obtained. Such a book as this should of course be written by one thoroughly familiar with the work of the American Commission in the Philippines and preferably by one who actually took part in that work. Dr. Elliott has both these qualifications and the further qualification that his temper is wholly judicial. Formerly Justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, later Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, a member of the Philippine Commission and Secretary of Commerce and Police in the Government of the Philippines, he is eminently fitted to deal with both the larger questions and the technical details of his subject. First-hand knowledge treated by one whose ordinary frame of mind is that of a judge rather than an executive leads to impartiality and breadth of view.

Those who wish to form an unbiased opinion regarding the policy of the United States toward the Philippine people should not fail to read Dr. Elliott's chapter upon "The Independence Movement" and indeed this chapter ought to be read by every one who is unaware that the Philippine question is still a vital one. It will be found that the author has left the question of ultimate Philippine independence quite open; that he has discussed this problem on a level quite above that of "liberal" sentiment in favor of self-government or of racial disparagement; but that he does point out compellingly the need of a consistent policy on the part of the American people and that he does furnish the materials for deciding what this policy should be.

In a very dry light, moreover, Dr. Elliott has reviewed the story of the American conquest of the Philippines and has discussed the relations of the American Government with the Spanish authorities and with the insurgents. It is in this part of his work that the effect of absolute impartiality and mature judgment may be most fully appreciated by an ordinary reader. The author's statements of fact and estimates of character are measured and definite. Dr. Elliott is fair to all

parties. He understands the motives and methods of the insurgents, their characteristics as Philippine politicians, their childishness, their shrewdness and their genuine aspirations—understands them as Admiral Dewey and others did not. He is fair to Aguinaldo, whose career and character he has unpretentiously portrayed in a manner that seems final. He is fair even to certain erring consuls. His unbiassed story of the whole series of negotiations incident to the taking over of the Philippines by this Government—a story which includes a full account of the making of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States—is something more than schoolbook history or academic monograph.

It is well that this definitive history has become available at a time when it may exercise a real influence upon the shaping of policy.



2.

12 American Political Science Review 129-132 (February 1918).

The Philippines. By Charles B. Elliott. Two volumes,
I, To the End of the Military Régime;
II, To the End of the Commission Government.
(Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1916-1917. Pp. 541, 541.)

Judge Elliott has rendered a service to the American public and to the Philippine people by presenting the first adequate picture of the Philippines after nearly twenty years of American rule. The author's period of activity and residence in the islands, as judge of the supreme court (1909-1910) and as secretary of commerce and police (1910-1913), has given him excellent preparation for a study of the policies and accomplishments of our rule in the Philippines. The first volume is prefaced by a terse and appropriate introduction by Hon. Elihu Root in which the fact is emphasized that all discussion of the morals of our occupation of the Philippines is academic; we are confronted with a situation and a problem the solution of which is impossible without intelligence and information on the part of the American people. That is what Judge Elliott aims to give.

Approximately one half of the first volume is devoted to pre-American conditions to serve as a background for an understanding of the present. An effort is made to fit our experiment in the Philippines into the general field of colonization by comparing it with efforts made along the same lines by the Dutch, Germans and British. Our avowed intention there is to fit an uncivilized and tropical people for self-government, and to govern the colony in accordance with its best interests and not primarily our own. This was a departure from accepted theories, inviting criticism and ridicule, but Judge Elliott feels that we have succeeded, through a happy combination of "England's sense of justice" and our own natural "political magnanimity." The chapters on geologic, climatic and racial conditions are instructive and readable. While the general sense of the historical sections of this first volume may be regarded as adequate, since they show the results so well of three hundred years of Spanish training, the author falls into the rut formed by the unappreciative and uninstructed British and American "snap-judgment" historians of Spanish colonization by terming this "a period of stagnation." The difference between the Christian Filipino in religion, morals and civilization, and his Malay brother to the south is due only to Spanish influence exerted through these "centuries of stagnation." The author himself points out that the Filipinos are really Latin in their civilization and modes of thought, and that with our twenty years of vigorous and efficient rule we have only scratched the surface.

A large number of inaccuracies occur in the author's treatment of the Spanish period. The Council of the Indies (not Indias) was founded in 1511 and not in 1514. Governors of the Philippines were not always compelled to remain for *residencia*. The *Obras Pias* were not founded by "the contribution of an enterprising governor-general (Arandfa, 1759) who had managed, out of a small salary during a five year term of office, to save a quarter of a million pesos," which he turned over to the priests. The first *Obra Pia*, that of the Santa Misericordia, was brought to the Philippines in 1596, and another, San Juan de Dfos, was established there twenty-one years later. Again, our author credits Governor Enrile with the foundation of the Philippine Economic Society in about 1830, when, as a matter of fact, Enrile merely revived the association, which had been established by Governor Basco y Vargas in 1780. It is regrettable that the author placed reliance in the historical portion of his book on the notoriously inaccurate Foreman, who knew no history.

In the remaining part of this volume the author deals adequately with the historical events surrounding the American conquest, the Philippine insurrection and the establishment of American rule, adding nothing to the accounts already published by Leroy and Worcester. Mr. Bryan and the so-called anti-

imperialist forces of 1900 are charged with responsibility for the undue prolongation of the Philippine American war. Their encouragement is said to have led Filipino politicians and "generals" to form an entirely wrong conception of their own importance and of the attitude of the people of the United States on the Philippine question. This leads to the comment that the American people have never had any attitude on this subject, other than that of almost universal ignorance, which is not appropriate for the citizens of a democracy, although it be also mistress of an empire.

The second volume brings the history of the Philippines down to 1915. Here our author is in his own field, describing as he does the events in which he himself has participated so ably. We are treated to a clear-cut exposition and description of the present government of the Philippines, the religious, insular, provincial and municipal organizations and their interrelations; questions of finance, trade, agriculture, labor, are discussed; and we are given some conception of the extensive work of our government in the direction of public works, harbor improvements, commerce, education, sanitation, and the reclamation of the wild tribes. This work was in full progress in 1914, when some political changes were effected on the basis of national issues. Judge Elliott feels that these changes have been entirely inconsistent with our original purposes in the Philippines, which presuppose a sufficient length of time for the education and uplift of the Filipino people. These changes have interrupted and stayed the work, which in reality is only initiated and will require time for full fruition. What we need is a settled policy with regard to the Philippines. They should be put beyond the reach of politics. The Filipino people are not yet ready for independence, political, moral or economic; and the measures enacted during the past few years have not been the result of proper reflection, knowledge, understanding or sympathy with our great aim in the archipelago. Notwithstanding the sharply critical spirit of this volume, as a piece of informative literature, palpitating with earnestness and abounding in data, it is the best thing yet written on our colonial activities in the Far East. It is more than that; it is a book with a mission.

It is unfortunate that the author has carelessly or unwittingly permitted so many errors and inconsistencies in the use of Spanish names and words to creep into the text. It would almost seem that he deliberately tried to waive all correct usage in Spanish. It would be wearisome to mention all of the 62 mistakes of this kind counted in the first volume, but a few of the most glaring follow in the order of their occurrence: *encomendadors* (37) for *encomenderos*, which word is correctly used subsequently; *politicos* for *poíticos* (60) indicating that our author makes no use of accents in words requiring them; Cotabato is spelled

Cotabatu (66) and Cottabatu (468) in volume I and Cotabato in volume II (443); Mariveles is spelled Maravales (71) and Marivales (162); Santo Tomás is Santa Tomás (72), thereby making St. Thomas a female saint; Agusan is Aguson (91); Martin de Rada, properly spelled on page 102 becomes Martin de Roda two pages farther on. El Cano, the successor of Magellan, is designated as El Caño (145); while Emelio Aguinaldo is given the Christian name of his female cousin Emelia (203). These errors are typical in an added sense of showing how studiously Americans avoid a correct knowledge of the language of the colony or foreign country in which they reside. Herein is one of our great weaknesses.

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3.

12 American Journal of International Law 427-433 (April 1918).

The Philippines. By Charles Burke Elliott. 2 vols. Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill Company. 1917. pp. 541, 641. \$9 net.

After the smoke from the guns of the American fleet at Manila had vanished, revealing the deadly blow dealt to the Spanish flotilla, the last page of the closing chapter of the history of the Spanish rule in the Philippine Islands was written, and with the dawn of the new day a new era began in the history of the United States and of the Islands of the Far East. And so the world assumed it. Columbia, to quote the words of the author, "was then full grown, and Dewey's battle in Manila Bay was regarded as a sort of a national coming-out party. Henceforth she was to be considered in society." In coming out, however, Columbia did not adopt the usual attitude of the blushing and timid debutante, but rather that of the fully developed matron, ready to bear a self-imposed burden and to take up the responsibility of a national policy from which a majority of the thoughtful men of the country instinctively shrank because it seemed so remote from anything in her past history: the policy of expansion. But those who thought so failed to observe that "virile nations are and have always been colonizing nations." As said by the writer of an interesting article in the

Spectator (Jan. 14, 1899), "The great races, when the hour of opportunity arrives, expand greatly — that is all we really know; and what, when the momentum is on them, they have to care about is to see that their actions, for which they are only half responsible, benefit the world." President McKinley, than whom no American statesman had a keener sense for detecting the currents and drifts of public opinion, after availing himself of every means of information, reached the conclusion that a large majority of the people favored retaining the Philippines, and so, to the suggestion that, after reserving suitable naval stations, the Islands should be left in possession of Spain, he replied that the American people who had gone to war for the emancipation of Cuba would not, after Dewey's victory in Manila, consent to leave the Filipinos any longer under the dominion of Spain, and that if Spain were driven out and American sovereignty not set up, the peace of the world would be endangered.

For a comparatively short time the question whether it was wise or unwise for the United States to take title to the Philippine Islands and assume the burden of government there was made the subject of serious debates in the press, in Congress, and between private individuals and organizations, and even went so far as being made a party issue in the presidential elections of 1900. But this question, as suggested by the Hon. Elihu Root in the prefatory note, no longer calls for consideration. The United States took the Philippines, acquired the rights, and took the duties of sovereignty. "Self-respect requires that we should discharge the obligations we have assumed." And these obligations are the resultant of the policy this country has adopted in the management of the Philippines. From the time the United States took possession of the Islands of the Far East, she accepted as an axiomatic principle that the good of the native people is the primary object of the metropolitan state. "Her policy is distinctive in that it places stress upon the political as well as the economic development of the natives and on education as the primary means by which such development is to be effected." And, going farther than the heretofore most liberal colonizing nations, clearly announced that complete self-government and ultimately an independent state was to be not only the incidental and possible result of her policy, but the direct object of its activities, and that the Philippines would be managed solely in the interest of the natives with the deliberate purpose of preparing them for the management of their own affairs. This was a departure in the history and methods of colonization, to the great astonishment of even Great Britain, whose principles and practices may be said to have been the pattern upon which America devised her policy in the Philippines.

Time has shown the wisdom of her policy. No British, Dutch, German, or French colony has made more progress materially than have the Philippines during

the last fifteen years, or enjoyed a higher degree of order and justice during the past decade. "It has been said that the Englishman's sense of justice and the Frenchman's sense of humor are their chief assets as successful colonizers and rulers of alien people, and that the German, possessing neither of these invaluable attributes, is heavily handicapped. Americans possess the sense of justice and of humor and possibly something more." And this something more is what has made America accomplish what neither country has:

America has controlled the Philippines for seventeen years, nearly a third of which were years of war and organization. In that short time she has demonstrated not only that her people possess the Englishman's capacity for governing dependencies, but that they have a certain quality of enthusiasm for high ideals which British colonial history has not always disclosed and to the lack of which friendly foreign critics attribute her present difficulties in India and Egypt. Law, order, and justice prevail in the Philippines as in all the British colonies. The Filipinos have their national aspirations, their agitators, sedition mongers, irresponsible politicians and objectionable newspapers. They are as eager for self-government as the Indians and the Egyptians, but it is a noticeable fact that these conquered, irritable, and excitable people have not thrown a bomb or attempted to murder an American official. America's policy has not been repressive; it has not presented a stone wall of opposition to native aspirations, and it gives every indication of being successful.

In fact, it has been successful; and before the year 1916 was very much advanced the Filipinos found that America had fulfilled the promises which from the beginning had been made to them. With the passage of the Jones Bill in the summer of 1916 an autonomous government has been established in the Philippines. America, who by the lips of ex-President Taft, the first Civil Governor sent there, fostered a national feeling and awakened in the Filipinos the true sense of patriotism by the maxim of "*Filipinas para los Filipinos*" (The Philippines for the Filipinos), sees with pride today that her efforts have been rewarded with the most crowning success, and the people she undertook to educate and prepare to take a direct part in the concert of nations have responded so well that her work from now on will be only that of a guide, more than that of an instructor. After the passage of the Jones Bill, all feelings of distrust which might have existed have disappeared from the heart of the Filipinos, and today the ties are closer between this country and the Islands.

It is because of this fact that the publication by Mr. Charles B. Elliott of his work on the Philippines is peculiarly valuable. It is to be regretted that such a work should not have come out sooner, or that Judge Elliott should not have started earlier, at least the first volume, in which the author, in the comparatively brief space of 527 pages, covers the history of the Philippines from the time of their discovery in 1520 until the end of the military régime and the turning over of the government of the Islands to the Philippine Commission appointed by President McKinley. Its early publication would have better acquainted the people of this country with conditions in the Philippine Islands and awakened more general interest in them than has been taken heretofore. This does not mean, however, that Judge Elliott's work is not immensely valuable at present, when the fulfillment of America's promises to the Filipinos have brought closer ties between the two countries.

The first volume of Mr. Elliott's work on *The Philippines* contains eighteen chapters, of which the first, on "The Theory and Practice of Colonization," is introductory; but the comparative study he makes of all the systems of colonization and their respective results from the time of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans, up to the present, constitutes an important monograph, the separate publication of which would have made of itself an interesting addition to any library. The next three chapters, "The Philippine Archipelago," "The Native Peoples," and "The Moros" are expository of the land and of the character of its inhabitants. As regards the latter, the author does well to say that few of the works which have been written have been carefully and conscientiously prepared, but the greater number "are apparently the work of the impressionist or cubic schools"; and "some of the books are not entirely honest. The Filipinos painted by these writers are not recognized by Americans or Europeans who have dealt with and worked among the real people." The general outline which the author makes is remarkably accurate, taking into consideration, however, that "in speaking of the characteristics and habits of the Filipinos, the reader must constantly bear in mind that no characterization applies to all individuals or even to all classes."

The historical work begins with Chapter V and covers Parts II, III, and IV. "The Discovery and Conquest," "Two and One-half Centuries of Stagnation" in the system of government, "The Awakening and Revolt," the exposition of the Spanish colonial system with "The Governmental Organization," "The Legislation, Codes and Courts," "Taxation and Revenue," and "Personal Status" and "Trade Restrictions," are subjects which are masterly treated and in which the author is fully documented. Every milestone in the history of the Spanish regime has been carefully marked out. It shows with impartiality the good and bad

points of that system and proves that its failure was not due to intrinsic defects, but to the jealousy which naturally existed between two Powers each of whom considered itself supreme and with equal right to be at the steering wheel of the governmental ship, and prone, therefore, to hinder each other at every important step: the civil and the ecclesiastical.

The history of the American rule in the Philippines covers the second half of the first volume and the whole of the second; beginning with "The Capture of Manila" and ending with the passage of the Jones Bill and the organization of the Philippine Legislature, composed of a House of Representatives and a Senate, both elective and composed exclusively of natives, and of a Cabinet formed by the heads of the several departments of the government, who are also Filipinos in their majority. "The Capture of Manila," The Treaty of Paris, "The Military Occupation," and "The Filipino Rebellion" are four very interesting chapters, in which the respective subjects are treated with so much detail and the incidents told in such a vivid and pleasant strain of language that their reading is as fascinating as a fiction book.

The chapter on the "Policy of Expansion" refers to the time when there was a serious debate as to whether or not the Philippines should be retained by the United States, and gives a résumé of the arguments then adduced pro and con. In the chapter on "The Diplomacy of the Consulates" the author gives us some inside history of the relations between Admiral Dewey and Aguinaldo and his staff immediately prior to and after the battle of Manila Bay until the surrender of Manila. The implication that there was an implied and express promise on the part of Dewey to assist Aguinaldo in establishing an independent state in the Philippines, which has been repeatedly made, is shown by the author to be, on the authority of the records of the American and Filipino Governments and armies, now accessible, wholly unfounded, and that the imputation made by Carl Schurz to the effect that America's early relations with the Filipino insurgents make "a story of deceit, false pretense, and brutal treachery to friends without parallel in the history of republics" is utterly false.

The second volume contains an account of the origin, institution, and nature of the Philippine Government, the manner in which it has been administered, and a summary and analysis of what has been accomplished by the Americans and Filipinos in the last sixteen years. "The Organization of the New Civil Government," the disentangling of the somewhat complicated affairs of the church and the state, the establishment of provincial and municipal governments, the splendid results achieved in the sanitation and health of the islands, and the almost unbelievable progress made in the material development and the

opening of ways of transportation and communication are only a few chapters in which the author shows how the United States has discharged her duty toward the Philippines and their people. But its crowning success has been in the education of the Filipinos; in this task, to which the Filipinos have responded, America has spared no efforts and no expense. The popular idea was that the Filipinos were to be transmuted into Americans of the most approved type; but according to the author, "our ambition should be to make good and efficient Filipinos out of all the inhabitants of the Islands. It is not necessary to try to make Yankees out of them."

Judge Elliott has written of the American administration in a sympathetic spirit, but has not hesitated to criticize as well as to commend. In fact, in the opinion of the undersigned, the last chapter of his work contains too severe a criticism and too harsh a judgment on both American and Filipino officials under the administration of the last few years, which, the undersigned is sorry to say, does not harmonize with the rest of the work. There is a touch of the *personal* in his statements, and some facts and incidents are referred to and judgment passed on them when it is yet too early to do so, and still more when the results are in a way proving the contrary.

Events have succeeded each other in the last three years with such rapidity that the Philippine Government is now under the immediate control of the Filipinos, and the ultimate success of America's experiment in nation culture depends upon the wisdom and ability of the Filipinos, instead of the Americans. If they succeed, "it will justify the faith in the inherent capacity of the natives upon which our Philippine policy is based, and redound to the honor of the United States and to the credit of the men who laid the foundation upon which the present structure rests."

I shall close this review by quoting the following paragraph from the preface of the author to the second volume:

I believe that the assumption of control over the Philippines could not honorably have been avoided without a shrinking from responsibility which would have been unworthy of a great and self-respecting nation. Its responsibilities have been borne without reward or hope of reward, other than that which comes from the faithful performance of gratuitous service for others. The United States is a greater and a nobler nation for having lifted the Filipinos out of the slough in which they were floundering and placed them well on the road toward nationality.

Antonio M. Opisso.



4.

24 *The American Historical Review* 113-116 (October 1918).

The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime: America Overseas. By Charles Burke Elliott, Ph.D., LL.D. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. [1916.] Pp. [xx], 541. \$4.50.)

The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government: a Study in Tropical Democracy. By the same. (Ibid. [1917.] Pp [xxii], 541. \$4.50.)

These two volumes, although issued separately, really form a single continuous unit, and might better have been published as volumes I. and II. of the same work. They are capital books for a general library or for a special collection on the Philippines and the Far East. Taken in connection with the two post-humous volumes of James A. LeRoy, namely, *The Americans in the Philippines* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), unfortunately unfinished at the death of the author, they permit of a very fair estimate of the work of the United States in the Philippine Islands. Judge Elliott (at present associate justice of the supreme court of Minnesota) was himself a distinguished official in the Philippine Islands, first as associate justice of the supreme court, and later as a member of the Philippine Commission with the portfolio of commerce and police. He was, therefore, in close touch with the government that had been set up in the Philippines by the United States, and should be expected to speak with authority on all questions connected with that government, especially the Commission government. He is also a keen, though unpretentious and modest, student of men and affairs, and his opinions are worthy of attention.

Both volumes show unusually wide reading, and in addition to standard and well-known authorities, both of them contain in the foot-notes many excellent bibliographical references not usually cited. In addition, the second volume contains a good working bibliography (by no means complete) of books and articles on colonization and colonial problems and the Philippines, the latter section including "Books and Important Pamphlets" and "Documents and other Government Publications". Both volumes are written in a spirit of sympathy and of fairness toward American and Filipino, and with no apology to either when the author cannot agree with or countenance any action or policy. He makes no attempt to hide his disagreement with certain acts and policies of the Forbes

administration, of which he was himself a part, nor does he hesitate to condemn any tendency in the present administration, with which he is not in harmony, and while considerate toward the Filipino, he does not always deal in honeyed phrases. He is severe, but not unjust, toward the so-called anti-imperialistic movement, and he insists on the legality of the United States occupation of the Philippines, the lack of any chicanery or any double-dealing with Aguinaldo and the Filipino insurgents, the fair-mindedness of Admiral Dewey, and the honest and sincere efforts of the majority of Americans connected with the Philippines. On the other hand, he has not been slow to praise any qualities and capacities manifest in the Filipinos, or the progress attained by them, although the difference of nationality will doubtless cause Filipinos to disagree with some of his conclusions. On the whole, the work bears the stamp of optimism, tempered somewhat by fear lest the government of the United States has permitted too rapid an advance to the Filipinos in self-government, especially since the inception of the Harrison administration and the passage of the so-called Jones Bill.

Both volumes are marred greatly by numerous errors in proofreading, which are seen especially in geographical and other proper names and foreign words and phrases. A few citations will be sufficient to show this, but it is hoped that if a second edition of this work is published, care will be taken to correct all errors of proof-reading. In volume I. the French quotation is badly confused (pp. 52-53); "Maravales" occurs instead of Mariveles (p. 71); "Zertschrift" for Zeitschrift (p. 86); "Caspar" for Gaspar (p. 105); "Homonlion" for Homonhon (p. 143); "Badojis" for Badajoz (p. 145); "picus" for pieuse (p. 149, note 18); "Gri-golva" for Grijalva (note 19); "pacification" for pacificación and "conquesto" for conquista (p. 151); Arthur Helps appears as "Arthur Heaps" (p. 180, note 25), and the author of *The Mastery of the Pacific* masquerades as "Coleridge" (p. 373). The second volume also contains many errors of like nature, but not so many as the first.

The first volume contains eighteen chapters, divided as follows: Introductory, The Theory and Practice of Colonization; part I., The Land and the People, chapters II.—IV.; part II., The Historical Background, chapters V.-VII.; part III., The Spanish Colonial System, chapters VIII.-XI.; part IV., American Occupation and Change of Sovereignty, chapters XII.-XVIII. The necessity for the introductory chapter might be questioned, although it is of convenience to the general reader. Only the latter part of it deals specifically with the United States and the Philippines. In part I. is given a general description of the Philippines and of the native peoples; in part II., the discovery and conquest, two and a half centuries of stagnation, and the awakening and revolt of the Filipinos; in

part III., the Spanish governmental organization, legislation, codes and courts, taxation and revenue, and personal status and trade restrictions; and in part IV., to which the preceding parts are but a preface, the capture of Manila by United States forces, the peace protocol and the treaty of Paris, the policy of expansion and the antiimperialists, the diplomacy of the consulates (being the early relations with the Filipino insurgents), the period of military occupation, the Filipino rebellion and the days of the empire, and the end of the military regime. The descriptive part abounds in well-written passages, and the book throughout is written in a very readable style, with a few lapses, however, from the dignity that a book of this character should maintain. There are many generalizations which show keen insight, such for instance as (p. 41) that the United States "skilfully adopted as her own the cry which the Filipinos had raised of 'the Philippines for the Filipinos', and has been able in a measure to direct a movement which could not be suppressed". The parts dealing with the peoples of the Philippines leave much to be desired, and the same is true of the chapters on historical backgrounds, though part III. will be read with interest, and the wish that it were longer. In the fourth part, however, there is much sound matter, and this part of the book will be read to advantage, especially the chapter dealing with the peace protocol and the treaty of Paris.

The second volume consists of nineteen chapters which treat of the following: the new civil government; the aftermath of war; disentangling Church and State—the friar lands; congressional legislation for the Philippines; the provinces and municipalities; the commission government and its administration; finance, taxation, and trade; defense and public safety—the army and navy; sanitation and health; the Philippine schools; the labor problem; the policy of material development; transportation and communication; Philippine agriculture; policies and personnel; the independence movement and the reorganized government. There are also useful appendixes as follows: treaty of peace between the United States and Spain of December 10, 1898; instructions of the President to the Schurman commission; instructions to the Taft commission; three proclamations of Aguinaldo; the constitution of the Philippine republic; a list of leading officials of the Philippine government; the Philippine government law of 1916; and a statement of the cost of the army in the Philippines. This volume is a contribution to our knowledge of the Philippines and is worth careful reading, as it contains information along a great many lines on which there is constant inquiry. Anyone who has been in the Philippines will agree with one of Judge Elliott's conclusions which will be found in his preface to this second volume:

We have changed the face of the country, and given law, order, justice, and equal rights and opportunities to the people, but they are no more Americans to-day than they were two decades ago. ... A few individuals have been partially Americanized, but it is very doubtful whether we have materially changed the fundamental character of the Filipino people.

But we are tempted to ask why we should try to make Americans out of the Filipinos, and to suggest that American effort has been expended primarily in directions to aid the Filipino to find himself and to learn the great lesson of social control, in order that he may develop along the lines best suited to him.

James Alexander Robertson.



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