

**THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED
STATES: POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL.
ADDRESSES AND DISCUSSION
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, APRIL 7-8, 1899**

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The Foreign Policy of the United States: Political and Commercial. Addresses and Discussion at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, April 7-8, 1899
by Various

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The Government of Dependencies.

Addresses and Discussions.

THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY, *Professor of International Law,
Yale University.*

In every state with colonies, its government of them must depend upon two factors: (1) the prevailing theory of the dependent relation; (2) the constitutional limitations, if any, under which it lives. There are two theories to define the relationship between a state and its dependencies. One considers them property from which an income is to be drawn; the other considers them a kind of trust, to be administered for the benefit of their inhabitants.

A good example of the first is the Dutch rule in Java. The Javanese number approximately twenty-five millions. They are governed by two-fifths of one per cent of their number of Europeans. The island is considered a sort of huge farm by the government of the Netherlands. The method of administration, called the "culture system," is one of forced labor. Introduced in 1830, under the influence of a more enlightened public sentiment it is now disappearing. At times it has paid a surplus as high as ten million dollars into the Dutch treasury; but this has given place to a deficit. Under it, the Dutch government discouraged European immigration, education and missionary labor. There was no autonomy. Generally speaking there was no private property. And the result was that the natives deteriorated in artistic, industrial and scientific processes.

If we look for examples of the other, the trust theory, we shall find a very general opinion that the British system is best worth copying. During the second quarter of the present century, Great Britain finally gave her various dependencies self-government, unrestricted trade and reform

administrations, wherever practicable. In those climates where the white man can work and multiply, in Canada, Australia and New Zealand for instance, self-governing colonies have been developed, with large liberty of action, duties to protect domestic manufactures against British competition having even been permitted. In the minor colonies of the temperate zone, and in the tropics, where dependencies have been retained in the hands of the crown, the principle of self-sacrifice has still prevailed, and the results have justified it. For we find, on the whole, prosperity, contentment and loyalty. A blind attachment to the opposite theory has cost Spain her colonies, and makes those of France, in the opinion of enlightened Frenchmen like M. Hanotaux and M. Leroy-Beaulieu, a failure. Now under the system of Great Britain, she spends and her colonies do not contribute; she protects and they enjoy. A judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Mr. Cunningham, wrote in 1882, "we have definitely abandoned the idea that the political connection of England and India can be a source of direct gain to any public body or to the English nation."

Where, then, does the profit of a state in the matter of dependencies come in? It comes from the enlarged opportunity for the energies of its surplus youth, and in that stimulated trade which follows the flag. This is peculiarly true in the case of Great Britain. Her narrow limits at home offer but restricted opportunity for business and agricultural activities; while, on the other hand, her long supremacy in manufactures of certain kinds and her control of the carrying trade, enable her to take peculiar advantage of the traffic with her dependencies, by which example other nations like Germany have been tempted, to their hurt.

When we are forced by circumstances to study a form of government for our own dependencies, we turn naturally, therefore, to those British territories which most resemble