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Michael Onorato

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Texts and Documents

Leonard Wood as Governor General: A Calendar of Selected Correspondence

MICHAEL ONORATO

On October 6, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison, in his inaugural address as governor general, called the Filipino people to the task of making their country strong. The years that followed were difficult ones for the Philippines. The "New Era," as Harrison's term of office was known, was marked with bitterness, recriminations, and frustration. In 1921, a new administration in Washington brought changes to the Islands. A mission was sent to investigate conditions there and make recommendations for the future. That one of the investigators remained behind, much against his wishes, to become governor general is history. That he later accepted the resignations of the Filipino members of his cabinet, thus precipitating the cabinet crisis of July 17, 1923, is also history.

Five years ago, while at Georgetown University, I undertook, for a doctoral thesis, a study of the events that shaped the cabinet crisis of July 17, 1923. Since the completion of the thesis in 1960, I have been gathering for a future monograph about Leonard Wood as governor general as much manuscript material as is available in the United States. It was at this point, just about three years ago, that an article written by Mr. Victor Niemeyer in *Philippine Studies* caught my attention. It concerned the lack of source material in the Philippines relative to the American period. The subsequent pages are the products of a desire to share the efforts of five years of research.

Each of the collections used are accessible to scholars by means of microfilm and photostats. Therefore it should be easy for those interested in the Wood administration to acquire for themselves copies of the letters and memoranda that have been paraphrased below. In requesting copies, all that should be necessary is the date since most of the collections are filed chronologically, with few instances of alphabetical filing.

In an effort to keep this list of manuscript material relative to Wood's regime within reasonable limits, the years of his term of office (1921-1927) have been used as cut-off points. Moreover, the Wood Papers and Forbes Journals, except for the explanatory notes, will not be included in this list. The Wood Papers are too extensive; and the Forbes Journals, to my knowledge, are available in Manila.

Care has been taken in the summaries to maintain the tone of the letters and memoranda. Occasionally, quotations have been used to convey as accurately as possible the feelings of the writer.

The manuscript collection of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which is in Boston, is invaluable, especially with regard to China. Unfortunately, the correspondence from the Philippine missions during the twenties were not enriched with news of the political scene. Most of the letters dealt with the problems of mission life. The Newton D. Baker Papers, in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., contained only an occasional reference to the Philippines. The David P. Barrows Papers, in the University Archives, University of California (Berkeley campus), proved very revealing. Professor Barrows, in his published writings, was not noted for any particularly strong stance either for or against Philippine independence. His correspondence, however, revealed, especially for the period of 1924 to 1927, a strong disposition on his part to thwart the Filipino political leaders. The only limitation encountered with the Barrows collection was the lack of incoming correspondence. His responses were available, but not the stimuli. The Tasker H. Bliss Papers, in the Library of Congress, contained only a few letters regarding the Philippines during the twenties. The Calvin Coolidge Papers, in the Libra-

ry of Congress, had only a small file relative to Wood's efforts in the Philippines. In view of the circumstances, this was surprising. The Jacob M. Dickinson Papers, in the State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, contained only a few references to the Philippines. The Francis Burton Harrison Papers, in the Library of Congress, offers the Philippine scholar a valuable insight into the twenties. The only limitation, with regard to the Harrison collection, is the lack of Harrison's replies to letters written to him during the late twenties. Throughout the Harrison files for the 1920's, the scholar is confronted with favorable glimpses of Wood both before and after the cabinet crisis. The large number of letters in the Harrison files made it necessary to divide the selected correspondence roughly in half. The letters for the period between January, 1923 and 1927 will be presented later.

In the lists of selected correspondence to follow, the papers of J. Ralston Hayden, General Frank R. McCoy, Miss Katherine Mayo, Henry L. Stimson, William Howard Taft, and others will be presented. It is hoped that the pages below will prove valuable to those interested in Philippine-American relations during the twenties. For the selection of the letters and memoranda, the paraphrasing, and the explanatory notes, I am responsible.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions¹

Frank C. Laubach² to James L. Barton,³ July 23, 1923.

As a result of the government crisis,⁴ anti-American sentiment is running high. It is painful to see the deterioration of Filipino-American relations.

Julius S. Augur⁵ to Barton, August 29, 1924.

Mission headquarters in Boston should be prepared to celebrate President Coolidge's victory in the November elections by

¹ The American Board has been absorbed recently by the United Church Board for World Ministries which is in Boston.

² In July, 1923, Dr. Laubach was the dean of Union College in Manila.

³ The Foreign Secretary of the American Board for nearly three decades.

⁴ The Philippine Cabinet Crisis of July 17, 1923.

⁵ Protestant missionary in the Davao area.

gift for the missions. The President has a proper appreciation of Philippine problems.⁶

Florence L. Fox⁷ to Mable E. Emerson,⁸ March 7, 1927.

Political conditions in the Islands are extremely poor. Filipino Protestant "hotheads" are seeking independence.

Irving M. Channon⁹ to Barton, April 13, 1927.

The next five years will be important for the future of the Philippines. Moderate Protestants are the only Filipinos with the proper attitude towards independence. The Catholics and politicians seek freedom for their own ends.

Newton D. Baker Papers

Vicente Villamin¹⁰ to Newton D. Baker,¹¹ August 24, 1924.

Your letter to Francis Burton Harrison¹² in 1916 was very prophetic.¹³ May I have an interview?

⁶ Augur was referring, no doubt, to the President's refusal to remove Governor-General Leonard Wood; and the President's denial of Filipino readiness for independence.

⁷ Protestant missionary in the Philippines between 1920 and 1932.

⁸ The Foreign Secretary of the Women's Board for Foreign Missions.

⁹ Protestant missionary in the Philippines between 1920 and 1933.

¹⁰ A Filipino publicist who wrote many articles in the late twenties and thirties concerning the problem of Philippine independence. He was concerned more about the economic aspects of freedom than by the political questions involved in separation of the Philippines from the United States.

¹¹ Secretary of War during the Wilson Administration.

¹² Governor-General of the Philippine Islands between 1913 and 1921.

¹³ In transmitting the Jones Act to Governor-General Harrison, Secretary of War Baker, on August 18, 1916, sent along a rather lengthy letter of instructions. Harrison was cautioned against permitting the Filipinos any opportunity to subvert the Jones Act. Many critics of Harrison have claimed that the excesses of his administration stem from his apparent disregard for Baker's instructions. In the heat of the Philippine Cabinet Crisis of July, 1923, this letter was released by the War Department and given the widest possible circulation. In a memorandum to President Harding just three days after the crisis of July, 1923, the War Department pointed out that Harrison's disregard for Baker's instructions laid the foundation for the problems which Wood encountered. See Memorandum for the President on Resignation of Heads of Departments of the Philippine Government, July 20, 1923, Calvin Coolidge Papers.

Baker to Villamin, August 26, 1924.

I gave the Philippines all the time that could be spared during the World War. Since my return to private life I have not kept myself informed of Philippine matters. Therefore, an interview is impossible. As for my letter to Harrison, it contained instructions which were sound. I should point out that General Frank McIntyre¹⁴ had a hand in its preparation.

David Prescott Barrows Papers

David P. Barrows¹⁵ to Edward Landon,¹⁶ March 15, 1921.

It is good that Wood is going to the Philippines. It is possible, however, that he is the precursor to a Republican abandonment of the Islands. It would be disastrous if so. While our country would not support a vigorous restoration of American authority in the Islands, it would be ruinous to our influence in Asia to abandon the Philippines.

Barrows to Caspar W. Hodgson,¹⁷ May 13, 1921.

No sane man would accept the position of governor-general at this time.¹⁸ I do not want the post.

Barrows to Hodgson, July 9, 1922.

I do not want to be governor-general. The best man for the position is already out there. Osmeña, while in San Francisco, informed me that the leaders intend to yield very little to Wood.¹⁹

¹⁴ Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs for nearly three decades.

¹⁵ Director of Education in the Philippines between 1900 and 1910. He was a professor of Political Science at the University of California (Berkeley campus) for nearly a generation. A warm friend of the Filipinos, he was nevertheless their critic.

¹⁶ This writer has been unable to determine his relationship to Barrows.

¹⁷ President of the World Book Company. This firm sold textbooks for use in Philippine schools.

¹⁸ Leonard Wood was well aware of the cost to him when he resigned his army commission in order to become governor-general. See Leonard Wood to Albert R. Brunker, Personal, June 30, 1922, Leonard Wood Papers.

¹⁹ The Filipino leaders had no intention of allowing Wood to arbitrarily remove the benefits they took for themselves during the Harrison administration. See Manuel L. Quezon to Francis Burton Harrison, [September, 1921], Francis Burton Harrison Papers. Wood, however, was very conscious of the sensibilities of the leaders on this matter. Upon assuming office as governor-general, he urged President Harding to let the Filipinos solve their own problems with regard to the difficulties resulting from the Harrison era. See Wood to Warren G. Harding, November 2, 1921, Wood Papers.

Barrows to Hodgson, October 23, 1922.

The post of governor-general does sound intriguing. Most men, however, want to avoid the job because it is so far removed from the political scene here.²⁰

Barrows to Hodgson, January 15, 1923.

It is fortunate that Wood will stay in Manila.²¹ I have an appeal from him to awaken Americans to their responsibilities in the Islands.²²

Barrows to Daniel R. Williams,²³ October 10, 1924.

Perhaps a magazine devoted to the Philippines would arouse Americans to their responsibilities toward the Filipinos.²⁴

Barrows to Sir Hugh Clifford,²⁵ December 19, 1924.

Congress seems anxious to give the Filipinos their indepen-

²⁰ Henry L. Stimson was angry when he learned that president-elect Harding was attempting to induce General Wood to accept an appointment as governor-general. Such a post, Stimson argued, would place Wood some 13,000 miles away from Washington. See Henry L. Stimson to Wood, Personal and Confidential, January 31, 1921, Henry L. Stimson Papers.

²¹ In December, 1922, Wood resigned as provost of the University of Pennsylvania. His resignation was praised by the Filipino leaders. His decision to remain was regarded as a step toward closer collaboration between Filipinos and the governor-general. See Clyde H. Tavenner to Harrison, January 27, 1923, Harrison Papers. See also Wood to Quezon, December 14, 1922, Quezon to Wood, January 5, 1923, Wood Papers.

²² Wood was concerned, as were many Americans, with the lack of interest shown by their fellow citizens toward the Filipinos. As early as his first month in office, Wood began to appeal to American writers to take up the task of reporting the problems which faced the Filipinos. The first prominent writer to respond was Katherine Mayo. See the Wood correspondence in the Katherine Mayo Papers which are at the Yale University Library.

²³ The author of the caustic *The United States and the Philippines*.

²⁴ At the very time that Wood was endeavoring to induce writers to tell of American responsibilities in the Islands, the Filipino leaders were trying to get Americans to present their side of the picture. See Quezon to Moorfield Storey, August 4, 1922, Moorfield Storey Papers. See also the Jaime C. de Veyra correspondence in the George F. Parker Papers which are in the New York Public Library.

²⁵ A famed British colonial official. At the time he was governor of Nigeria.

dence.²⁶ The President, however, is fully aware of the situation in the Islands. The Democratic and Republican platforms with reference to Philippine independence were diametrically opposed. Yet, the issue of freedom caused little stir during the presidential campaign.²⁷ The Republican victory can be taken as a defeat for independence at the present time.²⁸

Barrows to Frank L. Crone,²⁹ June 30, 1925.

We must do something to inform the Americans of their responsibilities toward the Filipinos. The politicians want to "exploit their own people and gratify their own low instincts." We cannot turn over the Filipinos to a "corrupt oligarchy." Americans, however, do not "give a 'damn'."³⁰

Barrows to Leonard Wood, February 6, 1926.

I have devised a bill which will give the Philippines independence if the Filipinos ask for it. If this bill is accepted by Congress, the politicians will have to face the reality of complete and total independence. I hope that Congress will enact this bill. It should make your task much easier.

Barrows to W. E. McCulloch,³¹ March 17, 1926.

I believe that the experiment in granting representative gov-

²⁶ In the early part of 1924, the Filipino leaders had within their grasp the reality of congressional approval of Philippine commonwealth status as a prelude to full independence, if not independence itself at that time. Quezon's reluctance to pursue the Fairfield Bill brought the issue of independence to a stand-still for a while. See McIntyre-Wood correspondence in the Wood Papers for the period between March and July, 1924. See his Diary for the period between March and December, 1924. See also Eulogio B. Rodriguez to Harrison, September 9, 1924, Harrison Papers. See the files of the *Philippines Herald* for October and November, 1924.

²⁷ In a letter, Stephen Bonsal informed Harrison that the Filipino leaders made certain that the Democratic platform committee did not make any investigation of the Philippine question. The leaders, according to Bonsal, who was once executive-secretary to Governor-General Harrison, were soft-peddling the issue of independence. See Stephen Bonsal to Harrison, July 21, 1924, Harrison papers.

²⁸ See note 6.

²⁹ A former Director of Education in the Philippines. At the time he was with the World Book Company.

³⁰ For letters expressing similar sentiments, see Barrows to L. A. Gurney, September 11, 1925; Barrows to Daniel R. Williams, December 8, 1925; Barrows to W. E. McCulloch, March 17, 1926, Barrows Papers.

³¹ A British colonial administrator in Africa.

ernment to native peoples, especially the Filipinos, has gotten out of hand. The demands of the Filipino oligarchy know no bounds. Fortunately, the House of Representatives is studying the Philippine problem more carefully. In order to help the Congress I have proposed some legislation.³²

Barrows to Williams, November 13, 1926.

Do you think that the recent elections will result in remedial legislation for the Philippines? Something must be done to restore the office of the governor-general to the position desired by Congress in 1916. The Bacon Bill is good; and the establishment of a Moro Province under direct American rule should stop the independence movement for a while.

Barrows to Williams, January 11, 1927.

The Carmi A. Thompson Report was disappointing.³³ It gives the "enemies of American purposes" for the Islands a great deal of encouragement. We have got to counteract the effect of the Report.

Barrows to Herbert Hoover,³⁴ September 2, 1927.

I do not want to be governor-general. However, the man who is sent out there must have his government's support in the matter of American control of the Moros. He must also be able to make appointments to key posts regardless of Philippine senatorial opposition. There are certain positions which can be filled only by Americans.

Barrows to Bernard Moses,³⁵ September 7, 1927.

I am glad that Wood died as governor-general. The choice of his successor is very important. Congress and the American public have changed their opinion concerning the Islands. The Filipinos have hurt themselves by their extremism against

³² See Barrows to Wood, February 6, 1926.

³³ For similar reactions, see William H. Taft to Henry W. Taft, December 28, 1926; Stimson to Taft, January 20, 1927; Taft to Stimson, January 22, 1927; Williams to Taft, March 11, 1927; Taft to Williams, March 21, 1927, Wm. H. Taft Papers. The Taft-Stimson exchange will also be found in the Stimson Papers. See also Wood to Stimson, Personal, February 26, 1927, Stimson Papers.

³⁴ At the time he was Secretary of Commerce in the Coolidge Administration.

³⁵ A famous professor of Political Science at the University of California who was then in retirement.

Wood.³⁶ They have only themselves to blame if the American people turn deaf ear to independence.

Tasker Howard Bliss Papers

Tasker H. Bliss³⁷ to Bishop Charles H. Brent,³⁸ August 31, 1921.

I believe that there is nothing more patriotic than Wood accepting the post of governor-general. It is a shame that the Filipinos were given to believe that they could have early independence. It is unfortunate that Wood has inherited the problems left by Harrison.

Calvin Coolidge Papers

Memorandum for the President on Resignation of Heads of Departments of the Philippine Government, July 20, 1923.³⁹

The Filipino leaders assert that Wood has violated Act 2803 of the Philippine Legislature. This Act, however, is illegal. The actions of the Filipinos during the Harrison era brought about conditions which made a misunderstanding inevitable. The admonitions of Secretary of War Baker to Harrison in 1916 concerning strict adherence to the Jones Act were in vain. Harrison, contrary to instructions, allowed the political leaders to assume powers not granted to them by the Jones Act. Wood's resistance to the continued encroachment of the Filipinos has been correct and must be supported. The conclusion that we can draw from these efforts to change the Jones Act is that the Filipinos were dissatisfied with the Act. They tried to make it perform as they wanted through the medium of local legislation. That Wood has resisted can not be regarded as taking a "backward step" unless adherence to law is so regarded. The [War] Department has sent Wood a message of support which he can show Quezon and Osmeña if necessary. The instructions of Secretary Baker should have been heeded.

John W. Weeks to Warren G. Harding, July 23, 1923.

The Filipino leaders complain that Wood, however, is in the right. In fact, his position must be protected if we are to help the Filipinos. Moreover, they are complaining that Wood is

³⁶ See Taft to Jacob M. Dickinson, August 14, 1927, Taft Papers. See also R. A. Duckworth-Ford to Stimson, August 8, 1927, Stimson Papers.

³⁷ A former military governor of the Moro Province.

³⁸ A former Episcopalian bishop of the Philippines. At the time he was Episcopal Bishop of Western New York.

³⁹ In two weeks President Harding would be succeeded by Vice-President Calvin Coolidge.

acting in a high-handed manner and doing the work of subordinates.

E. Finley Johnson⁴⁰ to Harding, Personal and Confidential, July 27, 1923.

It is said that the leaders will be going to Washington to complain about Wood. Their expenses will be paid out of the public treasury. As for their complaints against Wood, they are the result of his efforts not to allow a break between himself and the leaders. The politicians have taken his patience as a sign of weakness. They felt that they could control him if they wished.

Harry M. Daugherty⁴¹ to the President, October 9, 1923.

I am afraid to give Wood a sweeping vote of confidence. He might use it as a *carter-blanche* for everything else he did.

Quezon and Roxas to Guevara,⁴² cable, October 18, 1923.

We dislike the way Wood handled the Administration's recent message of support.⁴³ Moreover, we regard the following as necessary for the restoration of good relations between ourselves and the governor-general: the preamble to the Jones Act should be the guide to Wood's actions; the governor-general should abide by Act 2803; the governor-general should accept the advice of the Council of State; there should be a limitation on the veto power; there should be no military advisers; there should be no appointments made unless recommended by department heads; the governor-general should stop attempting to get the government out of business; and, lastly, the governor-general should execute laws until they are declared unconstitutional.

Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Secretary of War, Memorandum, October 22, 1923.⁴⁴

The preamble to the Jones Act certainly does not justify any departure from the body of the Act. Moreover, Wood has shown

⁴⁰ A Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court.

⁴¹ Attorney-General of the United States.

⁴² Resident Commissioner to the United States.

⁴³ On October 11, 1923, Washington sent Wood a strong note of support which was to be read to several of the Filipino leaders. Wood, who had contributed portions of the message (see Wood cablegram book for September 27, October 3, 1923), did as he was instructed. Instead of the note remaining secret as desired by the leaders, as well as Wood, the press carried the text of the message to the chagrin of the politicians.

⁴⁴ This memorandum is a point by point critique of the cable sent by Quezon and Roxas to Guevara.

his respect for the Act by his adherence to it. As for Act 2803 of the Philippine Legislature, Wood would have to obey it if it were constitutional. Concerning the Council of State, it was the creation of Harrison who had no intention of allowing himself to become subordinated to it. His own book points this out.⁴⁵ As for the veto, its use has been established by law. We can not bind the governor-general to some rule in violation of the Jones Act. With regard to the army officers who are attached to the governor-general, they are not there in the capacity of advisors. However, it is impossible to stop Wood from listening to their suggestions. As for appointments, the governor-general has that power; moreover, the extent to which he shall accept the advice of his department heads is up to him. Regarding Wood's efforts to get the government out of business, the cablegram of October 11 has taken care of that problem.⁴⁶ As for Wood obeying an act until it is declared unconstitutional, the question is whether Act 2803 is constitutional. Furthermore, no executive can obey an unconstitutional law just because it has not been declared as such.

W. Cameron Forbes to Coolidge, Personal and Confidential, December 21, 1923.

If you ask the politicians to state one instance of Wood overreaching his authority, they will counter with generalities. They want him out because he is doing his duty. As for independence, the Filipinos truly want it. The question is when and how. In short, they are divided on this all-important issue.

A. Lawrence Lowell⁴⁷ to Coolidge, January 5, 1924.

The best way for a native political leader to acquire notoriety is for him to attack the colonial governor. He can say and promise anything because he knows that he will not be called upon to fulfill what he has promised.

⁴⁵ See *The Corner-stone of Philippine Independence: A Narrative of Seven Years* (New York: The Century Co., 1922), pp. 212-213.

⁴⁶ The fact that Washington felt obliged to make some gesture to Filipino complaints about Wood's efforts to get the government out of business has been interpreted by some as a reprimand. See Ernest Westerhouse to Harrison, October 28, 1923, Harrison Papers. Yet, it is curious that Wood, who was urged to make suggestions concerning the October 11 note, did not request the removal of any reference to his efforts on behalf of removing the government from business. He must have known that the inclusion of such references would be viewed as a command from Washington to keep the Philippine government in business.

⁴⁷ At the time, the president of Harvard University.

Coolidge to Lowell, January 9, 1924.

A parliamentary system of government similar to that of Canada is possible only with a people like the Canadians. As for Wood, I have confidence in him.

Henry L. Stimson to Coolidge, March 6, 1924.

As a friend of Wood, I thank you for your support of his administration.⁴⁸

Moorfield Storey⁴⁹ to Coolidge, March 6, 1924.

I believe that your letter to the Philippine Mission was downright smug. In fact, it was insolent and will be irritating to the Filipinos.⁵⁰ You have through your letter cast an indirect veto concerning the independence deliberations now going on in Congress.⁵¹

Lebbeus R. Wilfley⁵² to Coolidge, March 8, 1924.

Your message was the ablest state paper since Elihu Root wrote McKinley's instructions to the first Philippine Commission.

Coolidge to Stimson, March 10, 1924.

Your letter was appreciated. Of all those written congratulating me, I prize yours highly.

Leonard Wood to Coolidge, September 16, 1925.

There may be differences of opinion relative to our being in the Islands. But here we are and we must see through to the end the task we have assumed. It must not be abandoned just yet.

Dwight F. Davis⁵³ to Coolidge, August 30, 1927.

Commissioner Guevara visited me yesterday to discuss confidentially the possibility of appointing an army officer as the next governor-general. The leaders want to show that they are not opposed to officers but only to Wood. He said that Filipinos

⁴⁸ On March 5, President Coolidge's strong note of support for the Wood administration which had been given to Roxas, who was the head of the Philippine Mission seeking Wood's recall, was released to the public.

⁴⁹ The foremost member of the Anti-imperialist League.

⁵⁰ Professor George M. Dutcher considered Coolidge's message the harshest ever sent by an American president to the Filipino people. See *The Political Awakening of the East* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1925), p. 295. This writer concurs in this view. It was, in fact, far too harsh for the circumstances.

⁵¹ See note 26.

⁵² Once Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands.

⁵³ Secretary of War in the Coolidge Administration.

are ready to pass a resolution urging the appointment of an officer whom he named. I asked that he not do this as it could embarrass all concerned. But the significance of this revelation is that all the talk about Wood's militarism and cavalry cabinet was so much political propaganda directed against Wood. Moreover, little of it was ever taken seriously in the Islands as it was in the States. I always believed this to be true, but was glad to receive this affirmation. Guevara even offered through interview or resolution to state that the leaders were not opposed to army officers. I pointed out, however, that they might be embarrassed in view of their recent fight against militarism. As I see it, the politicians want to cooperate. They have gotten nowhere by not cooperating; and, finally, they want it now to appear that their refusal to cooperate was due to Wood.⁵⁴

Jacob McGavock Dickinson Papers

Leonard Wood to Jacob M. Dickinson,⁵⁵ November 25, 1921.

The situation out here is worse than you can ever imagine. They have even tried to curtail the office of the governor-general. I hold that no one but Congress can amend the Jones Act.⁵⁶ Our Report will be written so as to show the good qualities of the Filipinos while at the same time demonstrating the faults of the previous eight years. All the data we have collected will be stored in Washington to be used if necessary.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ In a letter to Stimson a few weeks after Wood's death, Acting Governor-General Eugene A. Gilmore wrote that the politicians were trying to use his predecessor's death to effect a reconciliation with the President. See Gilmore to Stimson, Confidential, September 3, 1927, Stimson Papers.

⁵⁵ A former Secretary of War in the Taft Administration.

⁵⁶ In a letter written nearly three years earlier to the publisher of *Asia*, a monthly pictorial journal, Professor Barrows expressed pity for the Filipino politicians who believed that they could change the Jones Act by local legislation and precedent. See Barrows to Louis D. Froelick, September 22, 1919, Barrows Papers. Four years after Barrows had written that letter, Secretary of War John W. Weeks in a memorandum to President Harding expressed the same sentiment. See Memorandum for the President on Resignations of Heads of Departments of the Philippine Government, July 20, 1923, Coolidge Papers.

⁵⁷ William Cameron Forbes in a cable to Wood warned him to prevent any vigorous attack of the Wood-Forbes Mission Report. If the politicians, Forbes warned, continued to disclaim the validity of the Report, all the evidence would be released. See Forbes to Wood, Confidential, cable, November 15, 1921, Wood Cablegram Book, Wood Papers.

Dickinson to Wood, June 23, 1925.

I do not believe that the Filipino people can ever be educated for self-government. Will it ever be possible for us to leave the Philippines?

Dickinson to Wood, June 25, 1925.

I am convinced that the Filipinos can never be trained for self-government. My opinion has been confirmed by your 1923 Report. I might come out.

Dickinson to Wood, September 16, 1925.

In my recent conversation with Taft, he praised your administration. He admires the good work you are doing.

William H. Taft to Dickinson, August 14, 1927.

I am distressed by Wood's death. His last six years were the noblest of his purposeful life. These years were difficult ones. His devotion to duty will be equalled by few.

Francis Burton Harrison Papers

Leonard Wood to Francis B. Harrison, Personal, April 1, 1921.

Since you have been in the Islands for the last eight years, would you give me some suggestions as to what the Mission should keep in mind during its investigation?

Manuel L. Quezon to Harrison, July 11, 1921.

When the Mission arrived it received nothing more than an official reception. I have been officially polite to the Mission, especially in view of my relationship to Governor Forbes.⁵⁸ From newspaper clippings I am sending, you will find that Forbes has given you credit for the good relations existing between Filipinos and Americans. As for conditions here, the Philippine National Bank is in trouble. This should be the only institution that the Mission will be able to criticize. The Americans still hate you while the Filipinos are still for you. I am off to Washington in order to rest and also to see the President. I have apologized to Justice E. Finley Johnson for criticizing him after his statement concerning your administration. He appealed to me as a fellow Mason to write the apology. This letter has been dictated in haste as you can see.

Quezon to Harrison, [September, 1921].

I am hurrying home to be on hand for the start of the new administration. In America I gave out that if Wood was good enough to become president he was good enough to be governor-

⁵⁸ The relations between Quezon and Forbes were strained even prior to the latter's term of office as governor-general.

general. I told Harding that it was good that Wood would be in the Islands for only one year. It very well may be that Wood will turn out to be an excellent choice. As a temporary appointee with ambitions in the direction of the White House, he will certainly try to create a favorable impression of his administration.⁵⁹ He may be, in fact, an excellent choice as your successor.⁶⁰ I intend to be on my guard however. The chairmen of both the House and Senate Committees on Insular Affairs have assured me that nothing will be done to deprive the Filipino people of the powers they now enjoy. The President assured me that there would be no "backward step."⁶¹ I am now satisfied that the Philippine Senate will be retained and that the governor-general will have to work with it. I will cooperate with Wood as long as he favors the people and their interests. As you know I have "no personal desires or ambitions to gratify." I will support any chief executive who serves my country well. It is obvious that independence is impossible; moreover, we have to adopt a program of postponing our demands for the moment. Yet, I feel that if I were in the States for several years I might bring Congress around to action. But, unfortunately, there are matters to attend to here. The time is ripe, however, for a publicity campaign.⁶² The Americans have been conditioned by the past administration to accept Filipino independence. But

⁵⁹ Wood was well aware that whatever he did his career was in jeopardy. See Wood to Brunker, Personal, June 30, 1922. Wood Papers. Clyde H. Tavenner informed Harrison that Wood killed any chance he might have had for the presidency in 1924. See Tavenner to Harrison, December 16, 1921. Two months after the Cabinet Crisis of July 17, 1923, William H. Taft informed Charles D. Hilles, a Republican national committeeman, that Wood killed any hope of his nomination in 1924. See Taft to Hilles, September 8, 1923, Taft Papers.

⁶⁰ Wood, while still a member of the Mission, made it very evident that he had no intentions of conducting witchhunts. See the July, 1921 files of *La Vanguardia* (Manila) and the November, 1921 files of the *Philippines Herald* (Manila).

⁶¹ As early as January 20, 1921, Forbes wrote to president-elect Harding to say that "no backward step" should be taken with the privileges granted to the Filipinos by Congress. See Forbes to Harding, January 20, 1921, *Forbes Journal, Second Series*, II, 33-34, Library of Congress.

⁶² The issue of the Philippine Senate's Powers, especially with regard to approval or disapproval of the appointees of the governor-general, drew the fire of many Americans. See Barrows to Herbert Hoover, September 2, 1927, Barrows Papers.

⁶³ See note 24.

there are forces at work to prevent this. The Forbes Mission will return a verdict which will suit these people. Yet, I believe so firmly in the goodness of the American people that if I were to start a campaign I would have our enemies on the run. Unfortunately, we might be misunderstood and thus alienate forever the American people. My relations with Osmeña are growing worse. He is exceedingly ambitious. You and I are in part responsible for this. I am afraid that Wood might try to play us off against each other. He will not succeed.⁶⁴ The people are still with you. Your enemies think that they can curry favor with Wood and Forbes by speaking against you. If only the Philippine National Bank were in good shape then the Mission would have nothing to criticize. You and I knew that the Bank would be our "Waterloo." Representative James Frear⁶⁵ said that Walter Robb⁶⁶ has betrayed you by speaking ill of you to congressmen.⁶⁷ You have been a friend.⁶⁸ Please write whenever you have an opportunity.

Clyde H. Tavenner⁶⁹ to Harrison, December 16, 1921.

Any ambitions Wood might have had were ruined when he accepted the post of governor-general.⁷⁰ When he returns he will find that the image he had during the presidential campaign will have been destroyed. He will not be the efficient Army man who had democratic leanings. Instead he will find himself portrayed as an autocrat.

⁶⁴ Wood, on the contrary, urged Quezon and Osmeña to draw together—to bury their differences, especially then—for the sake of the Philippines. See entry for December 26, 1921 and entry for January 4, 1922, Wood Diary, Wood Papers.

⁶⁵ He was very sympathetic toward Filipino independence.

⁶⁶ He was a free-lance correspondent and a long-time resident in the Philippines. Robb was also secretary of the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila.

⁶⁷ Robb very definitely played an ambiguous role during the twenties. In 1923 he was sympathetic to Wood; yet three years later he would be accusing Wood of militarism.

⁶⁸ Quezon will later honor Harrison by having him assist in the preparation of *The Good Fight*.

⁶⁹ A former congressman who joined the Philippine Press Bureau in Washington. He later became embittered with the lack of zeal for independence on the part of the politicians. See Tavenner to Harrison, Personal and Confidential, October 5, 1928, Harrison Papers.

⁷⁰ See note 59.

C. W. Franks⁷¹ to Harrison, January 14, 1922.

The people have accepted the Wood-Forbes Mission Report without argument. A few politicians, however, have raised some objections on the grounds of principle. The legislature has done nothing due to the struggle between Quezon and Osmeña. Wood has three army officers as non-official advisors. None of them wear their uniforms. They have not worn them since Wood became governor-general.⁷² It seems that Osmeña felt that the time was right to rid himself of Quezon. He was planning to do so at the Nacionalista convention. Quezon, however, appealed to his colleagues in the Senate and won. The ostensible point of friction is the presidency of the Nacionalista party. Osmeña wants one man authority while Quezon seeks an executive council. At the last moment, however, Quezon was betrayed and Osmeña's view prevailed in the Nacionalista party. Quezon, due to poor health, resigned as president of the Senate. His resignation was refused. All indications point to a new party led by Quezon consisting of young men from the Nacionalista as well as from the Democrata party. This new party will have strength in Manila but Osmeña will take the countryside. Wood has not accepted the resignations of the department secretaries.⁷³ The new vice-governor is Eugene A. Gilmore of the University of Wisconsin.

Franks to Harrison, February 3, 1922.

It seems that an audit of the Manila Railroad has shown that its difficulties were due to political interference. Westerhouse⁷⁴ did not deny this allegation. He was removed by the directors for not having revealed the interference. Wood, however, was willing to retain him. As for the Wood-Forbes Mission

⁷¹ Executive Secretary to the governor-general. He served both Harrison and Wood.

⁷² By 1924, General Frank R. McCoy had become angry at being accused of parading himself about Manila in his uniform. In a terse letter to General McIntyre, McCoy stated that he had not worn his uniform while in the Philippines since Wood had become governor-general. See McCoy to McIntyre, May 9, 1924, Frank R. McCoy Papers.

⁷³ Wood inherited his cabinet from his predecessor. His retention of Harrison's appointees aggravated many American businessmen in the Islands. See Colin MacRae Hoskins to Harrison, February 17, 1922, Harrison Papers.

⁷⁴ He was at one time the general manager of the Manila Railroad.

Report, it seems that the politicians, despite their gift for debating, have declined to undertake a serious attack against the Report.⁷⁵

Colin MacRae Hoskins⁷⁶ to Harrison, February 17, 1922.

Westerhouse has been forced out of the Manila Railroad by a combination of Quezon, Hartigan, and others. When Quezon heard that Wood was willing to let Westerhouse remain as general manager, he figured that he had been betrayed. Quezon seems to be against anyone Wood is for. Both Wood and Osmeña were angry when they learned that Colonel Henry B. McCoy⁷⁷ was appointed acting general manager. The Republicans here are far from satisfied with Wood. He became furious when the American Chamber of Commerce here sent that cablegram⁷⁸ stating that American investments in the Islands were unsafe. He is also disliked because he has not fired Filipinos from the bureaus, nor appointed a new cabinet, nor has he abolished the Council of State,⁷⁹ nor has he advocated permanent retention of the Philippines. The American Chamber of Commerce in an effort to foist its views on Washington has asked for the removal of McIntyre and his replacement by General McCoy. The Filipinos are generally enthusiastic about the new administration. Quezon sometimes bucks Wood but Osmeña will help when he thinks the proposed action is good. The people generally speaking regard Wood as a great man because of his past record. All this may change however.

⁷⁵ It is very possible that the injunction laid down by Forbes in late 1921 was remembered by the politicians. C. H. Tavenner, in 1928, informed Harrison that the leaders did not support Harrison's administration because they wanted to curry favor with the Republican party. See Tavenner to Harrison, Personal and Confidential, October 5, 1928, Harrison Papers. It is also probable that the Quezon-Osmeña split absorbed the interests of the Filipinos.

⁷⁶ An American businessman in Manila.

⁷⁷ The leading Republican in the Islands. He was the party chairman for the Philippines.

⁷⁸ In an effort to embarrass the Harding Administration into a definite course of action with regard to the Philippines, the American Chamber of Commerce sent a cable on October 24, 1921. The cable intimated that American investments were unsafe in the Islands due to the uncertainty concerning Filipino freedom. For Wood's reaction see Wood Diary, Wood Papers.

⁷⁹ Wood, curiously enough, considered the council of state to be a worthwhile instrument through which legislative and executive leaders could meet and discuss important matters. See Wood to Weeks, November 1, 1921, Wood Papers. See also Rafael Palma to Harrison, April 22, 1924, Harrison Papers.

Isauro Gabaldon⁸⁰ to Harrison, April 6, 1922.

The fight which resulted in the Quezon-Osmeña split began in November. The Democrata party⁸¹ favors Quezon.

Harrison to Gabaldon, April 23, 1922.

Since Quezon came into his own as a political leader, there has been a growing divergence between his methods and those of Osmeña. I found it increasingly difficult, in view of Quezon's closeness to my political principles, to maintain my contact with Osmeña. In fact, it is wonderful that the three of us were able to get along as long as we did. It was inevitable that some break should occur. It is difficult, however, to believe that Quezon and Osmeña would leave the Islands at such a critical point in their careers and that of their country.⁸² I doubt if their mission will accomplish anything.⁸³

Harrison to Quezon, Personal, April 23, 1922.

I have watched the establishment of your party with interest and I congratulate you. This was inevitable; and I am glad that it came on the grounds of principle rather than personal ambition. As I am so far from the scene it is difficult to understand what is meant by "colectivistas" and "unipersonalistas." No doubt those in the Islands are more aware of their meaning. I wish you and your followers all success possible. It is important that two strong parties develop. I believe that this would mean political progress for your people.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Resident Commissioner to the United States.

⁸¹ The leading opposition party to the Nacionalistas. The Democratas were more anti-Osmeña and his Nacionalista machine than they were pro-Quezon. Any discord in the Nacionalista ranks was welcomed by the Democratas.

⁸² Wood urged Quezon to stay in the Islands in order to wage a vigorous campaign against the Osmeña machine. Quezon, however, felt that it was impossible to allow Osmeña a free hand in the United States. See entries for April 3, 4, and 28, 1922, Wood Diary, Wood Papers.

⁸³ Quezon and Osmeña did not expect to achieve independence as a result of their mission. However, they did feel that they had to go for political reasons. See Quezon to Charles Edward Russell, Confidential, cable, April 18, 1922, Charles Edward Russell Papers. See also entry for April 27, 1922, Wood Diary, Wood Papers.

⁸⁴ Wood, as did Harrison, urged the establishment of two viable political parties. See entry for September 9, 1926, Wood Diary, Wood Papers.

Harrison to Jaime C. de Veyra,⁸⁵ April 24, 1922

I am very glad that the Quezon-Osmeña break has been along political lines. In the past few years, it became obvious that two strong-willed men such as Quezon and Osmeña were working in an "unnatural partnership." In the past, the opposition was weak and resorted to poisonous attacks. It is interesting to note that Charles Edward Russell⁸⁶ wrote a book on the Philippines for the Century Company. His *The Outlook for the Philippines* and mine deal with the same subject matter. Yet, curiously enough, he makes no reference to me. Thank him for writing an excellent work.

Harrison to E. W. Wilson,⁸⁷ Confidential, April 25, 1922.

I would appreciate being kept informed of developments in the Quezon-Osmeña split and the progress of the Manila Railroad and National Coal Company. Now that I am out of public office I would like to invest some money in the Islands. Could you advise me?

Gabaldon to Harrison, April 27, 1922.

It is impossible to understand how Quezon can risk a trip to the United States at this time. He does not have a party machine like Osmeña. All that the Mission will do is spotlight the Philippines and perhaps help both men in the June elections. But nobody in the Harding Administration is for independence. Wood, moreover, intends to administer the government according to the Jones Act. I am certain that only the Democratic party will grant independence to the Islands.

Gabaldon to Harrison, May 11, 1922.

We have decided to undertake a vigorous program of propaganda designed to bring the independence question to a head.

Ralph W. Jones⁸⁸ to Harrison, May 12, 1922.

Wood has done a conscientious job but he will have to leave soon or else give up his post at the University of Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ Major E. Alexander Powell, who had the use of the government

⁸⁵ Resident Commissioner to the United States.

⁸⁶ A noted publicist, who, for many years, worked for the Philippine Press Bureau in Washington.

⁸⁷ The general manager of the Philippine National Bank.

⁸⁸ A minor civil servant in the Philippine Government.

⁸⁹ Throughout the early part of 1922 Wood was under extreme pressure from the University of Pennsylvania to take up his duties as Provost. The Harding Administration, on the other hand, was as equally insistent that he remain as governor-general.

cutter in order to go to Singapore, has shown himself to be very unappreciative.⁹⁰

Harrison to Gabaldon, May 24, 1922.

I agree with you concerning Don Manuel's visit to Washington just before the elections. He must be very confident of his ability to win. But then maybe he does not want to win full control of the legislature at this point. If he did he would either have to work with the governor-general or fight him. It will be impossible for me to live down the bitterness of my administration.

George H. Fairchild⁹¹ to Harrison, May 18, 1922.

As usual we are finding it difficult to rein in those who advocate "complete, immediate, and absolute independence." Wood is doing the best he can to improve conditions here under the circumstances. I am certain that Mrs. Wood would like to choke us for asking him to stay for a year.

Ernest Westerhouse to Harrison, May 20, 1922.

It seems that Forbes wanted to be governor-general again but that the people wanted Wood. It appears that the Quezon-Osmeña split was merely a trick to undermine the Wood administration and harass it. As for my dismissal from the railroad it seems that Quezon wanted me out. While Wood was willing to help me, I felt that there was no need to pursue the matter. I am afraid that you have given the Filipinos credit for more ability than they possess. From all signs Quezon's popularity is declining. His chance for a comeback will be to attack Wood which he is doing now. Osmeña will probably control both houses after June. I do not think that Quezon will develop the progressive elements.

Wilson to Harrison, Personal and Confidential, July 14, 1922.

When you left the Islands in March 1921 the Philippine National Bank was in a desperate situation. There was hardly sufficient funds to satisfy our depositors. One of the most difficult jobs I had in the months that followed was to convince Acting Governor-General Yeater of the possibility of saving the Bank. The Shanghai branch has been closed as the result of the scandal there. And General Concepcion and the others who were responsible for the losses of the Bank have been tried and sen-

⁹⁰ His book *Asia at the Crossroads*, which was published by The Century Company in 1922, was hardly complimentary to the Harrison regime. The Century Company also published Harrison's and Russell's books.

⁹¹ The publisher of the *Manila Times*.

tenced. I do not know if you are familiar with Wood but he is strictly a military man. However, he has done some good; and if he does all that the press says he will do, then the millennium will be proclaimed soon in the Islands. There is no question that the Report has been a hardship to him. In many respects it is correct; but any survey made when a country is in a depression will read poorly. On September 19, 1921, Secretary of War Weeks informed Wood that the Philippine government should get out of business as soon as it was feasible. Wood has tried desperately to fulfill those instructions but has failed thus far. My relationship with Wood has been strictly business. I do not think that he will return to the States. I think that he might become an effective governor-general if he does not attempt the impossible. But whatever he does or does not do, everyone will be able to read about it in the press.⁹²

Quezon to Harrison, July 16, 1922.

The break which you predicted in your book⁹³ has finally occurred. Wood precipitated the clash when he sent in his nominations without first having received the assent of the Senate. However, the real reason for the split is the fact that elements in the Nacionalista party could no longer stand Osmeña's conservatism. The title of my party—Colectivista—means that responsibility will be collective rather than limited to one person. Now that the issue has been settled by the election it is imperative that some coalition be formed in order to oppose the Democratas.⁹⁴

T. H. Pardo de Tavera to Harrison, July 19, 1922.

The harmony which existed during your administration has disappeared because of Filipino disbelief in the American policy for the Philippines. Wood, however, is a good man who has earned the confidence of the people. The government thanks to his efforts has been good. When he leaves, the legislature will put itself in conflict with the policies of Harding.

⁹² Wood was determined to keep the Filipinos informed on their government. He was convinced that an enlightened public was a necessary factor for the creation of a Philippine nation. See Wood to Guy Murchie, September 30, 1922; Wood to Luther Parker, Personal, November 16, 1923, Wood Papers.

⁹³ *The Corner-stone of Philippine Independence.*

⁹⁴ As early as July, 1922, Quezon contemplated a coalition of his and Osmeña's party. This action eventually taken on sound political grounds was nevertheless viewed by some as proof that the split was meaningless.

Moorfield Storey to de Veyra, July 29, 1922.

We must start a vigorous propaganda effort; and Governor-General Harrison's book should be circulated widely.

R. M. McCrory⁹⁵ to Harrison, Personal and Confidential, August 5, 1922.

Wood has done considerably well in view of the fact that he can not do things as if he were a dictator. As for the Bank, you were right when you told me of the impending disaster. The Bank right now is being run by an excellent fellow—Mr. E. W. Wilson. As for the political split, we, who are against independence, are awaiting the return of Quezon and Osmeña to see what they will do in the next legislature. You know my views regarding independence. We should stop linking "fitness" to the question of freedom. It is an insult to the Filipinos who are more than fit to rule themselves.⁹⁶ I say that we should tell them simply that for their own good and ours we intend to retain sovereignty. Wood is appreciative of help and has the respect of the leaders. I am not trying to anger you, but what will happen out here once independence comes? Will the Philippines be financially sound? Right now we are just about over the worst of last year's crisis. If the United States was not around to help, what would have happened out here? The leaders had no idea of what to do except to turn to Washington for the money to save the Philippines. And yet, at the very moment when American bankers were purchasing Philippine bonds only because Washington had guaranteed them, the Second Independence Mission descended upon the United States seeking freedom. This action, in my mind, hurt any chances they might have had at the present moment.

De Veyra to Harrison, October 12, 1922.

Major E. W. Powell's work *Asia at the Crossroads* is very critical of Filipino independence. I have no news from the Philippines. However, I have learned that Quezon will be the president of the Senate. The question of a speaker for the lower house is a difficult one. Claro Recto will be the probable candidate of the Democratas. The Colectivistas are thinking about Alas or Roxas. These three men are of the new generation which is shaped in the American image. Our friend C. Carson is in the Philippines accompanied by George F. Parker,⁹⁷ a

⁹⁵ An American businessman in Manila.

⁹⁶ On August 6, 1921, Forbes in a letter warned Secretary of War Weeks never to impute Filipino lack of fitness. To do so, he said, was an insult. See Forbes to Weeks, August 6, 1921, *Forbes Journal, Second Series*, II, 160-161, Library of Congress.

veteran publicist. It is hoped that Parker will be able to advise us on a campaign. It is also thought that maybe his visit might re-awaken Wood's presidential ambitions. He was Wood's publicity man. As for Wood's intentions to stay or leave no one knows. A recent cable from Quezon states that he is certain that the governor-general will remain.

Westerhouse to Harrison, November 8, 1922.

Quezon and Osmeña have re-united as Liberals and Nationalists. This seems to bear out my contention that the split was done merely to embarrass Wood.⁹⁷ If so, they have done well. Businessmen in the Islands have written me that conditions there are bad; and that Wood's public relations efforts have done nothing to alleviate the situation.

De Veyra to Harrison, November 9, 1922.

The victory of the Progressives in the United States this past Tuesday might prove important to Filipino independence. Word has arrived that Manuel Roxas was elected speaker after a week's deadlock. The need for a coalition between Quezon and Osmeña was apparent after the deadlock. It was their "entente cordiale" that made possible the selection of Roxas. We have received word that a fusion of both parties is practically done. The legislature will be able to function now as a result of this "modus vivendi."

W. Morgan Shuster⁹⁹ to Harrison, December 8, 1922.

It looks as if Quezon will have his hands full. Wood has decided to stay in Manila.

James Ross¹⁰⁰ to Harrison, December 18, 1922.

The Wood-Forbes Report has been a definite handicap to Wood. The governor-general has good intentions but he is running into trouble with Manuel. However, Wood has backed down and has seen his errors. I have tried recently to get Manuel to agree with us that a convention is needed to settle the Philippine question. The governor-general was against the idea however. As for Manuel, I have been impressed by his recent victory at the polls. Yet, he is not the most important man in this country. He is now overworking himself trying to get first place.

⁹⁷ For the negotiations relative to Parker's employment as a public relations consultant, see the files of George F. Parker, Manuscript Room, New York Public Library.

⁹⁸ See Westerhouse to Harrison, May 20, 1922.

⁹⁹ The president of the Century Company.

¹⁰⁰ An American businessman in the Islands.

Wilson to Westerhouse, Personal, December 16, 1922.

They say that no bill has been voted on by the legislature since it met. The people are quite fortunate that none of the proposed bills have been passed. Maybe it is a good thing that nothing has been done. As for Wood, I think that we are grooming the 1924 presidential candidate. As you know Wood has tried to close the Bank but has failed due to legislative opposition. Yet, despite our disagreements over the Bank, we are on good terms.