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Michael Onorato

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Texts & Documents

Leonard Wood as Governor General: A Calendar of Selected Correspondence. Part 3

MICHAEL ONORATO

In this third installment of the four-part series of selected manuscripts relative to Leonard Wood, the papers of General Frank R. McCoy, the Philippine correspondence of George F. Parker, the files of General John J. Pershing, the papers of Charles Edward Russell, the collection of Jacob Gould Schurman, and the files of Albert Shaw are examined. As before, the numbers for the explanatory notes follow in consecutive sequence in order to facilitate references to Parts One and Two.

The files of the late General Frank R. McCoy, which are in the Library of Congress, are extremely rewarding. McCoy, who had been Wood's aide-de-camp for many years, was closely involved with Philippine matters, especially in the early years of Wood's administration. His open loyalty to Wood, coupled with his objective handling of Philippine problems, brings to the Philippine historian an unusual insight into that period of Wood's regime. It is unfortunate that he left Manila in late 1925; and from that time until the death in August 1927 of his former chief, McCoy's files lack anything significant concerning the Philippines. One serious drawback to the McCoy papers is the lack of copies of his correspondence. According to his wife, who was interviewed by this writer, McCoy did not know how to type. Thus,

as in the case of Barrows and in some instances Harrison, we have the stimuli but not the responses.

The Philippine correspondence of New York publicist George F. Parker can be found in the Manuscript Room of the New York Public Library. The entire collection consists of two large cartons. This file of Philippine material, when considered from the standpoint of the whole of Wood's regime, is not very important. When the collection is viewed as the record of an attempt by certain interests to induce Wood to a particular course of action then it has some value.

The papers of General John J. Pershing, which are in the Library of Congress, contain very little reference to Wood or his administration. Pershing, who had served under Wood and had considered him a rival during World War I, had little interest in Wood's Philippine career.

Except for the letters cited below the papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt in Hyde Park, New York, do not contain anything for the period of the twenties relative to the Philippines.

The Elihu Root files in the Library of Congress are not particularly rewarding for the Wood era.

The papers of Charles Edward Russell, which are in the Library of Congress, contain very few references to Leonard Wood or the Philippines. And despite Russell's interest in Philippine matters the only substantial amount of material relative to the Islands in the collection are his notebooks. Unfortunately, his notes are not interpretative; they are strictly informative.

Jacob Gould Schurman, who had the distinction of being the chairman of the first commission to the Philippines, a minister to China, an ambassador to pre-Hitlerian Germany, and the president of Cornell University, left his papers to Cornell, with which he had been so long associated. It is unfortunate that the collection should contain so little information relative to the Philippines. In view of Schurman's earlier connections with the Islands, this is strange.

The files of Albert Shaw, the noted editor of the *Review of Reviews*, can be found in the Manuscript Room of the

New York Public Library. The only serious drawback to the Shaw collection is its size and arrangement. Fortunately, most of the Philippine material found in the Shaw papers deal with requests to do articles concerning Wood and/or the political situation in Manila.

General Frank R. McCoy Papers

W. Cameron Forbes to [Leonard Wood], October 5, 1921.

Before I left for home you asked that I give you my views on your new position as governor-general. First, of all, I am certain that you will discover the Filipinos "scared to death" and "pitifully and almost cringingly anxious" to do as they are directed. And the fact that you were almost president will make an impression on them. The Filipino has great respect for authority; and your new office carries a good deal of weight in the Islands. Moreover, I found that by constant application of hard work, I was able to accomplish what I wanted. But I foresee "little opposition" at first. In fact, you should have no difficulty in securing the approval of your choice of department secretaries. You might find it advantageous, however, to consult with Quezon and Osmeña before making your nominations to important posts. I always found that it paid to consult them. As for the Jones Act, I do not believe that you will have to seek the aid of Congress in removing the provisions passed by the Philippine Legislature limiting the powers of the governor-general.¹⁵⁹ If so, I will have a few suggestions to bring to the attention of Congress.

General Frank McIntyre to McCoy, Personal, May 4, 1922.

I am glad to hear of the fine work you have accomplished in the Philippines so far. I admire the way Wood overcame the initial ill-will caused by the Wood-Forbes Report. It was only natural for those who felt themselves responsible in some way for the poor conditions in the Islands to resent the Report. Therefore, it is a tribute to the General and his assistants that he was able to effect some remedial legislation. The Governor-General is very fortunate in having the services of such a fine group of aides.

Martin Egan¹⁶⁰ to McCoy, Personal, August 21, 1922.

I am very pleased to hear of the fine progress you are making in the Islands. However, it is disturbing to know

¹⁵⁹ Cf. note 19.

¹⁶⁰ One-time editor of the *Manila Times* (1908-1913).

that Wood is going to leave so soon. I had hoped that you might stay on in order to carry on Wood's good work.¹⁶¹

E. B. Johns ¹⁶² to McCoy, September 28, 1922.

I would like to see General Wood come home in January and begin his work at the University of Pennsylvania. He is doing a wonderful thing being in Manila, but I do not believe that his efforts are appreciated by his countrymen.

McCoy to Frank Steinhart,¹⁶³ March 20, 1923.

The General is fine and very interested in his work. He still takes his early morning rides and has maintained his interest in keeping fit and in sports. Mrs. Wood, however, is not very enthusiastic about life in Manila. I think she and her daughter would like very much to go home.

Gordon Johnston to McCoy, April 23, 1923.

Since you left the situation at the Philippine National Bank has come to a head. The American Chamber of Commerce here has tried to embarrass the government by praising the administration of bank manager Wilson.¹⁶⁴ In fact, the Chamber presented a resolution endorsing him, but the Bank Directors refused to receive it. Wilson has been very restrained. He has shown no ill-feelings toward the government or the Governor-General. When he left he stopped by to see Wood. When he saw me he asked for you. As for the new manager, Quezon and Roxas got the General to promise that Trinidad would be made general manager if he did well as Fullington's¹⁶⁵ assistant. As for the sugar centrals, we are still having the same problem of financing them. With regard to the Manila Railroad, nothing much has happened. You might be interested in knowing that Luz is now running the *Philippine Herald*. It looks as if he will do a good job. And yet, I do not have much hope in his stability on any given policy. Right now we are working on a liaison between the executive of-

¹⁶¹ Throughout the summer and early fall of 1922, McCoy was spoken of as the logical successor to Wood. Harding, however, was unwilling to appoint another military man as governor-general. See Forbes to General Pershing, November 22, 1922, Pershing to Forbes, November 24, 1922, General John J. Pershing Papers.

¹⁶² This writer has been unable to determine his relationship to General McCoy.

¹⁶³ At the time, he was president and general manager of the Havana Electric Railways.

¹⁶⁴ See note 115.

¹⁶⁵ Wood's first insular auditor.

fice and the various companies for which the governor-general is more or less responsible—namely, the Manila Railroad, the National Development Co., the University of the Philippines, the Coal Co., and so on. This should enable us to keep the General better informed.

Johnston to McCoy, May 25, 1923.

Everything is going on as usual. The political situation is about the same. The Democrats and several radical Colectivistas are kicking up a storm. And the Independence Fund squabble is causing a furor. The "oligarchy" is quite upset.¹⁶⁶ As for the Conley trial, it was a "rotten farce." Secretary Laurel was drawn into the affair along with Mayor Fernandez. Laurel, unfortunately, had his testimony discredited by the trial judge. And now there are many who feel that Laurel's usefulness is at an end. Conley was acquitted, but it looks like he faces another set of charges. And it also seems that Laurel and Fernandez are about to "do Conley in" by administrative proceedings. "The whole thing is disgusting."¹⁶⁷

McCoy to John W. Weeks, August 3, 1923.

I wish that we could meet before my return to Manila. General McIntyre, however, is fully informed of the events leading to the present crisis. It would be beneficial to Wood if he could know of your concern and support. Moreover, it might be

¹⁶⁶ In May, 1923, Junius B. Wood, an American correspondent, after an interview with Wood, revealed that several Americans, both in and out of government, had been paid by the Philippine Independence Fund to interest themselves in Filipino freedom. George F. Parker, a New York publicist, in 1922, had been given \$25,000 for his services, as was the famed writer of the day, Charles Edward Russell. Congressman James Frear, a Republican from Wisconsin, who was very interested in the Philippine lobby, felt compelled to issue an open letter to his congressional colleagues challenging the Governor-General's statements. The furor died down when Leonard Wood denied that he imputed any wrong-doing on the part of the Independence Commission or those who concerned themselves with Filipino freedom. He later challenged the right of the Philippine Legislature to allocate public funds for the propaganda activities of the Independence Commission. Wood regarded the practice as inimical to the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines.

¹⁶⁷ Wood became involved in the Conley Affair because of the sensationalism it was evoking in the press. And the spectacle of the Secretary of the Interior and the Mayor of Manila being publicly discredited only added to the tensions being aroused by the affair. See also Rafael Palma to Harrison, April 24, 1924, Harrison Papers.

wise to spell out at this time the duties of the governor-general and the legislature, "so confused by the wilful and careless abdication" by Harrison of "his express powers" under the Jones Act.¹⁶⁸ This might save face as well as point out again that Congress intended the establishment of the American governmental structure as opposed to the parliamentary form. The Filipinos might also be informed that Wood "has no discretion but to administer" the Jones Act as it is written.¹⁶⁹ And if they have any complaints about the organic act, they should submit them in the "form of constructive changes" to the present law.¹⁷⁰

McCoy to Arthur W. Page,¹⁷¹ December 18, 1923.

As you probably recall, I believed that the politicians would support Wood as long as he remained. I felt that they would wait until some weaker man had been appointed before picking up where they left off. And this was their intention, it seems, until they were advised to raise an issue which could be used at home by the anti-Harding forces.¹⁷² It also seems that this suggestion came just at the time when Quezon was facing a possible defeat in the Fourth Senatorial District. And so the cry went up against Wood. The politicians here have no program save that of encroaching upon the powers of the chief executive by every means they can dream up. Meanwhile, they shout for "independence, absolute and immediate." But these same politicians will tell you in confidence that the Philippines are not ready for freedom, but for political reasons they must harp on independence. The Democrats, the opposition party, have the same goals, but they are willing to cooperate with Wood. As for the General, he is fine. He continues to conduct himself with

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Memorandum for the President on Resignation of Heads of Departments of the Philippine Government, July 20, 1923, Coolidge Papers.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Weeks to Harding, July 23, 1923, and Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Secretary of War, Memorandum, October 22, 1923, Coolidge Papers.

¹⁷⁰ Wood, on many occasions, told the Filipino leaders that he had every intention of conducting himself in accord with the Jones Act. And if they had any complaints concerning the organic act, he urged them to lay these before Congress.

¹⁷¹ At the time, he was editor of *World's Work*.

¹⁷² McCoy is the only one, to this writer's knowledge, who has ever suggested that political considerations in Washington induced certain groups there to urge Quezon to raise some issue which might embarrass Harding. However, it appears that McCoy believed that the Cabinet Crisis was caused by Quezon's own political needs and not by any wish to promote the interests of Harding's enemies.

patience and courage. And the people are as content and friendly as ever.

McCoy to McIntyre, May 9, 1924.

I am tired of hearing about Governor-General Wood and his khaki cabinet. The General has been forced to use military men because no one will provide him with civilian assistants.¹⁷³ Colonel Johnston and I have been particularly useful to Wood in analyzing the reports of the companies which the Board of Control administers. Since the Board has no secretaries, the work of reading the reports of the various companies falls on the Governor-General. The Filipinos, moreover, have done nothing to ease the General's burdens in this regard. All that the politicians want to do is use Wood's need for assistants in order to attack him. Until now I have never complained about their unwarranted allegations, but now I simply have to fight back.

McCoy to Francis B. Loomis,¹⁷⁴ December 4, 1924.

The Philippine Legislature has given the Governor-General a good measure of cooperation lately. In fact, the leaders since Coolidge's victory in November have been rather cooperative.¹⁷⁵ I think that they will be quiet until their general election next June. They will then probably send another parliamentary mission to Washington to make "extravagant plans but really compromise" on some bill such as the Fairfield Bill.¹⁷⁶

Henry L. Scott¹⁷⁷ to McCoy, January 19, 1925.

I imagine you are aware of Miss Mayo's recent series on conditions in the Islands which have been appearing in the *Washington Post* and *New York Evening Post*. They are quite to the point though many believe them to be extreme. As far as I am concerned they are an accurate picture of the situation there. From what I can learn, these articles are giving those in Congress who are seeking Filipino independence some pause for reflection on the consequences of such a step.

¹⁷³ See note 122.

¹⁷⁴ At the time, he was publisher of the *Oakland Tribune*.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. De Tavera to Harrison, February 27, 1925, and Franks to Harrison, March 24, 1925, Harrison Papers.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Eulogio B. Rodriguez to Charles E. Russell, August 17, 1925, Russell Papers.

¹⁷⁷ At the time, General Scott was chairman of the State Highway Commission of New Jersey.

McCoy to Edward Carpenter,¹⁷⁸ March 3, 1925.

The General gives no indication of wanting to quit. In fact, I think that he will ride out the Coolidge Administration as long as his health is good. As a result of his patience and ability, the politicians have been frustrated in their attacks. And this has added to our prestige both here and in China.

George F. Parker Papers

George F. Parker¹⁷⁹ to Wood, March 2, 1921.

I see from the press that you have been offered an opportunity to work in the Philippines. As for the proffered provostship of the University of Pennsylvania, I am glad that nothing came of it. It is not in your line to be associated with a university. Moreover, "I hardly know anything in Pennsylvania that is straight if there is any chance for it to be crooked."

Parker to Wood, June 27, 1922.

I am positive that a president of a great university can make himself a candidate in 1924. Harding, I do not believe, will be a candidate for re-election. And if he does want a second term, it might not be too difficult to beat him. At any rate, here is an enormous opportunity for a college president to speak his mind on the issues of the day.¹⁸⁰

Adam C. Carson¹⁸¹ to Parker, Confidential, August 1, 1922.¹⁸²

It seems that your plan to go to Manila with authority to ask the Philippine Government for an appropriation for the

¹⁷⁸ This writer has been unable to determine his relationship to General McCoy.

¹⁷⁹ He was a noted New York public relations consultant during the first three decades of the present century.

¹⁸⁰ Parker was obviously probing Wood's intentions for 1924. He was also broadly hinting of his readiness to serve as a public relations consultant.

¹⁸¹ A long-time resident in Manila, Carson was once an associate justice of the Philippine Supreme Court. In 1922, he was a businessman.

¹⁸² The Parker-Carson correspondence, together with the De-Veyra-Parker letters, would indicate that the New York publicist was paid by the Philippine Independence Commission to prepare a long-range publicity campaign designed to bring the independence issue to a head. Quezon was, in fact, very interested in promoting the Philippine fight through a high-powered publicity campaign. See Quezon to Harrison, [September, 1921], Gabaldon to Harrison,

Philadelphia Exposition of 1926 might prove a snag. Jaime De Veyra and I appreciate that such a plan would enable you to move about Manila freely. But whether Quezon will want you out on this basis or some other is not yet certain. For the present give out that your prospective trip is to Japan and China with Manila as a possible stopover. As for myself, I am on my way to China with a possible side-trip to Manila.

DeVeyra to Alton B. Parker,¹⁸³ Confidential, August 14, 1922.

A great amount of money has been and will be spent by the Philippine Legislature in an effort to inform the American public of the aspirations of the Filipino people. We believe, therefore, that we should secure the assistance of an American

May 11, 1922, Moorfield Storey to DeVeyra, July 29, 1922, Harrison Papers. See also Quezon to Storey, July 13, 1922, Storey Papers. However, there is an air of secrecy about the Parker Papers which almost suggests that Parker, who was once connected with Wood's presidential campaign, was really sent out to Manila to sound out Wood on such matters as the Manila Railroad Co., the Philippine National Bank, the sugar centrals, and independence. See the DeVeyra-Quezon correspondence, August-September 1922. Quezon Papers, National Library, Manila. In a letter to Harrison, DeVeyra suggests that Parker's trip may awaken Wood's presidential aspirations. See DeVeyra to Harrison, October 12, 1922, Harrison Papers. The Wood Diary, which is usually rewarding, offers no concrete clues as to what Parker and Carson did in Manila. But Wood did hint, in his Diary and in his cables to Washington, that their presence bore a peculiar relationship to an awakened political activity on the part of Quezon. Wood felt that the Filipino leader was urged to challenge him with regard to cabinet responsibility on the strength of the Democratic landslide in the States. See entry for November 10, 11, 14, 16, 1922, Wood Diary, and Wood to McIntyre, cablegram, November 13, 1922, Wood to McIntyre, Confidential, cablegram, November 17, 1922, Wood Cablegram Book, Wood Papers. Whatever Wood believed, as evidenced in his Diary and cablegrams, about the reasons for Quezon's sudden confrontation over cabinet responsibility, it would be extremely tenuous to build a case for Parker's interference, at that moment, in Filipino internal matters. What was expected of Parker and Carson by Quezon is still not absolutely certain. This writer however, is positive that Parker was not sent to merely ascertain the best means for setting up a campaign.

¹⁸³A relative of George F. Parker. Judge Alton B. Parker was the Democratic presidential candidate in 1904.

public relations consultant¹⁸⁴ in developing a long-range publicity campaign.¹⁸⁵

Parker to DeVeyra, August 14, 1922.

After due deliberation on the proposition made by you and Mr. Gabaldon, I will accept the mission as outlined by you.¹⁸⁶ I will go to Manila for a stay of about a month or so in order to offer whatever assistance I can in furthering the goals of the Philippine Independence Commission. However, I shall not do or say anything which would be prejudicial to my country. Moreover, I am to receive twenty-five thousand dollars. And if your associates believe that my stay, as well as that of my party, should be extended beyond one month, I shall be compensated by those at whose request our trip is extended. I shall take my son as a secretary, and perhaps another individual in the capacity of a confidential advisor.¹⁸⁷ If the foregoing is in accordance with your instructions, please sign both copies.

[American Community] to Leonard Wood, November 9, 1922.

As American residents in the Philippines we have come to the conclusion that your administration should make an effort to find a solution to the Philippine question.

Parker to Wood, April 5, 1923.

I would not be surprised at what might happen "if you were in a position to resign" and leave for home in a few weeks. You could begin a campaign and press for those things which you did in 1920. Moreover, I am sure that you would not need the machinery you had in 1920. Your campaign, as I see it, would be based on your merits and personality. If you ever decide to take up where you left off in 1920, I am at your disposal. I do not know of anyone else in your party who could capture the hearts of the people. "You have the character, the training, the standing, every quality that can fit you for such work."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ The obvious reference here is George F. Parker.

¹⁸⁵ It would seem that the possibilities of a large-scale publicity program caught the attention of Quezon throughout the spring and summer of 1922. See notes 24 and 182.

¹⁸⁶ See note 182.

¹⁸⁷ This writer does not believe that Judge Carson travelled in the capacity of Parker's advisor. To this knowledge, Carson also received \$25,000 for his services to the Philippine Independence Commission.

¹⁸⁸ For a different portrait of Wood, see Parker to Robb, Strictly Private, January 27, 1926, Parker Papers.

Parker to Mr. and Mrs. DeVeyra, May 11, 1923.

The New York *Globe* has carried on a drive for the last days which is directed at the Philippine Independence Commission. Please do not be concerned by it. They have distorted the facts and confused the issues. I have told anyone who asks for a statement that it is none of their concern. Please send me any Manila papers containing news of this "gossip." And if you can, please give me your opinion as to the origin of this business.¹⁸⁹

Parker to Archbishop Michael J. O'Doherty, December 28, 1923.

I have been saddened by the recent friction between Wood and "our political friends" in Manila. While I was there I attempted to hold down the possible causes for unrest. If he had put to good use the advice which he seemed to welcome at the time, none of this trouble would have occurred. I had the "confidence of both sides." The suggestions made at the time and the agreements arrived at then would have calmed the storm.¹⁹⁰

Parker to Wood, March 31, 1924.

I have wanted to write for some time now. I have nothing much to say. But I just felt that we should never lose touch. I truly wish you would have gone to Philadelphia when I urged you while I was in Manila. You would now be the candidate at the forthcoming convention. I have watched the events with a sad heart. "I did not, I confess, foresee them when I was there."¹⁹¹ It was for this reason I urged you to "take our friends" into the " frankest and most open kind of" confidence. I am still convinced, although I have not received word from anyone since I was there, that the United States could have done anything it wanted, or, at most, have whatever we might desire if only "this policy had been pursued." Maybe it is not too late. Yet, in all probability, the "friction has become too decided" to per-

¹⁸⁹ Parker is referring to the furor caused by Junius B. Wood in May, 1923. See note 166.

¹⁹⁰ Parker, by 1924, had a rather inflated opinion of his efforts in Manila during November, 1922.

¹⁹¹ According to his letter to Archbishop O'Doherty, Parker foresaw the friction between Wood and the Filipinos. See note 190.

mit the "accommodations that were once possible."¹⁹² Be that as it may. Since I returned, as I said, I have heard nothing from Quezon and his associates. And so I have done nothing for or against independence. And I shall probably never do anything as things stand now.¹⁹³ But I feel deeply that independence is the only solution. And in saying this, I know that you will disagree. I think of you often in your exile.

Parker to Quezon, Private, April 1, 1924.

I am writing without any thought of renewing our relationship. I just want after such a long time to express my gratitude at the confidence you placed in me. I have been pleased with my efforts on your behalf. And "if the arrangements which, with your consent,¹⁹⁴ I had suggested to the Governor General had been carried out as per understanding none of the unfavorable complications that followed would have" occurred. As you recall, I went to Manila ignorant of the issues involved in the independence question. But after a few weeks there I appreciated that no understanding could be made without independence being given your people. Your countrymen are intelligent and have a leadership worthy of a great people. Therefore, any delay in granting them independence is unjust. And now, if I may, and without any obligation on your part, I would like to present you with my reflections gained from my brief stay in Manila. The first is that the Philippines needed a large-scale and "comprehensive economic development" if independence is to mean anything. I found the Philippines with home rule and learned that you and Osmeña are in large measure responsible for this. All that is needed now is the governor-generalship to cap the edifice thus created. However, you must achieve material independence first. And then all the rest that you want will be given to your people. My second conclusion is that if

¹⁹² The desire for a *modus vivendi* between the American business community in Manila and the Filipinos whereby the Filipino leaders could demand independence and yet at the same time assure American businessmen of continued investments was very real during the twenties and early thirties. In fact, there is a memorandum in the Parker files addressed to Wood demanding that he strive for a solution to the Philippine question. See [American Community] to Leonard Wood, November 9, 1922, Parker Papers.

¹⁹³ In all probability, Parker's effectiveness, in whatever role was cast for him by Quezon, was destroyed when he was compromised by the furor over his relationship with the Philippine Independence Commission.

¹⁹⁴ The nature of the accommodation offered Wood cannot be determined from the Wood Diary or the Parker files.

you and Osmeña were to come here and present your case, independence would be granted. And I would not wait until the Democratic party is in office to begin the campaign. As for myself, I am regaining my health. And if you should ever want my help, please feel free to call on me.

Parker to Archbishop O'Doherty, April 3, 1924.

I have written recently to Senator Quezon concerning the independence movement. I came to the conclusion that the best way to settle the Philippine problem is to give the Filipinos their independence along the "very largest lines possible but on such terms as will be satisfactory to all concerned." I discussed this with Quezon, Osmeña, and Wood while I was in Manila. If Wood had taken those "gentlemen into his confidence," friction would not have occurred.

Wood to Parker, May 7, 1924.

Thank you for your kind letter of March 31st. I also believe in Filipino freedom. However, I feel that a "little more preparation" is necessary before we leave here.

Parker to DeVeyra, September 18, 1924.

I have been studying the Philippine situation with a great deal of interest. However, the more I examine the issues involved the more I realize that few Americans care anything about the people they conquered.¹⁹⁵ As for myself, I must conclude that independence can come only after economic independence. When I was in Manila I told Wood that the Islands need a hundred million dollars invested there. We both agreed that the problems facing the Filipinos were "economic and not political." If only your people would recognize this and participate with us in the development of your natural resources.¹⁹⁶

Walter Robb to Parker, Personal, December 4, 1925.

I am sorry that it has been so long since I received your letter. As for conditions in the Philippines, the Philippine Legislature is still trying to remove Wood. Right now we are having a tussle over patronage and the issue of per diems. Wood is wholly ignorant of the "inner workings of parties" and what they live on; "if he did he might now be President." Moreover, the Legislature wants "more and more autonomy, more intervention

¹⁹⁵ See Barrows to Crone, June 30, 1925.

¹⁹⁶ At this time, discussions concerning the relaxation of the laws prohibiting the widescale exploitation of the natural resources of the Philippines were being conducted both in Manila and Washington.

in public affairs and the imposition of its own decisions in public matters." But Wood wants the same thing. And here he is right. The Legislature is trying to make our position here untenable. The way that Wood is handling the situation is awkward and so full of "personal puffing," although it maybe unconscious.¹⁹⁷ And this is what the Legislature is looking for: the big, sensational headlines. The Legislature wants a plebiscite on the question of independence. But Wood is against it, since everyone will vote for it. And if Quezon would submit himself to a popular election, he would probably discover that a lot of people would want to be rid of him. But friction will come of Wood's refusal and Quezon's assertion of Filipino demands. The Governor-General is "short on political judgment, long on willing public labor; and they, his opponents, are quite the reverse—astute and unscrupulous." And here we are in land of plenty, and yet we find ourselves unable to develop it. The Legislature refuses to be reasonable and allow American plantations to develop tracts of land greater than 2500 acres. The Filipinos, working with the American companies, can make this country prosper.

Parker to Robb, Strictly Private, January 27, 1926.

I am interested in what you have to say about conditions in the Islands. It was for the economic development of the Philippines that I labored while in Manila. I appreciate your comments on Wood. He is not a politician.¹⁹⁸ It was for that reason he lost the nomination. And while it is true that "he

¹⁹⁷ Walter Robb was misconstruing Wood's efforts to retain control of the executive branch if he thought that the Governor-General was working to keep the Philippine Legislature in line so that the United States might permanently remain in the Philippines. Wood struggled with the Legislature because of its challenge to the Jones Act which he swore to uphold.

¹⁹⁸ Professor Liang, in his monograph on Filipino political parties, quotes Parker's letter to Robb. This gives the reader the unfortunate impression that Wood was politically inept. See Liang Dapen, *The Development of Philippine Political Parties* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1939), p. 163. This, however, is hardly fair. The efforts of the most politically astute individual, and Wood was certainly knowledgeable concerning the political facts of life, would have gone awry in the face of a concerted attack by Quezon or any other Filipino leader. There is nothing so dynamic and politically dangerous as a fight over real or imagined grievances between the "conquered and the conqueror." And the fact that the Filipinos were in almost complete control of their own government meant little because the politicians could always point to the governor-general who was still an American.

knows very little about politics, no man can understand it better than he does now." Thank you for the information concerning the Legislature. And as for Quezon, I cannot believe everything I hear about his "insincerity." Independence, I feel, must come to the Philippines.

General John J. Pershing Papers

Forbes to General Pershing, Personal, April 2, 1921.

I am off for Manila with Wood. Too bad you could not be with me now. However, I have to admit that it was a smart move on Harding's part to accept Wood's offer to go on a mission.¹⁹⁹ As for my association "with him, I am less clear."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Wood, in 1921, wanted very much to be secretary of war in the Harding cabinet. The General's Diary and his correspondence files are filled with letters and memoranda written by him, and by others, in support of his demand for the position. His presence, therefore, on the American political scene was a source of irritation for Harding. The president-elect, however, had a far more pressing problem with regard to the Philippines. The last annual message of President Wilson to Congress called for independence for the Filipino people. Harding was caught between the words of his illustrious predecessor and the knowledge that the Philippines were on the verge of economic, if not political bankruptcy. In an effort to find a way out of his Philippine dilemma, Harding called upon such men as Taft, Martin Egan, Newton Gilbert, Forbes, and many others to give him their impressions. Only Forbes came up with what seemed an ideal solution. According to the plans of the ex-governor-general, a commission would be sent to Manila to investigate conditions there. It would remain in the Islands until the situation improved. As a consequence, the commissioners would have rather broad powers. The idea of a commission was not new and therefore could have offered an ideal solution to Harding's dilemma. The president-elect, however, did nothing to put the ex-governor-general's plan into operation. In fact, Forbes left the country for South America. In the meanwhile, Harding began to press the governor-generalship upon Wood, who quite naturally viewed the offer as an effort to get him out of the country. But Wood, who was always conscious of his public image as a servant of the nation, decided to head off any criticism of his refusal to serve as governor-general by offering to go to the Islands on a mission of investigation. Harding, needless to say, heartily accepted the offer. And as an aide, Wood suggested Forbes. But the ex-governor-general who had raced home from South America, only to discover that he had been relegated to a subordinate position on a commission which bore a striking resemblance to his own scheme, felt hurt. To smooth over the

Pershing to Forbes, April 13, 1921.

I wish that I could have been sent out with you. I am certain that "your personal recommendations will prevail" when the mission's report is written.²⁰¹

Bishop Charles H. Brent to Pershing, April 19, 1921.

I saw Taft last week while at Yale. He told me that Harding will not give up the Philippines. According to Taft, the problem is this: Can we reform the Philippines without resorting to violence? Would it be justified? I am aware that the situation there is bad. If only the Filipinos would "swallow their pride" and be "honest with themselves."

Pershing to Brent, May 7, 1921.

I am not sure what will become of the Islands. But I am certain that Forbes will tell us the true picture. Too bad you were not on that committee. In fact, I know that Forbes wanted you on the committee.²⁰²

Forbes to Pershing, July 26, 1921.

We have a pretty good idea of the situation here. There has been a backward slide. Whether this is the result of sudden power placed in inexperienced hands is difficult to say. It is

ruffled feelings of Forbes, whose attitude mystified Wood, Harding made both men co-chairmen. Wood never knew of the relationship of Forbes to the whole scheme of investigating the Islands. In fairness of Forbes, he did mellow and found his relations with Wood very pleasant. Thus Harding killed the proverbial two birds with one stone. He removed temporarily, although it was to prove permanent, a political rival; and he was also able to dodge the political football tossed to him by Wilson's statement to Congress on Filipino freedom. In all fairness to Harding, Wood's eventual acceptance of the governor-generalship was regarded by virtually everyone—including Quezon and Osmeña—as the best thing that could have happened to the Philippines. See the Wood Diary and Forbes' Journal for early 1921; see also the files of Taft, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Pershing for Forbes' early role in conceiving of a commission to investigate the Philippines on behalf of the Harding Administration.

²⁰⁰ See note 199.

²⁰¹ There was little love lost between Pershing and Wood. And Pershing's knowledge of the role played by Forbes only served to accentuate his feelings toward Wood.

²⁰² If Forbes wanted Bishop Brent to serve on the investigating committee it is not evident from the material at hand.

even more difficult to know if the people here will kill the roots of their troubles, or whether it will have to be done for them. And then there is the question of where the responsibility lies. If the people had been entirely responsible for their own destiny and if the governor-general had been a native, who knew that the world was watching him, many of the troubles we are investigating now would have been avoided. Harrison, however, did not do his duty as chief executive. He let the Filipino politicians run things without any interference. But the sad thing here is that Harrison was responsible for the acts of his subordinates and the Filipinos knew it. Thus the Filipinos properly place this debacle at the doorstep of the American people. We are now on our way to Mindanao. General Wood wants to make an exhaustive investigation, it seems. And as for my relationship with the General, he is very thoughtful and considerate.

Pershing to Forbes, August 31, 1927.

Pedro Guevara called on me recently to ask that I support General McIntyre for the position of governor-general. It appears that Guevara wants to prove that a military man can be a good government.²⁰³ However, I want you to return to Manila.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers

Wood to Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 30, 1922.

I am sorry to learn of your poor health. I will not burden you with the story of the work here other than to tell you that I discovered things terribly mis-managed. All I want to do here is get the government in shape and then come home.

Roosevelt to Wood, May 2, 1922.

I wish that I could race out on a destroyer to see you. I have heard of the difficulties you encountered on your arrival. And I also heard of the wonderful job you are doing. It seems a shame that the two parties will not get together and state emphatically the American position on the Philippines. Everyone in this country, I am sure, is for independence, but not right now. You have a hard job. And you are doing it in a manner "we are proud of at home, and in a way the Philippines will be proud of—all of them—in another generation."

Elihu Root Papers

Wood to Elihu Root, Personal, March 31, 1921.

I am leaving soon for Manila as the chairman of a Mis-

²⁰³ See Dwight F. Davis to Coolidge, August 30, 1927, Coolidge Papers.

sion which shall report on the situation in the Philippines. I told Harding that I would not go out as governor-general. However, I thought that the best thing I could do for him was make a report. I asked that Forbes accompany me.²⁰⁴ You appreciate the difficulties which will face this Mission. Any suggestions you might want to make will be gratefully received. As far as I see it, the question is this: Can the educated minority give the mass of the Filipinos a government which will assure them of security of life and property, efficient sanitation, a good system of education, and a courageous administration of justice; "a government which, while not measuring up to our standards," will nevertheless fulfill the basic needs of the Filipinos?

Charles Edward Russell Papers

Quezon to [Russell],²⁰⁵ Confidential, cablegram, April 18, 1922.

Who told you that I will not go on the Mission? I am positively in favor of the Mission going to Washington sometime this year. And I am willing to go also. However, I want the Mission to seek absolute and complete independence. And I want the Mission to remain there as long as necessary. As the Mission is now organized, it seems that it is being sent to satisfy some election needs here. Some of the Mission members will not be legislators after June and some cannot speak English. In fact, the Legislature has passed a special rule which will permit the recall of the Mission or the adoption of new plans for independence. As for the Nacionalistas, their policy has been to seek the favor of Wood. As for myself, please do not worry. I seek only independence. And I am interested in local politics only in so far as the great "ambition of my life"²⁰⁶ may somehow be effected.

J. P. Melencio to Russell, Confidential, May 18, 1923.

You have a perfect right to communicate with advocates of freedom here. In fact, the Commission on Independence was established in order to coordinate the activities of our friends in

²⁰⁴ See note 199.

²⁰⁵ A noted American publicist who interested himself in Filipino independence.

²⁰⁶ Quezon's greatest ambition was to be president of an independent Philippine Republic. However, some of the contemporary literature would seem to indicate a willingness to be either the first Filipino governor-general or the first chief executive of a commonwealth-type government.

the States with those in the Islands. Mr. DeVeyra returned home confident that we might have independence in three years. I doubt this. And I agree with you when you say that the whole question should be handled with care. And I do not mind telling you that I am fed up with those people here who "‘plan, intend, desire or contemplate.’" Something strange is going on here. The fervor among the political leaders to acquire independence seems dampened. In fact, many are commenting on this privately. The whole campaign has lost its vitality. They protest misrepresentations, but are afraid to push forward a positive program. If there is one place we must be strong it is in our drive for freedom. We cannot falter. And yet we do. As for the people, they seem unconcerned. Freedom seems unimportant to them. And as for the occasional outburst of fervor, it means little. The new resident commissioners should have been in Washington by now but they are still in Manila. We have got to have more of those shocks such as given us by Junius B. Wood.²⁰⁷ Otherwise we are going to follow a "take-it-easy, lousy, unworthy attitude."

Eulogio B. Rodriguez to Russell, August 17, 1925.

In a few days another Mission sails for the States. I believe that they will try for something similar to the Fairfield Bill.²⁰⁸ Or in the words of a local leader, anything which "will improve the situation here."

Rodriguez to Russell, September 16, 1926.

Carmi Thompson, who is here, has discovered the attempt of his countrymen to make it appear that the Moros were dissatisfied with the Filipinos. A *Vanguardia* reporter beat out his fellow reporters by revealing the Malacañang attempt to fool Mr. Thompson. According to a Washington paper, Wood is annoyed by Thompson's presence.²⁰⁹ This would seem to indicate that Washington "lacks confidence in him," which is the truth. Rumor has it that Wood will resign.

Jacob Gould Schurman Papers

Warren G. Harding to Schurman,²¹⁰ April 19, 1922.

Thank you for your reflections on your trip to the Philippines. I must admit that a definite policy toward the Islands

²⁰⁷ See note 166.

²⁰⁸ See McCoy to Loomis, December 4, 1924.

²⁰⁹ It would seem that Wood was very perplexed by Thompson's visit. See Wood to Mayo, July 9, 1926, Mayo Papers.

²¹⁰ At this time, Professor Schurman was United States minister to China.

has caused me great concern. I am reluctant to "haul down the flag."²¹¹ Maybe that is not the way to say it. I appreciate that so much has been said regarding eventual independence that to "completely reverse the policy" would be dangerous.²¹² And yet I am very unhappy to "continue responsibility without the exercise of authority." It is obvious that the people are not prepared for "complete independence and the attending assumption of self-responsibility." Under the present circumstances the best that can be done is to "temporize and mollify," seeking to improve the situation there while at the same time establishing a "readiness for self-government which will give some promise of stability and security." You have been informed, no doubt, by Wood of the task before him. I am confident of his success. I hope to be able to persuade him to remain and continue the "good work" he is performing. And as for your suggestion that something must be done before 1924 in the way of a definite Philippine program, I will say that you are correct. I do not like temporizing. It is for this reason that we are in the present difficulties there. We temporized because we could not grant independence; and we made too generous promises because it seemed the right thing to do. And the recommendation of President Wilson in his last annual message to Congress only compounded the difficulties faced at the start of my administration.²¹³

Wood to Schurman, September 10, 1922.

I am anxious for your opinion relative to the ultimate relationship between the Philippines and the United States. Moreover, I would like your impressions with regard to my determination, in view of the possibility of independence in the immediate future, that the Filipinos receive military training from the Philippine Division.

Schurman to Wood, October 7, 1922.

Thank you for your letter of September 10th. As for independence, I favor it when, as I have always maintained, "the Filipinos want independence and are fit for independence." And Congress through the Jones Act adopted that formula. And the time is near at hand for its fulfilment. I shall be happy when it occurs, since neither our mode of government nor the feelings of "our people fits us for the government of dependencies" which can never be part of our union. Therefore, I have given much thought to the conditions we should set before the withdrawal of our sovereignty. We should have a good military and naval base

²¹¹ See Brent to Pershing, April 19, 1921.

²¹² See note 59.

²¹³ See note 199.

there. And it might be desirable to have a commercial base. However, it might be difficult to convince the Filipinos to give us a commercial base. And yet, they may be so anxious for freedom that they might concede as much to us. I have always been impressed with the need for an American commercial base on this side of the Pacific. And we will probably never get another opportunity to secure one in the Orient. Therefore, it is an "infinite pity" if we cannot get something from the Islands in recompense for all we did there. As for yourself, I wonder if you will not be obliged to stay in Manila for at least another year.

Schurman to Wood, Personal, July 3, 1924.

Thank you for the information concerning the political situation in Manila. I have watched with considerable interest the difficulties under which you labor. As for Congress granting independence at this time, I am not sure. But whether Congress will listen to experienced men like you remains to be seen. At any rate, I hope you will not leave the Philippines.

Albert Shaw Papers

Walter Wilgus²¹⁴ to Shaw,²¹⁵ May 6, 1927.

I have felt for sometime that an article was needed to tell the American public of Wood's efforts in the Islands. The Philippine Press Bureau in Washington will probably try to dispute my facts. And as for my conclusions, I have played down my own feeling that Wood saved the Islands from a financial and political collapse which might easily have ended in bloodshed. Americans here have no comprehension of what this country owes Wood for his efforts.

²¹⁴ An American journalist who was familiar with the political scene in Manila.

²¹⁵ The noted editor of the *Review of Reviews*.