Texts and Documents

Leonard Wood as Governor General: A Calendar of Selected Correspondence, Part 4

MICHAEL ONORATO

In this last segment of the four-part series of selected manuscripts relative to Leonard Wood, the papers of Henry Lewis Stimson, Moorfield Storey, William Howard Taft, and Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright are presented. Of all the many collections which have been examined the files of Secretary Stimson and President Taft are the most interesting and provocative.

The Stimson collection is at Yale University where it has been carefully preserved and cataloged. The files for the period of Wood’s administration are valuable. They reveal the development of Stimson’s philosophy for governing the Philippines.

Moorfield Storey was for many decades the president and guiding spirit of the Anti-Imperialist League of Boston. His papers which are in the Library of Congress hold very little information for the 1920s. However, the papers are particularly useful for a study of the activities of the League during its hey-dey (1900-1916). With the enactment of the Jones Act for the Philippines, the League seemed to wither on the vine.
William Howard Taft has left for posterity the largest contemporary manuscript collection which the Library of Congress possesses. The files for the decade of the twenties are found in some 280 cartons—or about 70,000 pieces. There is no index. Taft was no warm admirer of Wood. In fact, he was rather cool toward him. The reader, however, will notice a decided friendly feeling for Wood in the twenties. This was due to his efforts in the Philippines. The reader will also notice that the former president made no attempt to conceal his contempt for Wilson, Harrison, Osmena, and Quezon.

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright needs no introduction. His deeds on Bataan and the Rock are etched into the memory of all those who can remember those days. His papers will be found in the library of the New-York Historical Society. However, they are not very useful for the Wood era.

In each of the collections presented over the course of this year, there are scores of letters, memoranda, notes from diaries which have not been used. In fact, there are a dozen more manuscript collections which were not even considered for presentation here. It would have been impossible to include every letter or collection however pertinent they might have seemed. In closing, if the characters of those famous men whose lives have shaped the destiny of the Philippines seem strange and out of tilt with past and present literature, then it would seem that the time has come for a re-examination of the twenties.

Henry Lewis Stimson Papers


It looks as if I am being lined up for the Philippines. I do not want the job. I wish that I could see Harding in order to find out what he has in mind. He has asserted that he has no intention of getting out of the Islands. And as far as I am concerned the next governor-general will have his back to the wall unless he is supported by the Home Government.

\footnote{Cf. Bishop Brent to General Pershing, April 9, 1921, Pershing Papers.}
Stimson to Wood, Personal and Confidential, January 31, 1921.

Do not yield an inch to Harding. If you go, it will mean exile.\textsuperscript{217} Elihu Root believes Harding's intended offer of the governor generalcy\textsuperscript{218} is an insult.

Stimson to Wood, March 24, 1921.

My best wishes on your mission. I am glad to see that you will be Provost of the University of Pennsylvania upon your return.

Wood to Stimson, Personal, March 26, 1921.

I do not want to be governor-general and the President knows it. I suggested that Forbes\textsuperscript{219} go out with me. We will be in the Islands for three months.

Wood to Stimson, July 14, 1921.

The situation here is beyond belief. How could Washington have been so ignorant of the mess out here?\textsuperscript{220} In a word Harrison surrendered! He exercised no supervision whatsoever.\textsuperscript{221}

Stimson to Wood, October 13, 1921.

I know that you will set the Philippines on the right course. You have my best wishes.

Wood to Stimson, January 7, 1922.

I am sorry that you have been ill. Why not take a real holiday and come out to see us. We are going to need about

\textsuperscript{217} Cf. D.P. Barrows to C.H. Hodgson, October 23, 1922, Barrows Papers.

\textsuperscript{218} It was not until February that Harding actually made an offer to Wood. Sources close to the president-elect knew that the Senator was anxious to get Wood to go out as governor-general. See note 199.

\textsuperscript{219} See note 199.

\textsuperscript{220} Washington was aware of the economic plight in the Philippines. The Harrison and Quezon Papers, together with the Bureau of Insular Affairs file, show this. However, the Philippines took backstage to the war in Europe. As Secretary of War Baker said in 1924 he gave the Philippines all the time he could spare from his larger duties. See Baker to Villamin, August 26, 1924, Baker Papers.

\textsuperscript{221} Prior to his arrival in the Islands, Wood was to a great extent unfamiliar with the total situation. What he saw shocked his sense of order and duty to one's country. This initial anger mellowed with time.
$32,000,000 to put us back on our feet. The budget was pared to the bone. The courts are lax. Only the Supreme Court has the respect of the people. The Philippines had a boom during the war. If they had only exercised some restraint, the Islands would be rich now. But when we analyze the situation, we Americans must share the blame for the debacle of the "New Era." The governor-general had the power to curb the excesses. Yes, things are bad—but there are some bright spots. The people have been very kind to me in view of the fact that I was the head of the Mission. Among the special problems that absorb our attention are leprosy, care of the insane, eradication of tuberculosis, and provision for illegitimate children. I feel very strongly that the interests of these people must be advanced above all personal consideration. Finally, I am convinced that the Filipino women are the backbone of this nation. They have humanity, sympathy for others, business sense, and a keen perception of what must be done before independence can be attained. They can show the men the way.

Gordon Johnston to Stimson, August 11, 1923.

Things are moving smoothly although you can never tell what Quezon might do. We can only sit and watch.

Wood to Stimson, September 10, 1923.

I believe that things have died down considerably. We anticipate returning home during the early part of next year.

In a meeting with Resident Commissioner J. C. de Veyra in late February, 1921, Wood said that the Filipino people would have every right to be insulted if their next governor-general was the man who investigated them. At the time the General was voicing his objections to the suggested commission plan of Governor Forbes which ex-President Taft had announced through his syndicated newspaper column. See De Veyra to Osmeña, Strictly Confidential, cable, February 25, 1921, Quezon Papers, National Library, Manila.

Each of these special problems received the attention of Wood who was, after all, a medical doctor.

Wood was already thinking about his future and the comfortable twenty-five thousand dollar a year position that awaited his return to the States.

1924 was a presidential year. It is possible that Wood was already thinking of the nomination. But it is more probable that he was merely anxious to return home and pick up the threads of his public and private life. Why Wood did not return home in early 1924 is not easily answered. It is quite possible that the Home Government did not want him to leave the Islands in the face of the
Stimson to Wood, October 19, 1923.

I see that Washington has come out strongly in support of your administration.\(^{226}\) I cannot get away to see you right at the moment.

Stimson to Coolidge, March 6, 1924.

As a friend of Wood, I thank you for your support of his administration.\(^{227}\)

Coolidge to Stimson, March 10, 1924.

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

Wood to Stimson, January 9, 1925.

Thank you for your kind letter. I appreciate very much what you say about my work here. If the Home Government "sits tight and is courteous and considerate" but not vacillating then things will straighten themselves out here.

Wood to Stimson, January 21, 1925.

Things are moving along nicely. The Auditor's recent action with reference to the attempts by the Legislature to allow the Senate President and Speaker of the House to use funds appropriated for the Legislature's use for purposes other than those stipulated in the Appropriation Act has caused some tense moments. Last year I said nothing because assurances were given that the situation would be corrected. The more I study the Jones Act, the more I am certain that it can sustain efficient and stable government.\(^{228}\) Of course, I do believe that the Philippine Senate's power to refuse confirmation of the governor-general's cabinet is a serious defect. As things stand now, nobody is confirmed as department secretary unless he agrees with the leaders.

---

challenge laid down by Quezon. It is very possible that Wood on his own decided to stay on the "firing line" until he was satisfied that he could leave. Whatever the reason, Wood remained in the Islands at great personal cost. As the years rolled on, his lack of financial security and long absence from home weighed heavily on him. In the end, his long stay in the Philippines cost him his life due to his neglect of a malignant brain tumor.

\(^{226}\) See note 43.

\(^{227}\) See note 48.

\(^{228}\) Cf. A. V. H. Hartendorp to Hayden, October 2, 1924, Hayden Papers.
ONORATO: LEONARD WOOD

As you know the Independence Fund has been terminated after it was declared unconstitutional. The recent mission, which was small, spent $175,000. They could have spent one-fifth as much and still could have paid their necessary expenses. The people here are becoming aware of the money that is spent on these junkets, I only wish that those at home would pay more attention to the Philippines. They do not want to understand that the Philippines is not only a colonial problem but it is also part of America's responsibilities in the Far East. The forthcoming election in June is going to be bitterly contested. If I could only convince the leaders that economic development here is necessary to sustain the wonderful progress made in education and in politics. It would make things easier here. It would be good to see you again. Why not come out.

Stimson to Wood, March 12, 1925.

Thank you for your interesting letter. I am afraid that I cannot quite agree with your views on the Jones Act. Although I have not studied that Act lately, I am positive that it was founded on an erroneous theory. If the Jones Act succeeds, it is because of you. Moreover, the whole concept of American protection will fail unless the governor-general is surrounded by

---

229 See notes 22, 24, and 30.
230 Wood was convinced that the Philippines were the pivot on which American power in the Far East turned. Although he was willing to see complete autonomy—even independence—given to the Philippines, Wood was positive that the Filipino people would have to offer America bases from which American interests in the Far East could be protected.
231 By 1925, Wood and his family—Mrs. Wood and Louisita—in the Philippines began to feel their long absence from home and friends. In fact, there is a definite drop in the amount of correspondence from friends after 1924. As one friend candidly wrote Wood: you are just too far away.
232 By the mid-twenties, Stimson was certain the traditional concept of the American governmental structure had to be overhauled. He believed that complete separation of powers was detrimental to the country. The ex-Secretary of War conceived of a strong central government with the three branches working in close harmony—far closer than was then generally considered proper. See Stimson to McIntyre, June 21, 1926, Stimson Papers. Wood, on the other hand, held to the traditional concepts of American government although he was willing to make some slight concessions with regard to the Philippines. The government as established by Harrison with the aid of the Philippine leaders provided for an over-lapping of powers—e.g. Council of State, Board of Control, Emergency Board.
PHILIPPINE STUDIES

an American cabinet. Katherine Mayo's articles are very interesting and well written.

Wood to Stimson, May 5, 1925.

Your letter of March 12th was much appreciated. I agree that the Jones Act has its defects. Yet I believe that with certain changes the Act is adequate. Some Americans believe that all the governor-general's appointments should be made without the confirmation of the Philippine Senate. This asking for too much and would even annoy our own Senate. But something should be done to free the governor-general from petty annoyances with regard to Senate confirmation. With regard to the Non-Christian areas, it seems as if the Filipinos want to Filipinize them with a vengeance and without consideration to the sensibilities of those people. It is for this reason that the governor-general should have the right of appointing an American as governor of a Non-Christian province. I have lost hope of you ever coming out here.

Stimson to Wood, October 30, 1925.

I hear that Congress would vote for independence simply because it is tired of hearing about that all important question.

Wood to Stimson, March 2, 1926.

It is most urgent that I have a legal adviser. I have tried to get Washington to help.¹³³ The Board of Control must be broken up before long.¹³⁴ Do you know of a good man?

¹³³ In early 1924, Wood began his efforts to get each department of the executive branch to detail a man to the insular government. He was successful only in getting Secretary of Commerce Hoover to allow the Commerce Department's Manila agent to establish liaison with the governor-general's office. The lack of assistants plagued Wood. Cf. D. F. Davis to Coolidge, August 30, 1927; F. R. McCoy to F. McIntyre, May 9, 1924, McCoy Papers. See also notes 72 and 122.

¹³⁴ By early 1926, Wood was at the end of his patience with regard to the Board of Control (consisting of the Governor-General, Senate President, and Speaker of the House) which controlled the government shares in the government-owned corporations. As early as 1924, he asked Washington for a decision concerning the Board. However, it was not until November 9, 1926 that he abolished the Board by executive order. His action was sustained by the Philippine Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court.
Stimson to General McCoy, April 1, 1926.

A recent letter from Wood has all the earmarks of an S.O.S. Do you think Wood meant that he wants me to go out? Can I really help him?

McCoy to Stimson, April 6, 1926.

The General would certainly welcome your help. But please make certain that the Press considers it to be a pleasure trip.

Stimson to Wood, May 11, 1926.

My wife and I will not be able to stay as long as we want. Will see you soon.

Stimson to McCoy, June 3, 1926.

I saw Colonel Johnston recently. He is troubled by the Thompson Mission. He thinks that something is brewing. The Secretary of War, however, has assured me that Thompson’s visit was not meant to embarrass Wood.

General McIntyre to Stimson, June 16, 1926.

The Insular Government is in better condition today than it has been in years. And while the indebtedness of the Philippines has increased, the funds available to the government has increased. Secondly, there is respect and admiration for the Governor-General. Yet there is less friendliness towards us than at any other time. Maybe it might have been better to sacrifice efficiency for cooperation. Maybe Wood might have been more willing to compromise. But then who knows! However, he does not seem to bend on any point concerning his powers. And now there is the Supreme National Council which is the union of all parties. It is pledged to oppose the

---

235 There is no indication that Wood meant to have Stimson feel that he was the man Wood wanted. In fact, Wood’s letter is very similar in content to others he sent to leading friends in the Administration. Considering the number of times that Wood asked Stimson to see him, it is understandable why Stimson regarded the letter as an S.O.S.


237 Wood always felt that the Jones Act gave the Filipinos the widest latitude possible for self-development and self-rule. What annoyed him and stiffened his resistance to the overtures of the lea-
Governor-General. Somehow I wish that you had gone out to the Islands earlier. I believe that Wood might have listened to you about a re-conciliation with the leaders. You know that I have been in favor of maintaining the government there under the Jones Act. I have worked too long in perfecting it to now see it labelled a failure. Wood is perfectly right in living up to the Jones Act. And no one more than I believe in the precautions laid down by Secretary of War Baker for Harrison's benefit. The Governor's views concerning immediate independence were well known. As for Wood's actions with regard to the government's businesses, I sympathize with him. But maybe he should have gone more slowly. However, I do believe that the Board of Control will have to be abolished before we can have harmony. With reference to Wood's power of appointment, he insists on nominating men on the basis of merit rather than political expediency. You and I know that this can not lead to harmonious relations. And finally I am enclosing

238 General McIntyre could not know that Quezon created the Supreme National Council in order to destroy the effect of Coolidge's statement to Roxas in March, 1924, concerning the numbers of those who supported the Filipino claims against Wood. See Quezon to Harrison, August 21, 1926, Harrison Papers. See also note 79.

239 According to Newton D. Baker, McIntyre wrote the famed letter of August 18, 1916. See Baker to Villamin, August 26, 1924, Baker Papers.

240 Although Wood attempted to sell the government-owned businesses from the very moment he assumed office until his death, he never disposed of one business. His main contention was: if the Filipino people wanted the businesses then let them provide for their efficient, business-like administration which would be free from political pressures.

241 How General McIntyre believed that the abolition of the Board of Control could bring about harmonious relations is hard to understand.

242 According to the Jones Act, the governor-general had to reappoint his cabinet with each new legislature. The idea was to make the governor-general take into consideration the results of the insular elections. Despite the objections of many Americans and Filipinos, Wood complied with that provision of the Jones Act even though
copies of recent Philippine legislation pending before Congress.245

Stimson to McIntyre, June 21, 1926.

Thank you for your full letter. I think that you know my feelings towards close cooperation between all branches of the government. However, I have seen the dangers of allowing the legislature too much power with reference to appointments.244 As for seeing the leaders to discuss the question of harmony, it might be possible that they will not want to discuss the matter with a private citizen. According to the Press, efforts are being made in Congress to separate the Moros from the regular government of the Philippines. I would like your opinion on the subject.

McIntyre to Stimson, June 24, 1926.

According to the Bacon Bill, the Moros would be ruled separately. General Wood, I do not think, favors such a drastic step. With reference to leadership in the Islands, I feel that Osmeña would be the best man if it were not for the fact that he is "too timid" to meet opposition head-on. Quezon is on top at the moment. And despite present appearances he is probably more pro-American than anyone else. Sumulong is the most "reasonable man" among the leaders. Three younger men of... it placed him in an embarrassing situation. As for appointing someone desired by the leaders, Wood asked only that the man be capable of doing the job loyally, honestly, and efficiently.

245 This important letter with its several enclosures is more than twenty pages long. It is one of the more important pronouncements by General McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. In the opinion of this writer, McIntyre reveals in himself a certain ambivalence. It is obvious from the long discursive letter that he considers Wood to be somewhat responsible for the friction. Yet, in his capacity as the chain—the link—between the Philippines and the executive branch of the American government McIntyre did nothing to even suggest that it would be wise to remove Wood as governor-general. On the contrary, his many memorandums to the Secretary of War are filled not merely with admiration for Wood but also with solid recommendations for the sustenance of Wood's position. It is, of course, possible that McIntyre was tired of years of Philippine crisis and was giving way to a natural feeling of pessimism. There is even the remote chance that he painted the picture black in order to induce Stimson to urge a spirit of cooperation on the part of Wood. It was common knowledge that Wood had the highest respect for the ex-Secretary of War.

244 See note 232.
some importance are Santos, Laurel, and Corpus. Yet, each of these experienced men were forced out of the cabinet by the crisis. This shows that the leaders control "Filipino thought," and, secondly, the impossibility of doing anything except with the leaders. The General is expected home sometime next year. It is imperative that the leaders realize that his report of conditions in the Philippines will be accepted by the American nation. It would be unfortunate if Wood should come home believing that the leaders are totally uncooperative. Osmeña says that he understands all this and will cooperate. However, I am not too convinced of his protestations. In 1924 the Filipinos promised to cooperate and did nothing. At any rate, I think it might not hurt to let them know how things stand.

Charles A. Johns  to Stimson, September 13, 1926.

The Governor-General needs a legal adviser. The politicos have accused Wood of usurpation while it is they who have usurped the Jones Act. It is a wonder that the General has done as well as he has in spite of all his burdens.

Stimson to Wood, October 11, 1926.

Thank you for your kindness to us during our stay in the Philippines. As you know, I am against the annexation of the Islands. Yet, I am reluctant to consider relinquishing our sovereignty now or later. What must be done, I believe, is to amend the Jones Act, which is good, so that it offers the Philippines the status of a British dominion. I agree with Osmeña in that regard when he calls for dominion status. However, I think that the Filipino should take our American system and, if need be, perfect it. From what I can see Harrison thought along the same lines. His mistake was in going off half-cocked and not exercising his powers given him by the Jones Act, especially when things began to move too swiftly. With reference to a

246 In August, 1926, Senator Osmeña at a banquet in Cebu for Presidential-investigator Carmi Thompson startled everyone by calling for harmony and cooperation. Quezon was shocked into making a strong statement against Osmeña whose reaction was to tone down his call for cooperation. Quezon, however, was unhappy by Osmeña's obvious change of direction. See Quezon to Harrison, August 21, 1926, Harrison Papers.

247 This letter was a strange turn-about for Justice Johns who was known to many Americans and Filipinos in the Islands for his over-concern for his position and pension when and if independence came while he was still on the bench.
solution of the problems which are besetting you, I believe that the conferences we undertook with the leaders should be continued. They want a cabinet drawn from the leading party. In this, they are not all wrong. The idea of a governor-general standing above local politics is a dream. Maybe it would be interesting to appoint some of the leaders to your cabinet. But if you do this, the Filipinos must make it possible for the governor to have an adequate force for inspection and control. And moreover they must accept Americans as governors of the Non-Christian areas. I noticed that Quezon did not undertake to attack me vigorously for my statement in the Manila papers on the eve of my departure. I am writing to both Osméña and Quezon to urge them to consider my proposals carefully.

Stimson to Sergio Osmeña, October 12, 1926.

I hope that the conferences we held together with the Governor-General will continue. Maybe it will bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion.

Stimson to Manuel L. Quezon, October 12, 1926.

I do hope that the conferences will continue. I want to thank you for your kindness toward me while in Manila.

Stimson to Johns, October 26, 1926.

I agree with you about Wood's need for a legal adviser. However, I believe that the department secretaries should be confirmed by the Philippine Senate. But I do think that the governor-general should be allowed a staff of technical assistants responsible to him and appointed by him without reference to the Philippine Senate.

Wood thought that Stimson did not fully appreciate all the problems of practical everyday existence with the politicos. However, he did believe that Stimson's proposals offered the basis for further discussion. Moreover, he felt that the conferences might lead to a better understanding among all concerned. See entry for September 9, 1926, Wood Diary, Wood Papers.

When Stimson became governor-general in 1928 he did reconstitute the Council of State. Although he brought into it the heads of both houses, plus the majority and minority floor leaders of both houses, the Stimson Council of State was merely an advisory body. He refused to re-establish the Council with the power and duties it had under Harrison and Wood. When speaking of Stimson's restoration of the Council of State, many writers forget that his was without power.

The Belo Act of 1928 provided for $125,000 for the establishment of a staff of advisers to the governor-general. This advisory
Stimson to McIntyre, Confidential, October 27, 1926.

Since you were so kind to me last June, I would like to give you my impressions. While there I spoke freely with the leaders on many occasions. As for the General's health, he is in the best of condition despite rumors to the contrary. However, he has been subjected to attacks which would have drained the strength of a weaker man. Nevertheless he does need a rest. In my conversations with Osmeña and Quezon separately and then collectively, I gave them my views of government. As you probably know, Osmeña last August made a conciliatory speech which was violently attacked by Quezon. When I asked Wood if he would call Osmeña in for a conference, he heartily agreed. Wood said that he was willing to compromise as long as proper safeguards were taken. Later Osmeña asked me if Quezon and Roxas could be brought into the conferences. At our meeting, all agreed to work hard for some solution. I left them my suggestions which I feel could lead to harmonious relations.251 As for Wood's so-called dictatorial stance, I have been told that he has been both patient and over-cautious. I hope that this letter is of some interest.252

Stimson to Elihu Root, October 29, 1926.

I cannot believe that you would recommend independence for the Islands. After what I saw, I would never agree to that step.

Stimson to McCoy, Personal, November 24, 1926.

I have asked Wood to continue to meet with the leaders.

Quezon to Stimson, December 11, 1926.

The Governor-General did not bother to call us into conference after you left. Then without warning he abolished the Board of Control. He did this in the face of our friendly attitude as demonstrated in the last session of the Legislature.253

---

251 The suggestions made by Stimson were later put into operation in a limited fashion. They came as a result of the continual pressure by Wood and later by Stimson for efficient administration.

252 This letter is over fifteen pages. It is an important reflection of Stimson's views on the Philippines. In it, he reveals a certain cocksureness—if we may impute this to a careful, perhaps very distant, conservative man—which could only come from years of believing that he had the answer for perfecting the American government.

253 Quezon overstated the friendship of the Legislature and the tactics by which Wood caught the political leaders off guard. As for
Stimson to Wood, December 24, 1926.

I saw the President two days ago. We were alone for more than an hour discussing the Philippines. Before I saw him, McIntyre told me that the Thompson Report is unfortunate in its attack on you and the so-called Khaki Cabinet. He said that he recommended that it not be published. When I saw the President we took up the Thompson Mission. He said that he sent the mission out because the Press had begun to hint that Washington was not being properly informed about conditions in the Islands. He finally said that he would protect you by saying that he does not agree with all aspects of the Report. At any rate, the President is solidly behind you. I took up with him our conferences and our hopes for harmony based upon those meetings. Later I saw Chief Justice Taft. He is thoroughly in favor of trying for a compromise. He acknowledged that it would be impossible to return to the situation prior to Harrison's arrival. I have seen Root and a host of others trying to warm them up to the idea of a responsible cabinet supported by an inspection force. As you can see, you have really interested me in Oriental affairs!

Stimson to Taft, December 27, 1926.

As you know I have seen the President. In the course of our meeting, I asked him pointedly if he intended to remove Wood. He said that it "would be a crime" to do so. I then took up the issue of the Thompson Report, especially the so-called

Wood's sudden decision to abolish the Board of Control, it must be noted that while the Governor-General did act vigorously and without prior notice, he did nevertheless have sufficient cause for his action. In one instance alone, the Board spent more than three years of endless negotiations for the sale of the Cebu Portland Cement Company only to have one or both of the Filipino members of the Board refuse to honor a previous commitment concerning the sale. In the days just prior to the abolition of the Board, Wood saw a perfectly valid contract for the sale of the cement company—one which had the sanction of the leaders—scrapped on the grounds that the Senate President was running into trouble because of his acceptance of the deal. Wood had in other words exhausted his patience.

254 The issue of army men as assistants to the governor-general has already been discussed at length to require treatment here.

255 The why of the Thompson Mission has never been fully answered. However, it is possible to speculate that Coolidge might have wanted to undercut Filipino criticism. If so, the mission came as a complete surprise to Quezon.
Khaki issue. It was both unfair and unnecessary. Please impress upon the President the injustice of those comments.\footnote{256}{The Thompson Report prompted ex-Governor Frank W. Carpenter, Department of Mindanao and Sulu, to tell McIntyre that Thompson's attack on army assistants of Wood showed the superficiality of the whole report. See Carpenter to McIntyre, February 15, 1927, Carpenter Personnel File, Bureau of Insular Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.}

Wood to Stimson, December 28, 1926.

Thank you for your letter of October. As for Osmeña, he has been dodging the issue of cooperation. He claims that he is waiting for the right moment before coming out into the open. He says that the Supreme National Council will collapse any day and that will be the time to move. The only trouble is that there is nothing be done to create a two-party structure. How can we select secretaries from a dominant party when there is only one party—the Quezon dominated organization. If only Osmeña would stand up and be counted.\footnote{257}{The unwillingness of Osmeña to develop and sustain an attack against Quezon in the face of a permanent rupture between himself and the Senate President is well-known.}

In the meanwhile, we are cordial. Thank you for your cable telling me to disregard the criticism by Thompson concerning the men who have served me here. I do not know how he could have done this. Returning to the question you raised about cabinet responsibility, I am in agreement with you. However, we must have a “real party” here. As for the need of technical assistants, I agree with you. As for having the heads of the Legislature in the cabinet, I am afraid that nothing good would be accomplished. When we had that situation before, the cabinet would never stand up to the leaders. It is the same way in the Legislature. Even the appointive senators and representatives attack me only to apologize later.\footnote{258}{As noted above Stimson did not re-create the powerful Council of State. In the Harrison and Wood Council the heads of both houses occupied places of power.}

I finally abolished the Board of Control. Quezon and Roxas have vowed to fight me in the courts. Aguinaldo has come out in support of my stand.\footnote{259}{Aguinaldo’s backing of Wood was the climax of several years of growing friendship between the American governor-general and the Filipino President and his Veterans. Quezon was quite naturally enflamed by the open support given Wood. It may be said that Quezon never quite forgave his former commander-in-chief. Cf. Quezon to Harrison, August 21, 1926, Harrison Papers.} To repeat, I wish that we can persuade Osmeña to come...
out and fight. Two strong parties are needed here.\textsuperscript{260} And as for the Thompson Report, I am not going to make any comment on it publicly. Forbes is out here gathering material for his book. Personally I feel that he has gone into too much detail. Nicholas Roosevelt’s recent book is excellent although I differ on certain points. He seems to think that the Dutch have done a better job than we have here. But he forgets, as do many commentators on the Far East, that the Dutch did not come out here to create a self-governing nation but to establish a colony capable of supporting the homeland. The Dutch err on the side of economic development to the exclusion of political and educational development. We on the other hand have stressed educational and political growth without stressing the material aspects of life. I am now recuperating from a serious hernia operation. Again I thank you for your talks with the President. I will be home in the Spring and back here by October.

Stimson to McIntyre, January 12, 1927.

If there is very little excess revenue in the Islands just how are the leaders going to sustain their claims concerning independence. I would think that they need more capital before independence.\textsuperscript{261}

McIntyre to Stimson, January 14, 1927.

It is obvious that the Philippines have been governed for the sole advantage of the Filipino people. Every colonial power has watched our progress there. The Islands have made great progress in these last three decades. But all this will stop unless the Filipinos wake up to the economic needs of the situation.\textsuperscript{262} Once we leave it will be too late.

McIntyre to Stimson, January 22, 1927.

I want to thank you for your critique of my recent article in the January issue of the Army & Navy Journal. It was meant to do justice to the General without offending the Filipino leaders. Many of Wood’s admirers have needlessly antagonized the politicos. My feeling is that the article will help him without hurting his efforts in the Islands.\textsuperscript{263}

\textsuperscript{260} See note 84.

\textsuperscript{261} Stimson spent the major portion of his short tenure of office trying in vain to convince the Philippine Legislature that the future of their nation lay in attracting large amounts of foreign and American capital into the Islands.

\textsuperscript{262} McIntyre at virtually every opportunity afforded him beat the drums for Filipino economic self-sufficiency.

\textsuperscript{263} There is no question that the Isles of Fear, for example, not only shocked the leaders by its directness, but also caught them un-
Taft to Stimson, January 22, 1927.

The Thompson Report was a sheer waste of time. The man meant well but was unsuited to the task. How could he have done an injustice to Wood's aides!

Stimson to Quezon, January 29, 1927.

I am glad that you were satisfied with our conferences last September. I am sorry that they have not continued. Perhaps the recent illness of the General has been the cause. I know that he said that he was pleased with the conferences.


As you know the General is taking a much-deserved holiday. It is rumored that the President will not let him return for reasons of health. If that happens, we must carry on in the Wood manner. In my opinion, you are the man. We have "no Colonial Service" from which to draw our administrators. The governor-generacy is the hardest position a man can be offered. In the old days of the Commission government, the governor-general was a "benevolent dictator." Today the chief executive is virtually helpless. The whole governmental structure is divided in loyalty between the politicos who tug at civil servants one way and the Governor-General who asks honest, fearless, efficient administration.

Wood to Stimson, Personal, February 26, 1927.

I am still unable to understand the Thompson attack. You cannot know how much I resent his term "Khaki Cabinet." During his whole stay here, he never really questioned me about the Islands or showed much interest in the situation. Prepared for such a hard-hitting exposé. But there is no doubt that Wood was pleased by the stimulus caused by Mayo's, Williams', and Roosevelt's books both in the Islands and the States. This writer is certain, however, that while Wood knew that Miss Mayo had overdone her defense of his administration, he was unwilling to criticize a charming lady.

Wood's interview with Carmi Thompson is reported in the Wood Diary in some detail. It seems that by the time the Presidential-investigator got around to sitting down with Wood he had already formed his opinions and his solutions to the Philippine problem. During the somewhat one-sided meeting Wood was struck by the fact of Thompson's protestations of friendship for him. See entry for September 15, 1926, Wood Diary, Wood Papers.
Stimson to Duckworth-Ford, April 8, 1927.

I appreciate what you have said about Wood. The President has just re-affirmed his support of the General by vetoing the Philippine Plebiscite Bill. He is giving the Governor-General his full support. I do not think that we need worry about the General.

Duckworth-Ford to Stimson, August 8, 1927.

We have just received word of the death of the Governor-General. It was a shock. We must have a successor immediately. For the next few months, the Filipinos are more likely to be amenable to direction. However, I am certain that the politicos will try to get the President to select some lesser individual. Please consider the post of governor-general. The President gained considerable respect out here for his support of Wood’s “judgment and sense of equity.”

George Fairchild to Stimson, August 19, 1927.

Everyone here wants you as governor-general.265 However, Gilmore would be acceptable because of his known sympathy for Wood’s policies.266

Gilmore to Stimson, Confidential, September 3, 1927.

The death of Wood was a severe shock. Now, more than ever, there must be no change in policy. Since your departure I have been observing that there is no party formed on “real issues.” When I mentioned this to Professor Maximo Kalaw, he said that since the Jones Act there has been no “party government.” In fact, since 1921, he continued, elections have been conducted on personal issues instead of party platforms. I think that your suggestions can be worked out. But it seems that the leaders might make them the basis for accepting the next governor-general. Now that Wood is gone, I have begun to feel the pressures of his office. He had remarkable strength.

265 In November, 1927, Stimson told Secretary of War Davis that he would be governor-general under certain conditions. He had to know if the President was sympathetic to his Philippine views as stated in articles written for the Saturday Evening Post and Foreign Affairs. Moreover, he would not serve beyond March, 1929. And he wanted advisers as he could not speak Spanish. See Stimson to Davis, Personal and Confidential, November 11, 1927, Stimson Personnel File, Bureau of Insular Affairs.

266 Gilmore wanted to be Wood’s successor. See Gilmore to Jonathan M. Wainwright, September 25, 1927, Wainwright Papers.
As for technical assistants, we need them badly. I hope that something can be done.

Stimson to Gilmore, October 1, 1927.

If I were governor-general, I would want the bosses in my cabinet where I could keep my eye on them. You are right about the General's strength. However, his successor must have assistants. I am glad to see that you are willing to stay on in order to provide for continuity of Wood's policies.

Moorfield Storey Papers

Quezon to Moorfield Storey, July 13, 1922.

We are in the process of organizing a group of Americans for the purpose of a concerted propaganda drive in the States. I think that the time has come for such a program.

J. C. de Veyra to Storey, August 4, 1922.

I am glad that you read Governor Harrison's excellent book. With reference to your call for a vigorous propaganda campaign, we are taking the matter under consideration. If Manila will bear the expenses, we might be on the eve of a vigorous campaign.

William Howard Taft Papers

W. Cameron Forbes to William H. Taft, January 6, 1921.

I do not want to be governor-general. However, I would go out to the Islands for a short while if I was a member of a committee.

Taft to Horace D. Taft, January 31, 1921.

Harding asked me if I would appoint Wood as Secretary of War. I told him that Wood was a poor choice. However, I would appoint him to the cabinet as Secretary of the Interior. When we returned to the Philippines, he said that he was opposed to independence. I said that his best choice was Forbes for the Philippines. Returning to Wood, we agreed that he was

---

267 See Moorfield to J. C. de Veyra, July 29, 1922, Harrison Papers.

268 See note 182.

269 See note 199.

270 Taft's letter to his brother is a description of an interview he had with Harding on December 24, 1920.
“progressive and aggressive” and won the loyalty of those who worked with him. However, we both felt that Wood should not be appointed to the War Department.

Henry B. McCoy to Taft, March 23, 1921.

Things are really bad out here. The next governor-general will really need the sympathy and support of Washington. If independence is imminent, then it does not matter who is the next chief executive here. But if American sovereignty is to remain, then we need the best man. I see that Wood and Forbes are on their way to us. I think that it was a big mistake not to have appointed a governor-general who would be able to work with these men.\textsuperscript{271} It has only added to the political uncertainty in the Islands. Of course, Yeater is a good Vice-Governor but we need a governor-general as soon as possible.

Wood to Taft, Personal and Confidential, June 11, 1921.

The situation here defies expression. I am convinced that something must be done to salvage the pieces here.

Weeks to Taft, July 25, 1921.

Thank you for Wood’s recent letter. The situation is as bad as he says. I am very worried about the Philippines.

Taft to Wood, August 14, 1921.

Let me congratulate you on your appointment as governor-general. It will entail a sacrifice on your part which I believe the American people will come to appreciate. Harrison made such a mess of things that his successor was bound to find things difficult. The best of luck.

Gregorio Araneta to Taft, September 9, 1921.

I was honored when Wood and Forbes considered me for Chief Justice of our Supreme Court. I am glad that Wood is governor-general. The recent mission was important to our country. The General will straighten things out here.

Taft to Dean C. Worcester, September 10, 1921.

\textsuperscript{271} According to the original plan of Forbes, there would be no new governor-general until the commission was satisfied that conditions warranted its withdrawal from the Islands.
again. Osmeña and Quezon represent a "standard of civilization" that "isn't a high one."

Serapion Nicolas to Taft, September 24, 1921.

Things have gone from bad to worse here. Wood is about to assume office. Our thanks go out to him. The American people must help correct the evils here.

Taft to Nicolas, November 2, 1921.

I have always been of the opinion that Harrison's administration was a "retrogression" for the Filipino people.

E. Finley Johnson to Taft, January 26, 1922.

Things are still not what they should be here. The Philippines has suffered a loss of fifty million pesos. Wood is acting cautiously but firmly.

John W. Weeks to Taft, April 13, 1922.

I would like it very much if I could talk Philippine matters over with you. You are the most informed person on the Philippines.

Taft to Weeks, April 14, 1922.

I will be glad to talk with you any time. While I no longer have personal contact with the Philippines, I do have many friends there who keep me supplied with information.

Wood to Taft, Personal, May 10, 1922.

Things are moving along nicely. However, I feel that more progress can be made if the leaders pulled together. The Independence Fund, according to lawyers here, is unconstitutional. Now the leaders are off on a mission to the United States. I asked Osmeña and Quezon to stay here until the June elections are over. Osmeña has the political machine but Quezon can wreck it if he stayed here. Naturally, it is to Osmeña's advantage to get Quezon out of the Philippines. Their junket will cost at least $125,000. And what is worse, both of them have told me that they do not expect anything to be accomplished.\(^{272}\) As for the Jones Act, I am going to give it a try before suggesting any changes. As things stand now, I may have to stay later than I anticipated. I hope the President can get the University of Pennsylvania to extend my leave of absence.

\(^{272}\) See notes 82 and 83.
Jose P. Laurel to Taft, January 10, 1923.

I want to tell you of my promotion to Acting Secretary of the Interior. The Governor-General is a fine man. He is "typically American" with a "reasonable combination of liberal and conservative ideas" about the Philippines. He is very "energetic and determined" and has a "big heart."

Henry D. Woolfe\(^{273}\) to Taft, February 27, 1923.

Jose Abad Santos is one of Wood's best selections. He is really a gifted young man. If all Filipinos were like him and de las Alas, we could turn the Islands free.

Johnson to Taft, August 10, 1923.

By now, I am sure that you know of the situation existing here since July. Quezon is determined to control and thus further aggravate things here. A few days ago, Teodoro M. Kalaw stated in the Press that the Legislature would confirm the appointments of only those secretaries who support Quezon and his policies. Can a government be a "very stable one when one policeman" can turn the government upside down? I think that Quezon is a troublemaker. If he was somewhere else, things might quiet down here.

Taft to Charles D. Hilles,\(^{274}\) September 8, 1923.

Wood is too far away from here to be a successful candidate for the presidency. Moreover, he has an "ugly problem" to handle.

Taft to Johnson, September 9, 1923.

Your feelings about Quezon are exactly the same as mine.

Taft to Thomas L. Hartigan,\(^{275}\) Personal, December 14, 1923.

Wood is having a very hard time. The Democrats really made a mess of the Islands.

Worcester to Taft, February 12, 1924.

Wood is having his troubles with the leaders. He has been very patient and considerate with them—for more than I would have thought possible. He really has the "best interests" of the Philippines "at heart."

\(^{273}\) A long-time resident in Manila.

\(^{274}\) A national Republican committeeman.

\(^{275}\) A leading member of the American community in Manila.
Woolfe to Taft, February 23, 1924.

It seems that Quezon and his group are now trying to become friendly with Wood.276

Wood to Taft, March 31, 1924.

The President’s letter to Roxas has had some good effect. The so-called crisis here is artificial. I know that the people want independence but at some future time.277 A few days ago, I sent the War Department a statement concerning my views on the problem here. It is time that we come to realize that no western nation can rule an alien people—but the question is when do we leave.

Taft to Wood, May 6, 1924.

I have your recent letter. You have my sympathy and prayers. You have had to meet “greater humbug, greater chicanery, greater corruption” than any other man. “The audacity with which they use every method of misrepresentation can only be understood by one who has had to do with that kind of cattle.” There is no liberty in the Philippines. The Islands are not ready for self-government. The “cheek” by which they have violated the Jones Act assaults the senses. “You are doing a greater service and one that is greater because of the absence of all reward except the consciousness of duty well done.”278

Wood to Taft, July 28, 1924.

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your letter of May. The people want independence but sometime in the future.

276 See note 123.

277 In his book, The Corner-stone of Philippine Independence, Harrison said the same thing concerning Filipino desire for independence. See p. 293.

278 When the late Hermann Hagedorn was writing his biography of Wood, Robert A. Taft, later Senator from Ohio, refused to let him even paraphrase his father’s letter. He felt that his father would not want to be remembered by the Filipinos as being caustic toward their leaders. See Taft to Hagedorn, May 19, 1931, Hermann Hagedorn Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. What the young Taft did not seem to remember—or care to recall—was the running feud his father waged with Wilson concerning Harrison’s administration. It was extremely bitter. It might be noted that Hagedorn respected Taft’s wishes.
Taft to Wood, September 16, 1924.

Your letter is appreciated. I am certain that the re-election of Coolidge will be beneficial to the Philippines.

Taft to T. H. Pardo de Tavera, January 12, 1925.

It is good to hear from you again. The policy of Wilson and Harrison completely discouraged me. "I am very, very sorry" to see what has gone on in the Islands. Osmeña and Quezon are not "working for the benefit of the Filipino people." In fact, I wonder if we should stay in the Philippines at all.

Taft to John Hudson Poole,\textsuperscript{279} Personal, July 6, 1925.

Your impressions of the Islands were interesting. I devoted twelve years to the Philippines. I cannot possibly tell you how the Wilson administration exasperated me. I urged Secretary of War Garrison not to move too quickly in the Islands. But what did they do. They removed Forbes and put a man in who was a disgrace to himself and his country. What could the Republicans do in 1921? We could not repeal the Jones Act. That might have entailed bloodshed which the American people would never have supported. In fact most Americans do not even think of the Philippines anymore. "The outrages of the Harrison" regime were done while the country's attention was diverted by the World War. "I am sorry to have talked so much" but I am dejected at times like these. I have been open with you because we think alike on the subject.

Wood to Taft, Personal, March 18, 1926.

Quezon has created the Supreme National Council. I think that a visit here of fifty or sixty men from the commercial bodies of our larger cities would do a lot of good. I have sent you a copy of an interview I gave to Edward Price Bell of the Chicago Daily News. It has the approval of the President. It is the only one I have given out.

Taft to William Dinwiddie,\textsuperscript{280} Confidential, April 10, 1926.

I really do not know if Thompson has the capacity to make a worthwhile report on the Philippines.

Taft to Wood, April 27, 1926.

You have re-kindled my faith in our work in the Philippines. It is a wonder how you could maintain such efficiency

\textsuperscript{279} A Kansas City newspaper publisher.  
\textsuperscript{280} A friend of Taft.
in the face of the opposition of the politicos. I once agreed with President Roosevelt when he said that we should let the Philippines go. He knew, as I did, of the debacle of Harrison. It was disgusting to see Wilson turn the Islands over to "greedy politicians." But you have restored my faith. My only fear is that you will give up the task before there is someone competent to succeed you.\textsuperscript{281}

Taft to James T. Williams, Jr., June 8, 1926.

I see that you are off to the Philippines with the Thompson Mission. Wood has done an "admirable" job. The Democrats "destroyed one of the best Colonial" governments ever created. And they turned over the government to Quezon and Osmeña. I feel that two more generations are needed there. I must stop!

Wood to Taft, June 15, 1926.

Please let me say that your two letters are "in themselves much valued rewards." Thank you! If only the leaders here would work for the "true interests" of the people. I have given them every consideration and have been patient with them. The "radical Americans" here regard all this as a sign of weakness.\textsuperscript{282} All I have ever done was ask them to live up to the Jones Act.

Woolfe to Taft, September 21, 1926.

If you had foreseen the troubles that have occurred here since you left, I know that you would never have urged Roosevelt to allow a legislature for the Philippines.

Taft to Henry W. Taft,\textsuperscript{283} December 28, 1926.

Thompson has made a "fool of himself." I shall certainly tell the President what I think of the whole report. Khaki Cabinet! What a "thoughtless" comment. I shall tell "Calvin" my feelings on the subject regardless of what he has to say. I know more about that subject than anyone here.

\textsuperscript{281}Robert Taft allowed Hagedorn to paraphrase this letter. See Taft to Hagedorn, May 19, 1931, Hagedorn Papers.

\textsuperscript{282} Cf. Ross to Harrison, March 3, 1923, Hoskins to Westerson, [April, 1923].

\textsuperscript{283}This letter was meant for Henry L. Stimson. However, it caused Taft's brother to write back that his respect for Wood had been somewhat restored because of his work in the Philippines. See Henry W. Taft to Taft, December 29, 1926.
ONORATO: LEONARD WOOD

Stimson to Taft, January 20, 1927.

Your brother forwarded your letter. I am glad to see that you see things the same way I do concerning that Report.

Taft to Stimson, January 22, 1927.

The Thompson Report was a sheer waste of time. The man meant well but was unsuited to the task. How could he have done an injustice to Wood's aides!

Daniel R. Williams to Taft, March 11, 1927.

The Thompson Report is not going to help matters in the Philippines. The whole report is a "scarcely veiled attack" on Wood. It is possible that Thompson hoped to curry favor with the politicos in the hope of succeeding Wood when he was forced into retirement.

Taft to Williams, March 21, 1927.

Thompson's attack was unnecessary. I do not understand why Coolidge sent him out.

Taft to C. N. Sisson, confidential, March 25, 1927.

What I say now is between us. I do not believe in Philippine independence for the next generation or more. I believe that Wood deserves our respect.

Taft to Henry C. Coe, confidential, May 2, 1927.

"Leonard Wood awakens my deep sympathy and my grateful appreciation as a citizen." He has done what I thought could never be done when he went there. He must have our support.

Wood to Taft, July 9, 1927.

Your letters always give me great satisfaction. I expect to return to Manila in September. In the next few days I will be in Boston on personal matters. Thank you for your fine letter to the President on my behalf.

284 Sisson was Dean of the Marion Institute of Ohio.
285 An old friend of Wood and Taft.
286 On August 7, 1927, Wood underwent a long overdue brain operation. Because of his pride about physical well-being, Wood kept the nature of his trip to Boston a well-guarded secret.
Taft to Wood, July 18, 1927.

I cannot agree with those who want to separate the Philippines from the jurisdiction of the War Department.

Wood to Taft, August 3, 1927.

I am happy to see that we agree about keeping the Philippines under the War Department. I hope the change to the Department of the Interior\textsuperscript{287} will not be done. I urged the President not to make the change.

Taft to Crafton Wilcox,\textsuperscript{288} telegram, August 7, 1927.

I mourn the loss of a loyal American. His self-sacrifice has not been fully appreciated by the people. He has "given up his life" in the service of his country.

Taft to John Hays Hammond,\textsuperscript{289} August 11, 1927.

I believe that Wood's last years were the greatest in his long years of service. I do not think that our people appreciate what he has done out there. He deserves the "deep gratitude" of the American and Filipino people.

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright Papers

Eugene A. Gilmore to J. M. Wainwright,\textsuperscript{290} July 23, 1927.

My relations with the Legislature has been cordial so far. We have had several congressmen here this year. Representative Gilbert of Kentucky has just arrived.\textsuperscript{291} These visits will help future Philippine legislation.

Wainwright to Gilmore, August 24, 1927.

The death of Wood has made the question of a successor of great importance. I feel that you are qualified to succeed him.

\textsuperscript{287} Much later the affairs of the Philippines would be handled by the Department of the Interior.

\textsuperscript{288} Editor of the \textit{New York Herald-Tribune}.

\textsuperscript{289} An old friend of Wood and Taft.

\textsuperscript{290} Assistant Secretary of War at the time.

\textsuperscript{291} Representative Gilbert was given a free trip to the Philippines by the Filipino leaders. See the cables between Guevara and Quezon for May-June, 1927, Quezon Papers. This was Gilbert's second trip in a year to the Far East.
Gilmore to Wainwright, September 25, 1927.

Thank you for your vote of confidence. The Press is now full of the rumors that the President has invited the leaders to a conference. The leaders have tried for the last three years to forget that the President ever wrote that letter to Roxas in March, 1924. As for my succeeding Wood, my only desire is to keep up the policies he so courageously developed. As Wood said many times, he hoped that Coolidge would let me succeed him.

ERRATA

In part one, (Volume 12, No. 1 (January 1964), 124-48):
It was stated that a copy of the Forbes Journals can be found in Manila. The Forbes Journals can be seen only at Harvard University Library and the Library of Congress.

In part two (Volume 12, No. 2 (April 1964), 296-314):
Note 122 (p. 303): substitute "Guevara" for "Gabaldon."

Note 138 (p. 309) as the result of recent research should now read:

"Wood had been urging Stimson to visit him since 1922. The presence of Stimson and Thompson in the Islands was pure coincidence—one of those coincidences that are rarely accepted as such."

In the letter of Wood to Hayden for June 3, 1925 (p. 313), substitute "1926" for "1925" and in the first line of the letter substitute "now" for "not".