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Table of Contents

The Philippines as an American Colony

> *"The average American has a very hazy idea of the geographical location of the Philippine Islands …. Senator [John Sharp] Williams of Mississippi enjoyed telling how, as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Relations during the Spanish-American War, it was one of his arduous tasks to climb upon a stool and point out the Islands on the map for the benefit of his colleagues."*

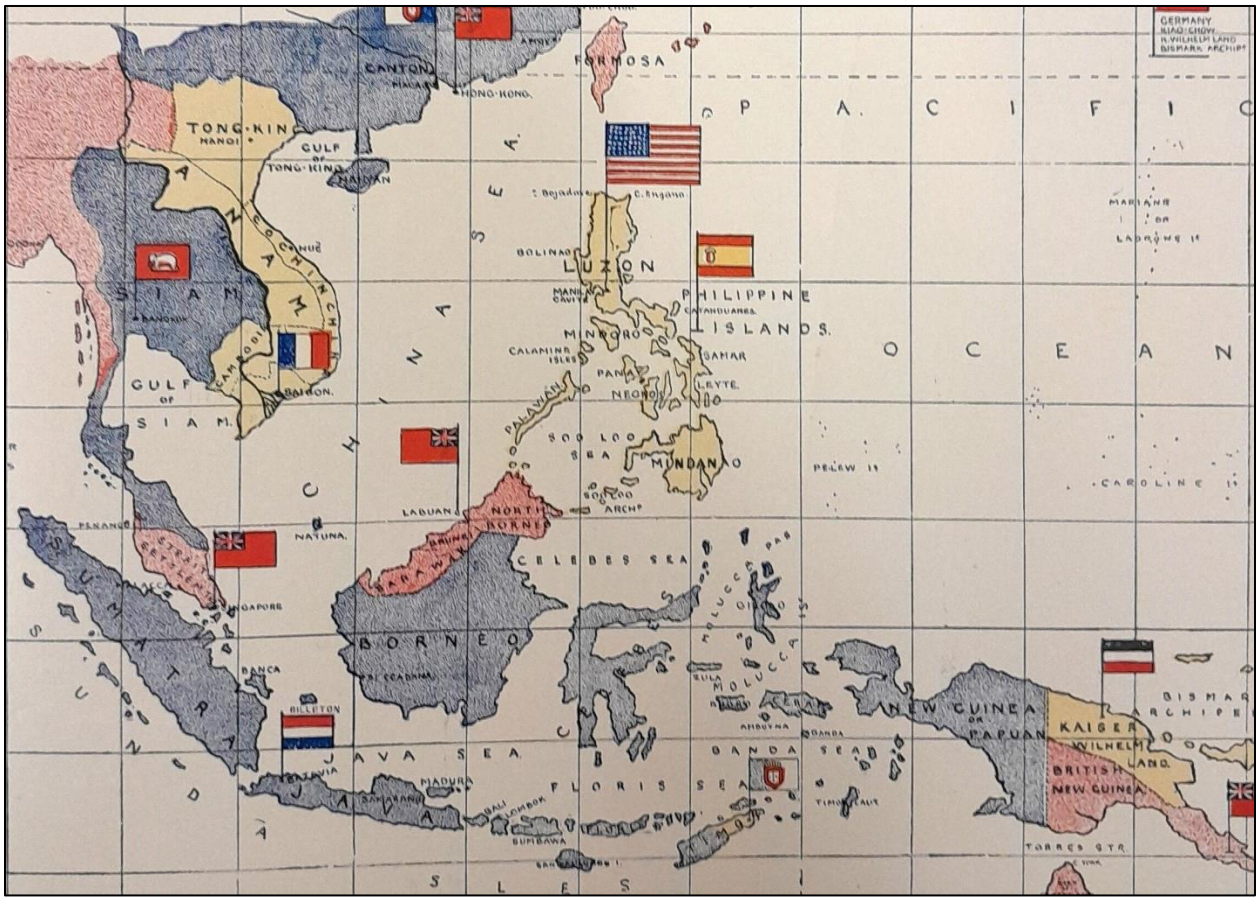
The words above were penned by Geoge A. Malcolm (1939, 5–6), Senior Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, when the Philippines had been an American colony for four decades. While most Americans of today know of the Philippines, the American colonial experience in the Islands remains an understudied aspect of American history. This current research project sheds light on this experience by examining the lives of various Mississippians who worked in the Philippine government during this period. All those included either lived in the Philippines for at least five years or had a prominent position.

The Philippine-American War

The United States officially gained sovereignty over the Philippines from Spain with the ratification on February 6, 1899, of the Treaty of Paris of 1898. The Spanish-American War was now over, but two days earlier the Philippine-American War began, with Philippine nationalists continuing a fight against Western colonialism that began against the Spanish a few years earlier (Kramer 2006, 78, 111). By August 1, 1900, the Army's Philippine Division consisted of over 63,000 troops (MacArthur 1900, 1). Before the official end of the war on July 4, 1902, over 4,000 American troops died from wounds and diseases, and casualties among Filipino soldiers and civilians were much greater, though accurate numbers are not available (Kramer 2006, 154, 157).

This photo with the caption "Covering the Advance of the Filipino Insurgents" shows American troops engaged in combat in America's first war of the twentieth century (Givens 1901, scan 105).

America's new western frontier had a diverse population of over seven million people scattered over thousands of islands. The majority were Catholics, but the southern islands contained a large population of Muslims, commonly known as Moros. There were also a number of "wild tribes" in various parts of the archipelago (USBC 1905, 2:15, 46, 48). As shown in the map below, the United States now joined Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands as colonial powers with major possessions in Southeast Asia, and American territory was also in close proximity to China and to the Japanese empire, which had annexed Formosa (Taiwan) in 1895.



Map showing the Philippine Islands and its colonized neighbors in 1900 (Wilcox 1900, 45).

Establishment of the Philippine Civil Service

The transition from American military rule to American civilian rule began on September 1, 1900, when President McKinley gave legislative authority over most of the Philippines to a group of five Americans known as the Philippine Commission (Kramer 2006, 151). Various government bureaus were established, and Act No. 5 created a Civil Service Board which "shall prepare rules … [for] the establishment and maintenance of an efficient and honest civil service in all the executive branches of the government of the Philippine Islands, central, departmental and provincial, and of the city of Manila, by appointments and promotions according to merit and by competitive

examinations where the same are practicable" (Division of Insular Affairs, War Department 1901, 14–15). On July 4, 1901, the head of the Commission, William Howard Taft, became the first civilian American governor, though certain areas deemed unstable continued under a military governor for another year (Kramer 2006, 151–54). The other members of the Commission became departmental secretaries to whom heads of government bureaus reported. Three Filipinos were added to the Commission on September 2, though no Filipino would serve as a departmental secretary until 1908 (Elliot 1917, 510–11).

Many of the early civil service employees were American soldiers such as **Ellis Cromwell** and **James M. Liddell** who stayed in the Islands after being discharged, while others were appointed while in the States. Several native Mississippians held prominent positions in the government, especially during the first twelve years of American rule. **Bolivar L. Falconer** was a member of the Civil Service Board and later director of the Bureau of Civil Service, and **Joseph F. Cooper** was one of the first associate justices of the Philippine Supreme Court. From 1903 to 1911, the Bureau of Agriculture was led by **Wayne C. Welborn** and **George E. Nesom**, and Cromwell led the Bureau of Internal Revenue from late 1909 until his death in 1912. Other Mississippians held important but less prominent positions in the Islands, and their stories also provide a lens through which to view the American colonial project.

The bureau most represented in this publication is the Philippine Constabulary, an island-wide police force that operated along military lines. While the majority of officers were Americans for the first decade or so, enlisted personnel were always drawn exclusively from "natives" of the Islands. The military nature of the Constabulary was such that a law passed by the U.S. Congress in 1928 declared that "active duty performed as an officer of the Philippine Constabulary shall be credited to the same extent as service under a Regular Army commission (*An Act to Recognize* 1928). Two of the longest-serving Constabulary personnel were **Robert G. Woods** and **Luther R. Stevens**. Not to be confused with the Philippine Constabulary, which was part of the Philippine Government, were the Philippine Scouts, who were part of the U. S. Army.

The Road to Philippine Independence

An elected Philippine Assembly held lower-house legislative authority beginning in 1907, and the Assembly selected two Filipinos to serve as non-voting members in the U. S. Congress (Kramer 2006, 287). Five years later, Woodrow Wilson was elected President on a Democratic platform that advocated "an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established …" (Democratic Party 1912). Wilson's inauguration marked the end of what some call the "Taft Era," during which William H. Taft had authority over Philippine affairs in his positions as Governor, Secretary of War, and President.

The arrival of Wilson's choice for Governor-General, Francis Burton Harrison, marked the beginning of a "New Era" that included accelerated "Filipinization" of the Civil Service. This led to more Filipinos being placed in leadership positions in the government. Harrison acknowledged

that this "impaired somewhat the efficiency of administration" but insisted that this was necessary to give Filipinos leadership experience (Harrison 1922, 88). In 1916, the U. S. Congress abolished the Philippine Commission and gave Filipinos both upper-house and lower-house legislative authority, subject to the veto of the Governor-General (*An Act to Declare* 1916).

After the election of Republican Warren G. Harding as President in 1920, Harding sent retired Army General Leonard Wood and former Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes to investigate the situation in the Philippines. The Wood-Forbes Report was critical of Harrison's administration, asserting that "the orderly process of promotion of proved efficiency from the less important positions was changed to a hurried Filipinization" (Wood and Forbes 1921, 17). The authors also "recommend[ed] that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands" (Wood and Forbes 1921, 46). Much to the dismay of many Filipinos, Harding appointed Wood, who had served as Governor of Moro Province and in other positions in the Islands, as Governor-General (Kramer 2006, 388–90). However, Filipinization continued, and more and more technical and professional positions formerly dominated by Americans were taken up by Filipinos who had graduated from universities in the United States, the University of the Philippines, established in 1908, and other institutions in the Islands.

In 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, which called for the independence of the Philippines after a ten-year transitional government. The Commonwealth began in 1935. Popularly-elected Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon served as chief executive instead of a Governor-General appointed in Washington, though the President of the United States and the U. S. Supreme Court maintained ultimate authority in many important matters (Malcolm 1939, 126, 397, 421–34).

"The President of the United States welcoming Members of the Philippine Mission bringing the Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth." U. S. National Archives, Record Group 111 (Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860 – 1985), Photographs of American Military Activities, ca. 1918 – ca. 1981. https://catalog.archives.gov/id/329587359.

During World War II, the Philippines endured over three years of Japanese military occupation. Many Mississippians such as **Luther R. Stevens** became prisoners of war, while some others such as **George Welborn** and **Robert G. Woods** were interned in civilian camps. On July 4, 1946, President Harry S. Truman signed a proclamation granting full independence to the Philippines, ending nearly five decades of American colonial rule in the Islands.

This current work is not meant to be a comprehensive study of the Philippines during the American colonial era, but it is hoped that these biographical articles will be resources for those researching this chapter in American and Philippine history.

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Bureau of Agriculture

Wayne C. Welborn

Welborn in 1905 (*San Francisco Call* 1905).

Wayne Calhoun Welborn worked in the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture from 1903 to 1907, being in charge of the bureau most of that time.

Welborn was born to James Lawrence and Tabitha Welborn on February 14, 1863, in Jones County, Mississippi, and he grew up on his family's farm (*Clarion-Ledger* 1954; *Laurel Ledger* 1905; *Cablenews* 1905a; USCO 1880). He attended the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi (Mississippi A&M) and was a member of the fourth graduating class in 1886 (Bailey 1921, 78). Over the next 17 years, he served in a series of positions at the college, including Instructor in Dairy Husbandry, Professor of Agriculture, and Superintendent of Farmers' Institutes, and he served for a time as editor of the *Southern Farm Gazette* (Bettersworth 1953, 98–99, 118; Mississippi Historical Records Survey 1912, 225). He was married to Dell Wakefield of Starkville (*Jackson Evening News* 1905). Welborn developed a "definite object of going around the world and learning more about the world" (Welborn 1903a). He may have been inspired in this goal by his brother, Army Captain Ira C. Welborn, who from 1898 to 1903 had served in Cuba, the Philippines, and China (Braden 1910, 607; Cullum and Holden 1901, 652).

Welborn goes to the Philippines

The Bureau of Agriculture was formed on October 8, 1901, when the Philippine Commission passed Act No. 261. After the Commission sought input from U. S. Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, the position of bureau chief was filled by F. Lamson-Scribner, who arrived in Manila on April 22, 1902 (Dacanay 1952, 3). When the bureau needed an assistant chief the following year, Wilson suggested Welborn (U. S. House of Representatives 1906, 273). His appointment officially began when he sailed from San Franciso on June 3, arriving in Manila on July 3 (Welborn 1903b; PCSB 1904, 22). The following month, he stated in a letter to his hometown newspaper that "I can't say I have learned very much yet about the people and their capacities and prospects. The average American here has a very poor opinion of them. Most Americans are from North of Mason and Dixon's Line. They are particularly rabid in their opinion of the Filipino and have come to love us Southerners very much for our supposed hatred of [African-Americans]" (Welborn 1903b).

By September, he had begun to form an opinion of Filipinos, writing to relative **George Welborn** that "the great majority are lazy, improvident, but I never see them drunk or disorderly. There are some things in the arts that they are very expert in" (Welborn 1903a). He saw the Chinese in the Philippines as industrious while "the native does not aspire to hard work, but is great on becoming a scribiente, scribe or clerk, as being the only thing worthy of aspiration." Welborn did believe that the Philippine Civil Service offered good opportunities for Americans, and he

encouraged George to take a civil service exam and join him in the Philippines. George was attending Mississippi A&M but decided to drop out and join Welborn. He and Welborn's wife set sail from San Francisco on November 25, and a month later George was in the telegraph division of the Philippine Constabulary (*San Francisco Call* 1903; PCSB 1904, 36).

Bureau of Agriculture

The Bureau of Agriculture had 44 salaried employees on January 1, 1904, with only six Filipinos (PCSB 1904, 21–22). The bureau was one of several scientific bureaus under the Department of the Interior. Some had functions that overlapped with the Bureau of Agriculture, such as the Bureau of Government Laboratories (later Bureau of Science) and the Bureau of Health. The Secretary of the Interior was Dean C. Worcester, who was known for his "verbal bludgeons" (Copeland 1935, 130).

There was a tense relationship between Lamson-Scribner and Secretary Worcester (Ventura 2009, 107). Lamson-Scribner went on leave to the States on December 15, 1903, and resigned effective March 23, 1904. Welborn, who was acting chief after Lamson-Scribner left Manila, was appointed permanent chief on July 1, 1904 (Worcester 1905, 61). The change pleased Worcester, who stated that "Mr. Welborn, with the energy and efficiency which are characteristic of him, at once undertook to put the work of the bureau on a more satisfactory basis, and substantial progress has been made toward securing practical results. The present chief has obtained increased efficiency and has materially reduced expenses" (Worcester 1905, 61).

Part of this expense reduction came from entrusting Filipinos to perform tasks previously done by Americans. This reflects another nuance to Welborn's opinions of Filipinos, though it comes in the context of cost-savings. "One year ago, when the writer of this said that Filipinos must drive the teams and do the plowing on the government farms, he was called all sorts of an idiot by Americans claiming special knowledge on account of four or five years' residence here. The Filipinos are now doing this work … they are doing it as well as Americans ever did …. It is often charged that the Filipino will not work and hence will never develop the country. I believe he now expends enough energy (largely unprofitably spent …) to make the country a garden if properly directed" (Welborn 1905b, 496–97).

Welborn did not see Filipinos merely as a source of cheap labor. He was also willing to admit when he thought Americans could learn from Filipinos. In a letter to *The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer* in 1905, he wrote that "it may interest your readers to know how the Filipinos feed molasses to their horses. ... In proportion to his size, the Filipino pony is the best piece of horsefitsh [*sic*] that I ever saw, not excepting the Texas mustangs, with which I am well acquainted … But what I wish to suggest is that your planters will probably find the method of giving the molasses in water safe and free from the objections usually met in feeding it" (Welborn 1905a, 152).

Early Challenges

In early 1904, the head of the Civil Hospital in Manila discussed with Welborn the need for a cost-effective supply of milk for the hospital. Welborn wrote a proposal for Worcester on March 10 for permission and funding to purchase a herd of cows for this purpose. "I recommend to be allowed to get these cattle at Starkville, Miss., which has for forty years been a center from which Jerseys and their grades have been shipped throughout the Southwest and to Mexico and Cuba. I would get them through the professor of agriculture, professor [of] diary science, and director of the experiment station of Mississippi …. A reliable man, an agricultural graduate of high standing, can be gotten to accompany them here for $100 and all expenses, charging nothing in expenses or wages for return trip" (Welborn 1905b, 481).

The individuals referred to by Welborn were Professor Josephus S. Moore, who sent 60 Jerseys and 5 Holsteins on their way on June 21, 1904, and Benjamin Lawrence Moss (Moore 1904). Moss was not only a recent agricultural graduate but also Welborn's nephew (*Cablenews-American* 1907). Moss and the cows arrived in Manila two months later, but disaster soon struck. The Bureau of Agriculture did not have its own veterinarian, and Secretary Worcester reported that "the veterinarian at the bureau of government laboratories, with undue confidence, and acting merely on his own responsibility, although with the knowledge and approval of the chief of the bureau of agriculture, he employed the simultaneous inoculation method, which had been extraordinarily successful with Philippine and Chinese cattle" (Worcester 1905, 62). Most of the cows died, though the following year Worcester noted that "the survivors of this herd have kept well and have produced large quantities of milk of excellent quality" (Worcester 1906, 44).

The Bureau of Agriculture would soon have a veterinarian who would also serve as assistant chief of the bureau. **George E. Nesom**, also a Jones County native and Mississippi A&M graduate, earned a Doctor of Veterinary Medicine from Iowa State University before joining Clemson College as Associate Professor of Veterinary Medicine (Corps of Cadets 1904, 17). Nesom began his position new position on October 11, 1904, and Moss joined the bureau as a farm superintendent on December 1 (Welborn 1906, 429). A government reorganization in late 1905 brought the Veterinary Division of the Bureau of Health into the Bureau of Agriculture's new Division of Animal Industry, and bureau heads were given the title "director" in place of "chief" (Dacanay 1952, 4–5; Welborn 1907, 48).

Mr. Welborn Goes to Washington

A heated issue in the States involved the question of tariff reduction for goods imported from the Philippines to the United States, with sugar being a special commodity of concern. A Congressional delegation visited the Philippines in August 1905 and held public hearings on the issue, with Welborn being among those who testified. In a series of questions regarding Filipinos as laborers, he took a paternalistic approach. "I believe that the man who would teach these people to take care of themselves a little better and feed them a little better and pay them better would get very much better results" (U. S. House of Representatives 1906, A-70).

The Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives then scheduled hearings on the topic to be held in Washington later that year. Among those going to Washington for this were Governor-General Luke E. Wright, Esteban de la Rama, "sugar magnate of the Philippines," and Welborn (*Cablenews* 1905b). Before Wright's appointment to the Philippine Commission in 1900, he was a prominent lawyer in Memphis, and he had attended the University of Mississippi for one year. The dignitaries set sail from Manila on November 4, 1905, and testified before the committee in mid-December (*Cablenews* 1905b; U. S. House of Representatives. 1906). The questioning was intense, but one Washington paper noted that Welborn "stood the ordeal well" and managed to insert humor into the hearings (*Evening Star* 1905).

HEAD OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION ARRIVES.

The agricultural districts of the Philippine Islands are to be brought in direct communication with tidewater by means of a $30,000,000 system of railroads. Bids for the privilege of building these roads will be opened December 15 in Washington in the presence of Governor General Luke E. Wright and Commissioner W. Cameron Forbes, who arrived here yesterday on the liner Manchuria.

Governor General Luke E. Wright Talks of the Islands

THUGS BRUTALLY ASSAULT VICTIM

Joseph Nordman, a Wealthy Merchant, Is Waylaid and Badly Injured by Thieves

Article on Welborn and others in the *San Francisco Call* for December 6, 1905 (San Francisco Call 1905).

Wright, de la Rama, and Welborn also testified in hearings before the Senate's Committee on the Philippines in January and February (U. S. Senate 1906). Welborn's stance evolved some between the hearings. A newspaper reported that "Welborn said he had changed the opinion advanced by him before the House committee that the passage of the bill would have the effect of bringing practically all of the Philippine sugar to the United States. He now believed, he said, that even with the pending bill a law much of the sugar produced in the islands will continue to go to China" (*San Francisco Call* 1906).

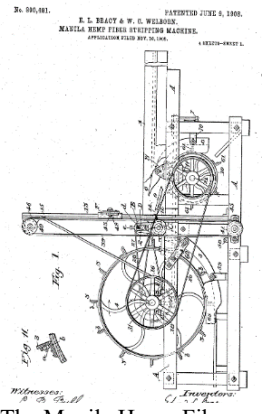
Back in Manila, three weeks after Welborn's departure for the States, an anonymous letter to the *Cablenews* charged that "the Bureau of Agriculture … is sadly in need of a practical farmer. At present the bureau is made up of ex clerks. There is at the head of the Bureau two theoretical

farmers, who are all right so far as writing books and giving instructions on farming is concerned, but these gentlemen can do nothing without some practical farmers or subordinates to carry out their instructions. The only practical man in the Agriculture Bureau is a farm implement machinist …" (*Cablenews* 1905a). Acting director Nesom gave the paper a thorough, point-by-point rebuttal, from which we gain biographical information about himself, Welborn, and Moss. Welborn apparently used his accrued leave, and he and his wife did not return to Manila until June 20, 1906 (*Cablenews* 1906e).

The Welborn-Bracy Machine

In his letter to his relative George mentioned above, Welborn wrote that he could "remember when my father and yours made rope by hand-made machinery. The natives here beat anything they ever did in this line" (Welborn 1903a). One of the main materials for making rope was abaca, also known as Manila hemp. In his first annual report as bureau chief, Welborn reported that "a successful [Manila hemp] cleaning machine, if manufactured in sufficient numbers, might go into the hemp plantations and demand a tribute of one-half of the $22,000,000 gold worth produced" (Welborn 1905b, 501). There were some machines on the market, but none lived up to their claims, and Welborn would become pre-occupied with the issue.

On September 12, 1906, the front page of the *Cablenews* had the headline "Hemp Industry to Be Revolutionized: Welborn Machine Gets Twice the Fibre from Raw Material with Unlimited Speed" (*Cablenews* 1906b). The following month, the Manila Hemp Machine Company was formed with Welborn serving as president. Co-inventor Edward L. Bracy was one of two vice-presidents, and Benjamin L. Moss was treasurer (*El Renacimiento* 1906). The company sold P100,000 ($50,000) worth of shares by November 2, and even the influential Spanish-language paper *El Renacimiento* urged Filipinos not to miss out on this opportunity (*Cablenews* 1906d; 1906c). A U.S. patent application was filed on November 10 for the "Manila Hemp Fiber Stripping Machine," which was often referred to in the Philippines as the "Welborn-Bracy Machine" (Bracy and Welborn 1908).



The Manila Hemp Fiber Stripping Machine (Bracy and Welborn 1908).

Things changed quickly in December when William S. Irey alleged that Welborn, "acting as his friend and advisor learned the workings of his hemp machine and afterwards used them as his own" (*Cablenews* 1906a). Welborn later filed libel charges against Irey, but a judge rejected the case. The machine itself, like many before it, did not live up to all of the hype. An article in the magazine *Farm Implements* in 1909 did not have much good to say about it: "This machine has been developed to a considerable extent, and, while not perfected, is at least a long way from an absolute failure" (*Farm Implements* 1909, 28).

Welborn Resigns

In addition to his legal problems, or perhaps because of them, Welborn was hospitalized in early March 1907 "with a sever attack of acute dyspepsia ... Extreme nervousness is aggravating his trouble" (*Cablenews* 1907b). Worcester allowed him to return to the United States on March 19 to recover, but he resigned effective June 3 (Worcester 1908, 46; Bureau of Agriculture and Commerce 1940, 115). Nesom was appointed as permanent director on August 1 and would hold that position for four years (Bureau of Agriculture and Commerce 1940, 115). The *Cablenews* read more into Welborn's resignation, reporting that "it was claimed here and in the United States that he devoted too much time to the invention of apparatus for his own benefit. It was however the last straw – the litigation in the courts and then charges and counter charges, that broke the camel's back" (*Cablenews* 1907a).

Life After the Philippines

In August 1907, Welborn was appointed vice-director of the Texas Experiment Station. The station was part of Texas A&M, whose embattled president, H. H. Harrington, was one of the first graduates of Mississippi A&M (*Bryan Morning Eagle* 1907; Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi 1885, 5). The following year, he wrote a textbook entitled *Elements of Agriculture: Southern and Western* (Welborn 1908). Back at Mississippi A&M, Welborn was involved in a controversy surrounding his brother Ira, who was removed as the college's commandant on charges of insubordination. Welborn's nephew Benjamin L. Moss also resigned in 1907 and later became the managing editor of *The Progressive Farmer* (*Cablenews* 1907c; Bailey 1921, 60).

Welborn resigned from the Texas Experiment Station in 1910 and moved to Pecos, Texas, where he was engaged in farming and water exploration (*El Paso Herald* 1910; *Bryan Daily Eagle and Pilot* 1911). It is unclear how long he stayed in Texas, but in 1921 he was an instructor in the Haskell Indian School in Lawrence, Kansas. Seven years later, he was living in Kansas City, Missouri, and was the editor of the newspapers *Drovers Telegram* (U. S. House of Representatives 1928, 6:4695) At some point, Welborn moved back to Mississippi, where he died at his home in Jackson on October 27, 1954, at the age of 91 (*Clarion-Ledger* 1954).

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George E. Nesom

Nesom in 1904 (St. Louis Republic 1904a).

George Edward Nesom went to the Philippines in 1903 as Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Agriculture, and he led the bureau from 1907 to 1911.

Nesom was born into a farming family on May 29, 1870, in Jones County, Mississippi. His parents were James F. and Margaret Nesom. After graduating from high school, he was a teacher in the county for a year before enrolling in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi (Mississippi A&M) ("Nesom, George Edward" 1931). While at Mississippi A&M he was appointment supervisor of students who worked on the school farm and "did a great deal of telling work in the experimental line" (*Cablenews* 1905a). He graduated with a Bachelor of Science in 1895 on the same day that another Jones County native, **Wayne C. Welborn**, received a Master of Science (Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi 1896, 6).

Nesom taught school again for a year before beginning graduate studies at Mississippi A&M, though he dropped out of the program. He enrolled in Iowa State College, where he earned his Doctor of Veterinary Medicine in 1898, and then received an appointment as Assistant Professor of Veterinary Medicine at Clemson College (Corps of Cadets 1904, 17). On July 10, 1899, he married Bessie O'Brien ("Nesom, George Edward" 1931).

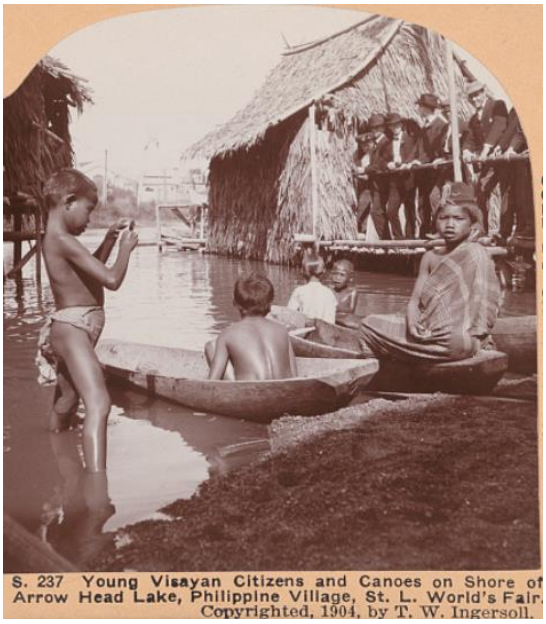
Nesom Goes to the Philippines

Nesom likely began to pay close attention to the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture when Wayne C. Welborn accepted the position of assistant chief of the bureau in 1903. On July 1, 1904, Welborn was promoted to bureau chief, and he must have recommended Nesom for assistant chief. The chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, Clarence R. Edwards, sent Nesom the following telegram a few weeks later:

> Will you accept position, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Agriculture, Philippine Islands at 3,000 a year? When can you arrange to sail from San Francisco? If you accept want you to come to Washington, or arrange to meet me in St. Louis, August 13, for personal interview. (Nesom 1905)

Nesom did not hesitate to accept the position, which paid double his current salary. He met Edwards in St. Louis, where the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was in full swing. The Philippine government had a large presence at the fair to promote the positive impact of American rule against the lack of progress under Spanish rule. An article about Nesom's visit with Edwards was placed next to a story entitled "Pygmies Join Amateur Photographers at Fair. They Imitate Official

Employe [*sic*] of Exposition, but Fail to Get Likeness." (*St. Louis Republic* 1904a; 1904b). The photo below shows a model of a village from the island of Visayan. A group of fair attendees is observing some children from Visayan who were brought to the fair as part of the exhibit. It was these "primitive" exhibits that many visitors remembered rather than those showing a more "modern" Philippines.



"Young Visayan citizens and canoes on shore of Arrow Head Lake, Philippine Village, St. L. World's Fair." In the upper-right, a group of exhibition attendees are observing the children (Ingersoll 1904).

Nesom and his wife sailed from San Francisco on September 8 and arrived in Manila on October 10. Six months later, he wrote a letter home that was reprinted in Mississippi newspapers. By that time, he had traveled throughout the archipelago, and his description likely both reinforced and challenged perceptions of the newspapers' readers:

> I am now 10,000 miles or more from my old home, in a land of tropical sunshine, inhabited by all kinds of small brown Malays, varying in all degrees of civilization from naked savages to educated and wealthy people … Among the principal crops are rice, sugar cane, hemp, cocoanuts [sic], mangoes and a great variety of tropical fruits … The average person here lives in a small 'case' (house) built of bamboo and palm leaves, rarely cultivates over two acres of land, lives on fish and rice and has no property beyond his immediate needs … Manila is about four by six miles, contains about 300,000 people, has paved streets, parks, electric lights, street cars, water works, fire engines and good police. The trolly cars have just started and take the place of the old horse cars. (Nesom 1905)

The Escolta district of Manila, with many of the modern features described by Nesom in his letter. (Manila Merchants' Association 1908, after 16).

The Bureau of Agriculture had divisions for fiber investigations and seed and plant introductions, as well as seven experiment stations and farms in various parts of the archipelago (Welborn 1906; Nesom 1905). Of the 31 salaried employees on January 1, 1905, three were Mississippi A&M graduates: Welborn, Nesom, and Benjamin Lawrence Moss. Moss, a nephew of Welborn, came to the Philippines with a shipment of cows ordered from Mississippi. He joined the bureau on December 1, 1904, and became director of the Singalong Experiment Station in Manila. There were four salaried Filipinos and about 500 Filipino laborers at the various farms (PCSB 1905, 21; Nesom 1905). On May 1, 1905, veterinarian Alonzo S. Shealy, who worked with Nesom at Clemson, joined the bureau (Welborn 1906, 429; Nesom 1906).

Interim Director

A government reorganization in late 1905 brought the Veterinary Division of the Bureau of Health into the Bureau of Agriculture's new Division of Animal Industry, and bureau heads were given the title "director" in place of "chief" (Dacanay 1952, 4–5; Welborn 1907, 48). On November 4, Welborn left for the States to testify in Congressional hearings related to a Philippines tariff bill, giving Nesom his first opportunity to show his ability to lead the bureau (*Cablenews* 1905b). A local newspaper reported that "the confidence the Commission had in the assistant chief, George E. Nesom, was such that they felt they could spare the chief and so to Washington he goes" (*Cablenews* 1905c). During this time, Nesom reported directly to Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester, who had a well-deserved reputation for being a difficult person to work for (Copeland 1935, 130). In his report for that fiscal year, Worcester stated that during Welborn's eight-months

absence, “the affairs of the bureau were conducted in a very satisfactory manner by the assistant director, Dr. G. E. Nesom” (Worcester 1907, 42).

Three and a half weeks after Welborn left, James H. Fitzbutler joined the bureau as an assistant agricultural inspector on November 29 (Bureau of Civil Service 1907, 19). Fitzbutler was an African-American physician whose father, Dr. Henry Fitzbutler, had been “dean of Louisville National Medical college, and the first licensed physician of the Race to practice south of the Ohio river” (*Chicago Defender* 1923, 13). Fitzbutler’s account of his hiring, as reported nearly two decades later in the *Chicago Defender*, provides some interesting insights into Nesom, who would most likely be the one referred to as bureau director.

> Back in 1905 the spirit of adventure seized him … He had a sister teaching in the Philippines. What was there better to do than take an examination for the Filipino bureau of health, a department under the direction of Americans? This he did and passed with a mark ‘way up there … When he reached Manila he was really ready to take the job he had made the grade to win. But no! … American color prejudice gave him a grand reception. He had a sort of good-sounding name. Fitzbutler could fit on the best kind of white man. As a consequence it was not until some of the [deleted] saw him that they learned to hate him … Finally he was advised to go to the bureau of agriculture. It was explained that this bureau sent out inoculators to treat the horses of the country which are subject to the 100 per cent fatal disease rinderpest … They were supposed to be veterinarians. Dr. Fitzbutler applied. The director of the bureau of agriculture he found to be a native Mississippian. The first thing the latter did was to tell Fitzbutler that he was hired. The second thing he did was to deliver a lecture on the evils of American color prejudice, declaring that no Mississippian who denied a man of the Race a chance to earn a living was worthy of the name of the state. (*Chicago Defender* 1923, 13)

Appointment as Permanent Director

Welborn returned to Manila on June 20, 1906, and he soon became a news item with his “Manila Hemp Fiber Stripping Machine.” Legal issues related to accusations of intellectual property theft soon arose, and Welborn’s health began to fail (*Cablenews* 1907a). He left for the United States on leave on March 19, 1907, and later resigned effective June 3 (Nesom 1908, 8). Nesom was once again interim director until the Philippine Commission appointed him as Director on August 9, 1907 (*Cablenews* 1907b).

Nesom recommended to Worcester that a Superintendent of Agricultural Extension be added to the bureau “to advise the people in the provinces of the work done by this Bureau and secure their cooperation” (Nesom 1908, 63). The man appointed to the position on August 1, 1907, was Pablo Tecson, who had recently served as governor of the province of Bulacan (Nesom 1909, 9). He was also a former military commander who had led nationalist forces against the Spanish

and Americans before supporting the American colonial government. General Frederick Funston remembered Tecson as "a particularly enterprising individual" who was "shrewed" but "quite humane in their treatment of such Americans as fell in their hands" (Funston 1914, 319, 357–58). Tecson continued with the bureau for nearly four years (Manuel 1955). Other former nationalist military leaders with whom Nesom became acquainted included Miguel Malvar and even Emilio Aguinaldo, both of whom had turned their attention to agricultural pursuits (*Cablenews-American* 1909a; 1910a; *Omaha Daily Bee* 1907).

Another effort of Nesom's to reach the people was the establishment of the *Philippine Agricultural Review* (*PAR*), which published its first issue in January 1908. Unlike the Bureau of Science's *Philippine Journal of Science*, established two years earlier, *PAR* was geared (at least in the beginning) towards the public rather than just the scientific community, and at Worcester's direction it was published in both English and Spanish (Freer 1906; Nesom 1909, 7). Also in January 1908, the position of Assistant Director was filled by Nesom's former Clemson colleague Charles M. Conner (*Cablenews-American* 1908).

Nesom and the Veterinary Profession

In addition to his own work as a veterinarian and administrator, Nesom left his mark on the veterinary profession in two other ways. Today's Philippine Veterinary Medical Association marks as its official beginning a meeting on September 7, 1907, at which Nesom was elected as the organization's founding president (PVMA 2020a). At the time, no Filipino had a Doctor of Veterinary Medicine, but Nesom served as a mentor to Victor Buencamino, who would be both the first to earn the degree and the first to serve as president of the PVMA (Buencamino 1977, 84; PVMA 2020b). Buencamino was the son of Philippine nationalist leader Filipe Buencamino, and he had attended school in the United States.

Victor Buencamino joined the bureau on February 1, 1907, and quickly became Nesom's personal clerk (Buencamino 1977, 69). Nesom saw great potential in Buencamino and suggested that he go back to the United States to study veterinary medicine (Buencamino 1977, 72). As Buencamino became more familiar with the work of the bureau's serum laboratory, he decided to take Nesom's advice (Buencamino 1977, 73). He applied to Cornell, and Nesom wrote Buencamino both a general letter of recommendation and a letter to a Professor Hunt suggesting he hire Buencamino to assist him.

> As you see, this Nesom fellow was perceptive. He knew I was not going as a *pensionado* [funded by the government] and might have to do some odd jobs to support myself at college. He must have perceived, too, that although my family was reputed to be fairly well-to-do, I would not have slaved like I did at the bureau if I did not need the pay. (Buencamino 1977, 84)

Buencamino graduated from Cornell in 1911, becoming the first Filipino to earn a D.V.M. (Buencamino 1977, 107). He then went to Washington, where he took and passed the U. S. Civil Service exam for veterinarians (Buencamino 1977, 89, 107). He later related that "having passed the U. S. Civil Service exam, it occurred to me that I should have the status of an American veterinarian and therefore I must demand the pay given to any American in the same position," which included an extra $200 a year as an incentive to go to the Philippines (Buencamino 1977, 89). Former Mississippi A&M student **Bolivar L. Falconer**, who was Director of the Bureau of Civil Service, was opposed, but Nesom strongly supported Buencamino and appealed successfully to Governor-General Forbes (Buencamino 1977, 90).

Tensions with Worcester and the Public

Nesom had the difficult job of controlling rinderpest and other communicable diseases affecting livestock. The colonial government devoted resources to the development of effective serums against the diseases and had success in persuading more farmers to have their livestock inoculated. However, there was not enough serum or manpower to meet the demand for inoculation (Worcester 1910, 118). Act No. 1760 gave the Director of Agriculture authority to take various actions to "prevent the introduction into the Philippine Islands of dangerous communicable animal diseases, to prevent the spread of such diseases within the Islands, and for other purposes" (Nesom 1909, 49). An order issued by Nesom on April 30, 1908, "met with violent opposition from several cattle dealers in the city of Manila and its operation was temporarily suspended," and a revised order was issued in early June (Nesom 1909, 51).

Disease outbreaks were so severe that for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1909, Secretary Worcester instructed Nesom to focus solely on these diseases, even if all other bureau work had to be neglected (Worcester 1910, 118). The bureau received some emergency funding, but he was "not of the opinion that the best possible results were obtained for the money expended." This was aimed at Nesom for he continued in his report for that year:

> In at least one instance a serious epidemic, involving the loss of some 4,000 carabaos [water buffalo], occurred when, in my opinion, it might perfectly well have been prevented, and would have been prevented by the employment of better administrative methods. After full examination into the cause of this disaster, I deemed a thorough reorganization of the service necessary, and declined to allow the director of agriculture to go on leave until the necessary changes in personnel and in the duties of officers and employees had been effected. (Worcester 1910, 119)

Nesom was able to leave Manila on April 17, 1909, travelling first to Europe (*Cablenews-American* 1909b). He carried with him a set of lantern slides that he used in numerous well-received presentations about the Philippines in various parts of the United States (*Cablenews-*

American 1910b). He also carried with him a letter of introduction from Frank W. Carpenter, which is found in the Papers of William Howard Taft. The letter seems to be addressed to "Fred," though the writing is a little unclear. The name likely refers to Fred W. Carpenter, who had been a secretary to Taft in the Philippines and now held that position in the Taft White House. (Frank and Fred were not brothers, but it is unclear if they were otherwise related.)

> My dear Fred, This will serve to introduce Dr. Nesom, Director of Agriculture, who goes to the United States on extended leave of absence. He has done much for the betterment of agriculture in these Islands although in accomplishment he has had to struggle with almost insurmountable difficulties. Dr. Nesom will probably wish to secure special attention from the Department of Agriculture for matters official and personal which he has in hand and I venture to bespeak for him a note from you to the Secretary or other proper person. With regards and best wishes, Sincerely Frank W. Carpenter (Carpenter 1909)

Nesom and Sugar Industry

Nesom would not return to Manila until February 3, 1910, and he wrote a detailed explanation in *PAR*, apparently in response to some criticism. Soon after Nesom arrived in the States, President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, which eliminated most tariffs on Philippine exports to the United States. Nesom immediately went to Washington

> in the hope that I could be of some assistance to the Bureau of Insular Affairs … I arrived during the summer vacation period and … was, however, requested to return to Washington about a month later … The Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs decided that before returning to the Philippines it was desirable for me to make a trip of investigation into sugar production in Louisiana and the Hawaiian Islands … In accordance with the verbal understanding reached with the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, concerning which he cabled to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, I left Washington October 22 for the sugar-growing district of the Southern States. (Nesom 1910, 288)

He spent several weeks in South Caroliana, Georgia, and Alabama before arriving in Louisiana, where he toured various sugar plantations and related facilities and talked with key industry players. He then made his way to Hawaii and visited people and places related to the industry (Nesom 1910). The time spent in Louisiana and Hawaii made an impression on Nesom, and he devoted more time to his new passion. He was the lead author of *The Sugar Industry of the Philippines*, published the following July (Nesom 1911).

Life After the Philippines

On April 11, 1910, the Bureau of Agriculture was moved from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Public Instruction. Nesom no longer had to work under Worcester, but the challenges of disease control remained. Life in the sugar industry seemed more appealing, and a newspaper report of July 30, 1911, stated that "Dr. Nesom resigned several weeks ago, but no announcement was made until yesterday … Dr. Nesom will stay in office until his successor arrives some months hence … It is understood that he will leave for Hawaii and Louisiana, to return within a year to engage in sugar raising" (*Cablenews-American* 1911). In September, Nesom sailed from the Philippines and arrived in Hawaii, where his arrival generated "considerable interest" (*The Hawaiian Star* 1911).

His stay in Louisiana was much longer. He enrolled in "a special course in sugar chemistry and engineering" at Louisiana State University (LSU) in January 1912, graduating later that year with a Master of Science after completing a thesis entitled *Conditions Surrounding the Production of Sugar in the Philippine Islands* (Nesom 1912; *The Shreveport Times* 1912). From 1914 to 1918, he had a joint appointment as Superintendent of Livestock Extension for LSU and Superintendent of the Iberia Livestock Experiment Farm (Williamson 1940, 123, 137, 329). Though seemingly not connected to sugar, these roles allowed him "to assist the sugar planters to diversify by including adapted forms of livestock raising in their farming systems" (*Facts About Sugar* 1927).

Nesom assumed the editorship of the magazine *Modern Farming* from 1918 to 1921, "in which capacity he continued to preach the doctrine of more diversification for Louisiana sugar planters" (*Facts About Sugar* 1927; "Nesom, George Edward" 1931). His reputation in the sugar industry led to an offer in Spanish Honduras to manage a plant of the Sula Sugar Company, but after a couple of years, he moved to Laurel, Mississippi, where he farmed and edited *Modern Farming* for a time. He died on December 14, 1926 ("Nesom, George Edward" 1931).

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Bureau of Civil Service

Bolivar L. Falconer

Photo of Falconer in 1914 (Falconer 1914)

Bolivar Lang Falconer went to the Philippines in late 1900 as an examiner for the Civil Service Board. He worked with the Board and its successor, the Bureau of Civil Service until 1915, serving as Bureau director for six years. Fifteen years later, he returned to the Philippines for a year on behalf of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

Falconer was born to Willis Lang and Emma Falconer on July 28, 1870, in Clarke Country, Mississippi. His family moved to Marlin, Texas, in 1885. Falconer returned to his home state to attend the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi, but he returned to Texas after completing two years "with the highest grades ever made there" (Falconer 1937, 8; "Falconer, Bolivar Lang" 1958). After working for a time for the post office there, he moved to Washington, DC, working for the War Department, the Naval Observatory, and the U. S. Patent Office before joining the United States Civil Service Commission (USCSC) as an examiner on August 15, 1894. While working in Washington, he also earned an M. D. at Georgetown University and a masters in neurology at George Washington University (Falconer 1937, 9–10).

The USCSC and the Philippine Civil Service Board

When the Philippine Commission led by William H. Taft assumed legislative authority on September 1, 1900, one of its first acts called for the "establishment and maintenance of an efficient and honest civil service" (Division of Insular Affairs 1901, 14). The act created a three-member Civil Service Board to develop policies and procedures for the Civil Service, and throughout the Board's five-year existence, its membership was composed of one Filipino and two Americans, with the Americans all being former USCSC employees (de la Torre 1986, 48). Unlike most other bureaus and offices, the Board reported directly to the Governor instead of Commission members serving as cabinet-level secretaries (Philippine Commission 1901, 1:18).

On November 30, 1900, President William McKinley ordered the USCSC "to render such as assistance as may be practicable to the Civil Service Board created under act of the United States Philippine Commission for the establishment and maintenance of an honest and efficient civil service in the Philippine Islands, and for that purpose to conduct examinations for the civil service of the Philippine Islands" (Procter, Foulke, and Garfield 1902, 57). It is possible that Falconer conducted some of the 439 examinations for the Board reported for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901, "of whom 169 passed and 270 failed" (Procter, Foulke, and Garfield 1902, 17).

Falconer was appointed as an Examiner and Clerk for the Philippine Civil Service Board on December 24, 1900. Six months later, former colleague William S. Washburn came to Manila as a member of the Board and was appointed chair of the Board soon afterwards. (PCSB 1902, 53; de la Torre 1986, 48). In October 1901, Falconer's brother Albert came to the Philippines and worked for the government until 1910, when he tragically took his own life (*Cablenews-American* 1910).

Falconer returned to the United States on leave in 1902. In an interview with a Washington newspaper, he spoke positively of life in the Philippines, but he indicated that he thought Filipinos would serve primarily in clerical positions for some time.

> I have found the Philippines very agreeable, and the climate suits me first rate ... I have found that the natives of the islands take well to the civil service examinations. We give them the questions in Spanish, and have had some excellent results. It has been our experience that the Filipinos take kindly to the civil service work, and we expect that the clerical force of the island will be maintained at as high a standard as that in the United States. (*Evening Star* 1902)

Soon after Falconer's return to Manila, Washburn went on leave to the States. Falconer was appointed as acting Board chairman in his place and became a permanent member of the Board on July 1, 1903 (Washburn, Falconer, and Walker 1904, 14). That year, Falconer also invested in a small mining company that had a claim in the mountains near Baguio (*Washington Times* 1937). Such investments in the exploitation of the Philippines' natural resources were common among many government officials in the Islands.

Philippine Bureau of Civil Service

The Philippine Commission implemented a major reorganization of the insular government that went into effect on November 1, 1905. The work of the Civil Service Board was now absorbed by the newly created Bureau of Civil Service, with Washburn as director and Falconer and José Alemany as assistant directors (*Cablenews* 1905b). Earlier that year, Willian H. Taft, now Secretary of War, visited the Philippines and reportedly "facetiously introduced Washburn … to an accompanying newspaper man as 'the most hated main in the Philippines.' Not all of this 'hatred' came from Filipinos … Dr. Washburn enforced the law and regulations of the service against both Americans and Filipinos without fear or favor." This included "American administrators [who] sometimes sought to circumvent the Bureau of Civil Service" (Hayden 1942, 874).

Washburn went to Japan for a month soon afterwards, and Alemany served as acting Director while he was away (*Cablenews* 1905a). In 1906, Washburn left again "on an extended leave, part of which was with full pay and the remainder without cost to the government," and Alemany once again served as acting director (*Mindanao Herald* 1906; Alemany 1907). From July

1907 to March 1908, Falconer went on leave and visited Russia and Europe before going on to the United States (*El Renacimiento* 1907; *Cablenews* 1907). During his absence, an important step towards Philippine independence took place in October 1907, when an elected Philippine Assembly assumed lower-house legislative authority from the Philippine Commission (Hayden 1942, 167).

Soon after Falconer's return, fellow Assistant Director Alemany made headlines for reportedly voicing his support for "the sending of a cablegram to the President of the United States asking that Governor General Smith be removed for pardoning Deputy Collector of Customs McCoy who had been sent to Bilibid [Prison] for the falsification of a public document" (*Cablenews-American* 1908). Alemany was forced to resign on June 2, 1908, and his position was abolished.

Promotion to Director of Civil Service

Washburn returned to the United States on leave again on January 26, 1909, and resigned effective April 4, 1909, to serve as a commissioner of the USCSC. On May 19, acting Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes appointed Falconer as permanent Director of Civil Service and long-time colleague John E. Enright as Assistant Director (Falconer 1909, 11; *Cablenews-American* 1909a). In 1912, the Bureau had 35 employees. The seven Americans served in the higher paid positions of Director, Assistant Director, and Examiners. The 28 Filipinos were all clerks, junior stenographers, or messengers (Bureau of Civil Service 1912, 14).

The year 1909 was an election year in the Philippines, and in January the Governor-General issued an order forbidding "pernicious political activity" and "offensive political partisanship" by civil service employees, except for elected officials and Presidential appointees (Falconer 1909, 10). In June, Falconer sent out a circular approved by Forbes that defined "political activity" as "among other things … taking part in political management or political campaigns, being a delegate to any political convention or a member of any political committee or directorate or of any political club or other similar political organization, making speeches or canvassing in the interests of any party or candidate, soliciting or receiving contributions for political purposes either directly or indirectly, or becoming prominently identified with any political movement, party, or faction, or with the success or failure of any candidate for election to public office" (Falconer 1909, 56).

This definition was "met with bitter opposition on the part of the organs of the two leading Filipino political parties" (Falconer 1909, 10). The circular was brought to the attention of the National Civil Service Reform League (NCSRL) in the United States, which issued a resolution commending the circular. In his report for 1910, Falconer indicated that "as a whole the prohibition against political activity was well observed during the last campaign," but he felt it necessary to include in the report the text of both the resolution of the NCSRL and an accompanying letter from the organization's president (Falconer 1910, 8, 55).

Falconer was invited to address attendees of the Filipino Teachers' Normal Institute on December 3, 1909. He was "not a passionate speaker and the cold, impassive manner in which he delivered his message together with his analytical presentation of the condition and needs of the civil service carried conviction" (*Cablenews-American* 1909b). He believed that the colonial government had now provided a good education system for motivated Filipinos to get ahead but that Filipinos had not taken advantage of those opportunities. However, some of those institutions to which he referred were fairly new, and it would take more time for them to accommodate larger numbers of students.

> The need for physicians, veterinarions [sic], trained nurses, pharmacists, printers, skilled agriculturalists, machinists and engineers, is fully as great as for stenographers and other clerical employees, or even greater, and the government provides education without charge in all of those lines. The government schools of arts and trades and, of medicine and veterinary science, or nursing, and the agricultural colleges and school, offer excellent opportunities for young men and women to fit themselves to render great service to their country in sanitary and industrial matters. (*Cablenews-American* 1909c).

Falconer's annual reports for 1912 and 1913 did show modest increases in the number of Filipinos appointed to technical positions. His reports also detailed bills of the Philippine Assembly related to the Civil Service, and Falconer stated any objections that he had to the bills. One of the bills called for "abolishing the present civil service system and substituting therefor an entirely different system based somewhat on Spanish law," though that bill died in committee (Falconer 1911, 10; 1912, 11). The Philippine Commission still maintained upper-house legislative authority, and they tabled a number of bills to which Falconer objected.

In his last annual report to Governor-General Forbes, Falconer stated that "the active resistance to the merit system opposed in the early years of the Government by Insular appointing officers has disappeared, and in nearly all instances there is hearty cooperation between the different bureaus and the Bureau of Civil Service" (Falconer 1913). Forbes's days as Governor-General were numbered because of the victory of Woodrow Wilson over William Howard Taft in the 1912 Presidential elections.

Wilson's appointee for Governor-General was Francis Burton Harrison, who arrived in Manila on October 6, 1913, and let it be known that he wanted more Filipinos in leadership positions (Harrison 1922, 50). A week later a Manila paper wrote:

> Governor General Harrison ... sits in the judge's stand at the Ayuntamiento, weighing in the jockeys, and noting the gaits and merits of bureau chiefs for the coming insular Derby. Yesterday morning Directors Leech [Bureau of Printing], Falconer, and Heiser [Bureau of Health] sat on the mourners' bench, counting their rosaries and brooding over sins past but not forgotten, and each in turn were

> admitted to the Sanctum Sanctorum for confession, absolution or political perdition. (*Cablenews-American* 1913)

Of that group, only Leech was forced to resign, due to what Harrison deemed insubordination (Harrison 1922, 78–79). In his memoirs, Harrison quoted a report by Falconer on November 13, 1913, in which Falconer wrote, "You have not removed any American from the classified Civil Service. Unquestionably the letter and spirit of the Civil Service Act and Rules have been strictly observed during the period October 6, 1913, to date" (Harrison 1922, 80). An article from the *Los Angeles Times* on December 3, 1913, quoted another report that Falconer made to the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington:

> Since Gov. Harrison's arrival on October 6 … there have been dropped from the service on account of a reduction in the activities of public service compelled by a decrease of public revenue, forty-seven Americans, thirty of whom were in the United States on leave. Twenty-nine of these removals have been from the Bureau of Public Works, on account of lack of funds, and from the Bureau of Navigation, whose abolition is contemplated by the legislature.
>
> In the remaining bureaus of the government no unusual number of changes have been made during the period. In reference to the question of the persons dropped from the service two were offered transfers to other bureaus, but expressed in writing their preference to resig[n] and return to the United States. (*Los Angeles Times* 1913)

Life After the Philippine Civil Service

Falconer served under Harrison until December 31, 1914, when he resigned for health reasons and returned to Marlin, Texas, to recuperate (Hershey 1916; *Washington Times* 1937). He rejoined the USCSC in November 1915 and the following January began a nine-year stint in Boston as Secretary of the First U. S. Civil Service District (Falconer 1937, 9). It was around this time that he received news that the mining company that he invested in back in 1903 had finally struck gold, allowing him to later pursue more of his passion of world travel (*Washington Times* 1937). While in Boston, he also earned a Master of Arts in Mathematics from Harvard University.

His health declined again, and he spent a year and half recovering in Marlin. He rejoined the USCSC and returned to Manila on October 4, 1929, "as Special Representative of the Civil Service Commission to classify the Federal Civil Service in the Philippines" (Falconer 1937, 9–10; Falconer 1930, 24). After nearly a year in Manila, he wrote in an article that it was his "belief that the personnel of the Bureau [of Civil Service] is as honest and efficient now as when I left the islands" (Falconer 1930, 24). This was a strong endorsement of the leadership of José Gil, the first Filipino director. Gil was a clerk in the Bureau of Posts from 1910 to 1917, and during that time he earned a law degree from the University of the Philippines. He joined the Bureau of Civil

Service as Assistant Director in 1919 and led the Bureau after the departure of the last American Director the following year (Cornejo 1939, 1751–52). Gil continued to lead the bureau and its successor in the independent Republic of the Philippines until his retirement in 1953 (Malcolm 1957, 130).

Falconer continued in the article that "from my own observations and conversations with officials and employees and from knowledge gained from reading the public press I am sure that this cannot be said of all the other Bureaus. In the first place, graft and corruption seem widespread" (Falconer 1930, 24). He was, however, "convinced that the great body of Civil Servants are honest, but damage is done, not only to the Government but also to them, by the comparatively small proportion of dishonest employees in the Civil Service" (Falconer 1930, 25).

Falconer retired from the USCSC on February 22, 1931, and "spent [his] time traveling all over the world, having encircled it five times and visited every continent" over the next few years (Falconer 1937, 1). In 1936 he became "the first person to fly around the world as a paying passenger on a commercial airline." He remained single until 1946, when he married Hazel Bennett. Falconer died on April 26, 1953 ("Falconer, Bolivar Lang" 1958).

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Bureau of Internal Revenue

Ellis Cromwell

Ellis Cromwell went to the Philippines in 1899 as a First Lieutenant in the U. S. Volunteers. In 1901, he worked as a revenue collector for the City of Manila and later headed the Bureau of Internal Revenue. He died in the Philippines in 1912.

Cromwell, a native of Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, was born on August 16, 1875, to Blake L. and Sallie Cromwell. His father was politically active and secured appointments as a revenue agent in various cities in the country during both administrations of President Grover Cleveland (Rowland 1907, 168–69). From 1893 to 1898, Cromwell held "various positions" in the Federal Civil Service, one of which was with the Post Office in West Point, Mississippi (*Columbus Commercial* 1903; Forbes 1913a, 22). Before the Spanish-American War, he served in the Mississippi National Guard, and after the conflict began, he served stateside as a captain in the Second Regiment of the Mississippi Volunteer Infantry from April 23 to December 20, 1898 (*Clarion-Ledger* 1899; Forbes 1913a, 22). While on leave in August, he returned to West Point to marry Ada Henley (*Commercial Appeal* 1898).

Service in the Philippine-American War

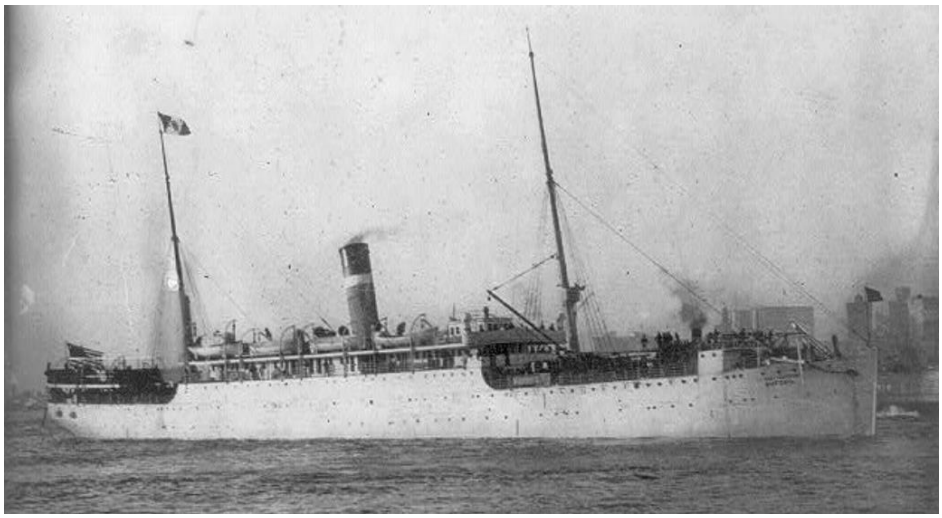
The outbreak of the Philippine-American War soon afterwards resulted in more troops being needed in the archipelago. On August 31, 1899, he accepted a commission as a first lieutenant in the Thirty-Ninth Infantry Regiment of the U. S. Volunteers, which arrived in the Philippines on December 7 (Adjutant-General's Office 1900b, 87; Otis 1900, 103). The regiment would soon be fighting against "insurgents," and on January 9, "Company C, Captain Macmanus, and a platoon of Company B, First Lieutenant Cromwell, reconnoitered south of [Santo Tomas], where [a] sharp fight ensued, routing the enemy, killing several. Our casualties none … when about 6 miles from Lipa had short skirmish with the enemy, 1 man, Private Ryan, Company B, mortally wounded" (Mulford 1900, 539). Though this was the only engagement in which Cromwell was mentioned by name, the regiment was involved in other actions in which he would have taken part.

Portion of map showing American troop locations in the Philippines on March 31, 1900. Box shows area covered by Cromwell's regiment. Manila is in the upper left (Adjutant-General's Office 1900a).

Ada accompanied her husband to the Philippines. A New Orleans newspaper reported that she was "in Manila, where there is collected from all sections quite a colony of American ladies." (*Times-Democrat* 1900). Many Army officers were appointed to special positions in the military government, and on May 7, 1900, Cromwell joined Ada in Manila, where he had been appointed Assistant Collector of Internal Revenue (MacArthur 1900, 75). He served in this capacity until he was mustered out on June 30, 1901 (Forbes 1913a, 22). In the military governor's report for fiscal year 1901, Collector of Internal Revenue Charles H. Sleeper credited Cromwell as being one of the factors leading to increased revenue in Manila, which accounted for over half of all collections (Sleeper 1901, 342–43).

The Cromwells returned to West Point, but they would soon be back in Manila (*Vicksburg Post* 1901). His highly satisfactory performance as Assistant Collector resulted in Cromwell's appointment in the civil government as Chief Deputy Collector for the City of Manila on August 7, 1901. The position came with a salary of $3,000, which was the same amount received by municipal judge and fellow Mississippian **James M. Liddell**. (PCSB 1902, 65, 82). A Mississippi newspaper opened an article about Cromwell's appointment by stating that "occasionally a Mississippian tumbles into a good Federal berth, regardless of his politics" (*Vicksburg Post* 1901).

The Cromwells returned to Mississippi for a visit in 1904, bringing with them their daughter Mildred who had been born in the Philippines (*East Mississippi Times* 1921). The family left in May and returned to Manila in October (*Evening Bulletin* 1904; *Honolulu Advertiser* 1904) Fellow passengers on the return trip included Mississippi A&M alumnus **George E. Nesom** and his wife. Nesom was going to the Philippines to serve as Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Agriculture, which was led by Mississippi A&M alumnus **Wayne C. Welborn**.



U. S. Army Transport *Buford*, on which the Cromwells sailed to the United States in 1904. https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a40966/

Cromwell's Promotions

On October 10, 1904, Cromwell's position and that of Chief Deputy Assessor were combined, with Cromwell now serving as Deputy City Assessor and Collector (Forbes 1913a, 22). The department consisted of ten divisions, eight of which were led by Americans. (PCSB 1905, 117–19). On November 14, 1905, Cromwell was promoted to Assessor and Collector of the City of Manila, but on January 1, 1906, the functions of the department were transferred from the Municipal Board of Manila to the Philippine Bureau of Internal Revenue, which had been created in 1904 (Forbes 1913a, 22; Posadas 1927, 10–11). He was now one of two Deputy Collectors of Internal Revenue, though he had the higher salary of the two. Another Mississippian, **Thomas D. Beck**, served as an agent in the bureau (Bureau of Civil Service 1907, 53, 56).

In June 1909, Cromwell was part of a four-person committee that successfully developed plans for transferring government operations to the town of Baguio, located in the cool hills north of Manila, during the hottest months of the year (*Cablenews-American* 1909). A few years later, Governor-General wrote of Baguio that "in March, April, and May, when the heat of Manila lowers the vitality and lessens the efficiency even of the natives, the Government sends to Baguio 860 employees of whom 620 are Filipinos. It has been found that the expense of this partial transfer of the seat of government is fully repaid in increase of efficiency and betterment of health of employees and in decreasing the need of vacations" (Forbes 1913b, 25).

In a letter to a Mississippi newspaper in 1908, James M. Liddell wrote of Cromwell that "he enjoys the absolute confidence of the government and the esteem of the entire community" (Liddell 1908). This confidence was shown when Cromwell was selected on December 21, 1909, to lead the bureau after the resignation of founding director John S. Hord. Two other Mississippi natives, George E. Nesom and **Bolivar L. Falconer**, also served as bureau directors at this time. Reporting to Cromwell were 258 employees, including 72 Americans and 186 Filipinos (Bureau of Civil Service 1909, 19; 1912, 43–44). The bureau's responsibilities were described as follows:

> The function of the Bureau of Internal Revenue is to collect revenue and enforce certain laws, such as the Weights and Measures, the Opium, and to some extent the Pure Food laws. The principal objects of taxation under Act 1189 are alcoholic beverages and tobacco products. The law also provides for the taxation of banks and bankers, insurance companies, a poll tax on all male residents between the ages of 18 and 60 years, a tax on timber and other products taken from the public forests, a tax on the manufacture of matches, documentary stamp taxes on certain written instruments, and taxes on business, manufacture, and occupation. (*Handbook on the Executive Departments* 1912, 121–22)

Commercial and Community Affairs

One of the first references to Cromwell's personal interest in commercial affairs comes from an article in September 1906 that announced that he was part of "a small exodus of Manila men of means ... who are going to Masbate to take a look at the vast gold ledges and gold deposits said to be down there and certainly represented up here by large blocks of mining stock. The gentlemen … will not say whether they intend to locate claims or buy claims already located" (*Cablenews* 1906).

In August 1911, he was elected to the board of directors of the Manila Building and Loan Association (*Cablenews-American* 1911c). Another bureau head elected to the board was Cromwell's former boss Charles H. Sleeper, who was now Director of the Bureau of Lands (*Handbook on the Executive Departments* 1912, 44). The following month, Cromwell was also appointed to the Ways and Means Committee of the Manila Merchants Association (*Cablenews-American* 1911d).

Earlier in 1911, Cromwell and Sleeper were elected as trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Manila, and Cromwell was elected treasurer of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (*Cablenews-American* 1911a; 1911f). These offices undoubtedly resulted from long involvement in these organizations, and the Cromwells would have been involved in other civic activities as well.

Cromwell Dies in the Philippines

On June 14, 1911, Ada sailed for the United States with their daughter Mildren and son Edwin, who was born in 1909, and Ellis followed on September 5 (*Cablenews-American* 1911e; 1911b; Weintz 2002, 46). In December, Cromwell made a trip to Washington, DC, and it was likely there that he "was offered an important position in Nicauragua to establish a system of internal revenue. He was to have a higher salary than the chief of the bureau here, but declined with the statement that he was deeply interested in his work in the Philippines and did not ease [*sic*] to give it up until thoroughly established" (*Cablenews-American* 1912a). Before leaving for Manila in early January,

they spent a week in Pal Alto, California, where they left their daughter Mildred to attend school (*San Francisco Call* 1912).

The Cromwells arrived in Manila on January 31 (*Cablenews-American* 1912b). On February 11, Cromwell went on a hunting trip and died of heart failure caused by over-exertion (*Cablenews-American* 1912c). The following day, Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes ordered that flags on all government buildings should fly at half-mast and remembered Cromwell with the following words:

> From the time of his arrival in the Philippines he took a deep and personal interest in the welfare of the Filipino people and by his sympathetic understanding he gained the admiration and affection of all those with whom he came in contact.
>
> His services with the Government of the Philippine Islands were so notably efficient as to gain at once the confidence of his official superiors and merit the signal promotion in the Government service which came to him. (Forbes 1913a, 23)

Ada Cromwell and her son Edwin returned to the United States, and Cromwell was buried in his old home of West Point, Mississippi (*Macon Beacon* 1912). Ada survived him for over 50 years and died in West Point in 1965 (*Commercial Appeal* 1965).

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Thomas D. Beck

Photo of Beck in 1915 (Beck 1915)

Thomas David Beck went to the Philippines as an infantryman during the Philippine-American War. He served as a policeman in Manila before joining the Bureau of Internal Revenue. He returned to the Sates in 1915.

Beck was born in Grenada, Mississippi, on July 3, 1881, to David W. and Annie E. Beck (Beck 1915; USCO 1900). In 1900, he was working as a day laborer, but he enlisted in the Army on March 9, 1901, and was sent to the Philippines later that year. (*Grenada Sentinel* 1908; OQMG 1953; USCO 1900). He was assigned to Company A of the 27th Infantry Regiment, which was under the command of Captain James A. Hutton (Braden 1910, 249; OQMG 1953) Hutton's entry in West Point's *Biographical Register* shows that the company sailed from San Francisco on January 1, 1902, and arrived in Manila on January 29 (Braden 1910, 249). The company then headed to the southern island of Mindanao, where they stayed until June 5, 1903. The rest of the year was spent in Manila, and when the regiment sailed back to the States in January, Beck was discharged on January 5 and stayed in Manila (OQMG 1953).

Three days after his discharge, Beck joined the Manila Police as a patrolman first class (PCSB 1904, 110). After serving two and half years on the police force, he became an agent for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, whose Deputy Collector was fellow Mississippian **Ellis Cromwell** (Bureau of Civil Service 1907, 53, 56; *Grenada Sentinel* 1908). In August 1908, Beck wrote to the *Grenada Sentinel* that "I am highly pleased with the service in which I'm engaged. I should like to say that Filipinos are not savages as many people think, but are quite well civilized, anxious and quick to learn, but are not much addicted to hard work, however, this is largely attributed to the low wages paid to laborers" (*Grenada Sentinel* 1908). He weighed in on the highly debated Philippine tariff issue, noting that "our principal products are hemp, cocoa-nuts, tobacco, sugar and rice. The high duty collected on some of the above products makes it impossible for us to compete with those raised in this country." The use of "our" and "us" seems to indicate that the Philippines felt like home to Beck. He concluded by stating that "the Filipinos … as a rule, are, I believe, well satisfied with the government, especially the educated class."

Outside of work, Beck was active in politics and was elected as a delegate to the Democratic Territorial Convention held in 1912 (Democratic Party. Philippines. 1912, 5). He was also active in the local baseball league (*Cablenews-American* 1909). On June 4, 1915, a Manila newspaper announced Beck's resignation (*Cablenews-American* 1915). After returning to America, he joined the Internal Revenue Service. In 1917, while based out of Springfield, Illinois, he married Cora Cook (*Herald and Review* 1917; *Washington Post* 1915). He retired on December

31, 1948, as the head of the IRS's Estate Tax Unit in Chicago. He later moved to Nevada, where he died on May 6, 1953 (OGMG 1953).

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Bureau of Public Health

Rebekah Mickle

Rebekah Mickle went to the Philippines as an Army contract nurse in 1899. She then worked for the Philippine Bureau of Health for over four years. She died in the Philippines in 1907 while working for the Philippine Railway Company.

Rebekah Mickle was born to Belton and Lucy Mickle around 1863 and grew up in Holly Springs, Mississippi (USCO 1880; *Commercial Appeal* 1907). She worked for a time for the *Oxford Falcon*, but she later moved to Memphis, Tennessee, and enrolled in Memphis Training School for Nurses, graduating on July 18, 1893 (*Grenada Sentinel* 1899; *Memphis Commercial* 1893).[1] She worked at the Crofford Sanitarium and possibly other hospitals in the area until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War (*Commercial Appeal* 1907).

Service in the Spanish-American War

Photograph of Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee from National Library of Medicine, Images from the History of Medicine, B017724, https://cfmedicine.nlm.nih.gov/gallery/photo_216_1.html.

When the war began, the Army did not have a nursing corps or the resources to vet applications from those wishing to serve as nurses. Realizing the urgent need, Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, physician and vice president of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), sent a proposal to the Surgeon Generals of the Army and Navy offering "to form a corps of able trained nurses, from which you can select any number as needed, with the assurance that they will accept an appointment and respond to orders without delay" (Daughters of the American Revolution 1900, 47). The proposal was readily accepted by the Surgeon Generals on April 28, 1898 (Daughters of the American Revolution 1900, 49–50). An article in the June 1898 issue of *American Monthly Magazine* noted that "the work of the D. A. R. Hospital Corps has been thoroughly systematized and is progressing finely. On May 31st, in response to a call from the Surgeon General of the Army, six nurses were selected and afterward ordered to the Leiter General Hospital at Chickamauga, [Georgia,] where they are now on duty. These are … Miss Rebekah Mickle, of Memphis …" (*American Monthly Magazine* 1898, 82).

On August 12, 1898, Spain formally surrendered, and the following month the Surgeon Generals of the Army and Navy concluded their special arrangement with the DAR (Daughters of the American Revolution 1900, 55–56). However, Mickle became a Red Cross nurse and served at Fort Sam Houston in Texas and in San Francisco (Department of the Interior 1899, 1:82; *Commercial Appeal* 1899). The *Official Register for the United States* of July 1, 1899, lists her

under the Medical Department at Large of the War Department, though she was officially a "contract nurse" (Department of the Interior 1899, 1:446). Her salary was listed as $480.

Mickle and the Philippine-American War

On August 15, 1899, she shipped out for the Philippines, where the Army was engaged in combat against Philippine nationalists (*Grenada Sentinel* 1899). In a letter the following month, she wrote glowingly of life in Manila, while also noting the grim reality of the Philippine-American War:

> Manila is a perfect dream. I wish you could see the lovely old wall and moat. And think of living in a house built all of mahogany! And specially should you see the cunning little gray lizards that chase around the ceiling, and the monkeys that play about on the roof, and come in when it rains, and perch on the rafters, and all but wink at you.
>
> We will move out of the mahogany house soon. We now have two, but as seventeen more nurses are expected, will have to get a big house.
>
> I don't feel the heat at all. There are two nurses, a wardmaster and a corps man. The death rate is small, especially as compared with Chickamauga last summer. There are over 1,500 patients in the hospital. Guess we'll get in a good lot tomorrow, as the advance along the line beyond Angeles was booked for to-day, and I guess was made. We will not get the news before to-morrow.
>
> I saw in yesterday's that a part of the Tennessee regiment was taken off the ship after starting for Manila, and ordered into a 'scrap' down toward Cebu. (*Nashville American* 1899)

Mickle was later assigned to hospitals in Dagupan and later in Vigan, where she served as chief nurse with an annual salary of $720 ("Army Notes" 1900; Kinney 1901a, 269; Department of the Interior 1901, 1:459). Back in the States, Dr. McGee was lobbying for the establishment of the Army Nurse Corps, which was established on February 2, 1901. A column in the November 1901 edition of *Nursing World* noted that Mickle had "requested discharge to spend some time with a brother and a sister, who are in the Philippines" (Kinney 1901b, 214).[2]

Photograph of the military hospital in Vigan on December 4, 1899. From Naval History and Heritage Command, https://www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/numerical-list-of-images/nhhc-series/nh-series/NH-123000/NH-123406.html

Mickle in the Philippine Bureau of Health

Mickle joined the Philippine Bureau of Health on February 1, 1902, and was assigned to the Philippine Civil Hospital (PCSB 1903, 22). In his report for the hospital that year, Dr. H. Eugene Stafford provided a detailed description of the hospital and "desire[d] to call particular attention to the nurses connected with this institution. All of them were graduated from some recognized training school and all have had at least two years' service in military hospitals, in addition to various civil hospitals in the United States" (Philippine Commission 1903, 1:438).

She soon transferred to San Lazaro Hospital, which specialized in the treatment of leprosy, bubonic plague, smallpox, cholera, as well as "all public prostitutes found diseased" (PCSB 1904, 17; Philippine Commission 1904, 2:169). In an article on leprosy in the Philippines published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Dr. H. Brookman Wilkinson, physician in charge of San Lazaro, noted he had "been efficiently assisted by Dr. Rizal Mercado, the house physician, and by Miss R. Mickle, one of our trained nurses, both of whom kindly volunteered their services" (Wilkinson 1906, 315). A Manila newspaper also noted her "valiant and heroic battle with the cholera when that dread scourge was devastating the city" (*Cablenews-American* 1907).

Death in the Philippines

In 1906, Mickle received an appointment to work at a hospital in the Panama Canal Zone, which was dealing with a yellow fever epidemic. She stayed in Panama from August 23 to December 2 of that year and then accepted a position with the Philippine Railway Company in the city of Iloilo. She died suddenly of heart disease on October 21, 1907 (Panama Canal Zone 1906; *Cablenews-American* 1907).

Notes

[1] The Memphis Training School for Nurses was established in 1887, at a time when such schools were uncommon, especially in the South. This school was the forerunner of the University of Tennessee Health Sciences Center. https://www.uthsc.edu/nursing/about.php#

[2] It is unclear which sister, Lilly Willis or Strachan(?) Mickle, was in the Philippine. Mickle's brother Dabney Minor Mickle was a member of the First Tennessee Regiment and went to the Philippines in June 1898. He then worked for a newspaper in the Philippines for a time before moving to China at some point. Other brothers included John M. Mickle and Mercer(?) Mickle, though it is unclear if they ever went to the Philippines.

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Joseph H. Hodnett

Joseph H. Hodnett lived in the Philippines for three decades, first as a member of the Army Hospital Corps and then as a staff member of the Bureau of Health's San Lazaro Hospital.

Hodnett was born in Coffeeville, Mississippi, in October 1873, and he later moved to Water Valley, Mississippi (USCO 1900; U. S. Army n.d.a, 136). Little else is known about his early life except that he was attending medical school when he enlisted in the Army on April 25, 1900 (U. S. Army n.d.a, 136). He was assigned to the Hospital Corps and remained in the service until December 23, 1905, when he was discharged in the Philippines (U. S. Army n.d.b, 193).

Hodnett joined the Bureau of Health as a hospital attendant at the San Lazaro Hospital on February 1, 1906 (Bureau of Civil Service 1907). The Bureau of Health reported to Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester. In contrasting San Lazaro with other hospitals, Worcester noted:

> All of the above mentioned institutions are in effect acute-case hospitals designed for the treatment of curable ailments. Cases of dangerous communicable disease are excluded from them, but are adequately provided for at San Lazaro where the insular government has established modern and adequate hospitals for plague, smallpox, cholera, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, etc., as well as a detention hospital for lepers, pending their departure for Culion [a leper colony]. (Worcester 1921, 433)

Hodnett worked in the same position at the hospital for most of the next 25 years, though he was for a short time a sanitary inspector for the bureau's Inspection and Disinfection Force (Bureau of Civil Service 1919; 1920). He seems to have found the lifestyle in Manila appealing even without the prestigious positions and higher pay that most American long-term Civil Service employees were now receiving. The author of this article has found only one Philippine newspaper article referencing Hodnett, and he is shown in a favorable light. An article in 1919 referred to him as "the very efficient and courteous keeper in charge of the Americans at San Lazaro" (*Cablenews-American* 1919).

Hodnett made a trip back to the States in 1930 and seems to have resigned from his position in the Philippines during that time. (*Sun-Sentinel* 1931; 1930). He died in Water Valley in May 1942 (*Clarion-Ledger* 1942).

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Bureau of Public Works

Jesse R. Barry

Passport photo of Barry in 1916 (Barry 1916)

Jesse Richard Barry, Jr. went to the Philippines as a teacher in 1904 and later became an engineer in the Bureau of Public Works. He returned to the United States in 1916 or 1917.

Barry was born in Oxford, Mississippi, on October 15, 1872 (Barry 1916). He attended the University of Mississippi, graduating with a Bachelor of Philosophy in 1893, and for several years held administrative positions in public schools in Senatobia and Oxford (University of Mississippi 1910, 236). He also had experience in "construction work with Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Levee District, 4 years; inspector, Mississippi improvement work, 6 months" (Philippine Assembly 1915, 10:603).

In 1903, Barry took the Philippine Civil Service exam for teachers, and he was appointed as a teacher in the Bureau of Education at a salary of $1,200 on March 10, 1904. The following year, he took the Civil Service exam for civil engineers, scoring a respectable 74.47 per cent (Philippine Assembly 1915, 10:603; PCSB 1905, 71). The 1906 roster of the Bureau of Education indicates that he was assigned to the Intermediate School in Malabon, located just north of Manila. It noted that he was "in charge of schoolhouse construction" (Bureau of Education 1906, 25).

He soon transferred to the Department of Sewer and Waterworks Construction with the Municipal Service of Manila, where he had the position of Assistant Engineer. His salary was now P3,200 (2 pesos = 1 US dollar), which was raised to P3,600 by the beginning of 1908 (Bureau of Civil Service 1908, 124; 1907, 116). By 1911, he had transferred again to the Bureau of Public Works, where he held the position of District Engineer, earning P5,000 by 1915. On December 1, 1911, Barry's brother Robert Lee Barry began working for the bureau as an overseer with a salary of P3,200. Robert had attended Mississippi A&M for just one year and then held various positions with the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Levee District for nine years (Philippine Assembly 1915, 10:603; Bureau of Civil Service 1912, 26).

The director of the Bureau of Public Works wrote an article in which he discussed the challenges faced by the bureau's district engineers.

> His responsibility not only involves correct location, sufficient design and economical prosecution of construction work, but also includes cost accounting, property accountability in its severest form, and a multitude of administration matters. He relies on local native help for his office administration and is held 'personally liable' for exceeding in expenditure the funds available for any one project …. Practically all supplies are requisitioned from a central government agency, and delay in filling such requisitions, broken promises, labor troubles and

transportation problems all combine to test the resourcefulness and ingenuity of the engineer responsible for the economical prosecution and successful execution of the work. Only men of strong character can stand up under this strain. (Westerhouse 1913, 958)

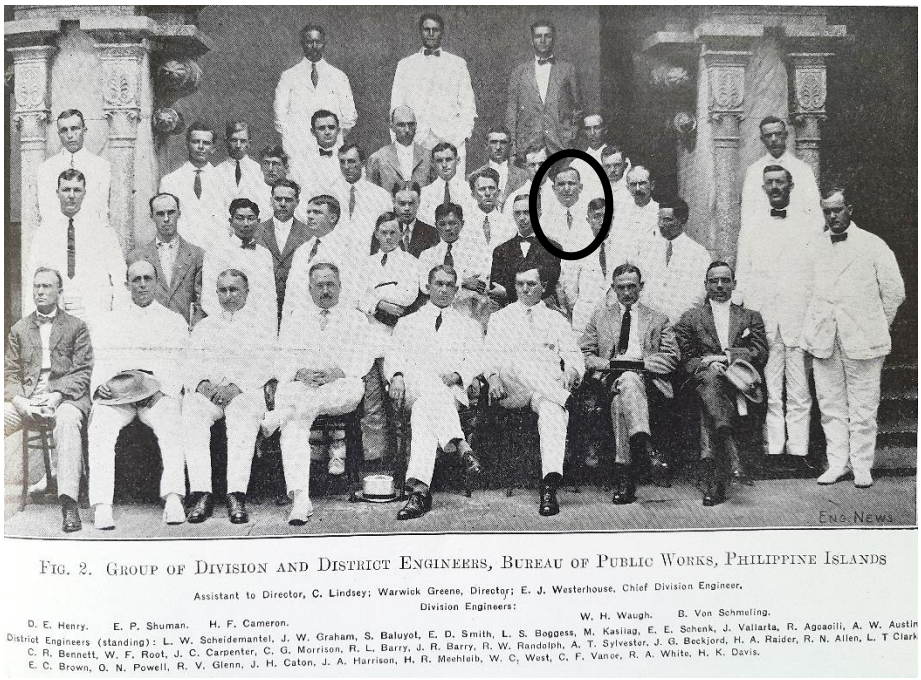

Photo of Jesse R. Barry (circled) and other division and district engineers with the Philippine Bureau of Public Works (Westerhouse 1913, 959).

The 1912 Democratic Territorial Convention

Barry was active in the Democratic party in the Philippines. The proceedings of the 1912 Democratic Territorial Convention show that he was one of three elected Democratic delegates for the district of Laguna (Democratic Party 1912, 4). He was a member of the Committee on Representation and Credentials, along with fellow Mississippian **Lewis M. Southworth**, and he was elected at the convention to the Executive Committee of the Democratic Territorial Central Committee (Democratic Party 1912, 3, 15). One of the first items of business was for Barry to report the list of elected convention delegates for each district. In addition to Barry and Southworth, other delegates from Mississippi included **Thomas D. Beck** and James M. Liddell, Jr. For the district of Malate, he noted "Delegation unseated, because five [African-Americans] voted" (Democratic Party 1912, 5).

Many of the delegates were unhappy with outgoing Central Committee chairman C. W. O'Brien and his ally Southworth. In elections for delegates to the convention, "the O'Brien forces were overwhelmingly defeated throughout the city of Manila but sent contesting delegations from nearly every city district" (Democratic Party 1912, 1) The "O'Brienites" also condemned any

fellow Democrat who said anything good about the Republican-led Philippine government. After a speech by O'Brien, "several provincial delegates then claimed the floor at the same time. Mr. Crossland was recognized, and denounced O'Brien for [being] a baby and quitter, and a man who did not have backbone to take a fair defeat. Mr. Crossland was followed by Mr. Kelly, Mr. Barry … and Mr. Clark James … who all spoke along the same lines" (Democratic Party 1912, 13).

Filipinization of Engineers the Bureau of Public Works

The table below shows the number of engineers employed by the Bureau of Public Works for the years 1911 to 1914. It shows a trend towards Filipinization of the bureau, but Americans held most of the higher paying positions.

Year	Americans	Filipinos	Total
1911	143	10	153
1912	128	13	141
1913	108	18	126
1914	80	21	101

Number of American and Filipino engineers in the Bureau of Public Works as provided by de Veyra (1915, 126). Figures for 1914 are for the first half of the year. Original chart only had columns for Total and Filipinos. The above assumes that all others were Americans, though those of other nationalities may have been included.

The Director of Public Works, Warwick Greene, sent a letter to Secretary of Commerce and Police Clinton L. Riggs, on December 5, 1914, recommending "promotions and probational appointments of engineers in the construction division," for 23 engineers, including 18 Filipinos (Philippine Assembly 1915, 10:605). No action was taken by the secretary, and on December 13, 1914, the *Cablenews-American* (1914) reported that "Speaker Osmeña has appointed a committee … to make the investigation called for into the bureau of public works to determine whether or not undue discrimination has been exercised in the choice of engineers and other personnel to the detriment of Filipinos who it is said have been denied merit promotion." The committee's report, dated February 1, 1915, noted that some Americans with the job title "overseer" had not taken a civil service examination, and one district engineer had only scored 48.77 per cent on the civil engineering exam (Philippine Assembly 1915, 10:598). The latter was directed at Barry's brother Robert, who had held a series of "temporary" positions for at least three years and was then "temporary district engineer."

In his annual report for 1916, Governor General Harrison reported that "increasing interest in the engineering profession is now noticeable among the Filipinos, and 13 new civil engineers graduated from the University of the Philippines at its last commencement. Most of these young men enter directly into the public service, and 15 of the 42 engineering districts are already directed by Filipinos" (Harrison 1917, 14). Two years later, owing partly to America's entrance into World

War I, 29 district engineers were Filipinos, and there were 88 Filipino technical employees as compared to 37 Americans (Gordon 1914, 4).

By this time, Barry had left the bureau. On July 6, 1916, he applied for a passport to travel to the United States (Barry 1916). It is unclear when he left, but the July 1, 1917, issue of the bureau's *Quarterly Bulletin* mentioned that "Barry, formerly district engineer, Laguna, is established in the manufacture of ice at Okemah, Okla." ("On the Job" 1917, 14). His draft card dated September 12, 1918, shows that he and his brother were partners in an "ice plant and gin" (Barry 1918). The author has not been able to find additional information on the later life of Barry or his brother.

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Judiciary

Joseph F. Cooper

Joseph F. Cooper was appointed to the Philippine Supreme Court in 1901, and he remained on the court until 1904.

Cooper (sometimes referred to as James F. Cooper) was born around 1847 in Crystal Springs, Mississippi, to William A. and Mary Ford Cooper (*Clarksville Press Register* 1928; *Commercial Appeal* 1932). His home was later described as "a colonial brick mansion … [which] was the scene of much entertaining in the days of the Old South" (*Clarion-Ledger* 1932). He left his home at the age of 15 years to fight for the Confederacy "throughout the whole of the strife" (*Daily Clarion-Ledger* 1912). After the Civil War, he attended the University of Toronto and in 1872 began his law career in Fort Worth, Texas. He was described in a Honolulu newspaper as "a Democrat, one of the leading civil jurists of Texas and a Spanish scholar" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1901).

In June 1901, the Philippine Commission, led by William Howard Taft, reorganized the courts that had been established during American military rule. The Commission's report for 1901 noted:

> The appointments of citizens of the United States to the bench of the supreme court were made by the commission after the most careful investigation and examination of the recommendations and testimonials presented on behalf of those under consideration, of whom there were a very great number, and after local investigation in the United States under the Secretary of War. Political considerations did not enter the slightest degree into the appointment of any judge to any court in the islands, the sole questions being the fitness, capacity and character of the appointee, the preference given, other things being equal, to such persons as possessed a knowledge of the Spanish language. (Philippine Commission 1901, 1:84–85)

Taft sent a telegram to Clarence R. Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, on February 1901, with a list of proposed Supreme Court and other judicial appointees from the States. A reply from Edwards dated March 9, 1901, noted the acceptance by the candidates, including Cooper. However, he added, "Nothing against Cooper except was not known by people of Texas in Washington" (Edwards 1901). While it is not certain who nominated Cooper, it was likely Philippine Commissioner Luke E. Wright, a lawyer from Memphis, Tennessee, who had attended the University of Mississippi for a year. Cooper's brother Tim practiced law in Memphis after resigning from the Mississippi Supreme Court in 1896 (*Fort Worth Star-Telegram* 1904b; *Commercial Appeal* 1896; *Commercial Appeal* 1932). Like Cooper, Wright had joined the Confederate army in his mid-teens (Bell 2003, 104).

On April 1, 1901, Cooper and fellow Supreme Court appointee Charles A. Willard of Minnesota sailed from San Francisco aboard the U.S. Transport Buford. He was accompanied by his wife and his daughter and son-in-law, R. L. Van Zandt, who were moving to Manila. Sailing with Cooper and Willard were Fletcher Ladd of New Hampshire and W. A. Kincaid of Texas, who had appointments to the Court of First Instance (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1901). Cooper and Willard knew little about what to expect when landing in Manila. A Honolulu newspaper quoted Cooper as saying:

> A new civil code has just been established in the islands by the Taft Commission, but as no copy of it has reached this country as yet, I haven't the remotest conception of what it contains. It reorganizes the judiciary, but in what particulars the Spanish system is changed or modified I cannot say … How many other justices will constitute the court I am unable to say … I cannot even say how long a term we are expected to hold office. (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1901)

The law reorganizing the Philippine courts took effect on June 16,1901. The Supreme Court was composed of three Filipinos and four Americans. The first Chief Justice was Cayetono Arellano, who held that position for two decades. Two other Filipinos, Victorino Mapa and Florentino Torres, served as associate justices until 1913 and 1920 respectively. Fletcher Ladd ended up joining Cooper and Willard on the court, and James F. Smith, who later became Governor-General of the Philippines, was also an associate justice (Forbes 1928, 2:Appendix 14). Knowledge of Spanish was especially important because the law establishing the Supreme Court stipulated that "the official language of all Courts and their records shall be the Spanish language, until the first day of January, 1906," though the use of English or other languages was permitted at times (Division of Insular Affairs, War Department 1901, 427).

In a dissertation entitled *The Introduction of American Law in the Philippines and Porto Rico, 1898-1905*, Winfred Lee Thompson (1987) refers to Cooper primarily in the context of an opinion written by him on May 16, 1903, for *United States v. Dorr et al*. This case involved a libel complaint by Benito Legarda, a member of the Philippine Commission, against the owner of the newspaper *Manila Freedom*, Fred L. Dorr, and the paper's editor, Edward F. O'Brien. A judge of the Manila Court of First Instance sided with Legarda and later denied a motion by Dorr and O'Brien for a trial by jury as provided in the U. S. Constitution. Dorr and O'Brien then appealed to the Philippine Supreme Court, which also sided against them (Cooper 1903, 2:270–71). Most of Cooper's opinion addressed the question of whether the Constitution applied in the Philippines.

Cooper noted that "the political status of the Philippine Islands has been defined to a large extent by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Downes v. Bidwell (182 U. S. 241), in which case the status of Puerto Rico was directly involved" (Cooper 1903, 2:272). The opinion in that case was written by Justice Edward D. White, who stated that "whilst in an international sense Porto Rico was not a foreign country, since it was subject to the sovereignty of and was owned by the United States, it was foreign to the United States in a

domestic sense, because the island had not been incorporated into the United States but was merely appurtenant thereto as a possession" (Quoted in Thompson 1987, 138). Cooper wrote in his opinion:

> That the mere act of cession of the Philippines to the United States did not extend the Constitution here, except such parts as fall within the general principles of fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights formulated in the Constitution and its amendments, and which exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the Constitution, and except those express provisions of the Constitution which prohibit Congress from passing laws in their contravention under any circumstances; that the provisions contained in the Constitution relating to jury trials do not fall within either of these exceptions, and, consequently, the right to trial by jury has not been extended here by the mere act of the cession of the territory. (Cooper 1903, 2:283–84).

Justices Arellano, Torres, and Mapa concurred with Cooper, while Willard and Ladd dissented on points not related "to the larger constitutional issue. On that issue, the court was unanimous." (Thompson 1987, 192). Dorr and O'Brien appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which affirmed the ruling in the Philippines (Day 1904).

Cooper returned to the States in May 1904. In an interview in Fort Worth after arriving, he spoke very positively about life in Manila, noting that "the health of the city of Manila, where he lives, on the whole is excellent. The sanitary conditions of the city have been placed in the best of shape and one can enjoy life there as much as anywhere else. He has had the best of health since he has been in the Philippines and has not been sick a day. He is thoroughly impressed with the wonderful possibilities of the far east and says that a new avenue for expansion of America's commerce will some day be found there" (*Fort Worth Star-Telegram* 1904b).

In an interview in July, he was very supportive of the American administration of the Philippines.

> The Philippine court, he said, was non-partisan, fully half of its members being democrats and southern men. Its appointment is not reward for party service. Three native Filipinos sit upon the bench and the chief justice is himself a Filipino. It is true, admitted Judge Cooper, that the heads of the departments in the islands are not natives. This, however, is due to the lack of material among them acquainted with American ways and customs sufficiently to manage the complicated affairs. This choice of American heads he characterized as one of expediency and not one of policy. If any policy [is] followed it is to comply with the will of McKinley and give the natives preference. Along this line he cited the fact that the prosecuting attorney in every province but Manila is a native. There are no grand juries, all

> prosecutions being filed by this officer from which the liberality of the government can be seen.
>
> The lack of Spanish authorities, difficulty of language and the disregard for oath by the natives, Judge Cooper designated as the greatest difficulty faced with by the judiciary. The native lawyers he classes as brilliant and active, fiery but not with [the] sledge hammer force of the American practitioner. (*Fort Worth Star-Telegram* 1904a)

Cooper did not return to the Philippines. In October, he submitted his resignation to President Theodore Roosevelt, whom he had met with in June (*Evening Star* 1904a; *Evening Star* 1904b). A Texas newspaper reported that "this action was on account of his wife's health. Judge Cooper will open a law office at Washington, but retain his citizenship here" (*Palestine Daily Herald* 1904). Eight years later, a reporter wrote that "Judge Cooper tells some very pleasant incidents of his life in the Philippines and enjoyed his sojourn there" (*Daily Clarion-Ledger* 1912). It is unclear how long he practiced law in Washington, but at some point he practiced again in Fort Worth (*Clarion-Ledger* 1932).

Cooper supported President Woodrow Wilson's plans to speed up the process of turning the Philippines over to the Filipinos, even though he still had doubts about their abilities.

> I regard the question of granting independence as one of expediency. We acquired the country from Spain, the lawful possessor, and have fully discharged our duty in saving them from anarchy … and by giving them good government and all educational facilities.
>
> I do not believe in the policy of the United States acquiring foreign territory, the educational, social and racial conditions of which are such that there is no probability of a change for an indefinite and long period of time, and the conditions being such that we do not care to incorporate the country into the union, giving them citizenship and extending over them all constitutional rights.
>
> There are quite a number of Filipinos who in point of education and ability are capable of filling any position under the government, but perhaps the time would never come when we would care to incorporate them in our government. We have fully complied with our obligations and I cannot see in the future much change in their condition and ability for self-government. (*Fort Worth Record-Telegram* 1913)

Cooper continued to have close ties to his home state. He had a house in Crystal Springs, Mississippi, "where he was accustomed to spend part of each year, having also property in Sewanee, Tenn., and elsewhere" (*Clarion-Ledger* 1932). He died at the age of 85 on November 24, 1932, while visiting family in Memphis (Commercial Appeal 1932). He was remembered as

"a world-wide traveler, having made many European tours as well as those to the Orient, and was [a] very scholarly and aristocratic southern gentleman" (*Clarion-Ledger* 1932).

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James M. Liddell

Liddell as an officer in the U. S. Volunteers (Kirk 1900).

James Monroe Liddell went to the Philippines as a captain in the U. S. Volunteers. Liddell had years of legal experience before the war, and he served as municipal judge for the city of Manila from 1901 to 1907. After resigning, he moved to the island of Mindoro, where he took up agricultural and related pursuits. He died there in 1915.

Liddell was born in Carroll County, Mississippi, on July 7, 1853 (American Legion 1927). He began his college education at the University of Mississippi but transferred in 1871 to Roanoke College in Virginia, where he received a bachelors in 1873 and a masters in 1876 (Sigma Chi 1890, 90, 97, 292). He served in the Mississippi legislature from 1878-1880 and practiced law in Greenwood, Mississippi, where "he was perhaps the most popular citizen of Leflore county" (*The Commonwealth* 1915; Sigma Chi 1890, 90, 97, 292). He was also for some time the editor of the newspaper *The Grenadian*. He married Maida Brantley, and the couple would have a daughter, Katherine, and sons Frank and James (*Clarion-Ledger* 1927).

Glory Denied in the Spanish-American War

On April 23, 1898, the weekly *Grenada Sentinel* ran the news of the outbreak of the war with Spain. Two weeks later, the paper reported a meeting in the town of the United Confederate Veterans where Liddell gave "a patriotic address, referring to the stirring days of 1861, comparing them with the scenes of to-day [sic] at the beginning of the war with Spain. He made a strong and patriotic appeal to the young men for volunteer service against Spain" (*Grenada Sentinel* 1898).

THE GRENADA SENTINEL.

J. W. BUCHANAN, Manager and Proprietor. "BE JUST AND FEAR NOT." TERMS: $1.00 Per Annum In Advance

VOL. XLIII. GRENADA, MISS., SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1898. NO. 41

OUR SCREEN DOORS BUILT WELL.

Re= mem= ber,

OUR SCREEN WINDOWS LOOK WELL.

we do not meet other people's prices, but they have to meet ours.

WAR!

NOW VIRTUALLY ON!

War Vessels Sail for Cuba and Porto Rico,

WITH ORDERS TO FIRE ON SPANISH SHIPS;

War Preparations All Along the Line.

"Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this is our motto, "In God is our trust,"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave,
While the land of the free is the home of the brave."

Front page of the *Grenada Sentinel* on April 23, 1898. Library of Congress, Chronicling America, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85034375/1898-04-23/ed-1/seq-1/.

Liddell himself answered the call, and joined a regiment formed by Col. Herbert H. Sargent, the Fifth Volunteer Infantry. On June 22, Liddell accepted an appointment as a major in the regiment, which was in Cuba from August 12, 1898, to May 2, 1899, and mustered out on May 31(Adjutant-General's Office 1900, 46; Cullum and Holden 1901, 373). Liddell lamented that the regiment, "whose very souls were aflame with martial ardor, were denied the glorious privilege of participation in active hostilities" (*Vicksburg Herald* 1899). An opportunity to join in hostilities came just over a month later when Liddell was appointed as a captain in the 29th Volunteer Infantry, which left San Francisco on October 5 and arrived in Manila on November 2 (Adjutant-General's Office 1900, 46; *The Leader* 1900; *Army and Navy Journal* 1899; MacArthur 1900).

Judicial Career in the Philippines

While serving with the 29th, Liddell was appointed judge of the Inferior Provost Court in Manila (Kirk 1900; Otis 1900). After the transition from military to civilian rule, Liddell was appointed on August 6, 1901, as one of two judges for the city of Manila (Division of Insular Affairs 1901, 744). Two months later, his wife sailed from San Francisco to join him in the Philippines (*San Francisco Examiner* 1901). The following chart from an annual report of Manila's Law Department shows the number of cases before the courts in Manila and their outcomes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903 (Reyes 1904, 144).

Statement of the operations of both courts for the fiscal year.

District.	Complaints filed.	Tried.	Convicted.	Fined.	Sentenced to imprisonment.	Imprisoned for nonpayment of fine.	Cases sent to Court of First Instance on appeal, etc.
South of the Pasig River	906	1,467	1,002	905	211	114	10
North of the Pasig River	3,534	4,567	3,683	3,340	866	523	62
City of Manila	5,237	7,166	6,877	5,126	1,096	655	45
Total	9,802	13,184	11,562	9,371	2,173	1,292	117

Table from the annual report of Manila's Law Department, showing the number of cases before the courts in Manila and their outcomes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903 (Reyes 1904, 144).

The report noted that "on February 15 of the present year the Municipal Court north of the Pasig was consolidated with that south of the Pasig, and since that date all proceedings have been before Judge J. M. Liddell, holding court at the Parian station. This has resulted in a large increase in the work of that judge and a decrease in the operating expenses of the court. Judge Liddell has been able to take care of all of the business which has come before him, but there would seem to be an urgent need for an increase in his clerical force" (Reyes 1904, 144).

The most common offense in Manila was gambling (1,534), followed by violation of vehicle regulations (1,434), disorderly conduct (627), larceny (613), and obstructing streets and

walks (609) (Reyes 1904, 145). A Manila newspaper referred to Liddell as "the terror of the evildoers" (*Cablenews* 1905), yet he also took an activist stance regarding the Filipino game panguingue, which was considered to be a form of gambling. Liddell found that most of those arrested for playing the game were older Filipino women who had few other recreational options. He announced that he would not fine any defendants brought before him unless men were also involved (*Cablenews* 1906). He also called out what he saw as hypocritical enforcement of the gambling laws by the Manila police:

> There is a great deal of gambling going on in the City of Manila that is not interfered with by the police authorities. There is hardly a saloon or a club in this City where the gambling ordinance is not only openly and flagrantly violated every day of the week. This condition of affairs is known to every policeman upon the city's force. The throwing of dice for drinks is one of the most pernicious forms of gambling that has come to my knowledge, yet in the saloons and clubs you will find it openly carried on everywhere and you will even in many instances find city and government officials and policemen indulging, and yet there is more money lost for one round of drinks than old Filipino women can possibly lose in a week's play at panguingue. (*Cablenews* 1906)

Liddell continued to challenge the Manila police on this issue. At the close of a trial involving 22 Chinese arrested for gambling, he stated, "I believe there is just as much gambling among the American residents of Manila as among the Chinese, yet the authorities seem to pay no attention to any other gamblers excepting the Chinos [sic]," and he vowed to convict any guilty American who was brought before him on gambling charges (*Cablenews* 1907). This brought a response by the acting Chief of Police, who stated that "if there were any gambling club in Manila patronized by Americans he did not know of it" (*Cablenews* 1907).

While his stance on gambling received praise in some Filipino newspapers, *El Renacimiento*, citing excessive sentences and arbitrariness, called for his dismissal (*El Renacimiento* 1907a; 1907b; 1907d). In July, the paper reported a confidential investigation of Liddell by the government (*El Renacimiento* 1907c). By this time, Liddell had leased land for a *hacienda* on the island of Mindoro, and he was ready to devote his full attention to this enterprise. He submitted his resignation on July 31, 1907, though it seems to have not been official until the following January 1 (Liddell 1908; Municipal Board of Manila 1909).

Life as a *Haciendero*

A Congressional report of 1911 lists Liddell as having a 25-year lease on 327 hectares of public land, though it is unclear if his hacienda contained other properties as well (U. S. House of Representatives 1911, 460). Liddell wrote a lengthy letter to the *Vicksburg Herald* the following year and spoke glowingly of the island's possibilities. "If the life of the farmer in Mississippi is an independent, contented and happy one, not less can be said of the haciendero in Mindoro ...

Everything grown in the tropics here flourishes at its best." The plantation was isolated, and "there is not a road in my part of the island larger than a caraboa [sic] track." He did lament the "great scarcity of labor" because "the few Tagalogs are there because they can live without work" (Liddell 1908).

After moving to Mindoro, Liddell was out of the limelight until 1912, when Liddell and his 18-year-old son Jim were in Manila. The editor and owner of the *Philippines Free Press* had written an article "in which grave charges were made against 'a certain former municipal judge'" who was not named (*Cablenews-American* 1912). Liddell went to the editor to demand that he sign a letter stating that Liddell was not the one to which the article referred. The situation escalated, and Liddell tried to strike the editor with his cane, after which the editor pushed Liddell to the floor. At another time, Jim passed the editor on the street and then struck him from behind. Jim was arrested but got off and paid a small fine after pleading guilty. An editorial in the Cebu Chronicle deplored this aggression against the press but noted that "R. McCullough Dick, editor of the 'Free Press' ... is fearless, and his paper of pepper and salt is often of benefit to the community, but unfortunately he continues sprinkling the pepper long after the public good has been served, he doesn't know when to stop" (*Cebu Chronicle* 1912).

Death and Legacy in the Philippines

In early 1915, Liddell contracted cholera and died on March 3. He was buried in Mindoro but later re-interred in Carrollton, Mississippi (*Clarion-Ledger* 1927). His wife continued to live in the Philippines until at least 1934 (*Greenwood Commonwealth* 1934). In 1919, the Liddell children formed the Sumagui Development Company. Liddell's daughter Katherine had married Clark Addison Burks, also from Mississippi, in Yokohama, Japan, on September 13, 1913 ("[U. S. Consular Report of Marriage]" 1913). Burks was also a director of the company, as was Frank Liddell's wife Irene (*Cablenews-American* 1919). Clark and Katherine stayed in the Philippines until 1937, and their daughter Helen was interned in the Los Baños Internment Camp and continued to live in Manila after the war (*Greenwood Commonwealth* 1945; 1946; Stevens 1946). Frank Liddell was held in the Santo Tomas Internment Camp (Stevens 1946, 516). A newspaper article years later reported that he "survived the internment 'only because of Filipino friends who surreptitiously passed food to me through the fence surrounding the prison…at considerable risk to their own lives,' in his own narration to a family member" (*Philippine Daily Inquirer* 2013).

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Lewis M. Southworth

Passport photo of Southworth in 1917 (Southworth 1917)

Lewis Morgan Southworth was a lawyer in Carroll County, Mississippi, who moved to Manila in 1904 and gained a reputation of being one of the leading lawyers in the Philippines. He later served as Prosecuting Attorney for the city of Manila, as Dean of the Philippine Law School, and finally as a judge in Iliolo. He resigned from the latter position in 1919 due to health issues and returned to the United States, where he died shortly thereafter.

Southworth was born to Mr. and Mrs. Hunter H. Southworth at Glen Oak Plantation in Carroll County, Mississippi, on August 15, 1862 (Southworth 1917). He graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1887 and practiced law in Carroll County for a number of years (University of Mississippi 1910, 113). Southworth "had strong political influence in Carroll County being a most eloquent speaker and active in the affairs of the state" (*Sun Herald* 1920). He served in the Mississippi legislature and had had an unsuccessful bid for Congress in 1895 (*Sun Herald* 1920; *Daily Colusa Sun* 1895). He served for a number of years on the state's Democratic Executive Committee and was active in the Democratic party throughout his life (*The Progress* 1903; *Sea Coast Echo* 1899). He also served as a trustee for his alma mater from 1896 to 1904 (University of Mississippi 1910, 83).

Soon after the United States declared war on Spain, Mississippi formed two volunteer infantry regiments to join the conflict. Southworth joined the Second Regiment, which mustered on June 9, 1898. As the commander of Company F, he held the rank of captain. (Rowland 1907, 927). However, "it was not the fortune of these commands to reach the field of battle," and Southworth's regiment was mustered out in Tennessee on December 21, 1898 (Rowland 1907, 927). Upon his return, he continued his law practice and political activities. In the summer of 1904, Southworth's friend **James M. Liddell** was back in Mississippi for a visit after living in the Philippines for five years and persuaded him to set up a law practice in Manila (*Daily Democrat* 1904; *Cablenews* 1905c). For some reason, he did not publicize his plans. A Mississippi newspaper reported that "the Carrollton Conservative announces the departure of Hon. L. M. Southworth from that place, but does not know where he was gone. It is suspected that he is heading for the Philippines" (*Weekly Clarion Ledger* 1904).

Becoming Established in Manila

By January 1905, Southworth was a law partner of James Courtney Hixson of Alabama, a former U. S. consul in China who had served with Liddell in the Fifth Volunteer Infantry (Adjutant-

General's Office 1900, 59; *El Renacimiento* 1905). Liddell was now a city judge, and gambling was by far the most common charge against defendants in his court. In June, Southworth himself appeared before Liddell as a defendant on that charge.

> The municipal secret police, with the assistance of the local police, have been successful in raiding a carefully guarded poker game, run and patronized by Americans, prominent among whom were former detective Coley, Attorney Southworth, and A. C. Shephard, disbursing officer at the San Lazaro hospital. The game was in the house of E. W. King. A large sum of money was on the table at the time of the raid, but only a portion was gathered in, as determined efforts were made by the participants in the game to save it. (*Cablenews* 1905b)

Southworth paid a fine of 20 pesos, and to minimize any damage to his reputation, he submitted to a Manila newspaper two articles from Mississippi newspapers about him as well as letters of recommendation for him that were written by Congressmen from Mississippi and justices of the Mississippi Supreme Court (*Cablenews* 1905a). The affair blew over, and in March 1906, Southworth and Frank B. Ingersoll of Tennessee began a law firm. At that time, a leading Spanish newspaper noted that Southworth "está considerado uno de los notables criminalistas americanos en Filipinas" (*El Renacimiento* 1906). The description implies that there were many capable Filipino lawyers, to which Southworth himself later attested (Jones 1913, 30).

In December 1906, Liddell's wife returned from a trip to the States accompanied by Mary Inez Dunlap, Southworth's fiancée from Meridian, Mississippi, who was 23 years younger than him (*Cablenews* 1906; M. D. Southworth 1914). Years later, Ingersoll's wife Joshena remembered Dunlap as "the extremely young wife of the middle-aged Judge Southworth. From the Deep South himself, he had sent to the States for his pretty orphaned ward upon her graduation from a Virginia finishing school" (Ingersoll 1971, 31). Their wedding on January 9, 1907, was "one of the most brilliant functions held in the city for sometime" (*Cablenews* 1907b). The matron of honor was the wife of **Ellis Cromwell**, who had also been a company commander in the Mississippi Second Regiment during the Spanish-American War. Joshena Ingersoll wrote of Mary Southworth and a certain judge's wife that "the poor dears were transient boarders. They hated the heat, the mosquitoes, and everything about the Philippines" (Ingersoll 1971, 31). Mary Southworth would spend much of the next twelve years in the United States or in Europe.

Early Views of American Occupation

On July 30, 1907, Filipinos and Americans in the Philippines went to the polls to vote for members of the Philippine Assembly, which would share legislative authority with the Philippine Commission. Southworth "strongly supported" the Nacional Progresista Party, which declared that "we do not ask for electric, urgent or immediate independence but willingly wait until Uncle Sam sees fit to grant it" (*Cablenews* 1907a; 1907c). The rival Nacionalista party, which favored

immediate independence, won by a landslide, and during the course of the campaign and afterwards, many Americans felt indignant over perceived disrespect shown by some Filipinos to the American flag. On August 23, 1907, Southworth was one of the speakers at an assembly of Americans who called upon the government to take measures to protect the dignity of the flag. Before his passionate speech, a band played "Red, White and Blue," and immediately afterwards, "the band played 'Dixie'" (Wescott 1907, 78, 86). The following is excepted from the meeting proceedings, which were published under the title *The Exaltation of the Flag*:

> The time has come, my countrymen, when we should talk plainly and honestly to the Filipino people. (Applause.) The United States Government owns these Islands. (Great and continued applause and cheers.) She owns them through two of the great recognized sources of title. There are but three sources through which a nation may own territory - by discovery, by conquest, or by purchase. (Cheers and prolonged applause.) Under that flag we conquered these Islands, and then, with a title already thus perfected, as generous victors we paid the price stipulated by the Treaty of Paris.
>
> "It is time for us to tell the Filipinos that they cannot insult with impunity the nation or the flag of the United States Government. (Great applause.) They must be made to understand that whatever they get from the United States Government *comes by grace and not of right*. [emphasis in original] (Wescott 1907, 83–84)

A year later, Woodrow Wilson, whom Southworth would ardently support in the 1912 Presidential election, wrote of Filipinos that "we cannot give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be 'given' to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be 'given' the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession, a thing no more to be bought than given" (Wilson 1908, 53). Both Wilson and Southworth would soften their stance towards Philippine independence.

Southworth Joins the Civil Service

Southworth began a permanent position in the Civil Service when he was appointed Second Prosecuting Attorney for the city of Manila in September 1908 (*Cablenews-American* 1908). On November 5, 1908, he filed charges in one of the most prominent legal cases of the American colonial era. Four Filipinos associated with the Spanish-language *El Renacimiento* newspaper were charged with criminal libel for an allegorical article in the paper written, it was believed, about Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester ("United States vs. Ocampo" 1911). The case went all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, which upheld the guilty verdicts in the Philippine courts. Southworth also filed charges in one of the first cases in the Philippine government's stepped-up war on drugs. A merchant named Louis T. Grant was charged with importing "two

hundred ten (210) kilos of prepared opium of the value of P19,000, and eleven (11) kilos of cocaine, a derivative of opium, of the value of P1,500" (*Cablenews-American* 1909b).

Governor General W. Cameron Forbes promoted Southworth to Prosecuting Attorney effective January 1, 1910 (*Cablenews-American* 1909a). In September, he was placed in charge of a case involving alleged misappropriation of funds related to the government's new "summer capital" in the town of Baguio (*Cablenews-American* 1910c). Southworth resigned from his position on October 17, 1910, but he continued on the Baguio case as a special prosecutor until withdrawing from the case a month later because he had "not received the backing of the government in said prosecution" (*Cablenews-American* 1910a; 1910b).

The U. S. Presidential Election of 1912

Southworth returned to private practice, partnering with Lionel D. Hargis, and also became a founding stockholder of the Baco Rubber Development Company (*Cablenews-American* 1911; 1912a). While Southworth was a prominent member of Manila society, his reputation would soon be tarnished by events leading up to the 1912 Presidential election and afterwards. By this time, William Howard Taft had led the Philippines for over a decade as governor, Secretary of War, and President. Southworth was a staunch Democrat who now deemed any positive statement by a Democrat related to the "Taft Era" to be a sign of disloyalty to the Democratic party. The ultimate source of Southworth's vehement refusal to give any credit to Republicans came out in a letter he wrote the following year to the *Cablenews-American* in response to a letter signed by "Old Fogy" published the previous day.

> It is not the race question, nor the slavery question nor even the war which has kept the Southern States solidly democratic. It is the memory of the horrors and the outrages perpetuated upon the Southern people by the Republican party during the infamous Reconstruction period that will forever damn the party in the eyes of those people, and cause them to maintain their allegiance to the Democratic party. It was the party of 'Old Fogy' that placed the [African-American's] heel upon the white man of the South, robbed and pillaged him and confiscated his property. (*Cablenews-American* 1913c)

On July 27, 1912, Southworth sailed for the United States, where he gave a series of speeches in support of Woodrow Wilson, who was running on a platform calling for "an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established" (*Cablenews-American* 1912b; 1912c; Democratic Party 1912). After Wilson's victory over Taft, Southworth was reported to have held "a series of interviews … with the incoming president, [and] it is well understood that he is in line for [a] fine appointment under the new administration (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1912). He returned to Manila on January 22, 1913, and over the next several months there continued to be reports that he stood

a good chance of being appointed to the Philippine Commission (*Cablenews-American* 1913b; 1913e; *Jackson Daily News* 1913).

On January 28, 1913, Congressman William A. Jones published in the *Congressional Record* a letter he had received from Southworth, which said in part:

> In the course of my private practice and in the discharge of my official duties I have come in contact with native lawyers of the highest talent and legal attainments; physicians and surgeons, learned and skillful in their profession ; merchants who employ the latest commercial methods and observe the strictest business integrity ; and people in the private walks of life of the highest intellectual attainments, educated in the best universities and colleges of Europe, speaking, in many instances, as many as five foreign languages.
>
> From my intimate knowledge of the Filipino people, gained in the manner above stated and from my social intercourse with them, I do not hesitate to say they are capable of self-government ….
>
> I believe the fundamental mistake into which the Republican Party has led the American people during the last 14 years has been due to the circumstances that the reports of its agents have always been tinctured with the residuum of the early hostility and a strongly acquired taste for official life in the Philippine Islands. (Jones 1913, 30–31)

Later that year, outgoing Republican Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes gave a rebuttal of all the accusations presented by Jones. He portrayed Southworth as being disgruntled because he wanted a more powerful position. “Mr. Southworth has been prosecuting attorney of the city of Manila; I thought best to disappoint him in his aspirations for advancement” (Forbes 1913, 25). He also pointed out that under the new Democratic administration, Southworth “has recently suffered further disappointment in his ambition to serve on the Philippine Commission, or the Supreme Court, or somewhere.”

Wilson’s nominee for Governor-General of the Philippines was Congressman Francis Burton Harrison, who was hand-picked by Manuel Quezon, the Philippines’ Resident Commissioner to Washington (Harrison 1922, 3). Harrison arrived in Manila on October 6, 1913, and two days later, Southworth and C. W. O’Brien, “representing the Sure Thing Democrats, were signally honored by a request from the Governor General … for a consultation with the new chief executive” (*Cablenews-American* 1913a; Harrison 1922, 50). While it is unclear what was discussed, Southworth told a reporter the following day that “his law firm was taking up all the time he had, and that political plums were ‘nix’ with him” (*Cablenews-American* 1913f). By this time, he had fallen out of favor with Quezon, whom Southworth rebuked while in Washington for associating with those whom Southworth deemed to be traitorous Democrats. Southworth’s resentment continued, and on December 3, 1913, the *Cablenews-American* quoted Southworth as saying in part:

> I went up to see Sr. Quezon the other day about all these matters. I told him that I deemed it very queer that he, who was the supposed champion of his people, should be consorting with the very men who had been bitterly fighting against the Jones bill and independence …. Now another thing. Either Sr. Quezon is ignorant as to what a protectorate really means or else he is deceiving his people when he advocates the establishment of such a form of government. (*Cablenews-American* 1913d)

The newspaper *El Ideal* responded to Southworth very directly, as shown in this excerpt from the translated article published in the *Cablenews-American* (1913g).

> Surely it is not Mr. Southworth who is called upon to decide whether or not Mr. Quezon as a representative of the people is doing his duty. We can not allow him unduly to interfere with our affairs, because we do not ask for his counsels, neither do we need them. The most elementary notion of delicacy ought to teach Mr. Southworth that he is not authorized to advise Mr. Quezon as to the latter's course of conduct and has no right to expect that Mr. Quezon is going to give him an account of his personal acts.

Southworth's Final Years

Southworth continued in private practice, partnering with Paul F. Faison and later Manuel Goyena, and he served as a special prosecutor for the government in at least two high profile cases over the next two years (*Cablenews-American* 1914; 1915; 1917a; Southworth 1914). His prestige in the legal field remained high, and he was selected as the founding dean of the Philippine Law School in 1915 (*Cablenews-American* 1920). This institution was modeled after the College of Law of the University of the Philippines and, unlike the handful of other private law schools, all instruction was in English (Benitez 1916).

During the 1916 Presidential election season, the Manila papers reported fewer conflicts between Southworth and other Democrats, though one article referred to him as still belonging to "a small coterie of irreconcilables" (*Cablenews-American* 1916a). Southworth left for America on August 15, 1916, to campaign for Wilson, and after Wilson's re-election, the chairman of the Speakers Committee of the Democratic State Central Committee of California, Henry F. Edsen, wrote to Southworth that he had done "no small part in helping to re-elect our peerless leader" (*Cablenews-American* 1916b; 1916c). During his absence from the Philippines, Southworth was also admitted to the California bar and was "engaged in the interests of San Francisco clients taking some appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States" (*Cablenews-American* 1917b; *The Recorder* 1916).

Southworth returned to Manila on August 25, 1917, though he left for the States "on legal business" again at the end of the year. He returned in February 1918 with his wife Mary, whom he "persuaded to come back to Manila again" (*Cablenews-American* 1917b; 1918a). In June, Governor-General Harrison appointed Southworth as judge of the Court of First Instance for the district of Iliolo. In announcing the appointment, the *Cablenews-American* (1918b) described Southworth as "endowed by nature with an even and judicial temperament, his new duties will offer him an excellent opportunity for the display of his natural talents, which are generally conceded to be high."

Southworth's time on the bench was short-lived. After being hospitalized in Manila several months later with cancer, he left for the United States for further treatment on July 3, 1919, and he formally resigned a few weeks later. He died on February 1, 1920 (*Cablenews-American* 1919b; 1919a; 1920).

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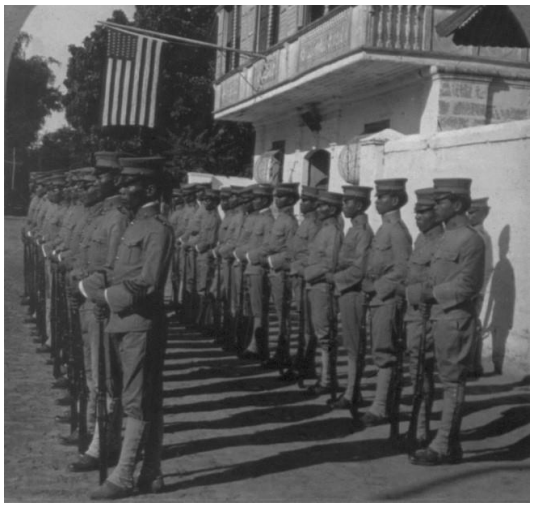
Philippine Constabulary

Introduction to the Philippine Constabulary

To be outnumbered, always; to be outfought, never.
Motto of the Philippine Constabulary (Elarth 1949, 21)

The bureau most represented in this publication is the Philippine Constabulary, an island-wide police force created in 1901 that operated along military lines. As described a decade after its creation, "members of the Constabulary are peace officers and are empowered to prevent and suppress brigandage, unlawful assemblies, riots, insurrections, and other breaches of the peace and violations of the law. They are required to execute any lawful warrant or order of arrest issued against any person or persons for any violation of the law, and to make arrests upon reasonable suspicion without warrant for breaches of the peace or other violations of the law" (*Handbook on the Executive Departments* 1912, 71–72).

While Americans accounted for 85% of the Constabulary officers in 1901, the number of Filipino officers gradually increased until becoming the majority in 1917. Also in that year, Rafael Crame became the first Filipino to lead the organization (Forbes 1928, 1:227, 239). Enlisted men, such as those shown below, were all Filipinos.



"First Company Filipino Constabulary, Province of Pampanga, Island of Luzon, Philippines," Keystone View Company, 1909. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3b27466/.

At least thirteen Mississippians served as commissioned officers in the Constabulary, and two of the longest-serving Constabulary personnel were Mississippians **Robert G. Woods** and **Luther R. Stevens**. Woods, a veteran of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars, joined as a civilian clerk in 1903 and rose to the important administrative position of Chief Clerk. Stevens was commissioned in 1910 and later held the prestigious position of Commander of the District of Mindanao and Sulu. Both served in the Philippine Army during the Philippine Commonwealth period, and both were imprisoned by the Japanese during World War II.

The military nature of the Constabulary was such that a law passed by the U.S. Congress in 1928 declared that "active duty performed as an officer of the Philippine Constabulary shall be credited to the same extent as service under a Regular Army commission" (*An Act to Recognize Commissioned Service* 1928). Not to be confused with the Philippine Constabulary, which was part of the Philippine colonial government, were the Philippine Scouts, who were part of the U. S. Army and could be called upon by the governor to assist in Constabulary operations (McCoy 2009, 83–84).

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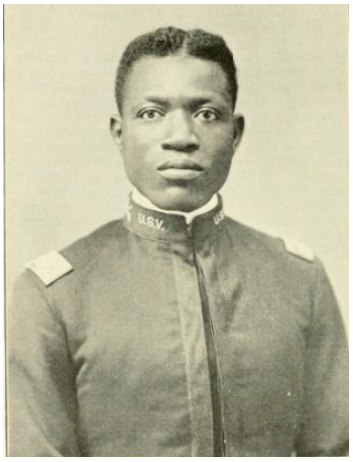
Robert G. Woods



Woods as an officer in the U. S. Volunteers (Coston 1899, 132).

Robert Gordon Woods was a ten-year Army veteran before going to the Philippines in 1900 as a captain in the U. S. Volunteers. He joined the Philippine Constabulary as a clerk in 1903 and rose to the key position of Chief Clerk. He continued in that position in the Philippine Army and was placed in the Santo Tomas and Los Baños internment camps during World War II.

Woods was born to Isaac and Sarah Woods in Starkville, Mississippi. His date of birth is given as March 31, 1870, in some sources, though he listed his birth year as 1873 in two passport applications (Coston 1899, 135; USCO 1880; Woods 1916; 1917). He attended an institution called the University of Holly Springs and joined the Army's 24th Infantry, an African-American unit, in 1889 (Coston 1899, 135). Before the Spanish-American War, he served in New Mexico, Missouri, and Utah, rising to the rank of first sergeant. Much of his time was spent as a company clerk or clerk for the Quartermaster's Department, which provided valuable experience for his future career in the Philippines (Coston 1899, 135). Woods married Irene Dunning around 1896, and the 1900 Census for Lowndes County, Mississippi, shows that the couple had a son named Thomas and a daughter named Ruth (USCO 1900).

After war broke out between the United States and Spain, the 24th was sent to Cuba. Woods played a key role in the battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, a day in which the 24th suffered the death of 12 soldiers and the wounding of 76 (Coston 1899, 135; Wheeler 1908, 67). Woods "was in the trenches in front of Santiago from July 1 to 15, inclusive, and in the fierce combats of July 1, 2, 3, 10, and 11, 1898." (Coston 1899, 135). The 24th then "volunteered to go to Siboney, Cuba, as attendants in the yellow fever hospital," where Woods was one of only four in his company who did not contract the disease. (Coston 1899, 135, 137). On October 26, 1898, Woods accepted a commission as a second lieutenant in the 9th Infantry of the United States Volunteers (U. S. V.), a position he held until the regiment was mustered out the following May. He served as "battalion adjutant [and] the office and its vexatious work so well conducted that the commanding officer of his battalion, and other officers, complimented him for his thorough knowledge of the regulations and the forms governing army matters" (Coston 1899, 137).

The Philippine-American War

On September 14, 1899, Woods accepted a commission as a captain in the 49th Infantry, U. S. V., and five months later the Spanish-American War veteran was leading a company of soldiers in the Philippine-American War (Adjutant-General's Office 1900, 128; MacArthur 1900, 11). He was

one of thousands of service members on the ground in America's first war of the 20th century (MacArthur 1900, 3). At some point, he also served "as military governor of the Province of Isabella" (Fortune 1904b). Listed below are some of his company's engagements.

> September 7, 1900: Capt. Robert K. Evans, on scout, near Paoay, for assailants of Lieut. Frank S. Cocheu's party, burns some houses and arrests 6 suspects ..... Capt. Robert G. Woods, with detachment of 6 men, Company I, Forty-ninth Infantry, U. S. V., near Reina Mercedes, P. I., captures Maj. Antonio Telar, 6 captains, and 2 lieutenants of insurgents. (Root 1901, 7) [This was listed under the "principal events connected with military operations in the Philippine Islands, September 1, 1900, to June 30, 1901"]
>
> December 31, 1900: A detachment of Company I. 49th Infantry, while returning from Ilagan was fired on by about thirty insurgents, but routed them, killing two. Corporal Bunn was killed. (Chaffee 1901, 2:35)
>
> January 10, 1901: A detachment of Company I, 49th Infantry, encountered a small band of bolomen near Naguilian; killed one and captured one. No casualties. (Chaffee 1901, 2:38)

The 49th left for San Franisco on June 1, 1901, arriving three weeks later (Chaffee 1901; *San Francisco Chronicle* 1901). T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the African-American paper *New York Age*, wrote that "after being discharged from the army at San Francisco, [Woods] went back to Manila with a determination to 'grow up with the Philippines'" (Fortune 1904a, 96) It is unclear why he did not return to his family, who by 1910 were living in Jackson, Mississippi (USCB 1910).

Guide and Secretary to T. Thomas Fortune

Fortune met Woods while on a mission from President Theodore Roosevelt to examine the feasibility of African-American migration to the Islands (Mount 2018, 59). He was in the Philippines from February 17 to May 10, 1903, and early on asked Woods to be his guide (Fortune 1904c, 202). The following is an excerpt of his account of their travels.

> Six days after leaving Dupax we reached Cauyan, the object of our most earnest desire, as it was here that Captain Woods had had his headquarters when Military Governor of Isabella province. We were in mighty bad shape when we reached this little spot. We rode up to the store of Pablo Gimar, a Chinese friend of Captain Woods. The populace had taken note of our progress through the town, and much interest was excited by the time we reached the store, without any one recognizing the Captain. The big Chinaman, attracted by the noise, was standing in the door of

> his store. He recognized the Captain at once and the yell he let out drew a dozen Chinamen and fifty Filipinos to the spot in a hurry. I never saw people so glad to see any one as these were to see Captain Woods. They gave us the freedom of the town at once. We put up with Senor Lopez, who had been interpreter for Captain Woods in the military days, and the people of the town and country feasted us for four days, the good Catholic priest being foremost in all efforts at entertainment. It was a restful and a pleasant season. (Fortune 1904b, 244)

Fortune's time in the Philippines ended on a sour note. The *New York Sun* reported that "a companion of T. Thomas Fortune … was arrested for obstructing the street. Mr. Fortune accompanied the prisoner to the station and became involved in a wordy altercation. His secretary, ex-Capt. Wood, forcibly interfered and was lightly clubbed" (*The Sun* 1903). The case was dropped after the intervention of Vice-Governor Luke E. Wright, and Fortune soon left for China and Japan, accompanied by Woods (*El Progreso* 1903a; 1903b). Despite the bad publicity, Woods returned to Manila, which would be his home for the next 40 years.

Woods Joins the Philippine Constabulary

Woods took the civil service exam for clerks and joined the Philippine Constabulary, the island-wide police/military force, as a clerk on August 5, 1903, with a salary of $900 (equivalent to the highest salary of a third lieutenant) (Loeb 1945; PCSB 1904, 31). A note in the Constabulary magazine years later indicated that Woods soon organized and led the bureau's Firearms Section until 1904 and again from 1910 to 1916 (*Khaki and Red* 1933).

Woods was not the only African-American in the Constabulary. Walter H. Loving served out West in the 24th Infantry at the same time as Woods and came to the Philippines as chief musician of the 48th Volunteer Infantry. He was commissioned as a Constabulary officer in February 1902 and led the renowned Constabulary Band until 1916 and again from 1919 to 1923 (Cunningham 2007). On November 25,1902, John L. Waller, who served in the 49th Infantry with Woods, joined the bureau as a clerk. He left the bureau after two years to join the Army's Quartermaster's Corps but returned to the Philippines for various tours of duty over the next several years (PCSB 1903, 28; *New York Age* 1929; *Cleveland Gazette* 1916).

On June 16, 1904, John P. Quander joined the Constabulary, also as a clerk, and he would become the personal stenographer of Constabulary commander Harry H. Bandholtz (PCSB 1905, 38; *Cablenews-American* 1911). In 1913 or 1914, William A. Caldwell, a long-time clerk with the Bureau of Agriculture, transferred to the Constabulary (Bureau of Civil Service 1913, 58; 1914, 26). Quander returned to the U.S. after 12 years, while Caldwell stayed with the Constabulary until at least 1923 (*Richmond Planet* 1923; *The Crisis* 1928).

Woods on Life in the Philippines

In 1906, Woods and Quander traveled back to the United States together on both personal leave and official business, stopping off in Japan along the way (*Seattle Republican* 1906). An article in *The Freeman* described Woods as "a young man of fine address, well educated, modest in demeanor, yet confident of his capacity when put to the test" (*The Freeman* 1906). Woods gave a very positive view of his treatment in the Philippines. The article noted that "there are few, if any, notorious instances of race prejudice that have come to his notice. He has charge of the supplies for the constabulary, and has a large number of subordinates working for him, white and native, and they accord him the most respectful treatment." As for his future, "Woods makes no secret of the fact that he intends to make Manila his permanent home." Part of his trip included a scheduled meeting in Washington with Secretary of War William H. Taft, who had served as governor of the Philippines.

The positive portrayal by Woods did not mean that there was no racial discrimination against African-Americans. Physician James E. Fitzbutler, who passed a civil service exam for the Philippine Bureau of Health in 1905 while still in the States. When he arrived in Manila, "he was really ready to take the job he had made the grade to win. But no! … American color prejudice gave him a grand reception" (*Chicago Defender* 1923). However, he went to the Bureau of Agriculture, which was led by Mississippians **Wayne C. Welborn** and his assistant **George E. Nesom**. Nesom was interim bureau chief at the time while Welborn was traveling to the United States. "The first thing [Nesom] did was to tell Fitzbutler that he was hired. The second thing he did was to deliver a lecture on the evils of American color prejudice, declaring that no Mississippian who denied a man of the Race a chance to earn a living was worthy of the name of [Mississippi]" (*Chicago Defender* 1923, 13). Dr. Fitzbutler later went into private practice in the Philippines for over a decade. In January 1912, Woods and Fitzbutler were part of a special gathering of "the most prominent of the Afro-American colony of the Philippines" at which Fitzbutler gave a speech "on the advantages of [African-American] doctors in the Philippines" (Gonzalez 1912). The primary purpose of the gathering was to prepare a special celebration of the birthday for Frederick Douglass the following month.

Marriage and Family in the Philippines

Woods left for the States again on August 6, 1916, and on September 8, he married Verdi(e) B. Whipple in Oakland, California ("Index and Marriage Licenses and Certificates" 1916). They had two children, both born in Manila: Robert in 1920, and Alma around 1925 (*Oakland Tribune* 1942; "[Passenger List of S. S. Taiyo Maru]" 1939).


Passport photo of Woods in 1916 (Woods 1916).

On January 17, 1918, Woods was promoted to Chief Clerk, having served as acting Chief Clerk for some period, and Willam A. Caldwell was promoted to Chief Accountant. Both positions came with a salary of P4,000

($2,000), a salary higher than that received by most Constabulary captains (Bureau of Civil Service 1917, 21; *Cablenews-American* 1918). They were part of a small African-American community that included some prominent individuals, as listed in a *Seattle Enterprise* article in 1921 entitled "Race Men in the Philippines on Top" (Cragwell 1921). The table below lists those men highlighted in the article, in addition to Woods and Caldwell.

Name	**Position/Profession**
William Adams	Owner, Adams' Hotel and Cafe
Dr. Irving Gustavus Bough	Physician in Leyte
James Bronston	Photographer, Camp Stotsenburg, Pampanga
James T. Bush	Dyeing company
M. H. Butler	Supervisor, Bureau of Education, Northern Luzon
R. Benton Cabbell	Clerk, Department of Engineering and Public Works, Manila [In 1928 Roster, "Inspector of Transportation"]
John W. Calloway	Efficiency expert, Pacific Commercial Company
Gideon E. Campbell	Lawyer ("majority of clients being well-to-do Chinese merchants")
Chester Canders	Assistant, Tom's Dixie Kitchen
Dr. J. Henry Fitzbutler	Bacteriologist for four TransPacific Steam Ship companies
Harry B. Langums	Orchestra Director, Lyric Theatre
Walter H. Loving	Conductor, Philippine Constabulary Band
Philip McCullough	Assistant, Tom's Dixie Kitchen
Thomas Pritchard	Owner, Tom's Dixie Kitchen [unclear if American]
Henry Silverton	Owner, Leather and Finding Store
Frank Smith, Jr.	Transportation company owner, San Fernando, La Union Province
Ed Whitney	President, Red Star Transportation Company
Luther E. Young	General broker and commission merchant

Notable members of the African-American community in the Philippines in 1921 (Cragwell 1921).

Although the small African-American community in the Philippines was half-way around the world from the United States, they were keenly aware of the difficulties faced by African-Americans back home. In December 1922, Congressman Leonidas Dyer visited Manila (*Evening Star* 1922). Woods, Caldwell, Loving, Cabbell, and Calloway were "a committee of the colored citizens of the United States resident in Manila" who wrote a letter of appreciation for the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill.

> Congressman Dyer: We have come as a committee of the colored citizens of the United States resident in Manila, to pay our respects to you, and express in their behalf, our appreciation and heartfelt thanks to you for your efforts in the American Congress toward having the bill known as the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill, of which you are the author, enacted into law. This we do, not alone because we are members of the race this law is designed more especially to protect, but because we are equally interested in the good name and honor of the great nation to which we and you belong. We have long resided here in the Far East and are too painfully aware of the shocking impression created among the inhabitants of these regions by the frequent Associated Press reports of lynching orgies which, as Congressman Burton has so fittingly said, are excelled in downright depravity and brutality only by the hideous rites of cannibalism. So we beseech you, upon your return to America, to redouble your efforts to have the Dyer Bill become the law of the land to the end that the stigma of lynching may be removed from the fair name of the great American nation. Congressman Dyer, from our hearts we thank you. (Loving 1923, 265)

Woods as an Author

In 1924, Woods wrote the *Constabulary Handbook of Firearm Laws and Regulations*. The enduring value of this publication is noted by Manny Molina, whose book *Guns and the Filipino Right to Arms* was published in 1993. Molina noted that the handbook was "the only book I have been able to find that deals with Philippine firearms, and it is not even written by a Filipino" (Molina 1993, 30). In 1929, Woods published in *Philippine Magazine* the first of a two-part article entitled "Origin of the Colorum," which analyzed a group that Woods labeled "a sect of religious fanatics" that broke off from the Catholic church in the Philippines (Woods 1929, 428; 1930). He submitted another article on the topic to the journal *Asia*, which published it in 1932. He opened the article by writing that "perhaps no races in the Orient are more religious than the Malays of the Philippine Islands. The minds of oriental peoples are naturally inclined to mysticism and fanaticism, and the Filipino mind is further affected by a tropic imaginativeness, which renders it open to the ready acceptance of what may appear absurd from a rational point of view" (Woods 1932, 450).

A biographical note for Woods in the *Asia* issue noted that "his long years of experience and travel in the Islands, together with his access to old records buried in official files, have given him authoritative knowledge of Philippine affairs" ("Table of Contents" 1932, 403). Woods did have a wealth of knowledge about military and Philippine affairs, but because he was not a commissioned officer, he has received no mention in most histories of the organization. In 1931, he wrote an article for the official Constabulary magazine *Khaki and Red* entitled "Looking Back Thirty Years (Notes from the diary of the By-stander)" (Woods 1931). While the war veteran, now

in his 60s, could take pride in his position, he seems to have wondered what might have been if he had been a commissioned officer in the bureau.

Two years later Woods wrote another article for the magazine entitled "The Insular Police Observes Its 32nd Year of Service" (Woods 1933). An editor's note for the article had high praise for the chief clerk, noting that "no other man in the Constabulary, perhaps, knows more of the internal workings of the organization or regarding its activities than does Mr. Robert G. Woods. He has always taken the side of the officer or soldier in time of trouble" (*Khaki and Red* 1933). By this time, Woods and fellow Mississippian **Luther R. Stevens** were two of just 22 Americans in the bureau.

Verdi Woods and Philippine Dolls

Woods' wife Verdi gained a reputation of her own for making exquisite costumed dolls. In November 1930, an article in the Manila *Tribune* noted that the wife of the Philippines' non-voting member of the U.S. Congress, Mrs. Camilo Osias, would bring one of the dolls "as a momento with which she will be able to make her lectures [about the Philippines] in the United States more effective" and that "Mrs. Woods has also been requested to conduct an educational tour of the United States, using her dolls to illustrate her lectures on the Philippines and the Filipina women" (*Tribune* 1930). Also that month, the newspaper *La Vanguardia* published a photograph of Verdi B. Woods (*La Vanguardia* 1930). The following year, an article in the December 1931 issue of *Philippine Magazine* spoke glowingly of her abilities:

> In 1917, Mrs. Sophie de Veyra, well known welfare worker, who accompanied the first Mission to the United States, through her lectures and personal contacts, gave American women their first real appreciation of the Philippine women … She dressed the girls in the lovely Filipino costumes and made an appeal which has been bearing fruit ever since. Among other things, the demand for a Filipino doll was created, and one young listener of Mrs. de Veyra, now Mrs. Verdi B. Woods, later came to Manila and started the work of supplying this demand.
>
> Mrs. Woods is an experienced business woman of unusual ability. Before embarking on the development of the doll industry in the Philippines, Mrs. Woods had been successful in two other business ventures in the United States and won the recognition of men of position and importance ….
>
> From the point of view of friendly international relationships, Mrs. Woods and the corporation are doing a work the value of which can not be overestimated; a work which political effort might fail in years to accomplish-that of promoting sympathy and understanding through the children of many lands. (Rippetoe 1931, 338)

Woods and World War II

On November 15, 1935, leadership of the Philippines passed from an appointed American Governor-General to an elected Filipino President of the Philippine Commonwealth. The first act of the Commonwealth government created the Philippine Army (PA), of which the personnel of the Philippine Constabulary formed the core element (Quezon 1938). On April 14, 1936, Woods was appointed as the PA's Chief Clerk, a position described by Woods to a reporter as "virtual head of the Executive arm of the Philippine Army" (Loeb 1945; *Philippine Magazine* 1936). Quezon's primary advisor on military matters was General Douglas MacArthur, whose father had served as military governor of the Islands over three decades earlier. All the preparations were inadequate to stop the Japanese from marching into Manila on January 2, 1942. Verdi and Alma had returned to the U.S. in 1939 and apparently did not return before the outbreak of the war ("[Passenger List of S. S. Taiyo Maru]" 1939). Robert Jr. also returned to the States before the outbreak of the war.

Some details of Woods' experience during the Japanese invasion and occupation are provided by African-American war correspondent Charles H. Loeb, who met with Woods in the home of Thomas Pritchard in 1945. As American and Philippine forces retreated to Bataan, "the Chief of Staff gave Woods a letter of appointment, placing him in charge of all Army property in Manila-headquarters, records, and 1100 civil employees.-'until further order.'" (Loeb 1945). The Japanese knew of his special responsibilities, and when they entered Manila, "one of their first acts was to dispatch five trucks to Woods residence at 136 Amabini. A hissing, bowing [Japanese] inquired for '[African-American] Robert Gordon Woods.'" (Loeb 1945).

During the first two years of the Japanese occupation, Woods spent time in the Santo Tomas Internment Camp and under house arrest. Fellow African-American internee Leslie C. Browne later recalled of the camp:

> After some time the organization of the camp took on a semblance of a small city, with schools, churches, hospital, law and order, our open air theater, canteen, etc., headed under various different departments. Each person was given a camp detail to perform … [African-Americans] were given the dirty assignment regardless of our qualifications …. Captain R. G. Woods, chief clerk of the Philippine army and a public accountant, were [sic] ignored completely. I tried in vain to get on the music department. Finally some of the more radical colored fellows in the camp threatened to go to the Commandant about the discrimination. With this stick over their heads they relented … (Browne 1945)

Among other Mississippians in Santo Tomas were Lula Stevens, wife of **Luther R. Stevens**, and their daughter Betty. In June 1943, Woods was sent to an internment camp in Los Baños, where Mississippian and former Constabulary officer **George Welborn** was also held. It was at Los Baños that Woods heard news that his son Robert Jr. had died in an Army accident

(Loeb 1945). The prisoners at Los Baños and Santo Tomas were liberated in February 1945 (Stevens 1946).

This photo from a video at the U. S. National Archives shows liberated internees from Los Baños Internment Camp. Woods may be among those shown. The segment on the internees begins at 3:17 and is followed at 8:20 by scenes of MacArthur's visit to Manila. Available at https://catalog.archives.gov/id/17290.

Final Years

Loeb mentioned that Woods "has been recommended as Advisor to the Provost Marshall General," though it is unclear if that came to pass. At some point, Woods returned to the United States. He died at the age of 79 in Hot Springs, Arkansas, on April 27, 1949, and was buried in California's Golden Gate National Cemetery (ASBH 1949; Nettke 1949). His wife Verdi died in Oakland on December 19, 1955 (*Oakland Tribune* 1955).

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George Welborn

George Welborn went to the Philippines in 1903. He served in the telegraphic division of the Philippine Constabulary for two years before being transferred to the Bureau of Posts, and he then engaged in business. He married a Filipina and settled in the town of Balaoan in La Union province. He was interned during World War II and died in Manila in 1970.

Welborn was born on May 22, 1881, in Ellisville, Mississippi, to Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Welborn (*Jones County News* 1909; Stephan 1976). He was a cousin of Ira C. Welborn, a Medal of Honor recipient who had served in the Philippines, and of **Wayne C. Welborn**, who began as assistant chief of the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture in June 1903 (*Vicksburg American* 1909; Welborn 1903b). George attended Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College for a time, though he did not graduate (Mississippi A&M 1903, 81). He seems to have expressed an interest in the Philippines, and in early September, Wayne wrote, "Things too unsettled to recommend anything in private business line. Salaries fairly good in civil service and living expenses not so unreasonable. Should like you to stand examination and come over as soon as your name is reached for certification" (Welborn 1903a).

Three months later, George Welborn and Mrs. Wayne C. Welborn were passengers on board the steamer *Gaelic* bound for Manila (*San Francisco Call* 1903). Among the others onboard was botanist Adolf D. E. Elmer, who named a tree species after George in 1908 (Elmer 1908). Welborn was appointed as fourth-class inspector with the telegraphic division of the Philippine Constabulary on December 24 (PCSB 1904, 36). Annual reports for 1904 show that he was a third lieutenant attached to the Sorgoson Province unit in the Constabulary's Second District, and the following year he was a second lieutenant attached to the headquarters of the Third District in Iliolo (Allen 1906, 44; 1905, 54).

A law of October 26, 1905, transferred the telegraph division to the Bureau of Posts, which became effective on December 31, 1905. Welborn was listed as a District Inspector in the rosters for 1907 and 1908 (Bureau of Civil Service 1907, 32; 1908, 36). A local Spanish-language newspaper in the town of Sugbu announced on October 21, 1908, that "our friend, Mr. George Welborn Postal Inspector of this District, has been transferred to Negros. We are sorry to hear of the departure of such an excellent friend …" (*Ang Camatuoran* 1908). Welborn went on leave to the United States in 1909, going via the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and returning via the Pacific Ocean (*Cablenews-American* 1909; *Vicksburg American* 1909). Fellow passengers on the return trip included anthropologist H. Otley Beyer. Both Beyer and Emma Elmer, wife of Adolf D. E. Elmer, were fellow internees of Welborn's at the Los Baños Internment Camp during World War II (Stevens 1946, 501).

A news item in a Manila newspaper of August 19, 1915, indicates that Welborn was still a district inspector for the Bureau of Posts and was stationed in San Fernando, La Union, though his

name does not appear in Civil Service rosters from 1912 onward (*Cablenews-American* 1915). On December 19, 1919, Welborn married Hipolita Rodriguez after six years of common law marriage, and they lived in Balaoan, La Union (Senate Electoral Tribunal 1971, 6903–4). Their first child, Magnolia, was born on December 14, 1915, and would serve from 1965 to 1972 as a member of the Philippine House of Representatives and the Philippine Senate (Senate of the Philippines, n.d.). Whether she was born before or after George and Hipolita's wedding would be part of a Philippine Senate Electoral Tribunal. Camilo Osias had challenged Magnolia Welborn's eligibility to hold office, arguing that she was actually a citizen of the United States and not the Philippines, but the tribunal ruled in Welborn's favor (Senate Electoral Tribunal 1971, 6902, 6908). Other children born to George and Hipolita included daughters Winnie and Helen and son George (Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court 2022, 2; Stephan 1976).

Governor-General Harrison, who was highly supported by Filipinos leaders such as Manuel Quezon, stated of interracial marriages that "… fortunately, intermarriage has not been of sufficient frequence [*sic*] to complicate the situation. Both races, Americans and Filipinos, disapprove of intermarriage, and interracial unions are not likely to be happy ones, with the pressure of both communities in opposition" (Harrison 1922, 58–59).

In 1922, Welborn was still living in Balaoan, and he attended the Manila Carnival and Commercial-Industrial Fair in February. At the time, he was active in the American Chamber of Commerce, and he was among eight men listed as having taken part in a discussion on "tobacco and hemp questions" ("Wood Talks" 1922, 12). He also he showcased a new food item that gained attention.

> An exhibit of more than passing interest is that of George Welborn, who, after months of experimentation and preparation, has produced an article called palm bread. The name has been registered under the laws of the Philippine Islands and a patent has been applied for in the United States to cover the process of manufacture.
>
> One of the base articles of palm bread, which is a breakfast food and makes a delicious desert, is coconut. As far back as the Taft regime, Dr. W. C. Welborn, then director of agriculture, was seeking a coconut food that would combine the nourishing qualities of the coconut with a palatability that would make it attractive even to the most fastidious or capricious taste. Dr. Welborn never found what he was after, but a member of the family has placed such a product on exhibition and sale at the present Carnival industrial and Commercial Fair." ("Manila Carnival and Commercial-Industrial Fair in February 1922, 10)

Welborn seems to have remained in the province of La Union throughout the 1930s, and during World War II, he was interned in the Los Baños Internment Camp (Senate of the Philippines, n.d.; Stevens 1946, 557). Another Mississippian in the same camp was Starkville native **Robert G. Woods**. The camp was liberated by "a task force composed of the 1st Battalion, 188th Glider Infantry, elements of the 511th Parachute Infantry, attached guerrillas, and supporting artillery, tank

destroyers, and amphibious tractors [that] made a daring, carefully timed rescue of 2,147 internees … Annihilating the Japanese garrison of nearly 250, the task force escaped through enemy-controlled territory before [Colonel] Fujishige was able to organize a counterstroke" (Smith 1963, 53:427–28).

Welborn returned to the United States for a while after the war. (*Memphis Press-Scimitar* 1970). In 1951, he was still living in the Philippines, but at some point he moved to Hawthorne, California (*Commercial Appeal* 1951; Stephan 1976). He died in Manila on September 6, 1970, and was buried in Balaoan with military honors, undoubtedly because of his service in the Philippine Constabulary (Stephan 1976; *Memphis Press-Scimitar* 1970).

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Carley M. Pope

Pope in 1920. Image as available from U. S. National Archives (Pope 1920).

Pope was the first of a dozen Mississippi A&M graduates to join the Philippine Constabulary, entering the service in 1909. After resigning, he stayed in the Philippines until 1920.

Pope was born to William R. and Sara Pope in Quitman, Mississippi, on April 17, 1885 (PBVS 1934; Pope 1920). He graduated from Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College (Mississippi A&M) with a degree in Industrial Pedagogy in 1908. His military science instructors included Captains Henry H. Ludlow and Ira C. Welborn, both of whom were U. S. Military Academy graduates who had served in the Philippines (Braden 1910, 239, 607). Pope arrived in Manila on April 3, 1909, and his appointment as a 3rd lieutenant in the Philippine Constabulary was effective the following day (Bureau of Civil Service 1912; *Cablenews-American* 1909).

Newly appointed officers attended the Constabulary School in Baguio for three months, where they studied "The Compiled Acts, Penal Code, Military Map Reading, The Constabulary Manual, Guard Regulations, Infantry Drill, Fencing, Dancing the Rigodon, and a smattering of Spanish" (Woods 1933). After graduating, Pope was assigned to the Second Company of the Constabulary District of Southern Luzon, based in Nueva Caceras, where he was promoted on September 22 to 2nd lieutenant (*Cablenews-American* 1910a; Bandholtz 1910, 26). In December of that year he was transferred to the Second General Services Company for the District of Southern Luzon, based in Samar (*Cablenews-American* 1910b). Soon afterwards, he was joined in the district by Carl B. Bethea and George S. Boggan, fellow Mississippi A&M graduates who had recently graduated from the Constabulary School (*Cablenews-American* 1910c).

According to Constabulary veteran and historian Harold Elarth (1949, 171), Pope resigned from the Constabulary in 1912. A newspaper article on September 15, 1914, also mentions the resignation of "C. M. Pope" from the government, so he may have taken up some other position in the Civil Service, though his name is not on the rosters (*Cablenews-American* 1914). Pope stayed in the Philippines and served as a captain in the Philippine National Guard from October 1, 1918 until at least July 1, 1919. (Bureau of Civil Service 1919). He returned to the United States in 1920 with the intention of returning to farming (Pope 1920). Elarth indicates that he worked at some point for the postal service and that he died in Aspinwall, Pennsylvania, on February 5, 1934. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery, based on his service in the Philippine National Guard (OQMG 1934).

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Samuel T. Polk

Passport photo of Polk in 1918 (Polk 1918).

Samuel Trizzie Polk was an officer in the Philippine Constabulary from 1910 to 1918. He received the Constabulary's highest decoration, the Medal of Valor, in 1913. After leaving the Philippines, he worked in China for seven years.

Polk was born on July 8, 1888, in Mount Carmel, Mississippi, to Mr. and Mrs. George Polk (*Clarion-Ledger* 1957; Polk 1918). He entered Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College (Mississippi A&M) as a member of the class of 1910 and graduated that year with a degree in Industrial Education. All students underwent military training, and Polk's military instructors included Captain Ira C. Welborn, a Medal of Honor recipient from Jones County, Mississippi, who had served in the northern Philippines, and continued under Captain George S. Goodale. Goodale had been stationed in the Philippines for five years, primarily in Mindanao and other areas of the southern Philippines. (Braden 1910, 569; Cullum and Holden 1901, 619; Robinson 1920, 790). Sadly, out of sixty-six seniors graduating in 1910, yearbook entries for ten listed membership in the Ku Klux Klan in their school activities section, including Polk and William C. Rose (mentioned below) (Senior Class of Mississippi A&M College 1910, 52).

A senior classman, **Carley M. Pope**, joined the Constabulary in 1909, and the following year, five other Mississippi A&M alumni followed in his footsteps. These included Polk, Carl B. Bethea, William C. Rose, and **Luther R. Stevens** of the class of 1910 and George S. Boggan, who graduated in 1909. After graduating from the Constabulary School at Baguio in December 1910, the five third lieutenants were assigned to the following Constabulary districts: Rose and Stevens to Central Luzon, Bethea and Boggan to Southern Luzon (joining Pope), and Polk to Mindanao (*Cablenews-American* 1910a; 1910b).

Southern Mindanao was part of the Moro Province, which was home to the Philippines' sizable Muslim population known as Moros. From 1903 to 1913, three U.S. Army generals served as military governors of the province: Leonard Wood (1903-1906), Tasker H. Bliss (1906-1909), and John J. Pershing (1909-1913). All of whom would later be appointed Chiefs of Staff of the Army (Bell 1992). Constabulary forces in the province reported to the military governor and mainly supported the Army during this time (Coates 1968, 352, 375). Bliss explained the importance of the Constabulary:

> Here, as elsewhere throughout the Province, the good Moros will give information to the authorities about the bad ones, and will even themselves arrest them and bring them in, if they are assured of absolute protection from the vengeance of the latter or of their friends. Nothing whatever will accomplish this except the permanent

> location of Constabulary at numerous scattered points. These men speak the language of the natives, establish friendly relations with them and easily pick up information that no one else can acquire. Then a quiet expedition of half a dozen men will result in the capture, without a shot, of an influential outlaw, followed by the prompt disintegration of the band which he alone could hold together. Until such measures are adopted continued disorders may be expected to occur. Experience has abundantly shown that regular troops can accomplish nothing in this sort of work. If there be a regularly organized resistance against the government, if hostile Moros await in their fortified cottas [strongholds] the coming of the troops, the latter can destroy them. But in such work as has for a long time been necessary on the east side of Lake Lanao they can do nothing. The outlaws scatter at their approach, while their mere coming excites fear and suspicion in the minds of friendly Moros. Some always believe that it means the beginning of war and at once join the hostiles. When the body of the population is hostile, that is, when there is a state of war, the troops can restore peace; but to send columns of troops into a country like this and among people like these, when the condition is one of general peace, is a wanton provocation to war. (Bliss 1908, 22)

Pershing also had a high regard for the Constabulary, noting in his annual report for 1910 that "as an arm of the Civil Government, [it] has performed valuable service. Small expeditions by the Constabulary have been of frequent occurrence, and, in many cases, their work has been extremely arduous, but whatever the duty they have been called upon to perform, it has been performed cheerfully and loyally" (Pershing 1910, 4).

After serving in Surigao in the north of Mindanao and in Zamboanga, Polk was transferred to Cotabato, where he was assigned on January 15, 1912, to the First Moro Company (Philippine Constabulary 1916, 66). An account of one of Polk's early campaigns was provided by Harold H. Elarth, a Constabulary officer who served in Mindanao at the same time as Polk.

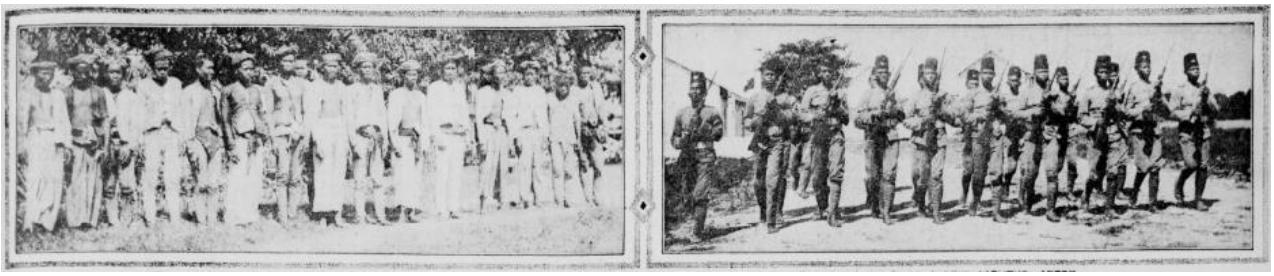
> In other parts of Mindanao there was much unrest in 1911. In Lanao the perennial pursuit of [the outlaws] Ampuan-Agaos and Amai-gin-dalugan continued. Captain Furlong, Lts Tiffany, W. E. Guthrie and S. T. Polk, in two months of strenuous campaigning and five engagements, drove Apuan-Agaos back into the Pidatan Mountains. Major John Fawcett now relieved Furlong as commander in Lanao and began an intensive campaign against Amai-gin-dalugan. In July Captain Fort, Lts Polk, Tiffany, Ernest H. Johnson and S. L. Larrabee pursued this wiley chieftan into his almost inescapable mountain stronghold near the headwaters of the Capay River and there killed him. (Elarth 1949, 106)

The following year, he continued to earn his reputation of being "of fiery temper … a lank Mississippian who would fight anything--anytime" (Hurley 1938, 289). The excerpts below from articles in Philippine newspapers in 1912 describe some of his other engagements:

> During the first part of April the Sultan of Talik at Kulanadal, in the Sarangani country, reported to Governor Heiberg that the Bilanes, who inhabit the mountain range forming the divide between Cotabato and Davao Districts, had made a descent upon one of the settlements, killing men, women and children, sacking houses and carrying away about twenty ponies. Lieutenant Polk with 16 Constabularymen were sent to the scene of the trouble to apprehend the guilty Bilanes and recover the stolen ponies if possible. The report of the Sultan was found to be somewhat exaggerated as only two Moros had been killed and six ponies stolen. Lieutenant Polk, who was accompanied by Datu Ynok, encountered the band which made the raids and in the fight which ensued killed four, wounded eight and captured three others. Dala, the chief of the band, was captured. (*The Advertiser* 1912) [A "datu" or "datto" was a local Moro leader.]

> Third Lieutenant Samuel T. Polk, commanding the First Moro Company, Philippine Constabulary, has telegraphed the acting director in Baguio that a band of ladrones were encountered in Cotabato, in the jurisdiction of Sarangani Bay, on April 20. Three of the ladrones were killed and six others wounded. There were no casualties in the attacking constabulary detachment. (*Cablenews-American* 1912a)

> Lieutenant Samuel T. Polk, Philippine Constabulary, first Moro Company, stationed at Butulan Cove, Davao, ran into a ban of Moro outlaws while out scouting, killing seven of them, capturing ten guns. The band was composed entirely of Sarangi outlaws in considerable number. (*Cablenews-American* 1912b)



These before and after photos of Moro Constabulary recruits appeared on the front page of the New York Tribune on January 3, 1915 (New York Tribune 1915). Such before and after photos were often used to show the "civilizing" effects of American rule. They are shown here simply as examples of typical Moro clothing and the uniform of enlisted Moro constabularymen.

An engagement on January 21, 1913, earned Polk a special place in the history of the Constabulary. General Pershing provided the following account:

> In the Zamboanga district there have been several armed bands at large, but prompt action by District Governor Helfert swiftly put an end to their depredations. In November, the Joloano leader Arkani with a few followers stirred up the Island of Basilan. With the assistance of the constabulary and scouts, aided by Datu Mandi, the members of this band were captured or exterminated. In December, Mapandi with fifty followers from Lanao entered the District of Zamboanga near Tukuran and began robbing and looting rancherias and stores. They were pursued by Lieutenant Smith of the scouts and Lieutenant Polk of the constabulary who deserve special credit for the work they did in the destruction of this dangerous band. (Pershing 1913, 60)

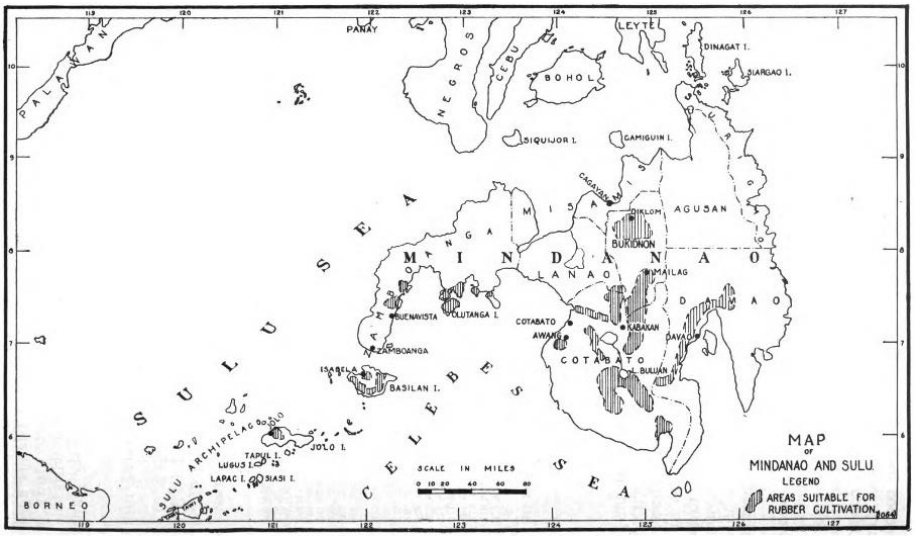
Polk was awarded the Constabulary's highest commendation, the Medal of Valor, on March 4, 1913, for his actions during this fight. "A detachment of Constabulary commanded by Lieutenant Polk had trailed Mapandi and his followers to near the Labangan River. During the ensuing fight Private Macadatar, First Moro Company, was shot through both legs and fell in advance of the skirmish line only a few yards from a number of outlaws who were firing on him behind a bowlder [sic]. Lieutenant Polk immediately ran to his assistance and carried Macadatar, under a dangerous fire, back to a place of safety, thus saving his life" (Baja 1933, 111). Polk was now a second lieutenant, having been promoted on January 11 (Baja 1933, 112). His act of heroism was very similar to that of his former military science instructor at A&M, Mississippian Ira C. Welborn, who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor "for most distinguished action at Santiago, Cuba, July 2, 1898, in voluntarily leaving his shelter and rushing, under fire, to the aid of a private of his company who was wounded; while serving as 2d lieutenant, 9th infantry" (Cullum and Holden 1901, 652).

One of the earliest criticisms of enlisting "natives" in the Constabulary was the belief that they would desert and bring their arms with them. While the vast majority proved to be loyal constabularymen, desertions did occur occasionally, and newspaper reports noted the following instances from Polk's company.

> In a telegram from Zamboanga, District Commander Hershey of the constabulary reports that the two probationary recruits who deserted from Polk February 12 have been disposed of as follows: Mamarancas, who was captured, was given twenty years for homicide by Gilheuser in the tribal ward court. Rabong, who killed Perino in 1911 and deserted and later was captured was sentenced to twenty years for brigandage. (*Cablenews-American* 1913)

> Gugaraen and Lamar, who deserted on January 29, from the 1st Moro Company, Philippine Constabulary, taking with them their guns and 150 rounds of ammunition were killed by secret service men of the Constabulary near the town of Lebo on February 1st. The guns and ammunition were turned over to Lieutenant Samuel T. Polk, commanding officer, 1st Moro Co., by the Datto of Lebo. (*Cablenews-American* 1914)

At the end of 1913, Pershing was ready for a new assignment. He recommended to Governor-General Harrison that Frank W. Carpenter of the Philippine Executive Bureau be appointed as the first civilian governor of the province, which was renamed as the Department of Mindanao and Sulu (Harrison 1922, 106–7). With Pershing's departure, "the period of military rule in the Mindanao and Sulu regions was brought to a close and the Constabulary assumed full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order" (Coates 1968, 391).



Map of the District of Mindanao and Sulu in 1925 (Vance et al. 1925, 9).

It was common for Constabulary officers to serve as civil officials in their districts. For Polk, this included terms as justice of the peace for the town of Kolambugan (Calumbugan) in the district of Lanao and as auxiliary justice of the peace *ex officio* for the municipal districts of the District of Lanao (*Official Gazette* 1913; 1915; 1917). The Civil Service roster for 1914 also listed Polk as one of five deputy governors of the District of Lanao (Bureau of Civil Service 1914). Harold Elarth noted the challenges of the former positions:

> It was as justices of the tribal ward courts that young officers got beyond their depth. When faced with the problem of harmonizing the laws of the United States with the various provisions of the Lawran Code (the laws of the Koran and the ancient customs of the Moros) an officer might find himself in a difficult dilemma. This could well happen when the offense was not covered by American law and the

> penalty prescribed in the Lawran Code was 'one female slave' or 'three brass spittoons.' (Elarth 1949, 137–38)

During Polk's time in Mindanao, there was usually at least one other Constabulary officer in the province who was a graduate of Mississippi A&M. These included Hollis I. Ellzey (1912-1914), Frank D. Thomas (1913-1915), Luther R. Stevens (1914-1915), and Richard O. Vaughn (1916-1918) (Elarth 1949, 151, 178, 179, 181). In 1915, Polk and Stevens returned to the United States on leave for several months, and in September Polk married Jetta Dennis, a 1912 graduate of Mississippi A&M (*Starkville News* 1915; *Semi-Weekly Leader* 1915; *East Mississippi Times* 1915). During their absence, second lieutenants Polk and Stevens were promoted to first lieutenant (*Cablenews-American* 1915b). Two months later, Polk was placed in command of the 1st General Service Company and the following year took charge of the 3rd Lanao Company (*Cablenews-American* 1915a; 1916).

Photograph of Samuel and Jetta Polk from their 1920 passport application (Polk 1920a).

There is a reference in the *Congressional Record* for January 3, 1917, for a bill introduced by Rep. Candler of Mississippi "to authorize the appointment of Samuel T. Polk to the grade of first lieutenant in the Army" ("Private Bills and Resolution" 1917, 824). The background of the bill is unclear, and it seems to have died in committee. Polk was granted a leave of absence in December of that year, and in January 1918, he and Jetta moved to China (*Cablenews-American* 1917; Polk 1918; *Millard's Review* 1918). He officially separated from the Philippine Constabulary in July 1918. A Manila newspaper reported that Polk had resigned, but the Constabulary register for 1919 listed him as having been "dropped" (Philippine Constabulary 1919, 122; *Cablenews-American* 1918). However, an official Constabulary publication in 1933 stated that "he retired on July 16, 1918, under Act 2589," which provided "a gratuity by reason of retirement to officers and employees of the Philippine Government who have rendered satisfactory service during six continuous years or more" (Baja 1933, 113; Bureau of Civil Service 1918, 67).

During this period, dozens of Constabulary officers joined the Standard Oil Company. Among these was Vander Wallace Davis, a 1915 A&M graduate who spent over 17 years in China with the company, and Polk also had plans to work for the company in China (Elarth 1949; Polk

1918). It is unclear if he ever started with Standard Oil, but if he did, he soon left to work in the Fuzhou (Foochow) office of the China Import and Export Lumber Company until 1920, when he took up a position with the Min River Conservancy, also in Fuzhou (Polk 1920a; 1920b). That was also the year of the birth of their son Sam, Jr. (Polk 1920b). Polk was listed as assistant secretary and accountant for the Conservancy in a 1925 directory of China (*Comacrib Directory of China 1925* 1925, 39).

On October 26, 1921, Polk was commissioned as a captain in the U. S. Army Reserves, and he continued in that capacity when the family returned to the States in 1927 (*Daily Clarion-Ledger* 1927; Elarth 1949; Reunion 1921). The following year, the U. S. Congress passed a law stating that "active duty performed as an officer of the Philippine Constabulary shall be credited to the same extent as service under a Regular Army commission," which must have brought great satisfaction to Polk and other former Constabulary officers (*An Act to Recognize Commissioned Service* 1928). Jetta worked for a time with the Mississippi Extension Service (White 1938, 62). Harold Elarth (1949, 171) reported that Samuel worked for General Motors until taking a civilian position at Hickam Field in Hawaii in 1942. Polk died in Honolulu on September 6, 1957 (*Clarion-Ledger* 1957). Jetta stayed in Hawaii for a number of years before returning to Starkville, where she died on January 18, 1973 (*Clarion-Ledger* 1973).

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Luther R. Stevens

Photo of Stevens in Mississippi A&M's yearbook the *Reveille* for 1910.

Luther Rae Stevens joined the Philippine Constabulary in 1910 and rose to the rank of colonel. In World War II, he was a brigadier general in the Philippine Army and lived through the Bataan Death March.

Stevens was born on July 3, 1889, in Wesson, Mississippi, to James and Mary Stevens (*Clarion-Ledger* 1973; USCB 1910). He attended Mississippi A&M College, graduating in 1910 with a degree in mechanical engineering (Bailey 1921, 69). During his time at A&M, he received military training from two veterans of the Philippine-American War: Captain Ira C. Welborn and Captain Geoge S. Goodale. In 1909, recent A&M alumnus **Carley M. Pope** joined the Philippine Constabulary. He likely sent back a good report because the following year Stevens and four other A&M graduates did the same. Stevens set sail from San Francisco on June 21, 1910, along with Carl B. Bethea, **Samuel T. Polk**, and William C. Rose. The four arrived in Manila on July 22 and were joined by George S. Boggan on September 7 (*Cablenews-American* 1910a).

Stevens First Years in the Constabulary

The A&M graduates attended the Constabulary School in Baguio from September 17 to December 15 (Philippine Constabulary 1932, 13). Mississippi A&M was well-represented in the graduating class of 24, with Rose being top in the class and Bethea fourth (*Cablenews-American* 1910b; Goodale 1911, 92). The five third lieutenants were assigned to the following Constabulary districts: Rose and Stevens to Central Luzon, Bethea and Boggan to Southern Luzon (joining Carley M. Pope), and Polk to the southern island of Mindanao (*Cablenews-American* 1910b). Stevens and Polk would be the longest serving of the A&M alumni. The latter earned his place in Constabulary history in 1913, when he was awarded the force's highest decoration, the Medal of Valor (Elarth 1949, 171).

Rose resigned from the Constabulary in 1911 and joined the Army, rising to major general during World War II, and Bethea and Boggan resigned in 1913 (Elarth 1949). An article in the *Cablenews-American* mentioned an incident involving Boggan: "Yesterday, in the office of the municipal president of [Hilongos, Leyte], there occurred a very lamentable incident between the justice of the peace in his official capacity and Constabulary Inspector Boggan. The latter, in a hostile attitude, improper to the position he holds, attempted to raise his hand against the justice of the peace because he had refused to give him explanations about a case that occurred in the office, alleging that it was not his duty to satisfy such a command. The act is the object of

passionate comment in this town" (*Cebu Chronicle* 1912). Governor-General Forbes wrote years later that "Filipinos were adept in the art of making countercharges, and, if any young officer took action against a prominent Filipino, it not infrequently occurred that counter-charges were filed against him for shortcomings on his part, real or fancied. It behooved all young Constabulary officers to watch their steps very carefully in the performance of their difficult duties" (Forbes 1928a, 1:216). It is unclear if such was the situation with Boggan, but it does illustrate the delicate situations that officers like Stevens had to avoid.

The author has found little information about specific actions in which Stevens was involved during his first eight years as a Constabulary officer, though a record of his promotions and assignments is available. He was assigned to the Province of Nueva Eija, where he first commanded the Second Company and then the First Company. On May 2, 1912, he joined the District of Central Luzon's Third General Services Company and there received his promotion to second lieutenant five months later. Stevens joined Polk in the District of Mindanao on May 28, 1914, and served with the Eleventh Moro company, the Eighth Moro Company, and for a short time at district headquarters (Philippine Constabulary 1932, 13).

After over five years in the Philippines, Stevens and Polk used their accrued leave to visit the States in 1915. Stevens attended Mississippi A&M's commencement in May, and two of the graduating class, Vander Wallace Davis and Richard O. Vaughn, joined the Constabulary later that year (Elarth 1949, 151, 181; *Semi-Weekly Leader* 1915a). Stevens married Lula Turnbow from his hometown on June 22, 1915, and returned to the Philippines as a first lieutenant on October 5, having been promoted in his absence (*Cablenews-American* 1915a; *Cablenews-American* 1915b; *Semi-Weekly Leader* 1915b). Stevens was assigned to the District of Northern Luzon, serving in the First Company of the Mountain Province, the office of the Senior Inspector of the Mountain Province, and the First Companies in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela. During this time, Davis also served in the district. Stevens was promoted to captain on April 16, 1918, but he would soon be leaving the Constabulary or, as it turned out, taking a break from it (Philippine Constabulary 1932, 13; Elarth 1949, 151).

In 1918, all four of the Mississippi A&M alumni still in the Constabulary left the force (Elarth 1949). Polk and Davis both went to China, working respectively for the China Import and Export Company and the Standard Oil Company, and Vaughn returned to Mississippi to take up farming. (Bailey 1921, 40, 63, 72). Stevens resigned effective April 30, 1918, but he stayed in the Philippines to work as branch manager in Legaspi for the Pacific Commercial Company (Bailey 1921, 69; Philippine Constabulary 1932, 13; *Cablenews-American* 1918). By this time, the Stevens had a daughter, Ethel Elizabeth (Betty), born around 1917, and the couple would later have sons Luther Rae, Jr., Charles Frank, and James Johnston (*Clarion-Ledger* 1973; *Times Record* 1942; *Vicksburg Post* 1944; *Daily Review* 1984).

Stevens Rejoins the Constabulary

On January 23, 1922, Stevens rejoined the Philippine Constabulary. Table 1 shows that the composition of the Constabulary had changed dramatically since he first joined the force, with the number of American officers and civilian employees declining rapidly while the number of Filipino officers and civilian employees rose dramatically. Among the 22 Americans in 1922 was another Mississippian, **Robert G. Woods**, who was chief clerk of the bureau.

Date	Americans	Filipinos
January 1, 1911	282	98
July 1, 1917	157	278
July 1, 1922	22	442

Table 1. Number of American and Filipino officers and civilian employees in the Philippine Constabulary. Data from annual reports of the Bureau of Civil Service (Falconer 1911, 19; Colson 1918, 38; Gil 1923, 24).

In his annual report for 1922, Governor-General Leonard Wood stated that "there are a number of most excellent young Filipino officers who are coming on, but there is more or less of a hiatus between the group of old experienced officers who largely made the constabulary and this younger group" (Wood 1924, 13). Filling this gap likely explains why Stevens was initially appointed as a third lieutenant but promoted the following day to major (Philippine Constabulary 1932, 13). Stevens must have had the support Brigadier General Rafael Crame, who had served as the first Filipino Chief of Constabulary since 1917. Stevens was sent to the District of Mindanao and Sulu, which was under the command of Colonel Ole Waloe, and he was appointed as Provincial Commander of Sulu. For hundreds of years, the territory had been a sultanate, but in 1915 Sultan Jamalul Kirim II of Sulu recognized American authority in exchange for land, a monthly pension, and recognition as religious leader among Muslims in the Philippines. (Malcolm 1939, 40).

This photograph taken in 1905 shows Sultan Jamalul Kiram II and other local dignitaries, along with two Americans. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, https://www.loc.gov/resource/ds.09609/.

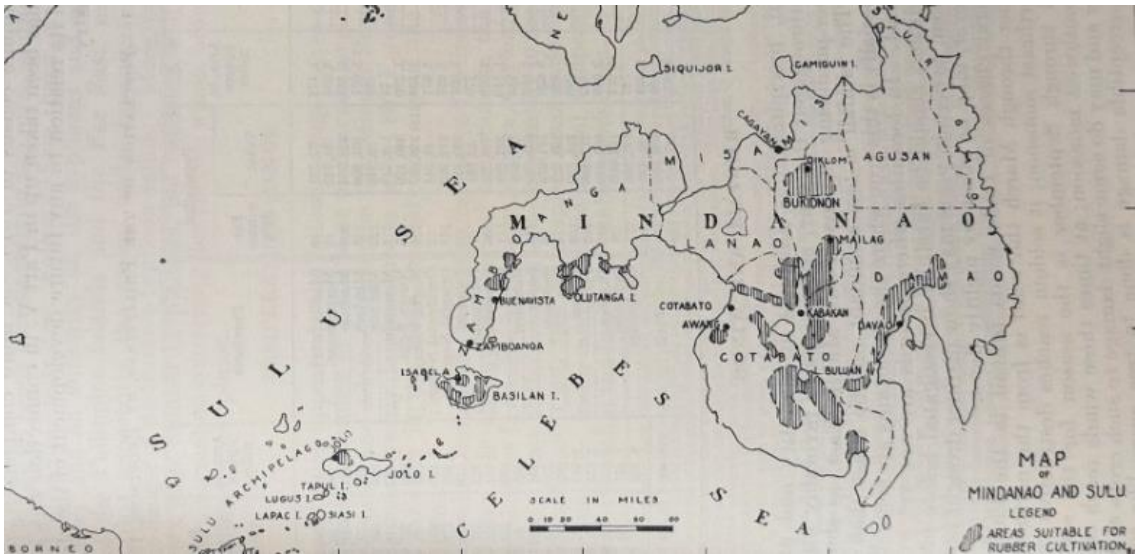
The following is an account of one of Stevens' early battles provided in a history of the Constabulary by Harold Elarth, who had served in Mindanao years earlier.

> In order to arouse the people of Pata Island to fanatical resistance, its two powerful chiefs … encouraged a Moro priest named Akbara to declare himself an agent of the Prophet Mohammed … The people of Pata Island went completely amok, and in May 1923 some three hundred savage krismen launched an attack on Lts Leon Angeles and Nicholas Lasola … but Angeles was an experience Moro fighter and had quickly moved his men into a nearby schoolhouse where he was able to hold out until Colonel Waloe and Major Luther R. Stevens arrived with reinforcements … Upon Colonel Waloe's recommendation Major Stevens and Lt Angeles were awarded the DSS [Distinguished Service Star] for 'conspicuous ability and good judgement' in this campaign. (Elarth 1949, 124)

Commander of the District of Mindanao and Sulu

Colonel Waloe retired on March 7, 1924, and a week later Stevens was made *ad interim* lieutenant colonel and acting commanding officer of the district. The rank became permanent on November 9, 1924, but his appointment as commander was not approved until January 1, 1926 (Philippine Constabulary 1932, 13, 170). The delay in the appointment seems to have been caused by some friction between Governor-General Wood and Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate. The Philippine legislature refused to rubber stamp Wood's nominations, and Quezon stated before a U. S. Senate committee in 1928 that "then there was the case of Lieutenant Colonel Stevens of the constabulary. The first time his appointment was submitted to the senate it was not approved. But a committee of the legislature took a trip to Mindanao and found that Colonel Stevens was a good and capable man. Once more by unanimous vote of the senate his appointment was confirmed at the next session" (U. S. Senate Committee on Territorial and Insular Possessions 1928, 16).

An article in the July 1931 issue of *Khaki and Red*, the bureau's official magazine, indicated that the district which Stevens commanded had "128 officers and 2,411 men, divided up into 52 companies occupying 48 stations and 7 sub-stations [, accounting for] forty percent of the Philippine Constabulary" (*Khaki and Red* 1931, 144). His position was one held in great respect by the Constabulary, and he held it longer than anyone. The article noted that "to direct and control the Mindanao Constabulary has always been a task of the first magnitude. The forces engaged have been dispersed over large areas, with transportation and communication facilities almost non-existent. To command under such conditions has required men of vision, energy and tact" (*Khaki and Red* 1931, 148). The following map shows the island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, the area for which Stevens was responsible for maintaining law and order. A census in 1918 showed that the area had a population of over 750,000 (Forbes 1928b, 2:49).



Map of the District of Mindanao and Sulu in 1925 (Vance et al. 1925, 9).

The headquarters of the District of Mindanao and Sulu was the port city of Zamboanga, which the *Manila City Directory* described as having "a cosmopolitan population of about 30,650. This number is made up of Christian Filipinos, Mohammedan Filipinos called 'Moros,' Chinese, etc. The Moros with their bright clothing and head-dress of fez or turban are quite picturesque. Occasionally, Subanuns, the pagan inhabitants of the interior of the peninsula, may be seen in Zamboanga. Zamboanga is without [doubt] one of the prettiest towns in the Islands ... in addition to its many attractions, its location with respect to Borneo, Dutch East [Indies], the Malay Peninsula and Australia, [make it] of great importance as a trade center" (Rosenstock 1921, 208). Stevens' position would have made him one of the more prominent residents of the city. Another prominent resident with Mississippi ties was local newspaper editor John A. Hackett, who had lived a few years in Meridian (*Mindanao Herald* 1936b).

The scope of Stevens' responsibilities were wide-ranging. Secretary of the Interior Honorio Ventura reported that "in addition to the ordinary work on the maintenance of law and order, such as apprehending criminals, detecting crimes, patrolling different sections, supervising the police, and licensing firearms, the constabulary had also, as in previous years, lent assistance to other offices of the government, such as the bureau of agriculture and the health service in quarantine work, the bureau of prisons in escorting prisoners, and other bureaus of the insular government in furnishing guards or in conducting investigations for them" (Ventura 1928a, 75).

At times Stevens still went into the field to take part in the "cotta fights" that are a major component of Constabulary lore.

> On April 5 [1926], Stevens and Johnson, with eleven officers and more than a hundred men, took the cotta [fort] of Amai Balbal at Binidyan by assault and

destroyed it. In this fight thirteen contras were killed but Constabulary losses were heavy: ten soldiers were wounded. A few days later Kutungan's cotta was stormed and three hostiles were killed; but here four more soldiers were wounded.

In May Stevens and Johnson fought a six day battle with Datu Gubat of Tugaya. This was a series of cotta fights. When one fort was taken the defenders withdrew into the next, repeating this tactic until the fifth, and last, fort had been stormed. This maneuver is worthy of mention for it shows that after two decades of cotta fighting the Moros of Lanao had learned to provide their strongholds with some exit … For the first time, too, they here utilized timbers and overhead screens to protect themselves from mortar fire; accordingly, from this time on, the costly assault was again the only way these Moro cottas could be taken. (Elarth 1949, 126–27)

In January 1927, Stevens led an operation against a local leader ("datu") named Tahil, "an irreconcilable who was opposed to the collection of taxes and later demanded the removal of certain government officials in Sulu" (Ventura 1928b, 111). Tahil and his followers "stood in armed opposition to the government," and the Constabulary surrounded their fort. Complicating the issue was the fact that his fourth wife, Princess Tarhata Kirim, was in the fort as well. She was the niece of the Sultan of Sulu and an alumna of the University of Illinois. According to news reports, she tried to convince her husband to end the situation peacefully, but when he refused, she decided to stick to her husband (*Chicago Tribune* 1927). After a long standoff, Stevens ordered his men to storm the fort. The couple managed to escape but were soon captured. The princess later used her influence and negotiating skills to bring about the peaceful surrender of outlaw groups (*San Francisco Examiner* 1932).

Photo of Moro Princess Tarhata Kiram while at the University of Illinois (Thurman 1923, 473).

On July 1, 1927, Stevens got a break from the fighting and heat of Mindanao when he was assigned as Superintendent of Constabulary Academy in the cool hills of Baguio, but he resumed his command of the District of Mindanao and Sulu six months later (Philippine Constabulary 1932,

13). The on-going dangers for the Constabulary in the district was highlighted by Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., in his annual report for 1932.

> There was, however, one serious outbreak, which occurred on October 9, 1932. On that date at a point about 2 miles west of Camp Seit, island of Jolo, a constabulary patrol consisting of an officer and 22 men were taken unaware and rushed, with a loss of 13 killed. The local constabulary forces took immediate action. They reached the scene of the massacre a few hours after the occurrence and scattered the outlaws. I visited the spot shortly afterward. The outbreak was apparently an expression of resentment against the action of the civil authorities in the case of a Moro chief, named Abdullah, who had been charged with and convicted of murder. The promptness with which the constabulary struck back at the outlaws was responsible for preventing any spread of this trouble. (Roosevelt 1934, 24)

A reorganization of Constabulary districts in early 1935 created the District of Southern Mindanao, covering the province of Catabato, Davao, Sulu, and Zamboanga, which Stevens commanded (*Khaki and Red* 1935). By this time, Stevens was a full colonel, having been promoted on February 1, 1933 (Woods 1933, 11). In conjunction with his Constabulary duties, he also served for a number of years as a special agent for the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (Cornejo 1939, 816; *Manila City Directory* 1933, 78). On June 22, 1926, his abilities were recognized by the U.S. Army, which gave him a commission as a major in the U.S. Army Reserves. He worked in Military Intelligence and "served several short tours of active duty under such commission," though the nature of those tours is unclear. He was "honorably discharged … on March 30, 1936, by reason of his acceptance of a commission in the Philippine Army (Pace 1950).

Stevens in the Philippine Army

A major step towards Philippine independence took place with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which called for the creation of the Philippine Commonwealth. The appointed American Governor-General would be replaced by an elected President, Manuel Quezon, who would still report to the President of the United States (Malcolm 1939, 126, 397, 421–23). On December 21, 1935, the first act of the Philippine Commonwealth was the establishment of the Philippine Army, of which the Constabulary "was used as the nucleus" (Quezon 1938, 3–4). General Douglas MacArthur served as military advisor to Quezon, and he brought along with him Lieutenant Colonel and future U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower (Malcolm 1957, 69–70).

Photograph from 1939 showing "from left to right, General Douglas MacArthur, Mamie Eisenhower, President Manuel Quezon, and Lieutenant Colonel Dwight D. Eisenhower, at a luncheon table. The Eisenhowers and Quezon are standing, and all are smiling. The luncheon was held in Manila, the Philippines." From U. S. National Archives, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/221021771.

Eisenhower, who was an overnight guest at the Stevens' house in April 1937, was assigned to the Tank corps during World War I and denied a combat assignment because his commander, Colonel Ira C. Welborn, found him too valuable (*Mindanao Herald* 1937a; Eisenhower 1967, 151). Welborn, who grew up in Mississippi, had been the commandant at Mississippi A&M for several months when Stevens was a student there (Braden 1910). He was also the brother of former Philippine Bureau of Agriculture Director **Wayne C. Welborn**. After World War I, Eisenhower was assigned to General John J. Pershing, the former governor of Mindanao who thought very highly of the Constabulary (Eisenhower 1967).

A recognition of Stevens's unique experience came in May 1936, when all district commanders were reshuffled except for him (*Mindanao Herald* 1936a). Much had changed in the Philippines and in Mindanao, but Stevens had to deal with outlaws periodically as he had done for over a decade. In January 1938, a newspaper report in the *Honolulu Advertiser* had the headline "15 Moros Die in Cotta Pyre." Most cottas had escape tunnels, and this campaign against a gang in Lanao was said to be "the first in cotta warfare in which none of the bandits escaped." A chilling sentence in the report stated that "the dead included two women who cowered in the dugout, on which soldiers poured gasoline and then set afire, incinerating its occupants" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1938).

In November 1937, Lula and the children left for the United Staes, where the sons enrolled in Copiah-Lincoln Junior College and Agricultural High School in Mississippi (*Clarion-Ledger* 1973). Lula told friends the following March that "she misses Zamboanga and will be glad when she can return to the islands" (*Mindanao Herald* 1938). Stevens went to the States after June 1938 for both personal leave and military training. It was his first time in the States for over 20 years (*Lubbock Avalanche-Journals* 1939; *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1938). He attended the Regular Course at the Army's Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. He was the highest-ranking officer in his class, which consisted mainly of first lieutenants and a few captains. The

Infantry School also had a Tank Course at the same time, and one of Stevens' classmates from Mississippi A&M, Lieutenant Colonel William E. Brougher, was the highest-ranking officer in that class. Both graduated on June 15, 1939 (Infantry School 1939). Brougher was sent to the Philippines, where he commanded the 57th Infantry Division of the Philippine Scouts. Stevens continued in the States for several months and attended the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth from September 15 to February 1, 1940. He was listed as one of two "foreign graduates," along with Philippine Army Captain Ramon Enriquez (McNair 1940, 8).

On June 23, 1938, Act No. 343 separated the Constabulary from the Philippine Army. The force reported directly to President Quezon until, after political pressure, he moved it under the Secretary of the Interior (Army Service Forces 1945, 6–7). It is unclear when Stevens returned to the Philippines, but in a memo to President Quezon, Eisenhower mentioned that Stevens was still away. He had some scathing words for "the older Constabulary officers [who], with occasional exceptions, have not made good officers in the Army. Old methods, old routine and old habits have not fitted into the new requirements, and many of these individuals have become too set in their ways, too inflexible, possibly just too old, to change. This applies to American and Filipino alike" (Eisenhower 1998, 484). At the time, he recommended seven district commanders be relieved of their commands, but he included Stevens among "the best available": "Majors Moran, Garcia, Caluya, and the best available others, should be given the 2nd, 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th Districts. (When Col. Stevens returns he should probably go back to the 10th.)" (Eisenhower 1998, 480–81).

World War II

After Stevens returned to the Philippines with Lula and their daughter, he had the title of Department Inspector (commander) for the Constabulary's Department of Mindanao and Sulu (*Palm Beach Post* 1948; Army Service Forces 1945, 8). Preparations for the defense of the Islands were inadequate to prevent the Japanese from taking the Philippines, which was still not an independent nation. The Constabulary was once again brought under the Philippine Army. Brougher was placed in command of the Philippine Army's 11th Division, and Stevens was placed in command the Philippine Army's 91st Division on November 17, 1941 (Morton 1953, 407; Bailey 1921, 88; Pace 1950). On December 20, Stevens received a temporary promotion to brigadier general in the Philippine Army, and his former classmate accepted a promotion to the same rank in the U.S. Army soon afterward (*Tribune* 1941; Adjutant-General's Office 1946). Philippine and American forces made a final stand at Bataan, and Stevens and Brougher would be in various prisoner of war camps for the duration of the war.

Lula Stevens and their daughter Elizabeth were sent to the Santo Tomas Internment Camp in Manila. One silver lining in the distressing period was that Elizabeth met her future husband in the camp (*Palm Beach Post* 1948). Stevens's sons were back in the States and all served in the armed forces. A newspaper article in 1942 had a photo of Luther, Jr., with a title "Anxious to Meet Japs," and the following year an article had a picture of Charles and reported that "Pvt. Charles F. Stevens is one lad who's anxious to finish basic training and get at the Japs" (*Daily Monitor Leader*

1943; *Times Record* 1942). Lula and Elizabeth were liberated in February 1945 and returned to the States (*Palm Beach Post* 1948).

Life After the War

Stevens remained a POW until August 17, 1945 (*Palm Beach Post* 1953). After returning to the United States, he was hospitalized in San Francisco and Fort Sam Houston, Texas, until November (Pace 1950). Stevens was then "granted convalescent leave, which was extended to April 3, 1946. At the expiration of such leave he was ordered to the Philippine Islands for 90 days on a special mission for the Secretary of War. He was then separated from the Philippine Army in order to accept a commission as colonel in the Army of the United States, effective July 31, 1946. From August 16, 1946, to December 22, 1946, he served as Liaison Officer with the War Assets Administration at the San Francisco Port of Embarkation. From February 1, 1947, to May 2, 1948, he served as Provost Marshal of the Philippine-Ryukyus Command" (Pace 1950, 1).

Stevens's health once again declined, and he was sent back to United States. He "was relieved from active duty … by reason of physical disability, and he reverted to inactive status effective September 30, 1948" (Pace 1950, 4). On that date, an Army retiring board approved him for disability retirement, but that decision was later reversed because his disability originated during his time in the Philippine Army. A law passed in 1946 specified that service in the Philippine Army could not count as service in the U. S. Army (Pace 1950, 3–4).

Stevens returned to Mississippi and in 1950 sought the assistance of Senator John C. Stennis, who introduced a bill authorizing an exception for him. Though the bill stayed in the Committee on Armed Services, the Army took up the matter again and granted Stevens disability retirement benefits (Stevens 1951). He was officially retired on January 1, 1951 (U. S. Department of the Army 1957, 532). He and Lula later moved to Palm Beach, Florida, where they died in a car accident on February 27, 1973 (*Clarion-Ledger* 1973).

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