

## THE RESPONSE TO HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1913-1921

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WHEN FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON CAME TO THE PHILIPPINES IN 1913 to serve as the first governor-general under the Democratic Party administration in the United States, he was fully aware of the fact that his stewardship would not altogether be a very pleasant experience. The storm of criticisms generated by his appointment gave him some idea of the obstacles and difficulties that he would encounter during his incumbency. Also, while still in Washington, D.C., he was warned that if he would not administer the affairs of the country in a manner agreeable to the interests of certain local groups, "matters would go hard" with him.<sup>1</sup> He ignored the threat, however, and governed the territory according to his own convictions and the dictates from Washington, D.C. As might be expected, his policies were severely criticized.

The foremost target of criticism was the rapid Filipinization of the civil service. Critics alleged that the policy brought many Americans in the Philippines to the verge of destitution, and also that it led to administrative inefficiency in the government.<sup>2</sup> Despite opposition, Governor Harrison proceeded to carry out the policy in all levels of the government. As a result the "colonial government of Americans aided by Filipinos" was transformed into a "government of Filipinos aided by Americans."<sup>3</sup>

The policy of fiscal retrenchment was also criticized. Although Governor Harrison believed that it was necessary for the sake of economy,<sup>4</sup> his critics contended that it was too drastic and unnecessary.<sup>5</sup> They opposed particularly the various measures that would implement the policy, such as the reduction of salaries of government officials and employees, the abolition of some government positions, the temporary stoppage of public works, and the imposition of new and increased taxes. These measures according to opponents were negative and not constructive, and, as such, they could

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Burton Harrison, *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence: A Narrative of Seven Years* (New York, 1922), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> D. R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines* (New York, 1924), p. 183. See also *The Press* (Philadelphia), Nov. 13, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> Rafael Palma, *Our Campaign for Independence from Taft to Harrison* (Manila, 1923), p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> "Message of the Governor-General to the Philippine Legislature, Oct. 16, 1913," found in *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 3rd Philippine Legislature, 2 sess., pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> *The Manila Times*, March 8, 1914.

not fail to bring about destructive results. To adopt them would only mean the satisfaction of Governor Harrison's passion for change at all costs.<sup>6</sup>

Harrison was also attacked for not seeking often enough the advice and counsel of the members of the American community in the Philippines. His critics pointed out that he depended too much on the Filipino leaders, particularly Speaker Osmeña, Quezon, and Palma, all members of the dominant *Nacionalista Party*.<sup>7</sup> For this, they branded him as a "mere figure-head," a "pliant tool of shrewd native politicians who used him largely for personal or party ends," and the "plaything and the catspaw of the leaders of the *Nacionalista Party*."<sup>8</sup> One of his worst critics, Representative Richard W. Austin of Texas, while speaking in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, referred to him as an "agent" of Quezon in the latter's drive to build his political fortunes in the Philippines.<sup>9</sup>

The same critic denounced Governor Harrison for practising the spoils system. He pointed out that the Governor made "forced resignations" in the Philippine service in order to accommodate "deserving Democrats."<sup>10</sup> The practice of the previous administration of filling higher positions by promoting men from the lower ranks was alleged to have been discarded. Instead, the vacancies were now being filled by "Democrats fresh from the United States."<sup>11</sup> Governor Harrison was also accused of delivering the government into the hands of the *Nacionalista Party* leaders, for only members of that party were the ones appointed to positions in the government.<sup>12</sup> The critics believed that this anomalous situation existed, because the Governor invariably consulted the *Nacionalista Party* leaders in making his appointments concerning Filipinos.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, Governor Harrison was criticized for his frequent and extended leaves of absence from the country. On three different occasions during his incumbency, he took a leave from his official duties in order to visit the neighboring countries of China, Japan, Korea, the Federated Malay States, Burma, and some islands in the Indonesian Archipelago. He was also away for six months (from December, 1918 to August, 1919), when he returned to the United States for a vacation. In an editorial, the *Philippines Free Press* pointed out that his absenteeism worked "inconvenience and expense to those who paid him his salary and who had the right to

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<sup>6</sup> *The Manila Times*, October 11, 1914.

<sup>7</sup> Redfield to Garrison, Dec. 27, 1913, in *Bureau of Insular Affairs File—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*.

<sup>8</sup> D. R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 151; *The Manila Times*, Sept. 29, 1914.

<sup>9</sup> *Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1028.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Jones O. Garfield, *The Unhappy Conditions in the Philippines* (Oakland, n.d.), p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> *La Democracia*, Dec. 20, 1914.

<sup>13</sup> *Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1028.

require that he attend to his official duties.”<sup>14</sup> It further stated that even though these absences were designed to test Filipino capacity for self-government, his presence in the Islands was still deemed necessary because there were governmental matters which required his daily attention.<sup>15</sup>

While most of the Governor's critics denounced his policies and official acts, some went one step beyond by attacking him personally. One of them characterized Governor Harrison as “a man without knowledge or experience of the Philippines, or of the Orient, partisan, prejudiced, and narrow in his point of view, and wholly unfitted by political training to guide the toddling footsteps of our Filipino wards in ways of decency and civic righteousness.”<sup>16</sup> Others went to the extreme of hurting his feelings by refusing to admit within their circles or clubs fellow Americans who were known to be his friends and sympathizers. An example of this vindictiveness was the case of Commissioner Winfred T. Denison, who was denied membership in the University Club of Manila because of a speech he made favorable to the administration.<sup>17</sup>

The detractors of Governor Harrison comprised an imposing array of individuals with different backgrounds and professions, but almost uniformly belonging to, or identified with, the Republican Party. They were found on both sides of the Pacific Ocean—in the Philippines and in the United States.

In the Philippines, the critics were mostly members of the American community, which included army officers, soldiers and ex-soldiers, missionaries, bureaucrats and ex-bureaucrats, who found employment in private enterprises, and businessmen.<sup>18</sup> These elements were accustomed to the policy of the earlier administrations based on the premise of an indefinitely long period of political tutelage under the United States before the Filipinos could be entrusted with self-government. They felt it madness to change that policy, and, therefore, any attempt to modify it was opposed.

<sup>14</sup> *Philippines Free Press*, Jan. 6, 1917 in *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> D. R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>17</sup> Governor Harrison's response to this incident can be seen in his letter to Secretary Garrison which said in part: “Such an action upon the application of a most desirable member for any club solely because of the expression elsewhere of political opinions by him is unheard of by our communities at home, so far as I am aware. I myself resigned from the club in consequence.” Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 30, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>18</sup> According to Governor Harrison, his critics in Manila were organized into a group and met “quite regularly” in the office of Ex-Chief of Police, John E. Warding. Among the most prominent members of the gathering were the following: Edwards P. Bruce of the Pacific Commercial Company and *The Manila Times*; Ex-Collector of Customs, Frank McCoy; Ex-Director of Lands, Charles M. Sleeper; Ex-Director of Navigation, J. M. Holmes; and Percy McDonnell of the *Cablenews-American*. He also pointed out that this group acted as a source of information for the detractors in the United States. See Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 30, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

Of these critics, the most outspoken ones were the ex-bureaucrats and businessmen. The former had "no love" for the man who was responsible for their separation from the government service. The latter felt the same way, but for different reasons. First of all, they were adversely affected by Governor Harrison's policy of retrenchment. It brought about the slackening of trade and commerce in the country as well as the imposition of new and increased percentages taxes on business.<sup>19</sup> Another reason was what they believed to be Governor Harrison's poor attitude toward business in general, as expressed in the following:

Every legitimate business enterprise should and will receive the protection of the Insular Government. But we must bear in mind that business is intended to serve the Government, not the Government to serve business. The duty of Government is to see that every businessman receives an equal opportunity before the law, not that any businessman should enjoy a special privilege.<sup>20</sup>

The businessmen also felt hostile toward Governor Harrison because of his positive stand on the issue of early Philippine independence. They feared that their investments and interests would be jeopardized the moment the United States severed its political relationship with the Philippines.<sup>21</sup> But aside from this, their hostile attitude was partly caused by the failure of the Governor to consult them often enough on matters regarding the policies of the administration.

Some of the critics were members of the bureaucracy, whose personal interests and party allegiance were threatened by the policies of the new administration. Others differed with the Governor on administrative matters, as for example, in the case of Commissioner Fred Riggs. Aside from objecting to the policy of retrenchment, the Commissioner took the contrary view that his functions as head of the Department of Commerce and Police could not be interfered with, nor limited by the Governor.<sup>22</sup> He justified his stand by pointing out that he was appointed by the President of the United States, like the Governor. Commissioner Riggs felt that if the Governor had any relation with him, it was merely advisory.<sup>23</sup>

In their opposition to Governor Harrison, the local American residents found support from some of the leading newspapers and news magazines in the country, such as *The Manila Times*, *Daily Bulletin*, *Cablenews-Amer-*

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<sup>19</sup> In order to increase the government revenues, the Philippine Legislature passed Act No. 2432 on Dec. 23, 1914. See *Report of the Governor-General, 1915*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>20</sup> "Message of the Governor-General to the Philippine Legislature, Oct. 16, 1913." *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 3rd Philippine Legislature, 2 sess., p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> This was pointed out by Secretary of War, Garrison, in an interview published by the *Christian Science Monitor*, and cited by Manuel L. Quezon in his speech before the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. See *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 sess., p. 16491.

<sup>22</sup> *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 17, 1915.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

ican, and the *Philippines Free Press*. The owners and publishers<sup>24</sup> belonged to the same group of American business interests hostile to the new administration. Their subscriptions and paid advertisements came almost wholly from that group. These publications not only carried in their columns the criticisms of the local Americans, but also joined in the condemnation of Harrison's administration through their editorials.

Governor Harrison had also critics in the United States who were as outspoken as those found in the Philippines. Some of them were Republican members of Congress and, perhaps, the most important figures in this group was Representative Clarence B. Miller of Minnesota. He was a member of the Committee on Insular Affairs in the lower house of Congress, a body which was directly concerned with the administration of the territorial possessions of the United States, including the Philippines. On several occasions, he visited the Philippines, and on the basis of the information he gathered, he attacked Governor Harrison's administration. In an interview after his return from one of his visits, he denounced the Democratic administration policy in the Philippines. He said in part:

The statement from Washington does not begin to tell the tale. The changing of a few officials and the appointing of a few more Filipinos to the public service are relatively unimportant and insignificant. The system and structure of government has been changed. And it has been changed without knowledge of or regard to conditions in the Philippines, the characteristic of the people, or the essential elements in the government heretofore existing in the Islands. It has been a blind, fatuous, monumental blunder.<sup>25</sup>

The other critics in the United States were ex-bureaucrats who held high positions in the Philippine service. In this group belonged ex-governors Howard H. Taft, William C. Forbes, and Dean C. Worcester, who served as Secretary of Interior in the colonial government from 1900 to 1913. Having an intimate familiarity with the conditions in the Philippines as a result of their service here, their opinions and judgments on the Philippine problem carried much weight in the American press. All three denounced what they believed to be the destruction of American accomplishments in the country during the Taft regime by the implementation of the Wilson-Harrison policy.<sup>26</sup> Worcester was contemptuous not only of Governor Harrison, but also of the Filipino politicians. In his book, *The Philippines Past and Present*, he said of the latter:

<sup>24</sup> Some of the prominent names connected with these publications were the following: Martin Egan, George W. Fairchild, L. Thibault, and W. K. Lewis for *The Manila Times*; Phil. C. Whitaker, Carlos Young, and Percy McDonnell for the *Cable-news-American*; Carson Taylor, William Crozier, and Mortimer Stewart for the *Daily Bulletin*, and McCullough Dick and F. Theo. Rogers for the *Philippines Free Press*. See Jesus Z. Valenzuela, *History of Journalism in the Philippines* (Manila, 1933), pp. 137-143.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by *The Manila Times*, Jan. 30, 1914.

<sup>26</sup> *Springfield Republican*, December, 1915.

What have we ever gained by concessions to politicians? Can any one point out a single instance in which they have aroused a feeling of gratitude, or even that sense of obligation which may fully justify the adoption of measures that would otherwise be of doubtful utility? No . . . Gratitude does not enter into the make-up of the average Filipino politician, and we must learn not to expect it. We must do what ought to be done because it ought to be done and not look for appreciation to a small but very noisy body of men who curse us for standing between them and their prey as we stood from the day Dewey first forbade Aguinaldo to steal cattle(?) until now.<sup>27</sup>

Governor Harrison's critics were most active and vocal during the first years of his tenure. Their attacks and allegations were so intense and carried to the extreme, causing his great annoyance.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, knowing that their real motive was merely to discredit his administration and to force him out of his job,<sup>29</sup> he never answered "in kind." "My constant effort during all these years," he said later in life, "was not to 'answer back' in similar terms, not to engage in personal controversy with my opponents."<sup>30</sup> He further stated: "I have always hesitated to participate in newspaper controversies, and never wrote a magazine article so long as I was in office."<sup>31</sup>

To mollify his critics, he sent occasional statements to the newspapers, and on one occasion, he invited the members of the American business community to Malacañang and disabused them of their wrong impressions about his regime. He also wrote letters—sometimes personal and confidential—to the Secretary of War in Washington, and it was in these messages, plus those he sent to some intimate friends and associates, that he expressed his feelings towards his critics. For instance, in a letter to Quezon, who was then serving as one of the Filipino resident commissioners to Washington, Governor Harrison said that, in general, his critics "seemed to criticize me for everything . . ." <sup>32</sup> Referring to Representative Miller's attacks on him, he said: "I am unable to understand the animus of Representative Miller's attack on me. They seem to me to transcend the bounds of debate upon public questions."<sup>33</sup>

In these letters, Governor Harrison also gave his answers or explanations to some of the criticisms raised by his detractors. He denied having

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<sup>27</sup> Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present* (New York, 1914), II, p. 965.

<sup>28</sup> Governor Harrison characterized some of the attacks levelled against him as "abusive" and "absolute misrepresentation." See Harrison to Garrison, March 28, 1915, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>29</sup> In 1914, rumors spread in Manila that Governor Harrison was going to resign from his post. The Governor-General denied them and further stated that they were circulated "by persons who desired me to resign because they found they could not handle me to their liking. . . ." See Harrison to Garrison, July 6, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Harrison to Quezon, Aug. 28, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

committed any infraction of the civil service laws of the Philippines as a result of the implementation of his rapid Filipinization policy, and if it had led to the deterioration of administrative efficiency, the disadvantage was more than offset by the gain in contentment of the Filipinos, the growth of respect and friendship for the United States, and the valuable lessons in self-government secured by the people.<sup>34</sup> He also denied the charge that the policy brought about the destitution of many Americans in the Philippines because they were forced out of their employment; instead, he pointed out that "there are rather less Americans out of employment here now than is customary. . . ." <sup>35</sup>

As for the charge that he very rarely sought the "advice and counsel" of the members of the American community in the country, he explained that he lacked the time to do so, because of the pressure of his work as a member of the Philippine Commission.<sup>36</sup> According to him, the real cause of the "trouble" was the fact that his predecessor had more time to see them because he was a bachelor. He said:

I think the trouble arises more from the fact that Governor Forbes was a bachelor and went around in the evening with these men and they were accustomed to seeing a great deal of the Governor-General.<sup>37</sup>

Governor Harrison also explained to Secretary Garrison why he could not be accused of practising the spoils system in the government. He pointed out that up to September, 1915, out of the forty-one American high officials he nominated for appointment, seventeen were members of the Republican Party, eleven were Democrats, and thirteen could not exactly be identified with either of the two parties.<sup>38</sup> He further said that his general policy in matters of appointment was to promote the man who was next in line. Secretary Garrison evidently was satisfied with his explanation, and in reply to the Governor, he wrote the following: "You refer to the pressure from home for appointment in the Islands and to the fact that you have resisted such pressure. Your position in this regard meets my entire approval."<sup>39</sup>

Likewise, the Governor refuted the charge that all the Filipinos appointed to the government service were all members of the dominant *Nacionalista Party*. This he denied and stated that if there was anything wrong in connection with Filipino appointments, it was perhaps because he in-

<sup>34</sup> Harrison to Garrison, Feb. 19, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> On this matter, Governor Harrison wrote a personal and confidential letter to Secretary Garrison which said in part: "Had I been a dozen different individuals I would still have been unable to see and talk as much as they desired with each one of the Americans here. For some months I was alone in my responsibilities here and was sitting nearly every day in the Legislature, thus reducing materially the working hours available for interviews. Nevertheless, I have tried to see all I could, and my office has been simply besieged by Americans and Filipinos alike . . ." Harrison to Garrison, March 31, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 26, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>39</sup> Garrison to Harrison, Jan. 13, 1915, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

variably consulted the Filipino leaders, mostly *Nacionalista*, before making the selection. However, he justified this practice as "not only advisable from every point of view, but is absolutely just."<sup>40</sup> Besides, not all the nominees of the *Nacionalista* leaders were party members, as could be seen in this letter of Quezon to the Governor:

I don't know whether by the time you have received this letter a selection for that position [mayor of Manila] shall have been made. If not, I would recommend for your consideration, Dr. Alejandro Albert. He does not belong to my party and perhaps the Speaker [Osmeña] would object to the appointment, but he may have to understand that appointive positions in the Islands are not supposed to be used in connection with political affairs. Otherwise, in my opinion, he is a very competent man to discharge that office.<sup>41</sup>

In regard to the accusation that he was neglectful of his official duties because he seldom went to his office in the Ayuntamiento Building, Governor Harrison explained that this was not completely true. He admitted the fact that he went to his office only "two or three times" a week, but denied that he abandoned his official duties and functions simply because he went to his office irregularly. He pointed out that he performed most of his office work in Malacañang Palace, his official residence.<sup>42</sup>

Although the members of the American business community in the Philippines were hostile to him, Governor Harrison made efforts to gain their support and cooperation. For instance, on April 3, 1914, he invited their representatives to an informal "smoker" in Malacañang and pointed out to them what seemed to be the real causes of the differences between them and his administration.<sup>43</sup> He cited the question of Philippine independence and also the business depression. He clarified both issues, and he told them that in so far as the former issue was concerned, it could not be settled by any one of them, only Congress could. He also told them that his administration could not be blamed for the business depression, because it was part of a world-wide trend. In order to find the "reasons for the present tightness of money", he asked them "to look beyond the limits of the Philippines."<sup>44</sup>

On another occasion, Governor Harrison pledged to do everything possible to help business in the country. In a letter to a friend, he said: "I take the pleasure in saying to you personally that I am desirous of aiding legitimate business in the Philippines in every possible way."<sup>45</sup> The Governor was serious in what he meant to do for business, for even before he wrote this letter, he had already done something along that line. In the first few

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<sup>40</sup> Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 26, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Quezon to Harrison, April 28, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>42</sup> Harrison to Garrison, March 28, 1915, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>43</sup> *The Manila Times*, April 5, 1914.

<sup>44</sup> *The Far Eastern Review*, April, 1914, p. 426.

<sup>45</sup> Harrison to Gallagher, Sept. 6, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.



months of his incumbency, he authorized the extension of government loans to the sugar growers in the Visayan Islands in the amount of ₱2,000,000. The following year, he again made available ₱700,000. He also gave loans to the tobacco growers of northern Luzon, totalling ₱1,000,000.<sup>46</sup>

Partly as a result of Governor Harrison's efforts and partly due to the business prosperity resulting from the First World War, the attitude of the American businessmen in the Philippines toward the administration improved.<sup>47</sup> Some of the adherents of the previous regimes were still bitter, but a great majority of the American residents seemed to have "quieted down" and began "attending to their own business."<sup>48</sup> The American-controlled newspapers became mild in their criticisms, and this shift was attributed by Governor Harrison not to the "change of heart" on the part of their editors and publishers, but to the fact that public opinion among the Americans would no longer support any further attacks that were of the same nature as those previously aired in the press.<sup>49</sup>

While his detractors in the Philippines became more reconciled in their attitude toward his regime, their counterparts in the United States continued to criticize him. Although he felt that some of the charges were unfair, Governor Harrison never bothered to refute them in public. He was more concerned about the effects they would have on the Democratic Party administration in Washington. Thus, he wrote to the Secretary of War, Garrison, that should the attacks "prove embarrassing to the administration, the Secretary, himself would have to answer them."<sup>50</sup> He pledged himself to help the latter by supplying the necessary information needed to make a reply.

On a number of occasions, Secretary Garrison felt it necessary to answer some of the critics of the Harrison administration. One such instance was when ex-Governor Forbes contended that the main reason why foreign capitalists would not want to invest in the Philippines after 1913 was because they had no confidence in the government then in power.<sup>51</sup> Secretary Garrison refuted this contention in a letter to the ex-governor, saying that outside capital had not seriously sought investment in the Philippines ever since the start of American occupation, and in that respect, the Harrison administration found itself in the same position as all the previous administrations found themselves.<sup>52</sup>

The Secretary of War again came out in defense of the Harrison administration when Samuel E. Hilles of Cincinnati, Ohio, who visited the

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Harrison to Garrison, Dec. 4, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Harrison to Garrison, July 6, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>49</sup> Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 30, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>50</sup> Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 19, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>51</sup> Forbes to Garrison, Nov. 5, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>52</sup> Garrison to Forbes, Nov. 18, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

country for five weeks, criticized the Wilson-Harrison policy in the Philippines as "going too fast."<sup>53</sup> In a letter to the critics, Secretary Garrison pointed out that this was an old criticism, which was raised as early as the Taft administration. The explanation said in part:

You, of course, are aware that the criticisms that we are going too fast in the Philippine Islands began with the establishment of civil government in these Islands. Persons who visited the Islands in 1901 and 1902, in general, came back with the feeling that we were going too fast . . . Had you gone to the Philippines in 1903 when many Filipinos had been appointed to prominent offices in the government, you would have found that this feeling that we had gone too fast was very much emphasized. You would have found that Mr. Taft, the Governor-General, had become among the Americans in Manila . . . "the most unpopular American in the Philippine Islands" because he was regarded as the one responsible for what most Americans in Manila . . . regarded as our policy of going too fast in the Islands.<sup>54</sup>

There were other officials in the United States Government occupying positions influential in Philippine affairs who supported as well as defended Governor Harrison's administration. These included President Wilson, General Frank McIntyre, then Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and William Atkinson Jones, who was the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs and the author of the Philippine Organic Act of 1916.

President Wilson gave Governor Harrison a "fairly free hand" in the conduct of his office and assured him of his confidence in his administration.<sup>55</sup> In 1915, he cabled the Governor, congratulating him for the good work being accomplished in the Philippines:

Please accept my congratulations upon the success of your administration and my earnest assurance of belief in a happy and prosperous future for the Islands. The people of the Islands have already proved their quality, and in nothing more than in the fulfillment of our promises. Continuance in that admirable course of action will undoubtedly assure the result we all desire.<sup>56</sup>

General McIntyre characterized the criticisms against Governor Harrison's regime published in the United States as "without basis or trivial in character" and as reserved for those who were "ignorant of the conditions in the Islands."<sup>57</sup> He maintained that there was administrative efficiency in the government despite the "loss of some excellent men" due to

<sup>53</sup> Hilles to Garrison, Nov. 11, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Garrison to Hilles, Nov. 16, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>55</sup> President Wilson expressed his confidence in Harrison indirectly through a letter to Samuel Ferguson, Secretary of the Governor-General, dated Jan. 20, 1915. See *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*. Governor Harrison was deeply grateful for the President's support, for he believed that he could not have stayed in office for even "six months" without it. See Harrison to Tumulty, Feb. 10, 1921, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in William C. Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston, 1928), II, p. 245.

<sup>57</sup> Frank McIntyre, "Special Report to the Secretary of War," *Senate Documents*, 64 Cong., 1 sess., No. 242, p. 33.

retrenchment and voluntary resignations. In the lower house of the United States Congress, Representative Jones invariably defended Governor Harrison's administration every time the Philippine problem came up on the floor for discussion. In one of his speeches, he pointed out that, perhaps, the "first and foremost" accomplishment of the Governor-General was the establishment of "confidence on the part of the Filipino people in the justice and fairness of the American people."<sup>58</sup>

Outside government circles, the supporters and admirers of Governor Harrison's administration were found among the members of the Anti-Imperialist League, ex-bureaucrats, and American tourists who had visited the Philippines. In 1914, the Anti-Imperialist League, through its president, wrote Governor Harrison, praising him for the "calmness and dignity" with which he conducted his office in the face of severe attacks from critics.<sup>59</sup> Four years later, the League again wrote him, giving him assurance of the "great respect and admiration" of its members for his "faithful and successful" conduct of his office in the Philippines.<sup>60</sup>

Morgan Shuster, a former member of the Philippine Commission and Collector of Customs, also lauded the Democratic Party regime in the country. "The Philippines," he said, "are better governed than ever before in their history. Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, in his two and a half years' stay, had done a great piece of administrative work."<sup>61</sup> James Ross, an ex-judge in the Manila Court of First Instance, not only praised Governor Harrison, but also defended his policies. In explaining why the Governor was severely criticized, he said:

The trouble seems to me, is that Governor Harrison has treated very seriously the promises and pledges of the United States to the Filipino people, and that, finding the machinery moving slowly, has "speeded it up"—translated words into deeds and promises into performances.<sup>62</sup>

A feeling of satisfaction was expressed by some American visitors at the progress made in the Philippines under Governor Harrison. E. Alexander Powell, whose journeys brought him to the Philippines, British Malaya, and Dutch Indonesia, tried to compare the conditions in these areas. He found out that the Philippines were "so far advanced" that there was "no real basis for comparison."<sup>63</sup> "The more I saw of what we have accomplished in the Philippines," he wrote Governor Harrison, "the prouder I was of being an American. I am deeply impressed by what I saw . . . The people are prosperous and contented."<sup>64</sup> Eleanor Franklin Egan, who also

<sup>58</sup> *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison.*

<sup>59</sup> Storey to Harrison, March 18, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>60</sup> Anti-Imperialist League to Harrison, April 15, 1918, Manuel Quezon Papers.

<sup>61</sup> *The New York Times*, April 20, 1916.

<sup>62</sup> *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 3 sess., (Appendix), p. 840.

<sup>63</sup> Powell to Harrison, April 10, 1920, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

had visited the Philippines, felt the same way. She was particularly impressed by the improved relationship between the Filipinos and the Americans.<sup>65</sup>

Even Governor Harrison's detractors found something to admire in his administration. For instance, *The Manila Times* credited him with having stood firm in the execution of General Mariano Noriel, a veteran of the Philippine Revolution, who was found guilty of having killed a law-abiding compatriot. Commending Governor Harrison's action, its editorial said:

Rare indeed have been the occasions when the *Times* has found an opportunity of unstinted praise of Governor-General Harrison but we believe that his action in ordering the execution of General Noriel and his accomplices, is one of the most courageous acts of any administration in American occupation of the Philippines. It required a degree of moral courage that only those who know of the powerful and insidious influence which have been brought to bear to save Noriel from the gallows, can appreciate.<sup>66</sup>

Ex-Commissioner Worcester, a bitter critic of the Governor, strongly recommended the latter's support of Dr. Victor Heiser, then Director of Health, on the occasion of certain unjust attacks on the part of the Filipinos. In a letter to *The Manila Times*, he said:

Governor-General Harrison has proved himself to be a staunch friend of sanitation in the Philippine Islands and has given effective support to the Bureau of Health during some very trying times, undeterred by the fact that this had made a serious drain on his popularity in certain quarters.<sup>67</sup>

While his fellow countrymen in the Philippines confronted him with a hostile attitude, the Filipino people, with the exception of the members of the opposition party and their sympathizers, extended to Governor Harrison support and encouragement. Their leaders readily gave him advice, as he sought them, and they saw to it that his legislative proposals were enacted by the Philippine Legislature.<sup>68</sup> They also defended his administration from the attacks of his critics, and it was among these people that, perhaps, he found his most effective defender, Manuel L. Quezon.

Quezon vigorously and faithfully defended Governor Harrison's regime. While serving as one of the two Filipino resident commissioners to the United States, he delivered speeches in the halls of Congress and before the American public to answer some of the criticisms directed against Har-

<sup>65</sup> Her article on the Philippines, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 26, 1918, said in part: "For the first time Occupation Day has been celebrated by Filipinos and Americans alike, with joint ceremony and with mutual congratulation and compliment. It was on the whole a most significant day, marking as it did the beginning of the end of the old antagonism and ingratitude with which these people, whom we could not with honor set adrift, have met every effort we have made to benefit and assist them."

<sup>66</sup> *The Manila Times*, Jan. 17, 1915.

<sup>67</sup> *The Manila Times*, May 17, 1914.

<sup>68</sup> This explains Governor Harrison's good record with the Philippine Legislature. See *The Manila Times* editorial of Feb. 8, 1915, found in the *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*.

ri son and his administration.<sup>69</sup> On one occasion, he made an extended remark in the House of Representatives in reply to ex-Commissioner Worcester's attack against the policy of Filipinization. In part, he declared:

The truth is that the methods of Governor-General Harrison in matters of appointment are absolutely free not only from any justified charge but even from any appearance of justification that he has employed the methods of—in the words of Mr. Worcester—"a ward politician." Governor-General Harrison has not given positions in the Philippine Government to personal friends. He has not brought with him relatives to do business in the Islands . . . and this dignified conduct of the Governor is the more praiseworthy since he is the first Governor-General of the Islands, who was previously a Member of Congress, and had therefore many political friends, a circumstance which doubtless has on more than one occasion put to a test his integrity of character and devotion to duty. . . .<sup>70</sup>

Commissioner Quezon, however, in his defense of Governor Harrison, stressed the positive accomplishments of the latter's administration—the increased mileage of roads, expansion of trade and commerce, better health and sanitation, more public schools, and progress toward self-government, as well as the improved relations between the Americans and the Filipinos.<sup>71</sup> Speaking on Harrison's first year in the Philippines before the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Cleveland, Ohio, Quezon declared:

The people of the Philippines have not been disappointed in Governor Harrison. His popularity has been increasing, and during the short time of his administration he had demonstrated that we were right in placing our confidence and hope in him. His achievements will speak of American intelligence, justice, and patriotism long after his detractors are dead and forgotten. How hard he has worked and how economical and efficient a government he has given us! He has not only honored himself and the President who has appointed him, but he has also honored his own people and has given credit to the whole American nation.<sup>72</sup>

The Filipinos showed unmistakably their approval and support of Governor Harrison's administration when they chose to remain loyal to the United States during the First World War. A few days after Congress declared war against Germany and its allies, the Filipinos held a big parade in the city of Manila to express their loyalty to the United States.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> In one of his letters, Governor Harrison thanked Quezon for the latter's work on his behalf. He said: "I can never thank you sufficiently for the extreme loyalty, official and personal, which you have shown me on all occasions, and for the splendid assistance you have given me in all of these difficult questions." See Harrison to Quezon, Sept. 22, 1914, Manuel L. Quezon Papers.

<sup>70</sup> *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 sess., p. 16490.

<sup>71</sup> See Manuel L. Quezon, *Speeches of Honorable Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines, in the House of Representatives, September 26-October 14, 1914* (Washington, 1914).

<sup>72</sup> Manuel L. Quezon, "New Freedom in the Philippines". (A speech delivered on April 15, 1915, at the Annual Dinner of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and Industry), Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

<sup>73</sup> *The Manila Times*, May 6, 1917.

Speeches were delivered by the Filipino leaders, and in response, Governor Harrison said in part:

Nothing could have been more gratifying than this spontaneous and generous offer of devotion and loyalty from the Filipino people to the United States.

Never in the years of occupation here have the friendship between Americans and the Filipinos been so deep, so sincere and so unselfish as today. And their friendship has come to stay forever because it is founded upon mutual respect and understanding.

The war is not only the greatest and let us hope the final combat between democracy and autocracy, between human rights and despotism, between the new order of freedom and the old order of tyranny; the right of small nations to exist and retain their independence.<sup>74</sup>

As a further manifestation of their loyalty, the Filipinos placed a moratorium on their campaign for independence.<sup>75</sup> They also actively supported the United States in its war efforts by undertaking relief work through the local chapter of the American Red Cross, and by responding enthusiastically to the appeals for Liberty Loans.<sup>76</sup> The Philippine Bureau of Science and other insular agencies cooperated with the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army in an effort to produce in the country the greatest possible amount of coconut shell (charcoal) gas masks.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the Filipinos offered to participate actively in the war by supplying a division of troops for service in the United States Army, and by underwriting the construction of a destroyer and a submarine.<sup>78</sup>

Speaking of Filipino loyalty during the war, Governor Harrison, in his letter to President Wilson, said:

. . . that loyalty is deep, genuine, and universal in the Philippines. It is based upon the recognition of what the United States has done specifically for the Philippine people and, also, upon an appreciation of what the United States is fighting for in this war as expressed on many public occasions by yourself. I think that in their offer and organization of a division for the military service, in their loan of a destroyer and a submarine to our Navy, in their response to

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Report of the Governor-General*, 1918, p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> During the war, there were four campaign drives for Liberty loans conducted in the Philippines. According to Governor Harrison, at the end of the fourth campaign, the subscription reached the figure of 23,247,000 pesos, or more than double the quota allotted to the Philippines. Of this sum, about 9,000,000 pesos came from provinces where fully ninety-five per cent of the subscribers were Filipinos. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

<sup>77</sup> Alvin J. Cox, "The Philippines and the War," *The Far Eastern Review*, Dec. 1918, p. 512.

<sup>78</sup> The offer was made in a resolution passed by the Philippine Legislature which provided: "That the Governor-General be, and hereby is, authorized to take all the necessary steps for the earliest possible construction, under the direction of the Government of the United States and at the expense of the treasury of the Philippine Islands, of a modern submarine and a modern destroyer which shall, as soon as available, be offered to the President of the United States for service in Philippine waters or elsewhere, as said President may require or authorize." See Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

liberty loans and Red Cross appeals, the Filipinos have made visible demonstration of their attitude toward our country.<sup>79</sup>

From what has been said, it is apparent that the response to Governor Harrison's administration was almost completely based on partisanship. His fellow Democrats on both sides of the Pacific Ocean admired and commended him for his work in the Philippines. On the other hand, the members of the Republican Party and their sympathizers bitterly criticized his regime. Similarly, the Filipinos, in a lesser extent, reacted in the same pattern. While the members of the *Nacionalista Party* and their followers actively supported as well as defended his policies, the minority party members and their partisans denounced his administration.

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<sup>79</sup> Harrison to Wilson, Nov. 13, 1918, Manuel L. Quezon Papers.