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# American Involvement in the Philippines 1880-1930: An Exhibition

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# American Involvement in the Philippines



1880-1930

# **American Involvement in the Philippines 1880-1930**

**An Exhibition**

**July 8-October 10, 1998**

**Curated by Edward Weber & Kathryn Beam**

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## Preface

Welcome to "American Involvement in the Philippines, 1880-1930," an exhibit highlighting materials from the Special Collections Library that document the long-standing ties between the United States and the Philippine Islands. Those ties have been particularly strong between the University of Michigan and the Philippines. This exhibit is timed to coincide with the celebration of the declaration of Philippine Independence a century ago on June 12, 1898, and is part of a series of events and displays nationwide marking this anniversary.

The centerpiece of this exhibit is material from the Worcester Philippine Collection (Floor Cases 4-6, Wall Cases V-VI), which has been described as "perhaps the finest single repository in America outside of the National Archives of material pertaining to the Taft Era in the Philippines." Dean C. Worcester, a University of Michigan alumnus and professor who first traveled as a student assistant to the Philippine Islands and later lived there for a quarter of a century as a government official and businessman, donated his personal collection of correspondence, documents, clippings, pamphlets, and photographs to the University in 1914. Worcester's attitudes and opinions were those of a conscientious public servant of the time, and reflect the approach of those immersed in Western European culture towards what was considered a "primitive" culture whose people needed to be taught the "better" and "more scientific" ways of the West.

The Library's Anti-Imperialist League Papers, 1903-22 (Cases 2 & 3), show another view – the inner workings of an organization devoted to opposing American control of the Philippines. Containing official correspondence and the manuscript records of Executive Committee meetings, as well as a number of publications, this collection documents the fiery political debate surrounding America's actions in the Philippines at the close of the Spanish-American War.

Contrasting with both the official reports of Worcester and the political maneuvering of the Anti-Imperialist League, are the more private writings on the Philippines of an ordinary American soldier (Lowell, Case 7), an American teacher (Cameron, Case 3), and a Constabulary army officer and photographer (Williams, Case 7).

The holdings of the Special Collections Library in this area are complemented on campus by the equally rich archival materials at the Michigan Historical Collections (including additional papers from Dean Worcester as well as the papers of the chief of the Philippine Constabulary Harry H. Bandholtz, Governor General of the Philippines Frank Murphy, and other Michigan politicians involved in the Philippines in the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The

Museum of Anthropology holds the negatives of the Worcester photographs, as well as many ceramics found at archaeological sites in the Philippines and dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Curators Edward Weber and Kathryn Beam have created an exhibit that documents the many-faceted story of the relationship between two countries on different sides of the globe. I am grateful for their efforts in bringing to light some of these treasures from our collection. We thank Susan Go, Head of the Southeast Asia Division of the University Library, for her helpful advice. This exhibit could not have been completed without the hard work of many other members of the Special Collections Library staff, particularly Mark Chaffee, Kathleen Dow, and Veronica Woolridge. We thank the Michigan Historical Collections, the Museums Library and the Graduate Library for the loan of materials. We are also grateful to our neighbors at the William L. Clements Library for the generous loan of Pigafetta's Voyage of 1525.

Peggy Daub, Head  
Special Collections Library

## Case 1

### Introduction

Like other islands off the coast of Asia, the Philippines were settled by successive waves of migration, the Negritos retreating to the hills as more Malays arrived. With thousands of islands extending over three quarters of a million square miles of ocean, no single authority prevailed.

In the first circumnavigation of the globe Magellan sighted the Philippines and met his death there. His expedition gave Spain a claim to territory near the fabled wealth of the East. With Manuel de Legaspi's first permanent settlement in Cebu in 1565, Spanish control of the Philippines was established for more than three centuries.

Manila became the center for a prosperous trade lane between China and Mexico, the galleons crossing the Pacific with silver one way and spices, silks, and porcelain the other. Except for Muslim resistance in the southern islands, Catholicism was established as the official religion. Just as other parts of the farflung Spanish empire mingled ethnic elements, the Philippine Islands developed a complex Euro-Asian culture.

***Doctrina Christiana.*** The first book printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593. A facsimile of the copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, with an introductory essay by Edwin Wolf 2nd. Washington : Library of Congress, 1947.

A work of the greatest rarity, the *Doctrina Christiana*, printed in Manila, 1593, contained prayers, instruction about the sacraments, and a catechism. Other parts of the Spanish empire were likewise concerned with early printing, for local use, the instrument for conversion to Catholicism. Although records of this book existed and one copy was apparently used by a Spanish Jesuit linguistic scholar in the late 18th century, no actual copy was found until after World War II, its source still a mystery.

**Antonio Pigafetta ca. 1480/91-ca. 1534. *Le voyage et relation fait par les Espagnols es Isles de Mollucques des isles qu'ils ont trouvee audict voyage des Roys dicelles de leur gouvernement & maniere de vivre avec plusieurs autres choses.* Paris : Simon de Colines, 1525.**

The news of the first circumnavigation stirred Europe, and the narrative of Antonio Pigafetta, one of the few survivors of the voyage, was translated into many languages. Shown here is one of only seven known copies of the first edition of Pigafetta's account.

*On loan from the William L. Clements Library.*

**Alfred Thayer Mahan. *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783.* Fourth edition. Boston : Little, Brown, and Company, 1893.**

Although his name is not now widely known, few other books by an American author have been so universally influential as Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan's (1840-1914), *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1890). Translated into many languages, it provoked a race for naval bases. Several of Mahan's essays were gathered in *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1897) and made converts that proved decisive in the destiny of the Philippine Islands.

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

## The Debate Over Annexation

The speedy end of the Spanish-American War compelled Americans to face an unheralded expansionist policy. Traditionally, the United States had maintained the concepts of no foreign entanglements and no foreign obligations, with Manifest Destiny to the Pacific Coast.

President McKinley had been reluctant to acquire the Hawaiian Islands, although the Hawaiian Republic had asked for this, and he was, in effect, dragged into the Spanish-American War by the jingoistic fervor excited by the explosion in Havana harbor of the American battleship, the *Maine*.

Theodore Roosevelt, his vigorous Under Secretary of the Navy, exemplified the younger generation who wished the United States to be a recognized world power, competing with the European nations in obtaining bases abroad, both for defense and trade. Manila, he noted, was the American key to trade with China. He was greatly aided by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, another convert to the views of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan.

Only a handful of Americans had ever visited the Philippines, among them Dean Conant Worcester, the young zoology professor at the University of Michigan, who had published his book *The Philippine Islands and their People* (1898), in which he described the Spanish colonies as a backwater, controlled by the friars with the consent of Madrid, egregiously neglecting education, hygiene, and commerce; he crowned his fusillade by pointing out the exploitation of the non-Christian natives. Appointed by McKinley to the First (1899-1901) and Second (1901-08) Philippine Commissions, Worcester quickly became the dominating influence, describing his unflinching work as essential for preparing the Filipinos for self-government and eventual independence (See Cases 4-6 and Wall Cases V and VI).

From the beginning, other Americans differed sharply with this departure from national policy. They pointed out that the Philippine peoples had never asked to exchange Spanish sovereignty for American. On the contrary, there had been a struggle for independence from the Spanish, and the leaders, Emilio Aguinaldo and Apolinario Mabini, had continued to fight against American troops.

No less prominent an American than the steel magnate, Andrew Carnegie, publicly opposed American hegemony in the Philippines. He pointed out that the United States had continental dimensions and many domestic problems.

Many American journalists on the Philippine scene had become sympathetic to Aguinaldo. In the presidential campaign of 1900 the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, bitterly attacked American imperialism. The majority of Americans, torn with conflicting opinions and not strongly committed to either side, went along with the fact of American occupation of the Philippines.

**Charles Lewis Bartholomew. *Cartoons of the Spanish-American War : With Dates of Important Events : From the Minneapolis Journal, January, 1899.* Minneapolis, Minnesota : The Journal Printing Company, 1899.**

**Theodore Roosevelt. *Selections From the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918.* New York : Da Capo Press, 1971.**

The Roosevelt-Lodge correspondence is a very important key to understanding the thought and actions of American foreign and domestic policy for more than thirty years. During his thirty-seven years as a Republican congressman and senator, Henry Cabot Lodge (1850-1924) was an outstanding leader.

Already an author, he met Theodore Roosevelt, another rebel against the old stalwarts with their conservative complacency, during their common battle for civil service reform and was instrumental in having Roosevelt appointed to the Civil Service Commission. But Lodge did not view Manifest Destiny as stopping with our ocean borders and was always a strong advocate of military preparedness.

Roosevelt, likewise a great reader and able writer, respected Lodge's judgment and found him an efficacious ally in their design to have America enter the world stage as an imperial power. Working hand-in-glove Roosevelt and Lodge aided each other's career. Shown are pages of the Roosevelt-Lodge correspondence during the Spanish-American War, when the fiery Roosevelt, appointed Under Secretary of the Navy through Lodge's agency, had resigned to become the commander of the Rough Riders, later taking Santiago in Cuba to extraordinary national acclaim. Lodge derides the importance of the Boston peace meeting, whose resolutions are also displayed in this case, and describes his work in Washington to build support for an American empire.

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

***Anti-imperialism : Speeches at the Meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, June 15, 1898.* From the Labadie Collection.**

***The Anti-imperialist*, Edited and published by Edward Atkinson. vol. 1, no. 1-6 (June 3, 1899-Oct.), 1900.**

Edward Atkinson (1827-1905) was a well-known Massachusetts industrialist, economist, inventor, and public speaker, who wrote cogently about his convictions of sound money, free trade, and pacifism. An ardent anti-imperialist who was present at the June 1898 Faneuil Hall meeting, he wrote, published and disseminated anti-imperialist pamphlets. In the fall of 1898 and the following spring he forwarded them to Secretary of War Elihu Root,

while declaring his vow to send them to American soldiers in the Philippines. Since he received no reply, Atkinson mailed the pamphlets as a test to eight American officials in the Philippines. When the Postmaster general, Charles Emory Smith, ordered the San Francisco Post Office to remove all Atkinson pamphlets from the mail, an uproar arose. *The Springfield Republican* declared that "the mailed hand of the rule of blood and iron ... will next fall heavily in freedom of speech within the old borders of the United States." The order was almost immediately withdrawn, but the result was a great demand for the offending pamphlets, and the anti-imperialists profited from the arbitrary action of the government. This issue of Atkinson's journal, *The Anti-Imperialist*, comes from the Labadie Collection.

## Case 2

**Emilio Aguinaldo. *True Version of the Philippine Revolution.* Tarlak, Philippine Islands, 1899.**

Philippine active resentment against Spanish government had never been so pronounced as in Cuba, but a special sore point was the ownership of large tracts of land by the monastic friars, whose tenants lived in virtual peonage. Anger smouldered when three liberal priests suffered public execution in 1872 and the reform movement was jolted into action after the execution in 1896 of Jose Rizal, the gifted novelist and poet, who had attacked the friars. Aguinaldo's rebellion of 1896-97 was ostensibly settled by an armistice, whose provisions the Spanish government did not honor. When the Spanish-American War broke out Aguinaldo was in Asian exile.

After landing in Luzon to help the American forces, Aguinaldo began to realize that Philippine independence was not their aim. From his strongholds in the hill country, Aguinaldo declared independence, a Philippine republic, and waged effective guerilla actions as well as armed clashes that resulted in many casualties, adding to the force of anti-imperialist arguments. Realizing how costly this prolonged war was likely to be, the Americans captured Aguinaldo by means of a stratagem. Already weakened by the fatal illness of his able lieutenant Mabini, Aguinaldo's war came to an end by 1902. In 1964 the American public was startled by the news of the death of Aguinaldo at the age of 95. He had outlived by decades all the other figures in the Philippine period of American domination.

**Finley Peter Dunne. *Mr. Dooley's Philosophy*. [N.p.] New York : R. H. Russell, 1902.**

**Finley Peter Dunne. *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War*. [N.p.] Small, Maynard & Company, 1898.**

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

The creator of Mr. Dooley, the humorous, sardonic Chicago Irish bartender, was Finley Peter Dunne (1867-1936), who for close to thirty years, used Mr. Dooley's words to comment on national affairs. *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War* (1898) was the first published collection, followed by many others. Mr. Dooley's "A Book Review," a satirical piece on Theodore Roosevelt's Cuban war memoirs ("he should call the book 'Alone in Cuba'") made the future President laugh and seek Dunne out in friendship. The two excerpts exhibited, "Prayers in Wartime" and "On the Philippines," reflect on America's actions in the Philippines.

**Robert G. Cousins. *Campaign Speech of Honorable Robert F. Cousins Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Under the Auspices of the Club, November 5, 1898. Issued by the Library and Publication Committee October, 1899*. Chicago, 1899.**

The temper of the United States can be measured somewhat by the patriotic and imperialist rhetoric of Republican Robert G. Cousins (1859-1933), running for reelection in 1898.

**Herbert Welsh. *To Lincoln's plain people. Facts regarding "Benevolent Assimilation" in the Philippine Islands*. Philadelphia, 1903.**

Herbert Welsh (1851-1941) was a Pennsylvania reformer, known for his lifelong fight for the rights of Native Americans. Becoming a board member of the Anti-Imperialist League, he wrote *The Other Man's Country: an Appeal to Conscience* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1900), as well as pamphlets and articles denouncing American actions in the Philippines. His papers are part of the Lanzar-Carpio Papers, Worcester Philippine Collection.

**George Frisbie Hoar. *Autobiography of Seventy Years*. New York : C. Scribner's Sons, 1903.**

George Frisbie Hoar (1826-1904) had his political roots in founding the Free Soil Party in his native Massachusetts and was in the national House of Representatives before becoming a four-term senator. As the finest type of Puritan he believed that morality must determine public issues. No more ardent champion of the freed slaves existed, and he vigorously opposed all concessions to the New South. As a highly respected public figure, Hoar became noted for his unyielding and eloquent opposition to imperialism. In his *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (Scribner, 1903), Hoar speaks of himself as a true Republican, standing by traditional ideals, and flays his party for its stand on the Philippine Islands.

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

**Andrew Carnegie. *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie*. Boston, New York : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.**

Still a recognized name among Americans, Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) was the second richest man in the world, and earned recognition by giving away vast portions of his wealth to institutions of learning and culture, among them public libraries. Born in Scotland, he imbibed egalitarian notions from his radical family and a worship of history and nature from his surroundings.

His mother's ambition caused the family to pack up and emigrate to the United States in 1848. A messenger boy at 14, he impressed Thomas A. Scott, a railroad magnate who took him to Washington for work in military transportation during the Civil War but shortly gave all his attention to the rapidly developing steel industry, which became the center for his increasing wealth.

Extremely shrewd, Carnegie was also a man of remarkable personal charm, as even his enemies admitted, and remained at heart a sentimental romantic. Always independent politically, a man of Carnegie's renown was an extremely valuable asset to the anti-imperialist crusade. He had been instrumental in the growth of American industrial supremacy and a public benefactor from his thirties.



Among his influential British friends he counted William Gladstone, Matthew Arnold, Lord Rosebury, James Bryce, and Lloyd George, while he knew all the American public men of his time and was a well-known public author with his *Triumphant Democracy*, which attacked systems of privilege, and *The Gospel of Wealth*, which demanded responsibility for its accumulation and distribution back to the community. Yet Carnegie's prestige did not prevail against the jingoism which swept the nation after victory in the Spanish-American War.

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

### Case 3

#### The Anti-Imperialist League

The Anti-Imperialist League was the foremost foe of American actions in the Philippines. Acquisition of territory outside the United States was such a departure from traditional American policy that prominent people from many different political camps became united on this issue. Very conservative ex-President Benjamin Harrison was as dubious as socialist leaders Daniel De Leon and Eugene Debs. Gold Standard Democrats like ex-President Grover Cleveland joined hands with Free Silver champion William Jennings Bryan, who had triumphantly led his Populist following into the Democratic Party. The Mugwumps, who had bolted the Republican ticket to back Cleveland in 1884, were ready to take issue with the young progressives again, and two of them, Moorfield Storey and Gamaliel Bradford, organized a nonpartisan Committee of Correspondence to attract independent liberals, drawing many erstwhile foes into what became the Anti-Imperialist League in November 1898. Within six months it had 30,000 members and half a million contributors.

Of the three alternatives for the Philippines after the Spanish-American war -- return to Spain, independence, or retention -- the first seemed implausible, the second speculative, and the third fraught with novel complications. The American public, thrilled by the easy success of the war and nationally proud, now turned to favor retaining the spoils. Except for Samuel Gompers, American labor leaders reflected popular clamor. The peace treaty, signed December 10, 1898, contained the clause most dreaded by the anti-imperialists, the cession of the Philippines to the United States, with a payment of \$20,000,000.

With Washington adamant, the hopes of the anti-imperialists, like those of the Philippine insurgents, now lay with a Democratic victory in the presidential election of 1900. Bryan eloquently inveighed against imperialism, but lost the presidency by a greater margin than in 1896. Twelve more years of Republicans in the White House lay ahead.

Although many historians write off the Anti-Imperialist League after that disastrous election, it continued its valiant fight despite Theodore Roosevelt's growing popularity. It kept the assent, if not the strong commitment of the Democratic Party, which won a Congressional majority in 1910 and the White House in 1912.

The Jones Bill of 1916 provided for much greater Philippine participation in the government, a mission enthusiastically carried out by Francis Burton Harrison, Wilson's appointee as Governor General. Counter-measures carried out in the Harding administration were not enough to resuscitate the moribund Anti-Imperialist League, which held its last official meeting in November 1920.

**Dean C. Worcester. *An Open Letter to the Officers and Members of the Anti-imperialist League from Dean C. Worcester. Washington? 1911.***

Needless to say, the Anti-Imperialist League was a thorn in the side of Dean C. Worcester. Convinced of his mission and its beneficial results, he replied vigorously to their allegations.

**Anti-Imperialist League. *Circular, April 13, 1899. Washington : Anti-Imperialist League, 1899.***

**Letters to Erving Winslow, Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, from Manuel Quezon (1878-1944), elected in 1935 as the first President of the Philippine Commonwealth, and from Moorfield Storey (1845-1929), the ardent liberal and reformer, who was the guiding spirit of the later Anti-Imperialist League, as well as a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.**

*Lanzar-Carpio Papers, Worcester Philippine Collection.*

## Education in the Philippines

Although Spain had ruled the Philippines for more than three hundred years, Spanish was not the universal language for the multiplicity of tribes; it is estimated that not more than 15 percent of the Filipinos spoke Spanish.

In view of the ostensible aim of the United States government to promote literacy as the basis for democracy and eventual independence, education was stressed as soon as the American troops took their foothold. In what was certainly a unique experiment, American soldiers were ordered to set up seven schools in Manila and teach English under the guidance of Father William McKinnon, chaplain of the California regiment. How this was done, by pointing to objects and pronouncing and writing the words, is a scenario well-suited to the imagination.

Fortunately, filled with a sense of missionary zeal, American teachers were not long in arriving, many before the conclusion of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1898. The second such boat, the "Thomas," held more than a thousand volunteers and made such an impression that all American teachers became known as "Thomasites." School supplies were non-existent. The teachers themselves, almost entirely from strict puritanical backgrounds, discovered that they had to adapt to more relaxed Philippine ways. Statistics bear out the success of the education projects, and we can safely assume that the evangelistic mission became a two-way road for learning.

## An American Teacher

The five manuscript diaries (1901-1904) of Norman Cameron, a Thomasite, reveal the daily life and struggles of an American teacher in the Philippines: the readying of schools and their tasks; the conflict with the parish priest, who feared the teachings of "heretics"; killings and thefts; cholera epidemics; watching a sick pupil for symptoms of small-pox; the often dramatic operation of the seasons; and a few diversions and amusements.

*Gift of Cameron's daughter, Mrs. Caroline Hendrickson.*

## Case 4

The **Worcester Philippine Collection** is centered around the books and manuscripts of **Dean Conant Worcester (1866-1924)**, a University of Michigan zoologist, member of the U.S. Government's First and Second Philippine Commissions, and later Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines. Worcester donated his library in 1914, and since then the Collection has been supplemented by numerous additions, with special emphasis on Worcester's period of service in the islands, 1899-1913, as well as the years following when Worcester was active in various business enterprises there. In 1986 Worcester's grandniece, Elizabeth Worcester Deily, donated additional papers of the Worcester family, consisting of about eight linear feet of correspondence and writings by relatives several generations before and after Worcester himself.

### **Dean C. Worcester, 1866-1924. Photo of family home, [n.d.].**

Dean Conant Worcester was born in this house in Thetford, Vermont, in 1866. He was the son of Ezra Carter Worcester, a doctor in the community respected for his professional skill and his knowledge of chemistry and botany.

Worcester was one of nine children in a family having long-standing ties with New England, beginning with the emigration from England of the Reverend William Worcester who was pastor of the first church in Salisbury, Massachusetts, from 1638 to 1640. Other relatives were also Congregational ministers, including his grandfather and three uncles.

### **Dean C. Worcester. Photos, [1870?], 1882, and 1884.**

These photos of Worcester as a boy and young man date from his years of schooling at the Thetford Academy, the high school at Newton, Massachusetts, and his undergraduate years at the University of Michigan.

At Michigan he majored in zoology, but completed as well the standard, broad, liberal arts curriculum. His course of study included five languages (English, Greek, Latin, French, and German) and three sciences (zoology, biology, and physics) in addition to philosophy and mathematics.

**Joseph Beale Steere. *A List of the Birds and Mammals Collected by the Steere Expedition to the Philippines....* Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Courier Office, 1890.**

One Michigan professor who had a profound influence on Worcester was Professor Joseph B. Steere (1842-1940), head of the Department of Zoology and the first to receive an honorary doctoral degree from the University of Michigan. In 1886 Steere announced his plans to conduct an expedition to the Philippines to continue work he had begun in the 1870s in gathering natural history material for the University Museum and in observing the distribution of species throughout the islands. Worcester immediately applied for one of the student assistant positions, which he viewed as an opportunity to learn the skills of zoological fieldwork.

The Steere Expedition of 1887-88 also introduced Worcester to a part of the world that would eventually become his home. The group of four Americans worked in the Philippines for twelve months, visiting many islands and returning with over three hundred specimens of Philippine bird species of which fifty-three were deemed new to the science. One of these, a species of red and orange hanging parakeet, the "*Loriculus philippensis worcesteri*," was named by Steere to commemorate Worcester's participation in his expedition (see entry marked by red arrow).

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

**Frank S. Bourns and Dean C. Worcester. *Preliminary Notes on the Birds and Mammals Collected by the Menage Scientific Expedition to the Philippine Islands.* Minneapolis: Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, 1894.**

Although Worcester was not a formal contributor to Steere's publications, he did receive academic credit, and obtained his A.B. degree from the University of Michigan in 1889. He was appointed to the University's staff as an assistant in botany and would probably have proceeded with a career in academe except that he and Frank Bourns, a fellow student on the Steere Expedition, were anxious to return to the Philippines to continue their explorations. Obtaining funding from Louis F. Menage, a friend of the Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, the Menage Expedition was ready to embark by July 1890.

After two years in the Philippines Worcester returned to the University of Michigan as an instructor in animal morphology. By early 1893 he and Bourns secured enough money to finance the work of mounting and describing a small portion of the three thousand specimens of birds, bats, butterflies, reptiles, mammals, corals, and shells which he and Bourns had collected.

This 1894 publication lists species of birds believed to be new and offers further details about species previously described. Worcester and Bourns completed their report of the expedition with the publication in 1898 of *Contributions to Philippine Ornithology*, a longer and more speculative study which did much to earn for Worcester acceptance as a leading Philippine field ornithologist.

*On loan from the Bentley Historical Library.*

**Dean C. Worcester and family. Photos, 1897 and 1899.**

Upon Worcester's return from his second visit to the Philippines, he married Nanon Fay Leas. By 1897 their daughter Alice was born (see the photo of father and daughter by the bicycle) and in 1899, Frederick Leas joined the family.

By the time of these photographs, Worcester was enjoying success in his career as an academic, particularly at the University of Michigan. He had been promoted to assistant professor of zoology and curator of the Zoological Museum in 1895 and was busy publishing his *Contributions to Philippine Ornithology* (Washington, D.C., 1898) and preparing papers on native inhabitants of the Philippines, particularly the Tagbanuas and the Mangyans, and on his current research concerning cellular behavior in Great Lakes whitefish. Clearly Worcester would have developed a very notable academic career had the opportunity for a third Philippine venture not arisen in 1899.

**Dean C. Worcester. "Notes on Some Primitive Philippine Tribes," *The National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 9, no. 6 (June 1898).**

Worcester's return to the Philippines in 1899 as a member of the First Philippine Commission came about largely because of America's response to Spain, first in regard to the repressive colonial regime in Cuba, and then to the "infinitely more hopeless" struggle of the Filipinos "against Spanish misrule and oppression" (Worcester, "Spanish Rule in the Philippines,"

1897). Public interest in the Philippines was aroused, and it was not long before Worcester was in demand as a speaker and writer.

Worcester published several articles having titles such as "Spain and the Philippine Islands," "Admiral Dewey and the Philippines," and "A Pen Picture of Manilla." Then in June 1898 the prestigious *National Geographic Magazine* devoted an entire issue to the Philippines. The first article by F. F. Hilder describes the geography, natural resources, climate, agriculture, manufacturing, cities and towns, commerce, and population. It is a standard introduction. There is no doubt that Worcester's article on "primitive tribes" attracted the most attention. Based on his travels during the Steere and Menage expeditions, his details are profuse and the article is strengthened by his own photos (see also Wall Cases V and VI).

*On loan from the Museums Library.*

## Case 5

**Dean C. Worcester. "Some Aspects of the Philippine Question; an Address..." [Chicago]: The Library and Publication Committee of the Hamilton Club, January 1900.**

In November 1897, Worcester delivered his first public lecture on the Philippines to a church group in Ann Arbor. Soon he was presenting enlarged versions to groups in Detroit, and by November 1899 he had accepted an invitation to lecture before the Hamilton Club in Chicago.

This address reveals Worcester as one who was generally recognized as the principal American expert on the Philippines. He reviews the details of American involvement from the first proclamation of independence from Spain made by Emilio Aguinaldo on May 24, 1898, through the political implications of various battles and skirmishes between Spanish, American, and Filipino forces, and finally to the establishment of an American protectorate government.

The lecture also reveals Worcester's attitudes through statements referring to the Filipinos as "children of the tropics" who under proper American guidance "will make rapid progress in civilization." Americans "should patiently teach our new wards the lessons they must learn ere they can hope to take their place in the great family of nations..." By closing this speech with the last two stanzas of Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Bur-

den," Worcester expressed his own belief in service to mankind that his New England family of ministers and doctors had long espoused. Such a view also explains the hostility that his work often encountered among those he was trying to help.

**Dean C. Worcester. *The Philippine Islands and Their People*. New York : The Macmillan Company, 1898.**

During the summer of 1898 when Worcester's articles were in great demand, he accepted a contract from Macmillan to publish a book. The contract, signed July 10, 1898, stipulated that the completed manuscript should be in the publisher's hands by September 1. Remuneration included an advance payment of five hundred dollars, almost one-third of Worcester's annual salary, on royalties of fifteen percent, an amount usually reserved for authors of established reputation.

Worcester obtained a leave of absence from the University of Michigan and retired to Thetford, Vermont. There with the help of his sister Catherine he turned the letters he had written home during his scientific expeditions into a resoundingly successful book. More than five hundred pages in length, *The Philippine Islands and Their People* was published in early October, reprinted in November and December, and reprinted again in January of 1899.

The book was widely and enthusiastically reviewed and did much to disseminate throughout America the imperialistic image of the Filipino "absolutely unfit for self-government." This time, however, that view is given the imprimatur of academic authority. Worcester's position as an expert was established, and it was not long before he was interviewed by President William McKinley and invited to return to the Philippines as part of the First Philippine Commission, a group of civilians "skilled in diplomacy and statesmanship."

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

**Dean C. Worcester. "The Malay Pirates of the Philippines," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, vol. 56, no. 5 (September 1898).**

Worcester's interest in non-Christian tribes living primarily in the mountainous regions of the islands can in part be attributed to his education under Professor J. B. Steere. There he was introduced to ethnology, a field of study antedating anthropology and taking as its special subject matter primi-

tive societies, particularly the description and classification of people outside western civilization and the relationship between "primitive" and "civilized" man. By the mid-nineteenth century, ethnology was considered a legitimate scholarly discipline, promoting as a basic tenet the notion that humankind began in a primitive state and ascended toward civilization. It held that primitive tribes should be studied in order to understand the stages in developing civilized man as epitomized by the then current condition of northern Europeans.

This early publication is based on Worcester's two scientific expeditions. Later, as Secretary of the Interior in the Philippines from 1900 to 1913, he became increasingly involved in the administration of tribal peoples and their territory.

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

**Inocencio Gadnang. "Informaciones Adicionales Tribus Silipanes."  
Holograph manuscript, 1902 July 29 and August 14.**

One of Worcester's methods for learning about the various tribes was to send out a circular letter of inquiry to every provincial governor and municipal president in the Philippines. The letters, dated 1901, secured close to nine hundred responses. It is possible that the manuscript shown here is one of those.

Written in 1902, this report was prepared by Inocencio Gadnang who identifies himself as the "Commissioned Peacemaker of Non-Christian Tribes," from the town of Bagabag in Nueva Vizcaya, Luzon. It is addressed to the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, an organization Worcester had created within his own Department of the Interior.

The Bureau was charged with reporting on the condition of the Muslim and pagan tribes, recommending legislation for their governance, and accumulating knowledge of Philippine ethnology. This report consists of lists of short numbered sentences arranged under subject heading (e.g., physical characteristics, clothing, housing, agriculture, music and dancing, education, government, religion, etc.) describing the Silipan tribe. The second part of the booklet contains short essays on the Ilongot, Aetas, Gaddang, and Quiangan tribes.

**Dean C. Worcester. "Head-Hunters of Northern Luzon."  
*The National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 23, no. 9 (September 1912).**

The information gathered by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was used in a variety of reports as well as in a 1906 article, "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," which Worcester published in *Philippine Journal of Science*. This long essay mentions head-hunting as practiced by different tribes, but little detail is given.

By 1912 Worcester had had much more opportunity to travel in the mountainous regions of Luzon, sometimes during his annual tours of inspection. He was concerned that old customs, alphabets, and languages be documented as thoroughly as possible before they were forgotten. Thus he states in this article that "the conditions [relating to head-hunting] which I have set forth are those which existed when Americans first came in contact with these peoples."

*On loan from the Graduate Library.*

## Case 6

**Dean C. Worcester. *A History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908.**

Dean Worcester's orientation as a scientist was never far removed from his many activities as a government official and administrator. One example of this can be seen in his response to cholera epidemics which attacked the Philippines in 1902-1904, recurring in various locations between 1905 and 1908. Recognizing the epidemic in 1902 as a major crisis, Worcester immediately applied the procedures of mass inoculation, quarantine, removal of inhabitants to detention centers, and cleansing affected areas by fire, burning homes and possessions, and cremating the dead. All of these techniques would work in theory and in the laboratory, but with frightened, bewildered people, the processes produced great hostility and eventual failure.

By 1908 Worcester felt he needed to defend the American record in the battle against cholera. This pamphlet presents a history of the disease in the islands, the statistics of fatalities in Manila and the provinces, a review of measures taken to combat the disease, and an explanation as to why these approaches were largely unsuccessful. Overall, Worcester placed much of the responsibility for failure on subordinates (see red arrow), while

the Filipinos blamed Worcester's insensitivity to a culture and traditions that distrusted inexplicable, rapid change imposed on inhabitants by foreigners.

**Dean C. Worcester. *Coconut Growing in the Philippine Islands...*  
[Manila]: War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1911.**

As Secretary of the Interior for the Philippines, Worcester was most involved with development and management in the areas of agriculture, health, science, lands, tribal peoples, and forestry. One of his goals was to promote capital investment by Americans in agricultural enterprises, especially in establishing rubber and coconut plantations on the southern islands.

This 1911 pamphlet is an expert analysis of the coconut industry, revealing Worcester's extensive knowledge of coconut growing and the economics and technology of copra and coconut-oil production in the insular setting. He discusses proper sites for coconut plantations, planting, fertilizing, controlling pests, harvesting, producing copra and oil, and marketing the products. Included is a detailed coverage of costs and returns. By 1914, this book was the standard reference for investors and managers interested in the coconut industry.

Worcester himself profited from his study of the industry. In 1913, when he resigned as a government official, he began working for the American-Philippine Company, managing the Bukidnon Plantation and the Visayan Refining Company's plant on Cebu. Within a short while he established the Agusan Coconut Company which provided the refining company with its own source of copra. And then, recognizing that available sea transport was antiquated and sorely inadequate, he soon expanded the Agusan Coconut Company by acquiring and operating a fleet of steamers, schooners, and other auxiliary vessels. By 1918 the Visayan Refining Company (including Worcester's subsidiaries) had become the largest and most profitable coconut-oil producer in the Philippines.

**Dean C. Worcester. "First Endorsement" ... Manila, October 22, 1912.**

Another long-standing interest of Worcester's was in developing a cattle industry, particularly in the frontier province of Bukidnon, an area sparsely settled with tribal people and which provided broad expanses of open grasslands. As early as 1902 Worcester had given high priority to a program of herd improvement, crossbreeding native cattle with foreign stock lines. Then in 1911 he began to further a plan to import cattle from Australia. The report shown here summarizes his efforts to secure legislation providing for the legal importation of disease-free animals. It is part of his own collection of official correspondence, reports, and personal letters which came to the University of Michigan Library along with his library. The manuscripts have been arranged by subject, put in order by date, and bound into twenty-four volumes.

Worcester was personally involved in raising cattle beginning in 1913 when he acquired about ten thousand hectares of pasture land for the American-Philippine Company near the village of Diklum in Bukidnon. He imported Indian cattle, breeding them with native stock, and producing a strain resistant to disease, docile, heavy, and yet quite mobile. By 1921 he established his own ranch in the Lurugan Valley, a successful enterprise which was run by his son Frederick after his death in 1924. Worcester's goal of developing a cattle industry in Bukidnon was well accomplished, and he was recognized as "the true pioneer of this trade."

**Dean C. Worcester. "Conditions in the Philippines: A Speech delivered... at a Banquet in his Honor." Manila, Philippine Islands: October 13, 1913.**

Worcester's tenure as a government official in the Philippines extended throughout the Republican administrations of Presidents William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft. When Democrat Woodrow Wilson was elected in November 1912, Worcester feared dismissal, and consequently submitted his resignation to Governor General William C. Forbes on January 24, 1913, although the formal termination of duties did not occur until September 15.

Shortly thereafter Worcester prepared these remarks which he delivered on October 13, 1913, at the Manila Hotel. His speech is largely a review of the accomplishments he believed occurred under American administrations and particularly within his Department of the Interior. In the section shown here, he singles out the work of specific people who made contributions in the areas of meteorology, forestry, law and order, public

health and medicine, and agriculture. He describes their knowledge, commitment, efficiency, and devotion to duty, qualities that Worcester admired throughout his life, and which he pursued in his "service to the several peoples of the Islands."

**Ralston Hayden.** "Dean C. Worcester, '89—A Modern Pioneer," in *The Michigan Alumnus*, vol. 31, no.1 (October 9, 1924).

When Dean Worcester died on May 2, 1924, he was fifty-seven years of age, wealthy, energetic, and fully involved in numerous business ventures. The unexpected death was due to chronic endocarditis and phlebitis. The funeral service was held on May 11 at the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John in Manila. The body was cremated and the ashes placed at the Cathedral until after World War II when they were brought to the United States for burial in Thetford, Vermont.

This eulogy by Hayden is a warm memoir of Worcester's contributions to the residents of the Philippines. He lauds Worcester in many of the areas criticized by others. In the *Philippines Herald*, for example, Worcester's public career is described as "a failure," and in *El Debate*, the author says, "Mr. Worcester wrote two books in which ... the Filipinos do not show up well."

## Case 7

**Arthur J. Lowell.** *Holograph Letters to Iva Hutchinson, 1900 February 14, June 20, August 12, and December 12.*

Arthur Lowell was a volunteer assigned to Company D, 35th U.S. Infantry, sent to the Philippines probably in 1899. The library owns a series of 13 letters from Lowell to his friend, Miss Iva Hutchinson, in Union, Oregon, dating from February 1900 to January 1901. Most of the letters were written from Baliuag, a town on the island of Luzon taken by American forces on May 2, 1899 during the Philippine rebellion. The last two were written from San Miguel, located also on Luzon. The name stamped on the stationery, Edward W. Nolan, has not been identified.

Lowell writes of his daily activities, including apparently uncensored details of military operations. He also describes the "water cure," a method of torture forbidden by the army, but clearly still in use. Other topics include American politics and his attitudes toward "the enemy." The letters present

a picture of the Philippine experience at odds with Worcester's scientific, "factual" perspective, but reflective of the front-line American soldier's point of view.

**Harold Hanne Elarth.** *The Story of the Philippine Constabulary.* Los Angeles: The Philippine Constabulary Officers Association by Globe Printing Co., 1949. Inscribed by author to Tiffany Bernard Williams, with holograph annotations by Williams.

The Philippine Constabulary was a military organization established in 1901, operating separately from the United States Army, and charged with "keeping the peace" on the three thousand islands making up the Philippine Archipelago. It consisted of officers who were primarily American and approximately 5000 Filipino soldiers. In 1936 it merged with the Philippine Army as the Constabulary Division, but was reconstituted in 1938 under its original name. During World War II, such units as could be collected became a part of the Army of the United States. After the war it was reorganized as the Military Police Command of the Philippine Army, and in 1948, changed again to its first name, function, and organization, but without the association with the American military.

In this book, Elarth concentrates on the period from 1901 to 1936, a time he describes as "the years this nation [i.e., America] was training a Malay race -- the ten millions of Filipinos whom we had inherited from Spain -- in our democratic way of life." Elarth offers a perspective of those years drawn from the memories of the soldiers themselves, particularly the American officers.

**Tiffany Bernard Williams (1893-1981).** "Memoires, 1914-1944." Type script with holograph corrections, [n.d.]

Tiffany Bernard Williams graduated from Kemper Military School (Boonville, Missouri) in 1914 at the age of twenty, and was immediately commissioned into the Philippine Constabulary as a Third Lieutenant. He served at first with the Fifth Mountain Company stationed at Mayaoyao, Ifugao, in north-central Luzon, soon being transferred to the First Mountain Company and promoted to Station Commander and Deputy Governor of the Natunin District, a region inhabited by the Igorote people. At the end of three years he resigned his commission and moved to China where he worked for the next twenty-seven years in the Oriental Department of the Standard Oil Company of New York. Williams retired from the military after World War II

with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

In 1986, Sam P. Williams donated the papers of his father to the Special Collections Library. They number almost 300 items, among them this essay and samples from Williams's photo collection.

### Wall Cases I, II, III, IV

Illustrations reproduced from *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines*, edited by Marrion Wilcox. New York : Harper, 1900.

### Wall Cases V, VI

**Dean Worcester's Photograph Collection** consists of approximately 800 photos depicting native Filipinos (particularly non-Christian mountain tribes), geography, agriculture, native industries, government officials, and buildings. The captions accompanying each photo shown here were written by Worcester:

Jail at Malolas, where Spanish friars and many American prisoners were sometimes confined. Bulacan province, 1899.

Church with arch erected in honor of the Commission. Tayabas, Tayabas province, 1901.

Panoramic view of Kabayan, from trail above the town. Kabayan, Benguet, 1901.

Group of Tiruraye women. Cotabato, Mindanao, 1901.

Group of Jolo Moros; Women playing xylophone in foreground. Jolo, 1901.

Mangyan house, with group of Mangyans. Mt. Haleon, Mindoro, 1891.

Bagobo Chief. Davao, Mindanao, 1901.

Bagobo woman. Davao, Mindanao, 1901.

Three Bagobo men. Davao, Mindanao, 1901.

Negrito man and myself. Dolores, Pampanga, 1900.

A Negrito drawing a bow. Dolores, Pampanga, 1900.

Bontoc Igorote throwing lance. Manila, 1904.

Igorote woman. Kabayan, Benguet, 1901.

Tagalogs sawing lumber. Manila, January, 1900.

Tagalog shoe pedlar.

A Tagakaolo Chief. Davao, Mindanao, 1901.



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