

FOUR DECADES OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS IN MINDANAO AND SULU

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The invitation to present a paper at this conference was welcomed by me. It gave a reason and impetus for me to turn more diligently to a topic that has been of interest to me for a number of years. One cannot be a part of the educational system of this area without continually reflecting on its problems and prospects. Part of this reflection naturally involves those who in past decades were participants in bringing something of modern education to this area.

On January 21, 1901, Act 74 of the Philippine Commission was passed. This Act called for the appointment of one thousand American teachers to work throughout the Philippines. Intensive efforts were immediately undertaken for the recruitment of those teachers in the United States. By the end of that year, 765 Americans had arrived in Manila and were beginning their work as teachers and administrators in various regions of the country.

It was a noble hope that was embodied in that Act of the Philippine Commission and in the minds of many of those early teachers who responded to the invitation to teach in these islands.

Undoubtedly a well-directed system of education will prove one of the most forceful agencies for educating the Filipinos materially, socially, and morally, and preparing them for a larger participation in the affairs of government. Effort is being made to provide a system of public instruction adapted to the conditions existing in the different islands. According to the American standard, the ideal school is a non-sectarian, graded school, with a prescribed course of study and definite standards for each year, under charge of trained teachers and housed in suitable buildings. Some modification of this ideal must be allowed, however, to bring the means of instruction within the reach of the entire child population of these islands.¹

In 1910 reflecting on ten years of American rule and of the American style of education in the Philippines, then Governor of the Moro Province, Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, reported, "The school system depends for its success entirely upon the American teachers, and

although Filipino teachers do excellent work under proper supervision, educational direction must for some time remain in the hands of the American teachers.”²

In this paper we will be looking at a few of those American teachers who figured prominently in the educational scene in Mindanao and Sulu during the first decades of this century. This paper is not to be taken as a comprehensive portrayal of American educators in this region. A book could easily be written about those pioneers. Given the limitation of time and lack of access to adequate resources only a few of those educators can be brought to our attention in this paper. The sketches of American educators presented is limited to those working in the predominantly Muslim areas of the southern Philippines. This not only reflects a certain partiality of interest on my part, but even more, the relative ease of getting resource materials regarding those working here compared to those laboring in other parts of Mindanao.

In the early years of this century the roles of educator and military officer, as well as educator and missionary, often overlapped. Thus to consider completely the role of American educators in this region consideration should be given to several of the military and civilian governors in Mindanao and Jolo. Because of the position military and civilian officials occupied, their influence upon education was often quite significant. Many of the early missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, were also involved in important educational activities. Mention of some of these persons may be made in other papers being presented at this conference. Therefore, with the exception of one missionary, the others will go unmentioned in this paper, but, nevertheless there is a deep awareness of their vital contribution.

Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby

If there is any one name that comes to mind when mention is made of early American educators on Mindanao and Sulu it is the name of Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, the first Provincial Superintendent of the then newly created Moro Province. This is the more surprising because he was not in education, but in medicine. He came to the Philippines as a medical practitioner. In some of the intervening years he had a significant role as an educator in the Philippines.

Dr. Saleeby was the most qualified in many ways of the many Americans assigned to the Muslim-dominated southern islands. He was

born near Beirut of Christian Arab parents and studied at the American University in Beirut. For his medical studies he went to the United States and studied in New York City at the Bellevue Medical School. During the Spanish-American War he served as a surgeon in the United States Army. He volunteered to serve with the American Expeditionary Forces at the outbreak of the Filipino-American War and arrived in Manila in October, 1900 on board the famous U.S. Army transport, *Thomas*. Because of his knowledge of Arabic and his acquaintance with Muslim customs from his youth he was assigned to Mindanao where he succeeded in making many friends with the Muslims. His last assignment as a military surgeon was in Malabang, Lanao.

He was about to be re-assigned for military duty in the United States when he made the decision to remain in the Philippines. He consequently resigned from the Army. In February, 1903 he was appointed Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Agent for Moro Affairs.

Changes were being made by the American administrators of the southern Philippines at this time. The civil and military rulers had determined that special arrangements were necessary for dealing with the Muslim population. The pattern of "indirect rule" that was being established in the Dutch East Indies and Malaya by the colonial governments in those places was ruled out. There was a desire to bring Moroland within the civil political structure of the Philippines and means were being devised by the new administrators to bring this about. The concern of the military authorities for an adequate military presence in the troubled area had to be taken into account. The result of this planning and concern was the organizing of Moro Province by Philippine Commission Act No. 787 on June 1, 1903 to take effect July 15, 1903.

At the same time Section 1 of Act No. 17 of the Legislative Council was passed and stated in part:

Until such time as the Legislature shall enact a general school law for the organization and support of a public school system for the Moro Province, and from and including the first day of October, 1903, all schools heretofore, established or maintained within the present limits of the province by an organized municipality, or by the Bureau of Education of the Philippine Islands shall be included in and contained under the public school system of the Moro Province under the direct control and supervision of the provincial

superintendent of schools and shall be supported and maintained by appropriations from provincial funds.³

Mr. Harry S. Townsend, the former superintendent of the Division of Mindanao and Jolo was transferred to a newly created division in Samar and Dr. Saleeby was appointed on June 1, 1903 as the first Superintendent of Schools under the Moro Province administration. Under the new government organization, Dr. Saleeby was a member of the Provincial Board. As Provincial Superintendent of Schools he reported directly to the Provincial Governor and only sent copies of his report to the Bureau of Education in Manila. While this arrangement remained in effect, for all practical purposes the schools in Moro Province operated apart from the educational system prevailing in the rest of the archipelago.

As one American who understood the Muslims far better than most, Saleeby was suspected and distrusted by his fellow Americans. Gen. Leonard Wood, then governor of Moro Province and under whom he served, was an early opponent of Saleeby. When they were assuming their respective positions, Wood wrote of his top education official, "Saleeby is an unknown quantity, has a good deal of the Oriental about his way of doing business."⁴ Because of his understanding of the Muslim's perspective Saleeby often found himself siding with them in opposition to the Americans, thus increasing the sense of distrust in which many held him.

An instance of the position that Saleeby took, creating suspicion on the part of some, occurred in December, 1904. At that time Dr. Saleeby brought formal charges against Mr. Edward Schuck who had been the official United States Army translator, when the Bates Agreement was being drafted between the United States and the Philippines. (The Bates Agreement provided that the United States was to be recognized as the sovereign power over the area of the Sultanate of Sulu while the Americans were to fully respect the rights and dignities of the Sultan and datus.) Saleeby charged that the translation of the Agreement prepared by Schuck had a far different meaning for the Tausugs than it did for the Americans, to the possible detriment of the Tausugs. A formal hearing was conducted based on Saleeby's charge, but the translator was exonerated by the Board of Officers conducting the investigation.⁵

When Saleeby became superintendent there were 52 public

elementary schools in Moro Province enrolling 2,114 pupils, of whom only 240 were Muslim. There were 15 American teachers, some of them soldiers, and 59 Filipino teachers—50 Christians and 9 Muslims. When he resigned on June 30, 1906 the enrollment in the Province had increased to 4,231, of whom 570 were Muslims.⁶

Saleeby also assisted in the settlements of disputes other than those directly involving school problems. Gen. Wood related one incident where Saleeby spent one month with Datu Ali, a Maguindanao leader who had been trying to stir up a general revolt among the Maguindanaos against the Americans. Although Saleeby was a respected friend of Datu Ali his month-long sojourn with him did not bring about his surrender.⁷

After three years as Superintendent of Schools, Saleeby wanted another type of involvement in the region. When Gen. Tasker H. Bliss was appointed governor of Moro Province in 1906, Saleeby expressed the desire for the position of Provincial Secretary. Many prominent persons in Zamboanga petitioned that he be appointed to the position. Gen. Bliss declined, giving as his reason that the Provincial Secretary should be a military man. In the absence of the Governor the Secretary would become Acting Provincial Governor. If an emergency arose during such a time requiring military action a civilian governor would find himself in a difficult position. When the position was denied him, Saleeby resigned as Superintendent of Schools and went to Manila. For some time he served there as the Medical Director of St. Luke's Hospital. At the same time he kept up his intense interest in the affairs of Moro Province.

His contribution ranged far beyond the usual role of an able school administrator. His facility with the language, his understanding of and appreciation for Islam, his respect for the traditional structure of authority among the Muslims, qualified him for his role far better than any other officials sent to the region. Dr. Peter Gowing states that Najeeb Saleeby understood the people of this region far better than any other American administrator. He ventured to suggest that had those in higher administrative positions given adequate attention to Saleeby's proposals for a solution to the "Moro Problem" the succeeding years might have been far different.⁸

Saleeby's three major written works, "The History of Sulu," "The Moro Problem," and "Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion"

remain as classics among the many books written about this region.

In 1913 Saleeby proposed a form of "indirect rule" for the southern islands and advocated the introduction of reform through the *datus* and *datuship* councils. Dr. Gowing observed, "His suggestions presupposed patience and time. Alas, Americans are characteristically short on patience and much too activistic to respect the slow passage of time which inevitably brings its own changes. Direct rule and the use of military force were fast, efficient methods for working the American will in Moroland."⁹ This may help to explain why Saleeby's views, both as a school administrator in Zamboanga as well as those in his later years did not set well with the American administrators, particularly the military administrators.

Saleeby died in Baguio City on December 18, 1935.

J. Scott McCormick

Christmas is a day for rejoicing. However, December 25, 1941 was a day of sorrow for the many friends and colleagues of Mr. J. Scott McCormick, described by his biographer as an "Apostle of Education in the Philippines."¹⁰ On that Christmas Day in Jolo, a Japanese soldier ended the life of one who since June 6, 1916 had been conscientiously carrying out the responsibilities of a teacher and educational administrator.

Born on January 13, 1894 in Hartford, Kansas, McCormick had already been teaching in his home state for three years when he applied as a teacher for the Philippines. He never married, but he always had a full household of young men earning their way through school as house helpers for the busy teacher-administrator.

McCormick's first twenty years of service in the Philippines were on Luzon where he compiled a distinctive record as teacher and administrator. On June 21, 1920 he was appointed Acting Division Superintendent of Cavite, become at 26 years of age, one of the youngest, if not the youngest division superintendent in the country. In 1922 he was appointed Superintendent of the Philippine Normal School and in October 15, 1925 he became Chief of the Academic Division of the Bureau of Education, a position he held until 1936 when he was transferred to Mindanao. He served as Division Superintendent for Lanao from April, 1936 until June 6, 1941. At that time he and Mr. Edward M. Kuder exchanged positions. McCormick went to Jolo as

Division Superintendent and Kuder came to what was then called Dansalan, Lanao.

His biographer, Dr. Dalmacio Martin shows him to have been a man totally dedicated to his profession, to his colleagues and to the young people who would benefit from the school system that was being established. His leaving the Manila position as Chief of the Academic Division was seen as his way of carrying out the principles he sought to embody in others. Speaking of the overabundance of candidates seeking positions as Division Superintendents in some of the choice divisions, McCormick said, "Wouldn't it be nice if some ranking superintendents would prefer assignments in distant provinces, which are not so well developed, where work is pioneer-like, and the school problems call for real titans?"¹¹ As if Lanao was not far enough distant and demanding he accepted the assignment to Jolo in 1941, after that position had been refused by several others.

He was known as a man of great integrity. His biographer tells of several situations in which he refused an honorarium for an article he had written because he had used "official time" in writing part of it. In other cases he said he could not accept anything because other workers had helped him or he had used government records in his preparation. Unlike the entertainment that some education officials expect today as they travel, McCormick always repaid any teacher with whom he stayed while in his supervisory travels. In cases where money was refused he always saw that a gift of some kind was sent in appreciation for the hospitality he had enjoyed.¹²

As an administrator he was conscientious and hardworking. He was able to pass something of that spirit on to his colleagues. One staff member at the Philippine Normal School, hoping to delay a requested study leave for Mr. McCormick, wrote the Director of Education:

You certainly displayed great understanding of, and good insight into men and their possibilities when you chose Mr. McCormick as Superintendent of Philippine Normal School.

He has done unusual work in the face of difficulties. When he took charge, the records, especially, were in a chaotic condition, there was friction everywhere. In no time at all, he straightened out everything. He worked indefatigably. His patience, calmness and poise in dealing with the teachers' problems is most admirable. His knowledge of the students and his devotion to their interests

and welfare in and out of school is most unusual. It means so much to have a superintendent who is a gentleman under all circumstances.¹³

As the Chief of the Academic Division he pressed continually for a curriculum that would meet the life needs of a high school graduate rather than one to prepare secondary graduates only for college. He was often referred to as the most non-academic Chief to head the Academic Division. He wrote, "A purely academic curriculum is not suitable even for students who plan to enroll in college. Besides information, aesthetics and vocational insight are also essential."¹⁴ His interest in the non-academic aspect of the curriculum did not mean that he was not interested in developing the intellect—either that of himself or of the student. Mr. McCormick was the first American teacher in the Philippines to request a study leave in which he could at his own expense return to the United States for additional study. This he did twice during his career.

The use of the vernacular and a National Language in the schools found a strong advocate in those early years in McCormick. In 1937 he wrote that "Tagalog will ultimately be the language of the schools and the common language of the country by a slow process of infiltration."¹⁵

He was a strong advocate of adult education and he stressed the importance of teaching native arts. Creating a Filipiniana section in high school libraries was strongly urged by McCormick. *The Philippine Prose and Poetry* series from 1927-1938 of the Bureau of Education were largely the result of his efforts to have teachers record the unwritten folklore, folksongs, traditions, superstitions and proverbs of the Filipinos before these were lost to future generations.

Key positions in the Bureau of Education gradually filled by Filipinos and textbooks authored by Filipinos were among the concerns of McCormick. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Textbooks Committee in 1934 as a means to encourage local writers for school textbook requirements. The educational administrator/teacher was a strong advocate for constructive criticism within and about the instructional establishment. The consequences of such criticism had been experienced by him as on more than one occasion McCormick was reprimanded for his opinions on certain issues regarding the educational system.

Although details of McCormick's administration of the Division of

Lanao are lacking it is obvious that he was a highly regarded Division Superintendent. In 1936, one month after he had arrived in Lanao he wrote to the Director of Education requesting that he be allowed to remain in Lanao for five years, the usual tenure for superintendents. He expressed the conviction that that length of time would be necessary for an adequate implementation of plans for the Division. Several of his predecessors had served relatively short assignments in the Lanao Division.

In 1941 he was requested for the Superintendency of the Division of Sulu. Upon hearing of the impending transfer of their Division Superintendent, the Lanao Provincial Board passed a resolution pleading for his retention in Lanao. Acting Provincial Governor Mandangan on June 21, 1941 wired the Director of Education:

TODAY WE SENT TELEGRAM TO SEC. BOCOBO REQUESTING RETENTION OF McCORMICK STOP HIS SERVICE URGENTLY ABSOLUTELY AND INDISPENSABLY NEEDED THIS PROVINCE STOP PLEASE HELP THIS BODY RETAIN McCORMICK SO AS NOT TO DEPRIVE THIS PROVINCE FAR-REACHING BENEFITS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY ALREADY BEGUN BY MR. McCORMICK STOP HE IS LOVED ADORED AND RESPECTED BY PEOPLE OF THIS PROVINCE.¹⁶

The Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu, Teopisto Guingona urged a postponement of the transfer. Someone signing his name "Sarip Matunding" wired the Director of Education:

MANY MARANAO PEOPLE RESPECTFULLY REQUEST MR. McCORMICK STAY IN LANAO¹⁷

However, a reply was forthcoming from Manila that because of the emergency situation Jolo, McCormick would have to be transferred.

Once at his new station he began his work but soon complained to his superiors of the lack of transportation to visit the schools in a division of many islands. "We have 68 islands with schools, counting those schools along the reef. There is absolutely no launch service anywhere . . . I came to Sulu to do my best. But if I will be forced to sit placidly in Jolo Island (leaving untended the other 67 schools in 67 islands) and try to supervise by correspondence (three districts have no postal service; and one, no wire service), I will be deeply grieved—it will be heart-breaking for me. The schools will suffer likewise."¹⁸

Before he could get well into his work World War II began. A col-

league of his in Jolo at the time, Mr. Banao Dalid later wrote:

When war was declared on Dec. 8, 1941, and schools were ordered closed, Mr. J. Scott McCormick organized his teaching force for war emergency. Food production was an important phase of that campaign. Some teachers began to plow the school lawns . . . Everyone worked incessantly from sunrise to sunset. Mr. McCormick was, by nature, an indefatigable worker

In my last conference with him on December 22, I suggested that he send for the division launch *Sungna* from Tawi-tawi, so that we could evacuate in case Jolo was invaded. His reply was characteristic of his hopeful nature: "Mr. Dalid, we seem to be well protected. Let us push on harder. . ."

When the Japanese column was swinging toward us (on Christmas Day, 1941) and some actually landing on the wharf, I realized that we were exposed to danger. I shouted to him, "Sir, if we must die, let us die in our houses." Mr. McCormick rushed to his house; I ran to mine. . . . Not long afterward a shot was heard in the cottage of Mr. McCormick. I knew what that meant—we had lost a friend and a father. No one saw him die. But certainly he met a heroic death on that unforgettable Christmas morning.¹⁹

Edward M. Kuder

Arriving in Manila in the summer of 1922 and having served for twenty-two years as an educator and guerrilla war leader, Mr. Edward M. Kuder was evacuated from the Philippines in critical physical condition by a United States Navy submarine on September 29, 1943.

Kuder, whose parents were Lutheran missionaries to India, was born in Salem, Virginia on May 15, 1896, but was taken to India where he spent his childhood years. He graduated from Roanoke College in the town of his birth in 1916 and taught in a Florida high school for one year prior to World War I. He joined the United States Army as a private in September, 1917. By the time of his discharge in January 1919 Kuder was a second lieutenant in the Field Artillery. It was while he was in the Army that his interest in the Philippines was initially aroused. From his "top sergeant" he heard many tales of the fierce Moros occupying the islands of the southern Philippines. At the end of the war and following his discharge from the Army he joined the Buick Automobile Company in Flint, Michigan. While in this work Kuder

heard that teachers were wanted for the Philippines. Recalling the exciting stories he had heard of the Moros while a soldier he took the civil service examination for the teaching force and was accepted, arriving in Manila in June, 1922.

Assigned initially as a teacher in Luzon, Kuder was always interested in the possibility of getting to Mindanao. In 1926 he was finally assigned as a superintendent in Cotabato. He stayed there until 1932 when he was transferred to Dansalan where he became the Division Superintendent for Lanao. Problems arose while in Lanao in Kuder's relationship with the Philippine Constabulary. He felt that they were being unfair to the Maranaos in several situations. The Lanao Governor John J. Heffington wrote, "I do not feel like recommending the removal of Mr. Kuder. However, it is doubted whether the school authorities and Constabulary can ever again find their relations on an even keel in this province while Mr. Kuder remains the Division Superintendent of Schools."²⁰ Because of that situation he was transferred in 1934 to Sulu where he was to remain until June, 1941.

When he arrived in Jolo 70% of the teaching force were Christians and 30% Muslims. By the time he left the division in 1941 the figures had reversed, not because of the dismissal of Christian teachers, but because of the growth of the division and Kuder's concern to secure qualified Muslims whenever possible. When he left the Division in 1941 all of the supervising teachers except one were Muslims. In his effort to get more Muslims in teaching positions he did not ask for the downgrading of civil service standards in order to accommodate them. Instead he sought government support to enable more of them to get more education in order to meet the academic standard common to all teachers.

In June, 1941 he was re-assigned to the position of Lanao Division Superintendent and returned to Dansalan. He had hardly gotten back into his work in the province when the war with Japan started. After the bombing of Dansalan on December 21, 1941 most of the provincial officials were ordered to move their offices to Momungan, (present-day Baloi, Lanao del Norte). Kuder, however, was told to stay in Dansalan. He moved his offices from Camp Keithley to Dansalan proper in order to be away from a potential military target. He dismissed the schools, but helped the teachers to perform a wide range of services. Only the agricultural school in Lumbatan was ordered to continue operating

mainly for the production of food. However, it too was soon closed because local residents were looting the school gardens of the produce.

After Brig. Gen. Guy O. Fort arrived in Dansalan within the first two days of January, 1942, he designated Kuder as Civil Affairs Officer for the area under his command. Kuder was the senior and possibly only American civil officer of the Commonwealth able to remain at his post after the outbreak of the war.²¹ Under Kuder's direction teachers carried out their varied tasks. Many of them made *alforgatas*, a type of abaca shoe welcomed by the soldiers who were running short of all supplies. Teachers were assigned to policing the stores in Dansalan to see that fair prices were maintained. Work with the Red Cross was assigned to others. With evolving plans for a guerrilla movement, including the printing of guerrilla money, it was natural that some of the teachers became involved in those activities.

When I found that the Japs were on their way to Dansalan, the capital of Lanao province, I had a talk with the native employees in my office. They asked me what they might do when the Japs came . . . They didn't have to surrender. They were civilians. I wasn't going to surrender When the Jap pinch came, I went out into the hills. I had service, shelter, food, clothing and protection without cost. Of course, I was not stingy with what I had. I helped the Moros buy ammunition and contributed, according to custom, at funerals, name-giving and weddings I didn't have much, but I had more than my hosts.²²

Kuder first went to Ramain where he was given protection by a friend, Sultan sa Ramain, Alaoiya Alonto. Later he moved to Bayang and later to several other places in Lanao. On January 1, 1943 Kuder was appointed by the commander of the guerrilla forces in northern Mindanao, Col. Wendel Fertig, as Director of Civil Affairs for Lanao. He moved about to many guerrilla centers during the war years, supervising work that was his responsibility as Civil Affairs Director. It was only his critical health condition, brought on by a severe liver abcess that caused him to leave Mindanao. He was secretly evacuated by submarine on September 29, 1943.

His departure from the Philippines did not diminish his interest in the country and in its educational problems. On March 10, 1945 writing in a popular American magazine he said, "There is one thing I would like to do. It is going to be a backbreaking job to re-establish the

Philippine school system after the war. I would like to help bring things back to where they were before the Japs swooped down."²³ But he also recognized that situations as well as times were changing and that as a foreigner he no longer could nor should occupy the kind of position he had formerly held. Nevertheless, the desire to assist in the restoration of normal life for the Filipinos was present.

Kuder did return to the Philippines after the war, not as an educator, but with the United States Veterans Administration. He later became an advisor to the Philippine Government on matters related to the non-Christian groups until his death in 1970.

During his years in the southern Philippines, Kuder made himself an authority of the four major Muslim groups with whom he worked—Maguindanao, Maranao, Tausug, and Samal.

Joseph Ralston Hayden wrote regarding Kuder:

Mr. Kuder's work as Division Superintendent has been actuated by a deep concern for the welfare of the Moro people and a determination to contribute to the utmost of their adaptation to a sound position in the body politic of the new Philippine nation. To these ends he has devoted the whole of his time and energy and a substantial portion of his personal funds; money which has been used to enable promising young Moros to attain the education which is prerequisite to leadership . . . It is probable that no other American or Christian Filipino has ever had the confidence of as many leaders in all three of the great Moro districts as had Mr. Kuder. At the same time he has retained the confidence of the officials of the Philippine government.²⁴

In introducing Kuder's account of Lanao guerrilla activities during World War II the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, wrote: "During his years among the Moros, an unending parade of dogs, cats, and Philippine youngsters made their home in his bachelor quarters. The youngsters, usually several at a time, kept house for him and ran errands. In return, he gave them their keep, clothing, school books and pocket money The kids Mr. Kuder found just as fascinating as the older Moros."²⁵

Among the boys who came to live with him while in Cotabato was a son of the Datu of Lansangan, near Pikit, Cotabato. At first Kuder did not know the parentage of the young boy, Salipada Pendatun. Lewis Gleeck writes,

Kuder's impact on the Muslim provinces came to be closely related to the fortunes of Datu (later Senator and Congressman) Salipada Pendatun. Reversing the normal process, Sali had selected Kuder as his teacher. When 16 years of age, Sali simply presented himself, one day in 1927 at the Superintendent's door and requested Kuder to take him in. Joining the bachelor's entourage of unpaid Moro houseboys, Sali, who had concealed his family background, soon took over...All during the period, Kuder was unaware that he was a host to royalty...From this time [when Kuder learned the boy's background] the teacher-protege relationship subtly changed to that of counselor-prince, though Kuder still insisted with indifferent success, on precepts of tolerance and democracy unfamiliar to Moro society.²⁶

A human interest story regarding Kuder is related in the papers of Joseph Ralston Hayden. It is repeated here, not only because it is a story about Kuder, but because it also reflects the kind of relationship that undoubtedly existed between many of the early American teachers and the young people who turned to them for help in securing an education.

In June of 1938, a small Moro boy in Cotabato province got 15 pesos from his father for his "expenses" in connection with the closing exercises of his seventh grade class. Instead of attending the closing exercises he bought a 3rd class ticket on an inter-island steamer and a few days later presented himself to Mr. Kuder, then stationed in Sulu. Mr. Kuder had never heard of Mocamad and took steps to locate his father and return the runaway. But mails were slow and by the time his father was found the new school year was well started. To save his studies, Mr. Kuder had started him in the Sulu High School, letting him do small spare-time jobs around the house in return for his books, food, lodging and clothing. When the father called him home, Mocamad wept. He had made many friends and was happy. He begged Mr. Kuder for time to write and persuade his father to let him stay if Mr. Kuder would be willing to still keep him. Mr. Kuder agreed; the father Hadji Adil, a well-to-do property owner and rice mill owner, agreed; and Mocamad stayed.

At an entertainment in the High School Auditorium some time later, a sudden uproar in the back caused Mr. Kuder to leave

his front-row seat to investigate. He found a stranger with a badly mussed-up once nice sharkskin suit and a bruised face, with a furious Mocamad, forcibly restrained by onlookers, still flailing away in his efforts to get loose and finish the job. The stranger had turned out to be a petty government employee who had commented to a companion on the amusing appearance of Mr. Kuder's partly unthatched head seen from the rear. He didn't know Mocamad, standing near him, but that made no difference to Mocamad. No one was going to slight his "master" if he could help it.

Mocamad was still with Mr. Kuder when December 1941 put an end to his coming graduation from high school in a few months, and to his entrance to college on a government scholarship promised him by people of influence in his own province. For the sake of his parents Mr. Kuder then sent him home, but Mocamad's loyalty never waned. At the risk of his life from both Japanese patrols and bands of outlaw Moros he made his way by small sailing vessel and on foot to Mr. Kuder in Lanao to see how he was getting on and to inform him of conditions in Cotabato.²⁷

Dr. Frank C. Laubach

Earlier in this paper I wrote that with one exception I would not refer to missionaries who were also educators. I now turn to that exception—Dr. Frank C. Laubach. This is justified because of the contribution that Laubach made to education in Lanao and, as a result of the work begun in Lanao, to education throughout the world.

In June, 1980 the Laubach Literacy International and its volunteer membership organization, the National Affiliation for Literacy Advance, celebrated its Golden Jubilee, in the words of Laubach's only surviving son, Dr. Robert Laubach, "commemorating the discovery by the Maranao people that a literate person can effectively teach an illiterate—Each One Teach One."²⁸

Dr. Laubach and his wife Effa were missionaries sent to the Philippines by the mission board of the Congregational Churches in the United States. They first arrived in Lanao in 1915. Because of the difficulties the American military rulers of Lanao were having with the Maranaos they did not welcome in their midst the presence of young Christian missionaries. The Laubachs then worked in Cagayan, Misamis

Oriental and Manila. It was not until 1929 that they returned to Lanao to continue their mission work, finally among the Maranaos.

Along with a Filipino colleague, Mr. Dontao Galia, it was Dr. Laubach's intention, among other work, to open a teachers' college in Lanao. Laubach wrote,

Although Lanao, a half mile above the sea level has a delightful climate, we were forced to realize that the ancient feud between Christians and Moslems made the place unsuitable for the mixed Moro and Filipino school we had planned to establish. Only a handful of Moros had at that time reached high school standing. Our question therefore was that kind of school we could establish. We found an answer in the Moro customs...We decided to teach them to read their own language.²⁹

In an old building, purchased by Laubach for \$250 from an American businessman in Dansalan, he and his colleagues began the task of developing a literacy program. Although the Maranao language had been written earlier in the Arabic script, it had never been written in the Roman script. Laubach decided it would be of more benefit to teach the people to read and write their language using the Roman script. He believed that in the years ahead it would be one way to help with their integration into the larger life of the nation. A printing press was secured and publication of a newspaper, *The Story of Lanao*, was begun in what was called "The Madrasa Press." At first it was printed in Arabic and Roman script. Soon the newspaper's name was changed to *Lanao Progress* and it was published in three languages—English, Visayan and Maranao, using Roman script.

Dr. Laubach and his associates established the Madrasa Folk School, and the adult literacy campaign became one of the major activities of the school. The school had the only public library in the area and it also provided dormitory space for boys and girls, Christians and Maranaos, attending the Lanao High School.

Laubach recounts in one of his books the rather dramatic beginning of the "Each One Teach One" literacy program. Laubach had explained to local leaders and his teachers that because of the depression in the United States the literacy program would no longer be able to pay the small amounts they were offering the teachers.

Kakai Dagalangit, a tall chieftain with fierce black eyes stood up. He has thirteen wives and all he has to do is to look at them and

they behave. He looked at me with those fierce eyes and said, 'This campaign shall not stop. It's Lanao's only hope.' Then he looked at those teachers with his fierce eyes and said, 'I'll make everybody who knows how to read teach somebody else, or I'll kill him.'

Everybody taught. Nobody died . . . and this method started by the Moro chieftain has gone around the world.³⁰

Originally the only literacy teachers were men, but as requests came to include women in the classes some Maranao mestizas were trained to help in the instruction. After about a year Laubach reported, "In the whole province 600 Maranao women and girls have thus far been reported as having learned to read. Every week some high dato brings his daughter and asks us to keep her in our school, which we are not yet equipped to do."³¹ Through the literacy program, within the decade of the 1930's thousands of Maranaos were to learn the fundamentals of reading and writing their own language.

In addition to the printing of the newspapers, *Lanao Progress*, the Madrasa Press contributed greatly to the educational scene in Lanao. An English-Maranao dictionary of ten thousand words went through three editions with hundreds of copies being sold. Tens of thousands of paperbound booklets on different topics were printed and distributed. Some were religious stories written specifically for the Maranaos. Selected Christian Scripture portions were also printed. Titles related to health, livelihood and culture such as "Care of the Skin," "Motherhood and Baby Care," "The New Miracle Rice," "Moro Folklore in Prose," and "History of the World" were printed and sold throughout the province.

The literacy program also helped to encouraged a more positive attitude towards the public school system. As participants themselves became involved in learning to read and write, they began to have some appreciation of what could be the result of education. Laubach wrote, "There has been a new friendliness towards the public schools, which teach only English. When we reached Lanao, practically no girls, excepting orphans, and a relatively small percentage of boys, were in school. The school enrollment is increasing and a considerable number of girls are allowed to go to school."³²

Officials of the Bureau of Education in Manila prompted by the development of the Lanao adult education program, requested Laubach

to assist in establishing similar programs in many other parts of the Philippines. The position of Adult Education Supervisor was created in many division offices and programs similar to the one initiated in Lanao were started. Within a few years Laubach was being asked to share with nations around the world, the literacy methods developed among the Maranaos of Lanao. Thus, while the Maranaos were creating many problems for government officials with regard to education in Lanao at the same time in their midst was "born" the world-wide adult education program.

Mrs. Pearl F. Spencer

I close these sketches with a few paragraphs about an American lady who was not only an early teacher in Lanao, but who is probably at the age of 95 the only survivor of those persons who gave so many years of their lives to education in Mindanao and Sulu—Mrs. Pearl F. Spencer, now residing in Malabang, Lanao del Sur.

Mrs. Spencer came to Lanao in 1915 with her husband Mr. Ralph W. Spencer who was one of the early superintendents of the Division of Lanao. For the first five years of their residence in Dansalan, Mrs. Spencer taught in the elementary school while her husband served as division head.

In 1920 Mrs. Spencer was appointed the first principal of the newly opened Lanao High School. For the first few years the high school did not offer the complete four year course. Students who attended the first year or two had to go to Dumaguete, Cebu or Manila to complete the secondary course. By 1927 the high school offered all four years. Under Mrs. Spencer's guidance Lanao High School soon gained the reputation as one of the finest schools in the country. Its students often won national contests of various kinds. The high school served the area now comprising the two Lanao provinces as well as the north coast of Mindanao from Ozamis City to Manticao, Misamis Oriental. Until after World War II it was the only complete high school in this area.

In 1941, shortly before the war, Mrs. Spencer consented to head a private high school opened by Dr. Frank Laubach. Her position as principal of Lanao High School was taken by another American lady, Mrs. Lulu H. Dietrich. Mrs. Spencer was among those captured in Dansalan by the Japanese and interned for the war's duration.

Following the war she and her husband concentrated their efforts on a plantation they had earlier acquired in Malabang, Lanao. Mrs. Spencer's interest in education is still strong. A visitor to the Mataling Plantation in Malabang today will see what is undoubtedly the best public elementary school in Lanao del Sur, if not in all of Mindanao. The much newer high school is also a model of secondary education in the area—both schools being the direct work of Mrs. Spencer and her never-ending concern to see that youth of Lanao have the best possible education.

Reflection

Many paragraphs could be written about other pioneer American educators in the southern Philippines. There was Private Albert L. Burleigh of the 2nd Infantry, detailed at his own request to teach school in a remote barrio of Jolo. Returning to his school from Jolo town one day in June of 1908 he was attacked by four Moros and died, thus becoming the first teacher, American or Filipino, to be killed by local inhabitants. Charles R. Cameron was an able successor to Dr. Najeeb Saleeby as Provincial Superintendent of Schools in the Moro Province. Mr. George Kindy was a proponent of the farm schools on Mindanao, especially in the province of Bukidnon where he was assigned. Mr. A. V. H. Hartendorp who later became a prominent writer, editor, publisher, and businessman spent his early years as a teacher in Zamboanga. Scores of other Americans went about their tasks, seeking to do their part in bringing modern education to this part of the country. That the result of their labor, along with that of hundreds of Filipino teachers, particularly in the Muslim areas has not been as productive as might be hoped does not belittle their efforts.

Considering the dedication of those early teachers as well as the considerable logistical support that went into the establishment of the early schools in Mindanao and Sulu one cannot help but wonder what went wrong. There is no doubt regarding the ability of the great majority of those pioneer educators. That they were held in high esteem by their colleagues, parents, and schoolchildren has been indicated in the previous paragraphs of this paper. What then, went wrong?

That something did go wrong is very apparent when the present educational scene in this region is studied. Indicators such as the National College Entrance Examination have shown that the products

Of the schools in Mindanao and Sulu have ranked at the bottom of the nation in terms of academic performance. Scandals regarding ghost teachers, ghost schools, ghost pupils have often surfaced in the region. Many other points could be mentioned, all critical of the area's school system.

Hindsight is much easier to come by than foresight. To look critically at the past is not to criticize unnecessarily those who labored to the best of their ability in decades long gone. To have a critical view, however, is to seek a present insight and understanding, as well as to hopefully gain some foresight. Those of us who are involved in education can do no less. The alternative is to ignore any lesson that the past does offer and to continue implementing a partially ineffective program.

What went wrong? I would suggest the following three points as fundamental weaknesses in the attempt of the Americans to make effective modern education in the southern Philippines.

In the first place, it can not be denied that the Americans were essentially agents of an alien cultural system. Their religion, their values, their entire cultural system, was at variance with the rigid, defined system possessed by the Muslims. American values such as democracy, honesty, thrift, sportsmanship, patriotism, favoring the underdog, and the "raising up of an intelligent, industrious, God-fearing middle class which is the backbone of democracy" were foreign and largely unacceptable values to the Muslims. Even when the most conscientious of the American teachers were striving to be sensitive to the cultural differences and trying to find ways of making the education relevant to the Muslims, what they were bringing, and what they were—Americans, were alien to the cultural heritage being encountered.

This conflict of cultures was apparent in some paragraphs in the First Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction in 1902. That report in part said:

Like the Igorotes (sic)...they [Muslims] manifest little or no desire to place themselves under the civilizing influences which the government may exert. Their religion appears to satisfy their present needs, and they show no indication either to accept or tolerate any other. Occupying some of the richest lands of the Archipelago, they appear to have abundant food, and whatever excitement is needed to contribute to their happiness they find in the intertribal conflicts which mark their history.

For generations they have been as they are, and they see no reason why they should be plunged into that uncomfortable stream which we call progress. The knowledge of the wisdom and traditions of their ancestors apparently satisfies them. Instruction among them to be successful must start from their point of view, and the instructor has to exercise great care not to do violence to their traditional ideas. In accordance with this view, teaching among the Moros on a limited scale has been undertaken in two schools, one in Zamboanga, and another in the island of Jolo, but at present the Moros are not manifesting any considerable eagerness to be taught by Americans. Like many other peoples in rudimentary stage of social development, they entertain an exaggerated idea of the importance of their power and popular wisdom. As long as they remain in the delusion that they are invincible it will not be possible by any system of instruction to break the authority of their inherited views. No change is likely to be made in these views except as a consequence of recognizing the physical superiority of some other people. The education of the Moro must, therefore, follow his awakening to an appreciation of his febleness as contrasted with the powers of a civilized nation.³³

I venture to suggest that this difference in the understanding of progress, of development, is just as real today as it was eighty years ago. The Secretary's reference to the Moros' reluctance to participate in ". . . what we call progress" called to my mind a thought-provoking article by Dr. Peter G. Gowing entitled, "Of Different Minds—Christian and Muslim Ways of Looking at Their Relations in the Philippines." In that article Gowing calls attention to the crucially different ways in which Christians and Muslims view very important aspects of life. One of those is "what we call progress." Dr. Gowing makes the distinction of "Development for Manpower versus Development for Manhood." He refers to two Filipinos, Mr. Alejandro Melchor, a Christian, and Dr. Cesar A. Majul, a Muslim, both of whom are deeply committed to the development of Mindanao, as exemplifying the two different ways Christians and Muslims view development. "For Mr. Melchor, the focus of development is on man, and the improvement of the powers individually and collectively as a nation. The improvement of the powers of men and his collective growth as a nation are valued by Mr. Melchor as ends in themselves—and they are human ends, having nothing necessarily to do with religion."³⁴

Dr. Gowing continues:

From an Islamic standpoint, the focus of development is on man in relation to God (Allah). And the improvement of man's powers, individually and in community (Ummah) is not an end in itself but the means of aiding man to fulfill the purpose of his creation—the goal of his manhood—and that is to obey and serve God Muslims, as Dean Majul points out, do not prefer sickness to health, rags to good clothes, ice-boxes to frigidaire and carabao transportation to cars and buses. They are not against roads, schools, health facilities and industrial plants. But they would like to have these worthwhile things on their own terms and embrace them in a manner which will further the good of their society as Islam understands the good. "Islam", says Dean Majul, "believes that the so-called good society is itself religious in its connotation and it is a moral obligation of man to work for it."³⁵

There must be a better understanding of the Islamic cultural system if an alien culture, at least the more beneficial aspects of it, are to find any integrity within the former. This has been lacking in this particular cultural confrontation beginning eighty years ago.

A second reason for the effort of American education going wrong in the southern Philippines is that the American teachers were also agents of the conquerors. It was difficult for the Muslims to make a clear distinction between the American soldier or American government administrator and the American teacher. Someone has suggested that the Muslims were not so stupid as to offer up their lives on the battlefield in the defense of their selfhood, lifeways, and freedom, only to lose these things in a classroom set up by the American regime.

There is no doubt but that the American administrators saw the school system as a vital agent in the process of subduing the belligerent populace and in hopefully winning them over to the ways and government of the new rulers. Resistance to the Americans' attempt of penetrating Muslim life and culture through the schools took many forms. It included the refusal to allow children to attend the schools. There was harrassment and occasional killing of teachers. There was frequent destruction of property. (In the 1926-1927 school year, 47 school buildings were burned in Lanao province.) There was refusal to pay local taxes intended to help support the schools.

Another form of resistance that helped to render the educational structure partially ineffective was the tactic of allowing the system to exist, but of turning it to the advantage of the local authority figures. The possibility that the school system could be used more for personal

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Another form of resistance that helped to render the educational structure partially ineffective was the tactic of allowing the system to exist, but of turning it to the advantage of the local authority figures. The possibility that the school system could be used more for personal

advantage than for education of the children was early realized. Lanao Governor John J. Heffington wrote in 1934,

Datos have still the idea that once they work for the school, the school officials could help them to obtain government positions. To inculcate in their minds that we have nothing to do with the appointments is a very difficult task. To explain to them also that their personal controversy has nothing to do with the school work is a difficult job to tackle. If a dato cannot be lucky enough to be appointed as President, [municipal mayor], etc., he automatically withdraws his cooperation.³⁶

While resisting the new system in its real intent local leaders tolerated it because it was a source of wealth and power for them through the funds that came in through the system and through the right of appointing teachers, for their localities. It is not a stretch of imagination to say that this type of resistance to the school system has continued.

The report of the Secretary of Public Instruction quoted earlier noted that the Muslims could only be educated after they had been physically defeated. "Knock them down. Then we can teach them a lesson," seems to have been the import of the report. It would seem that this attitude has not changed to any significant degree in eighty years.

A third reason why the education system failed to have the impact that had been envisioned was that it was impossible for the schools to remake a society and culture all by themselves and within only one or two generations. The American educators were familiar with a school system that was part and parcel of one culture. Values and ideas imparted in the classroom in that culture would already have considerable support by the society outside the school. That was not the case as American culture was being transplanted into the alien soil of Filipino Muslim culture. If the schools were to achieve any success in effecting cultural change, they needed, but did not have, supportive forces in the political, social, religious, judicial, and economic realms.

Reviewing the American efforts at local education Joseph Ralston Hayden wrote:

It is easy for westerners, especially Americans, many of whom have a naive faith in the transforming power of formal schooling to expect book education to do far more than it can possible accomplish towards altering the mores of a whole people. The public schools, of course can help or hinder in reducing the gap which exists between the classes and the masses of society in every

oriental country. But education is only one among many forces operating to determine the ultimate cast of the changing social structure of these ancient peoples.³⁷

People in the southern Philippines are living a situation that has been partially brought about by the failure of the good intentions of these pioneers in education. But, the entire blame does not rest on their efforts. As has been pointed out in this paper, education is only one segment of society. Important as it is, it is only one influence among many upon the minds of young and old alike. Education alone cannot remake society.

Looking at the present educational situation in this region it seems that the three basic reasons given here for the failure of the early American effort still apply: educators are basically agents of an alien culture; they are agents of the conquerors; it is impossible for education to change society unless that effort is supported by other cultural segments. Mindanao and Sulu are for all intents and purposes occupied territories and until all of society can make fundamental changes this will continue to be the case with all the tragedy that occupation implies.

If education is to have a more vital role in undergirding development, justice, peace and order, and freedom in the southern Philippines, ways will have to be found to undo its foreignness, free it from its role as a tool of the conqueror and be joined in its effort at cultural change by other cultural forces. This will require far more fundamental innovations than the addition of Arabic to the curriculum and the declaring of Friday as a rest day for schools in Muslim areas. It will require the best of insight and planning by educators who are predominantly Muslims.

Such a goal will also require the supportive energies and dedication of Muslims in all aspects of life who can free themselves from various self-serving, self-seeking impediments in order to formulate a forthright, meaningful development program for their people. Such a program must include a strong and capable educational system that will eventually benefit not only the Muslim South, but the entire body politic—the Republic of the Philippines. Educational reforms will not do it alone. Education can only be effective when there are positive forces at work in all segments of society,—the political, social, judicial, religious and economic realms. If the leaders of society in the South do not join in a concerted effort to find and implement that which is rich in their own culture and relate it to the changing world around them, this area will continue to stagnate. If this happens the fault will be on those in Mindanao and Sulu and not on those in far-off Manila. Only when all join together to bring about relevant change in the immediate society

will the efforts to bring a better life that was the intention of the pioneer American educators in Mindanao and Sulu have a possibility of finally being realized.

FOOTNOTES

¹*Report of the Taft Philippine Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), pp. 107-108.

²*Annual Report of Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing; U.S. Army, Governor of the Moro Province for the Year Ending August 31, 1910.* (Zamboanga: The Mindanao Herald Publishing Co., 1910), p. 16.

³*Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, Part II, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 487.

⁴Peter G. Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland* (Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, UP, 1977), p. 112.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 133, 135.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁰Dalmacio Martin, *J. Scott McCormick: Apostle of Education in the Philippines* (Manila: Macaraig Publishing Co., 1948).

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

²⁰Gov. John J. Heffington in letter dated August 3, 1934 to Director Teofisto Guingona. In the Joseph Ralston Hayden Collection of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Microfilm Box 28-7.

²¹Joseph Ralston Hayden in an introduction to materials from Mr. Kuder. In the Joseph Ralston Hayden Collection, Box 28-7.

²²Edward M. Kuder with Pete Martin, "The Philippines Never Surrendered," *Saturday Evening Post* (February 10, 1945), p. 57.

²³*Ibid.*, Issue of March 10, 1945, p. 58.

²⁴Joseph Ralston Hayden, *op. cit.*

²⁵Editor, *Saturday Evening Post* (Feb. 10, 1945), p. 4.

²⁶Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., *Americans on the Philippine Frontiers* (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1973), pp. 77-78.

²⁷Joseph Ralston Hayden, *op. cit.*

²⁸Robert Laubach, personal letter to Mr. Van Vactor, May 28, 1980.

²⁹Frank C. Laubach, *Toward A Literate World* (New York: The Columbia University Press for the Foreign Missions Conference of North American, 1928), p. 26.

³⁰Frank C. Laubach, *Thirty Years With The Silent Billion* (Westwood, N.J.; Fleming H. Revell Company, 1960), p. 44.

³¹Laubach, 1938, p. 48.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 49.

³³*The First Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction to the Philippine Commission for the Year Ending October 15, 1902* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1902), p. 28.

³⁴Peter G. Gowing, "Of Different Minds," *International Review of Missions* (LXVII-263, January, 1978), p. 82.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁶John J. Heffington, "Provincial Governor of Lanao Report, August, 1934" Joseph Ralston Hayden Collection, Box 27.

³⁷Joseph Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines, A Study in National Development* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), p. 599.

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