

# **ARCHIVAL MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES ON MINDANAO, SULU AND PALAWAN (1899-1945)<sup>1</sup>**

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In historiography, sources of recorded data constitute one of the pillars of fieldwork. Ironically, such data are often not available locally; the researcher hunts for them abroad, poring over archives and libraries. Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan are examples of historical frontiers about which information is literally piled up like mountains in Seville, Spain, or Washington, D. C. in the United States. The author is fortunate enough to have climbed up one of these mountains when he engaged in a project that brought him to the United States during 1989-90. There, he visited four known repositories of historical data.

This work is partly a report of that trip, which is largely a documentary and stock-taking inventory of materials relating to the social conditions of Moroland at the turn of the 19th century. The period covered is somewhat arbitrary, but it is too much a critical time in the history of this region to be ignored. For during this period a new "civilization" swept through the Philippines and made its peoples the way they are today-- "modern," cosmopolitan, English-speaking, and above all, a nation. Many achievements - and problems - at present have roots deriving from that particular era of colonization by the United States, which threw overboard the 300 years of hispanic rule in the Philippines.

Moroland was and still is a geography with rich historical and cultural meanings. It has been a region that matters in the

shaping of Philippine history, although seldom mentioned in formal historiography other than consigning it to a few footnotes or a chapter. Yet it is also more than what is taken up in book-length histories of the Muslims, then called "Moros," in the southern Philippines. For Moroland is a land of the Moros, pagan tribes and christianized natives who have struggled hard to make a history of their own, but do not know how. They are confused peoples who have been searching for their souls. They are indeed a nation at the crossroads.

### **Wanted: A Special Library**

The discovery of Moroland's past is doubtless an interesting piece in any historical analysis. The aim of the author is not to write a history of Moroland but to gather and compile materials useful to its documentation by scholars and students. As such, it is only confined to presentation of materials pertinent to the period 1899-1945. The task he had in mind was to help found a "special library" at Mindanao State University to give access to writers without the wherewithal to visit libraries in the United States or Spain or England. This library would be carved out from four libraries in the United States, namely, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, all of Washington, D. C., the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley campus.

The "special library" is, of course, an ambitious project that cannot match the respectable holdings of the US libraries mentioned. To put up one means some expenditure of money and effort to develop it for the "archives" of Mindanao State University. What may be attempted is a modest one that can immediately fill the need for a Mindanao memorabilia. Later, it may be expanded by acquiring additional materials as resources become available.

The significance of this undertaking is justified by the acute need to know what the past has stored for Mindanao.

Knowledge of the past may help correct the wrong impression about Moroland due to the lack of a comprehensive local history, which is partly the result of inadequacy of information and also partly due to inability of scholars to reconstruct the past based on scanty materials. Besides, the University is mandated by its charter to encourage research into the "native cultures, philosophy and the arts." After more than two decades of existence, it is perhaps time that the University should be a showcase of historical research under a "Moro Studies Center." Establishing a library for such studies is indeed in the right direction.

More specifically, the tasks laid out for the project are the following:

1. Collection and reproduction of relevant documents and other historical materials on Moroland, which are already declassified for public use and are made available at the Library of Congress and National Archives, Washington, D. C., within limits that resources allow. Other libraries in the United States were also consulted, such as the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) and University of California (Berkeley).

2. Annotation and classification of such documents/materials for easy use of students and professionals. The documents collected so far are in the form of xerox copies, classified according to subject for quick reference. Classification by detailed subject index and computerized accessing are desirable steps that eventually must be done.

3. Identification, listing and bibliographic description of other materials for future collection. This is necessary as all materials relevant to Moroland cannot be reasonably collected or reproduced within a limited time frame and given the scarce resources available to the researcher.<sup>2</sup> By this procedure, acquisition of materials will be continued in the future.

### **Nature of Materials to be Collected and Reproduced**

What is the range of materials available for a historical study on Mindanao and Sulu? Some notes are in order based on the documents the writer collected for the MSU Special Library. It is generally acknowledged that the Library of Congress and the National Archives of Washington, D. C. are the largest repositories of information in the world. The Library of Congress consists of three large structures which house particular types of holdings. They are the Jefferson Building, the Adams Building, and the Madison Building.

For the purposes of the Special Library, the author only visited two small sections of these mammoth structures: the Manuscript Division of the Madison Building and the Social Science Reading Room of the Adams Building.<sup>3</sup> The first houses materials which include those so-called "papers" donated by some keepers (not necessarily writers of these papers). Such papers are placed in paper boxes ranging in number from one to 500, each box containing at least 1,000 pieces of variegated information. The writer has identified only about two dozen keepers out of over 1,000 names in the card catalogue.

The Adams Building is where the Social Science Reading Room is located. This building has in its storage printed or published books, references, reports and other materials dealing with various subjects during the military occupation of Mindanao. Out of these vast holdings, the author consulted only the Asian collections.

Our particular interest lies in the manuscripts or papers because of their central importance to historical studies. In the Appendix, the author has made a preliminary listing of papers and their donors (Appendices C and D). Except for two, the collections are those of Americans or American officials who were mostly assigned in Mindanao during their tour of duty, or were stationed in Washington or Manila.

I have surveyed twenty-five sets of papers from renowned officials, which I now catalogue for the proposed MSU Special Library. Whenever I could I tried to reproduce rare books and manuscripts, including articles (partial list in Appendix A). In terms of volume, the xeroxed materials occupied six mailbags, each weighing an average of about 50 lbs. or a total of some 300 lbs. (See Appendix for a partial documentation of the range and scope of the materials.)

The following provide a sketchy listing of the important collections. For the personal papers, the collections include those of:

*Governors of the Moro Province:* Leonard Wood, Tasker Bliss, John J. Pershing, Frank W. Carpenter.

*District Governors (Moroland):* Robert Lee Bullard, John McA. Palmer, Hugh Lenox Scott, John P. Finley.

*Governors-General of the Philippines:* Francis Burton Harrison, William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, W. Cameron Forbes, Frank Murphy, H. Stimson, Joseph R. Hayden, and Leonard Wood.

*Military Officers:* James Harbord, Henry Corbin, Frank McIntyre, Harry Bandholtz, Henry Allen.

*Church/Civic Leaders:* Charles Brent, Moorfield Storey

*Other American Officials:* Dean C. Worcester, Frank Ross McCoy, David Barrows

*Filipino Officials:* Manuel L. Quezon, Santiago Artiaga.

For non-manuscript documents, the materials I gathered were mainly from the National Archives, Washington, D. C. and the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. Two important classes of materials are here identified, namely,

Record Group 350, otherwise known as Bureau of Insular Affairs, and Record Group 395, or records of the US Military Operations Overseas.

The Bureau of Insular Affairs, like the modern CIA, was the clearing house of all information dealing with the insular possessions of the United States (Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Virginia Islands, etc.). It also served as an advisory body on military and civil matters, having a direct "hotline" to the White House. This office kept classified information, which included correspondences, memoranda, confidential reports, monographs, annual reports of officials, and even dossiers of important people. Here, one finds scattered information on the Battle of Bud Dajo of 1906, the Bates Treaty and its abrogation, colonization of Mindanao in 1913, *juramentados*, military skirmishes, diaries, congressional hearings, etc. One problem the writer has discovered about these materials is that they were not properly indexed or arranged, and that the subject index was not computerized.

Still at the National Archives, a rich source of data which have been rarely consulted by writers are the unpublished reports of the Philippine Commission from 1900 to 1916, all in bound copies and have gathered thick dusts due to non-use. Still unknown to many researchers, the RPC, as it is called, contains enormous appendages, such as unpublished annual reports from the provincial governors and district officers (Military, education) covering their areas of activities. The "published reports" of the Philippine Commission have left out many of these extra documents due to cost and space problems. I am impressed that the manuscript RPC reports alone are a veritable mining field for Philippine history. They can provide rich insights into the events taking place during the first two decades of American rule in Mindanao.

From RG 350, the author also stumbled on the controversial Bacon Bill during the 1920s to separate Mindanao from the rest of the Philippine islands in preparation for an eventual annexation to the territory of the United States. The

original memorandum of Bacon is found here, justifying the revival of the defunct Moro Province, but apparently betrays the American motive of capitalism and eventual annexation. Mindanao was a good prospect for the lucrative rubber industry, besides hemp, which would shatter the monopolistic hold of Great Britain and cater to the growing industries of the U.S. If his efforts bore fruits, Mindanao would have been the 50th state of the United States instead of Hawaii.

A certain degree of duplication is noticed when one examines and compares the two record groups. For example, some of the records of military operations are also found in Leonard Wood's or John Pershing's papers. The Bates Treaty, which is in RG 350, is also found in Harrison's papers.

**Rare English/Spanish books.** English books on Mindanao during the first two decades of American occupation abound. The classic ones, of course, are those of Vic Hurley (*Swish of the Kris*), David Barrows (*History of the Philippines*), Frank Laubach, W. Cameron Forbes (*two volumes on the Philippines*), and Najeeb Saleeby (*History of Sulu, Maguindanao Laws, and the Moro Problem*). Spanish books, such as those of Pablo Pastells (3 volumes regarding the Jesuit work in Mindanao), D. Julian Gonzales de Parrado (*History of Mindanao*), Vicente Barrantes, Montero y Vidal (*works on Moro "Pirates"*), and others numbering several volumes are still the best sources before the 19th century.

There are also rare books, such as: Dean Worcester's 1898 book, which devotes several chapters on Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan; Forrest's earliest account of the Maguindanao and Maranao during the 1700; Najeeb Saleeby's two books on the history of Sulu and the Maguindanao Sultanate; William Dampier's account of Mindanao; Sir John Bowring's observations on Mindanao in the middle 1800s; Henry Savage Landor's *Gem of the East* (1905); Henry Keppel's visit to Sulu after the devastation of the Balangingi in 1840, and many more.

Rare manuscripts gathered from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, and Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, add flavor to the collections. They relate to expeditions in Mindanao, correspondences, diaries, guerilla activities in Moroland during World War II, news clippings and other documents of interest to Mindanao historians before the 1940s.

At Ann Arbor, the famous papers of Joseph Hayden, Frank Murphy and Déan C. Worcester are housed. The Hayden papers are invaluable sources to the conditions during the 1930s up to the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. Various subjects and personalities clearly figure from these papers: the Piangs of Cotabato, the Sulu sultanate, and elite factionalism in Lanao, among others. Hayden thought of writing a book about Moroland, which project failed to materialize. Interestingly, the papers of Santiago Artiaga Artiaga, former governor of Bukidnon, and those of Manuel Quezon, are also found there. The Quezon papers come in microfilms, which are duplicates of his treasures at the National Library in Manila.

At the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, David Barrows, first Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Superintendent of Public Schools, deposited his papers which contain, among others, his notes and diaries on the Sulu sultanate as well as his correspondences with William H. Taft regarding the abrogation of the so-called Bates agreement. The Barrows papers definitely introduce a similar but interesting perspective on the abrogation of that agreement. Barrows also wrote down an eye-witness account of the occurrence of *juramentado* in the walled town of Jolo.

### **Other Repositories in the US**

There are other libraries in the US which offer opportunities for solid research on Mindanao. Unfortunately,

the writer did not have the chance to visit them. These libraries include the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Olin Library at Cornell, several public libraries in New York, the military archives at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the University of Syracuse Library.

### **Some Evaluative Notes on the Materials**

If an evaluation is to be made of the centrality of importance of these papers, those of Pershing, Bliss, Scott, Wood, McCoy, Carpenter, Bullard, Palmer, Harrison, Hayden, Storey and Corbin, among others, would easily prove to be quite material to the reconstruction of the history of Moroland. John Pershing was the first "white man" ever to cross Lake Lanao and return to barracks alive. He was also the first to disarm the Moros, where others before him had failed. At first, he was stationed in nearby Iligan where he befriended important Lanao datos, such as Amai Manabilang and Datu Grande. Shortly after the ferocious battle of Bayang of May 1902, he took command of Camp Vicars to relieve Frank Baldwin who was promoted to five-star General. From there, he routed the lakeshores during an expedition to pacify the militant and angry Moros. His military achievements earned for him the coveted promotion to Brigadier-General over the heads of more than 800 officers.

Frank Ross McCoy's papers are rich with detail on the operations against Datu Ali from Wood's time. He himself supervised many of these operations, with the help of Filipino scout Tomas Torres, a Christian from Iligan who initially served as interpreter and later as Deputy Governor of the District of Lanao.

Robert Bullard was the first district governor of Lanao. Where the Spaniards failed, Bullard succeeded by connecting Iligan to Marawi by road, thereby cutting short the travel time due to the circuitous trip by sea to Zamboanga before one

reached Malabang (the other route is by a foot trail from the Panguil Bay to Pagadian along the Isthmus of Zamboanga). As such, he destroyed the geographical isolation of the lake region by opening a road that connected Marawi to Iligan, thereby hastening trade and increasing the possibility of external penetration of this unconquered country. Like Pershing, Bullard made a serious attempt to understand the Moros by a careful study of their culture and religion. His memoirs left an imprint not only of his activities but also of the military efforts to colonize the defiant Maranaos. Both Bullard and Pershing kept detailed accounts of their work through their diaries, which in turn provide a gauge of how the Americans perceived and handled the Moros. Representative of such perceptions is the American belief that the Moros are "warlike," "barbaric," and "callous to suffering." However, the Moros are also perceived as "friendly" and "trustworthy."

John McA. Palmer succeeded Bullard as governor and tried to establish Marahui as an entrepot of commerce and a center for political and cultural life in Lanao. He also helped implement the concept of Tribal Wards, following the American experience among the equally warlike Indians of the western plain. His notable accomplishment is the commercialization of Marahui and Dansalan, and the bringing in of Japanese and Chinese traders and artisans to help build the town.

Through the papers of Pershing, Bullard and Palmer, one will get to know such great Lanao personalities as the "friendly" Amai Manabilang, Nuska Alim, Sajiduciman, Datu Grande, as well as the defiant Sultan sa Bacolod, Sultan sa Bayang, Sultan sa Maciu, Sultan sa Taraka, etc. Like the modern CIA agents, these officers prepared "dossiers" of all leaders in the lake area for military reason. Matched against the photographs taken of them, the reader will be able to relive the yesteryears and reconstruct important episodes of Lanao history that has eluded analysis.

In addition, the interactive relationships between the white men and the Moros is made even more vivid and alive

when one reads the exchanges of letters between them--the white men writing in English to the datu, and the datu, in turn, responding in Arabic script (text in Maranao), and someone else, usually a Filipino interpreter, would do the translating of both in Spanish for the Americans and Lanao datu. One might inquire at this point whether this type of communication was accurate in terms of content or message. Or, he might question the accuracy of the communication sent by the datu, which was sometimes written by others and later on denied by the supposed senders. This was a peculiar case in communication distortion (or manipulation) that could easily end up in conflict, as it did, between the hostile Moros and the American colonial administrators.

Leonard Wood was a disciplinarian and a military tactician who provided the framework for the American government of the Moro country under the Moro Province. He was the first Military Governor of the historic Moro Province (1903-1906) who fashioned it according to his conception of American democracy based on Republicanism. Wood conducted numerous expeditions in Sulu as well as in Cotabato (against Datu Ali) and Lanao (i.e., the Taraka campaign). Under his government, he outlawed slavery, which was a way of life among the Moros and tribal groups alike. That stopped the centuries-old slave raiding and trading. Among the policies bequeathed by Wood was the encouragement of outside capital and labor to develop Moroland. It was during his time that the colonization of Mindanao was set in motion. Japanese investment and indentured labor came to Davao (1905), and pioneering American planters began work in Zamboanga, Basilan and Lanao districts.

Well remembered up to these days is the heinous carnage that resulted from the Battle of Bud Dajo in 1906 where some 1,000 Moro warriors, women and children perished. Wood was in charge of the American troops and native scouts that stormed the Moro fortification atop this extinct volcano in Sulu. Wood continued the relentless fight to colonize not only Mindanao but the entire Philippine islands according to his vision to "civilize" the Filipinos and prepare them for an independent nation in the

future. When he became Governor-General of the Philippine Islands after Harrison, his motives became clearer in trying to make the Philippines a showcase of American democracy in Asia at the pain of downgrading Filipino nationalist aspirations. Wood was caught between and consequently played up the historical rivalry between Christian Filipinos and Moros at the time the agitation for independence became stronger during the 1920s. Unfortunately, his death cut short the gains of what would have been a revival of Republicanism in the Philippines. Robert Bacon's attempt to resurrect the defunct Moro Province (idea that Mindanao and Sulu are for the Moros and, of course, for the Americans, too) would have flourished with the encouraging climate fostered earlier by Wood, Forbes, Worcester, and others if they all made a successful comeback in the 1920s.

If some of the American officials treated the Moros like the "savage" Indians, there were also others who set aside brute force and opted for peaceful conciliation. In fact, they did acquire the admiration of many Moros (including foes) who realized justice from and brotherhood with the Americans. Examples of these pioneers included an Episcopalian missionary, Rev. Charles Henry Brent, who, before he established the famous Brent School in Baguio City, had put up a Moro school in Sulu for boys and girls and a hospital in Zamboanga. This school was so successful that for about two decades it was the only visible trade school in Mindanao. His death, coupled by the Moros' lack of appreciation for modern education, however, prevented the school from growing. It could have been the mother Brent School in Sulu, with the one in Baguio as a branch.

What of the other keepers of information? Frank Carpenter and Francis Burton Harrison belong to the bunch of benevolent "assimilationists." The election of Woodrow Wilson as US President cut short the Republican pattern based on "imperialism" and continued "colonialism" on the Philippines. Harrison became Governor-General and started patting the backs of the first breed of American-educated Filipinos like Quezon, Osmeña and others (Wood called these gentlemen "agitators" and "mestizos"). In 1913, he then appointed Frank Carpenter the first

civilian governor of Moro Province, thereby ending three decades of American militarism of the Moros and tribal highlanders.

Touted by many Americans as an architect of the filipinization of Moroland, Carpenter had left but a thin volume of papers (one box to be exact) deposited in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. This deficiency was compensated for by Harrison, whose files are inundated with information of all sorts ranging from "independence" of the Philippines, "filipinization" of Mindanao and other topics. What is interesting about Harrison's papers is the vast collection of items dealing with Mindanao, including the papers of John Finley, the longest reigning governor of the district of Zamboanga. John Finley, like Najeeb Saleeby, was a controversial official who earned the ire of many American military officers, including Pershing. His head "rolled" before the end of the military regime in Mindanao.

Harrison's papers also provide a deep insight into Quezon's activities vis-a-vis Philippine independence as well as his "straight-from-the-shoulder-treatment" of the Moros during the 1930s. His *Origins of the Philippine Republic* is a silent testimony of his relations with Quezon and the Moros. There are interesting accounts in his files that would surely complement those gathered from Pershing, Bullard and others. To many Americans, especially those who sympathized with the Republicans, Harrison was an unpopular official who bungled the American colonial dream in the Philippines.

Moorfield Storey, a zealous anti-imperialists, sympathized with the Filipino aspirations for independence. His collections betray the peculiar nature of insular politics and the triangle of Moro-American-Filipino relations vis-a-vis the desire to possess Mindanao.

It must be remembered that it was during the time of Carpenter, under the patronizing administration of Harrison, that Mindanao began to "drift" toward Luzon and the Visayas.

Moroland was vigorously colonized, or that its portals were widely opened to rapid colonization and approached the pattern in which the American frontiers of the West were developed by indentured settlement. It was during this period that Mindanao was considered for settlement by other nationals (e.g., the blacks from Louisiana and Mississippi, the European Jews, and the Japanese planters). Until the 1940s, that plan of bringing other races to Mindanao remained in blueprint, although it did not materialize due, perhaps, to the coming of the second World War. For example, under the Commonwealth era of Quezon, 10,000 Jewish refugees from Europe were almost resettled in Lanao and Bukidnon.

Some aspects of Philippine history may be reconstructed from what happened in Mindanao, especially during the 1930s at the time when independence was brewing on the islands. The papers of Joseph Hayden and Frank Murphy at the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan would provide clues on these events, which revolved on local politics and American diplomacy. An interesting feature is the factionalism among the local Moro datus who were for or against Philippine independence. Here, one gets to know the role played by Hadji Butu, the Piang family, Amai Manabilang and others in this issue. From the documents, the researcher will also have a glimpse of the various "petitions" for or against independence, some of which were apparently written by Americans for their Moro friends, calculated to dampen the Filipino aspirations or incite Christian-Moro hostility toward the interests of American expansionism and trade on the islands. It is also interesting to note the obvious lack of zeal for self-independence among the Moros, many of whose leaders preferred to live under the rule of America.

### **Conclusion**

This article has only scratched the surface of a vast mine for Mindanao historiography. More exploration is still necessary

to uncover other potential repositories and the kinds of material they hold not only on Mindanao's past but also for its future. One other source suggested for the scholars are the Japanese published documents, also found at the Library of Congress, which talk of Mindanao, particularly Davao before World War II. Deciphered and collated with the scattered American materials, they would perhaps make more sense to writing a history of Mindanao than just using a single perspective defined by American mind.

Materials at the National Archives of Washington, D. C., particularly RG 350 and RG 395, are actually "mountains" of potential information for a new history of the Philippines. Alone, these materials would also help scholars unearth many puzzles about the south. The Philippine Government must exert efforts to have these two records duplicated in microfilms and deposited in a Mindanao library, complementing those of so-called "Philippine insurgency" under Aguinaldo now housed in the National Library in Manila. If these suggestions are realized, more Filipino researchers will be encouraged to write local histories in Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan.

#### NOTES

1. A revised version of the paper presented to the National History Conference held at Mindanao State University, Marawi City, October 21-22, 1991.
2. The researcher spent nine months of research in Washington, D. C. while he was a post-doctoral fellow at the George Washington University. Reproduction of materials, especially of archives, is a costly affair. It is estimated that at least one million pesos will be needed to gather from 20 to 50 percent of those materials on Mindanao at the Library of

Congress alone. Another million pesos is necessary to reproduce a portion of the materials deposited in the National Archives under Record Group 350 (Bureau of Insular Affairs) and Record Group 395 (Records of Military Operations Overseas).

3. Jefferson Library, a complete library by itself, has a wide range of Spanish and Portuguese collections which the author missed to visit.

*Appendix A* - List of Some Materials Found at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

RARE BOOKS (SPANISH)

1. Barrantes, V. *Guerras Piraticas de Filipinas*, 1878.
2. *Cartas Edificantes de los Misioneros en Filipinas*, 1898
3. Canga, Arguelles, Felipe. *La Isla de Paragua*, 1898
4. De Gayangos, Antonio Martel. *La Isla de Mindanao*, 1896 (trans. The Island of Mindanao, 1976)
5. Marche, Alfred. *Luzon et Palawan* (French) 1898
6. Montero-Vidal, Jose. *Historia dela Pirateria Malayo Mahometano*, 1888 (2 vols)
7. Pastells, Pablo. *Mision de la Compania de Jesus de Filipinas en el Siglo XIX* (3 vols), 1916-1917
8. Parrado, Julian G. *Memoria Acerca de Mindanao*, 1893
9. Rajal, Joaquin. *Exploracion del Territorio de Davao*, 1891
10. Zuffiga, Joaquin Martinez. *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (trans.)

RARE BOOKS (ENGLISH)

1. Barrows, David P. *A History of the Philippines*, 1903
2. Blount, James H. *The American Occupation of the Philippines*, 1912.

3. Bowring, John. *A visit to the Philippine Islands*, 1859
4. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *People of the Philippines*, 1901
5. Cameron, Charles. *Sulu Writing*, 1917.
6. *Census of the Philippines*, 1905
7. Cloman, Sydney A. *Myself and a Few Moros*, 1923
8. Cole, Fay-Cooper. *The Wild Tribes of Davao*, 1913
9. Christie, Emerson Brewer. *The Subanuns of Sindangan*, 1909
10. Dampier, William. *A New Voyage Round the World*, 1874
11. Elliott, Charles. *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government*, 1917
12. Elliott, Charles. *A Vocabulary and Phrase Book of the Lanao Moro Dialect*, 1913
13. Finley, John. *The Subanu*, 1913
14. Foreman, John. *The Philippine Islands*, 1890
15. Forbes, W. Cameron. *The Philippine Islands*, 1928
16. Hagedorn, Hermann. *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 1931
17. Harrison, Francis Burton. *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence*, 1922
18. Haynes, Thomas. *The Philippine Islands and the Sulu Sultanate*, 1927 (plus works of C. Wilkes on Manila and Sulu in 1842 and Jagor's accounts)
19. Horn, Florence. *Orphans of the Pacific*, 1941
20. Hurley, Vic. *Swish of the Kris*, 1936
21. Keppel, Henry. *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago*, 1853 (describes Sulu after the Spanish attack in 1848)
22. Landor, Henry Savage. *Gems of the East*, 1904
23. Laubach, Frank. *The People of the Philippines*, 1925
24. Macmicking, Robert. *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines*, 1851
25. Malcolm, George. *The Commonwealth of the Philippines*, 1936
26. Mayo, Katherine. *The Isles of Fear*, 1924
27. Miller, Edward. *The Bataks of Palawan*, 1905
28. *Photographs of Moroland*, 1899-1905
29. Potter, David. *Sailing the Sulu Sea*, 1940
30. Robinson, Albert G. *The Philippines*, 1901
31. Russell, Charles. *The Outlook for the Philippines*, 1922

32. Saleeby, Najeeb M. *Studies in Moro History, Law & Religion*, 1905
33. Saleeby, Najeeb M. *The History of Sulu*, 1908
34. Sawyer, F. H. *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, 1900
35. Teich, Emma. *Selected Articles on Independence for the Philippines*, 1913
36. Venturello, Hugo. *Manners and Customs of the Tagbanuas and other Tribes of the Island of Palawan*, 1907
37. Worcester, Dean C. *The Philippine Islands and their People*, 1899
38. White, John R. *Bullets and Bolos*, 1928
39. Williams, Daniel R. *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission*, 1913
40. Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the US Exploring Expedition (Sulu, 1848)*
41. Various bound reports of the War Department, 1900 to 1914.
42. Various Congressional Hearings

#### OTHER BOOKS

1. Chapman, Ronald Fettes. *Leonard Wood and Leprosy in the Philippines*, 1982
2. Délor Angeles, F. *Mindanao: The Story of an Island*, 1964
3. Elarth, H. H. *Story of the Philippine Constabulary*, 1949
4. Forrest, Thomas. *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas, 1774-1776*, (reprint edition, 1969)
5. Fox, Robert B. *Religion and Society among the Tagbanuas of Palawan Island*, 1982
6. Goldhurst, Richard. *Pipeclay and Drill*, 1977
7. Grunder, Garel & W. Livezey. *The Philippines and the United States*, 1973
8. Harrison, Francis Burton. *Origins of the Philippine Republic*, 1951
9. Hobbes, Horace P. *Kris and Krag*, 1962
10. Kiefer, Thomas M. *The Tausug: Violence and Law in a Philippine Moslem Town*, 1972

11. Kaeuper, David H. *The Disintegration of the Sulu Sultanate*, 1968
12. Laubach, Frank. *The Silent Billion Speak*, 1943
13. Morison, Elting G. *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1951
14. Onorato, Michael. *Leonard Wood as Governor General*, 1969
15. Palabrica-Costello, Marilou. *Autonomy for Muslim Mindanao*, n.d.
16. *Pata Island and Two Reports*, by MNLF, n.d.
17. Santaren, Tomas. *Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements in the Philippines*, 1954
18. Tarling, Nicholas. *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World*, 1963 (Balangingi Piracy)
19. Vandiver, Frank. *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing*, 1977

*Appendix B - Partial List of Documents at the National Archives, Washington, D. C.*

1. Record Group 350 - Bureau of Insular Affairs Records. This contains an enormous amount of materials on Mindanao. Estimated volume of materials is about one ton.
2. Record Group 395 - Records of the US Military Operations Overseas, 1899-1942.

*Appendix C - Partial List of Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.*

1. Henry Allen, Chief, Philippine Constabulary
2. Tasker Bliss, 2nd Military Governor of Moro Province, 1906
3. Rev. Charles Henry Brent, Episcopalian Minister
4. Robert Lee Bullard, 1st Governor, Lanao District, 1902
5. Frank W. Carpenter, 1st Civilian Governor of Moro Province, renamed as Dept. of Mindanao and Sulu, 1914
6. Henry Corbin, Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.
7. W. Cameron Forbes, Governor-General of the Philippines

8. James Harbord, Asst. Chief, Phil. Constabulary; Head, Military Command, Mindanao & Sulu
9. Francis Burton Harrison, Governor-General of the Philippines
10. Frank Ross McCoy, Aide de Camp to Gen. Leonard Wood
11. Frank Murphy, last Governor-General of the Philippines
12. John McCauley Palmer, 2nd Governor of District of Lanao
13. John J. Pershing, last Military Governor of Moro Province, 1913 & Commander, US Expeditionary Forces in Europe, 1917
14. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Governor-General of the Philippines
15. Hugh Lenox Scott, Governor, District of Sulu
16. Moorfield Storey, Leader, Anti-Imperialist League
17. Henry Stimson, Governor-General of the Philippines
18. Leonard Wood, 1st Governor of Moro Province, 1903 and Governor General of the Philippines
19. William H. Taft, President, Philippine Commission & 1st Civilian Governor of the Philippine Islands

*Appendix D* - **Partial List of Papers at Bentley Historical Library, Univ. of Michigan & Bancroft Library, Univ. of California**

1. Harry Bandholtz, Chief, Philippine Constabulary after Allen
2. Joseph R. Hayden, Vice-Governor of the Philippines
3. Frank Murphy, last Governor-General of the Philippines & 1st US High Commissioner to the Philippines
4. Manuel L. Quezon, President, Philippine Commonwealth
5. Santiago Artiaga, Governor, District of Bukidnon
6. David Barrows, Chief, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes & President, University of California at Berkeley