

## THE HARRISON ADMINISTRATION AND THE MUSLIM FILIPINOS

Napoleon J. Casambre

When Francis Burton Harrison assumed the governor-generalship in October 1913, the Muslim Filipinos were the second largest non-Christian group of the Philippines. They were found mostly in the Sulu Archipelago and in certain parts of Mindanao. In 1918, they numbered about 327,464, or approximately 3.6% of the Philippine population.<sup>1</sup> Compared with the Christians, they were considered culturally less advanced. Their territories were not yet completely pacified, and because of this, they remained under quasi-military regimes until the latter part of 1913, when they were placed entirely under a civil administration.

During the first decade of American rule, the Muslim Filipinos were governed by a special form of government materially different from that found among the Christian Filipinos. Their government consisted of a governor and a legislative council. The council was composed of the governor, the secretary, the engineer, the treasurer, the superintendent of schools, and the provincial attorney — all Americans. The governor was appointed by the Governor-General, with the consent of the Philippine Commission.<sup>2</sup> Invariably a military officer, he was vested with both civil and military powers. The legislative council was the law-making body for the province. However, its enactments had to be first sanctioned by the Philippine Commission before they could be enforced. Most council members were also military officers, giving a military stamp on the Muslim government.

Widespread opposition to American rule made pacification by force of arms the primary task of the governor of the Muslim province. Under the administrations of Gen. Leonard Wood and Gen. John J. Pershing, military campaigns were conducted in which thousands of dissident Muslims were killed.<sup>3</sup> Pershing carried out his campaigns into

Mindanao hinterlands and was successful in spite of tremendous difficulties. As a result of these military victories, Muslim resistance against American sovereignty was broken and subsequently became moribund.

But lawlessness continued to prevail throughout the province, resulting in the death of Christian Filipinos and foreigners. To improve this situation, Pershing, with the consent of Governor-General Forbes, ordered in 1911 the confiscation of Muslim firearms.<sup>4</sup> Although the order was strongly resisted by the natives, it was nevertheless implemented successfully. The following year, with the establishment of relative peace and order, Pershing thought that the time had come to reorganize the Muslim province into a completely civil government.

Pershing, however, had other reasons for favoring government change. In his recommendation to Gen. J. Franklin Bell,<sup>5</sup> he pointed out that frequent changes of officials of the province, owing to the nature of the military organization to which these men belonged, was not conducive to further advancement.<sup>6</sup> He also stated that the change would reduce military expenditures since the personnel and equipment would henceforth be used solely for military purposes.<sup>7</sup>

Harrison also favored the proposed change, for he believed that "a long continued government of military men" was "in itself an invitation to war."<sup>8</sup> He knew quite well that in many instances, the presence of army officers in the government led to irritations and sometimes reprisals, as shown in the Datu Ali Revolt in 1905.<sup>9</sup> To express his support, he cabled the Secretary of War: "now the time has come to inaugurate a policy among the Moros which will substitute civil methods of military domination and thereby greatly increase peace and prosperity in these regions."<sup>10</sup>

The first change made was the appointment of a civilian governor on Nov. 28, 1913. Harrison, on General Bell's recommendation,<sup>11</sup> appointed his executive secretary, Frank W. Carpenter, to the position. In his appointment, he said:

The time has now come when, in my opinion, a civilian should be the governor of the Moro province. In this opinion, I am sustained by the judgment of the commanding general of this department, Major General J. Franklin Bell, and by General Pershing himself. I am therefore sending today to the Philippine Commission your appointment as the first civilian governor of the Moro Province. . .

I regard the opportunity for service in the Moro Province today of surpassing importance. That is why I have selected you for the position of governor down there, the man who, in my judgment, is the best fitted to perform the delicate and important function of that office.<sup>12</sup>

On December 15, 1913, Carpenter assumed the governorship of the Muslim Province. Five days later, the designation "Moro Province" was changed to "Department of Mindanao and Sulu," by Act No. 2309 of the Philippine Commission.<sup>13</sup> The Act also transferred the control of the special province of Agusan and Bukidnon from the Secretary of Interior to the new department. Consequently, Carpenter's jurisdiction was expanded to include some 36,500 square miles, almost one-third of the entire area of the Philippines.

Act No. 2408 passed by the Philippine Commission on July 23, 1914 provided for a temporary government for the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. It assigned the areas that would comprise the administrative unit, with the town of Zamboanga as the capital. It also specified and defined the powers of the governing bodies — the provincial governor and the administrative council. The provincial governor was given among other powers, the supervision and control of all the offices within his administrative jurisdiction, the power to appoint, as well as to remove officials who were responsible to him, and to enforce the laws. He was also given the authority to direct, through the district constabulary chief, the use and control of the peace enforcement agency within his department whenever necessary for public welfare.<sup>14</sup>

The administrative council, composed of the governor, the secretary, the treasurer, the attorney, and the department delegate, was given only advisory powers. Unlike the former legislative council, it could not pass local ordinances. With certain exceptions, the laws that would be enforced in the Department included the same general laws promulgated in the regular provinces and legislative acts of the Philippine Commission for the non-Christian provinces. To enhance further the uniformity of the general laws enforced among the Muslims and Christian Filipinos, a new code was promulgated in the Department on Sept. 1, 1914.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, all the American military forces were withdrawn from Mindanao and Sulu. Only a few garrisons of Philippine Scouts (Filipi-

nos) were stationed at strategic places to maintain public order. Abandoning the use of armed might to obtain the loyalty, support, and cooperation of the Muslims, Carpenter embarked on a "policy of attraction."<sup>16</sup> The policy was implemented in a number of ways, one of which was the appointment of as many Christian Filipinos and Muslims as possible in the provincial and district governments.

On Sept. 1, 1914, a Christian Filipino was installed governor of Zamboanga, and a Muslim was named the third member of its provincial board. At the same time, another Muslim was appointed to a similar position in the province of Cotabato.<sup>17</sup> Subsequently, the provinces, of Agusan, Bukidnon, and Davao were placed under Filipino governors. The 21 municipalities and 178 municipal districts that were later organized were generally given Christian and Muslim presidents. Carpenter's staff was also "filipinized." On Jan. 1, 1915, it had the following Filipino officials: Isidro Vaminta, Secretary; Ponciano Reyes, attorney; Doroteo Karagdag, delegate (deputy governor) and Jacobo Fajardo, health officer.<sup>18</sup> By 1921, there were only three Americans left in the Department: Col. Ole Waloe, local constabulary chief; Carl M. Moore, the Department superintendent of schools, and Paul Rogers, governor of Jolo.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, Carpenter granted local officials administrative autonomy, including matters pertaining to public order.<sup>20</sup> He made himself available to the people by conducting frequent "inspection tours" throughout the territory, and in dealing with them, especially with the Muslim *datus*, he invariably used personal tact, sympathy, and good judgment.<sup>21</sup> As a result, he was able to establish a cooperative, harmonious relationship, not only among the officials, but also between them and the local inhabitants.

Owing largely to his "policy of attraction", Carpenter was able to conclude a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu on March 22, 1915. In the treaty, the Sultan of Sulu and his heirs renounced their sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago, including the right to collect taxes, the right to decide religious cases and the reversionary right to all the islands. In return, the Sultan was recognized by the Government as the head of the Muslim Church in the Philippines, his pension of ₱ 12,000 was continued for life, and he was given a grant of land in Jolo.<sup>22</sup> The treaty signified the end of the once powerful Sultanate of Sulu.

An important political concession was granted the non-Christian Filipinos, including the Muslims, in the Jones Law of 1916. In the Jones Law, they were given seven seats in the 90-member House of Representatives and two seats in the 24-member Senate of the Philippine Legislature. Of those chosen by Harrison to represent the Department, three Muslims.<sup>23</sup> Their appointments were received with great satisfaction by the Muslims. For the first time in Philippine history, the Muslim Filipinos sat side by side with Christians in the legislative halls to work out the destiny of their common country.

The Jones Law also transferred the legislative control over the non-Christian provinces from the Philippine Commission to the Philippine Legislature and established the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. The Bureau was later placed under the Department of Interior by Act No. 2666.<sup>24</sup> Carpenter was appointed bureau director, in addition to his job as governor. Act No. 2674 of the Philippine Legislature stipulated that:

It shall be the duty of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to continue the work for advancement and liberty in favor of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos and foster by all adequate means and in a systematical, economic, social and political development of these regions, always bearing in view (sic) the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between and complete fusion of all the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the province of the Archipelago.<sup>25</sup>

When the Philippine Legislature was given (legislative) jurisdiction over the non-Christian provinces, the executive bureaus of the Insular Government also began to extend supervision over the units in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. As the Department improved and became less differentiated from the regular provinces, its continuance as a special political division was no longer necessary. Thus, in 1920 Act No. 2878 abolished the government of Mindanao and Sulu and territory was placed under the administrative control of the Secretary of Interior.<sup>26</sup>

Lawlessness, however, remained a serious problem. Outlaw bands continued to roam around Lake Lanao, in the unexplored areas where

the provinces of Bukidnon, Cotabato, and Lanao meet, and in Sulu. Although not as many as in the preceding years, still they precluded the establishment of a permanent public order and the extension of government control to all Muslim territories.<sup>27</sup> Since further development of the area was contingent upon the solution of this problem, the government immediately took steps to solve it.

In April, 1916, the government launched a systematic campaign against the outlaws, using the local constabulary forces. After three months of intensive campaign, over 3,000 square miles were pacified. At the same time, 197 firearms and 500 bladed weapons were surrendered or captured in Sulu.<sup>28</sup> The campaign seemed so successful that even Harrison himself thought that the "termination of outlawry and the extension of government control to all Mohammedan territory" were accomplished that year.<sup>29</sup>

In the ensuing years, until the end of Harrison's regime, relative peace and order was maintained in Mindanao and Sulu. The only serious disturbance was when 18 Japanese nationals were murdered by some Bagobos in Guianga, Davao in 1919. The Bagobos reportedly thought that the Japanese had deprived them of their lands.<sup>30</sup> Harrison in his last official report described the conditions of public order to be . . .

. . . . encouraging in the highest degree due to the efficiency of the work of the constabulary and the fact and efficiency of the provincial and municipal officials. There is now no organized band of outlaws, nor is there in any district a defiance or refusal to submit to the constituted authority. The number of crimes committed, especially in Sulu, has decreased and security of life and property is now greater than ever before.<sup>31</sup>

Aside from establishing public order, the government took steps to improve agriculture. One such step was the establishment of agricultural colonies, where Christian Filipinos from the Visayas and Luzon were settled to live side by side with Muslims.<sup>32</sup> Administration officials thought this step would increase the production of staple crops, particularly rice. The government had two important reasons in founding these settlements: to relieve population pressure in the densely populated areas, and to promote harmonious relationship between Muslims and Christian Filipinos.<sup>33</sup>

The first colonies were established in Cotabato, where the soil and climate were most favorable to agriculture. Later, through executive orders<sup>34</sup>, other settlements sprang up in Zamboanga, Bukidnon, Agusan, and Davao. In Davao, a special colony for American settlers was also created in Momunga town in 1915. To attract Christian Filipinos to these colonies, the government gave financial aid to settlers. The Philippine Legislature appropriated ₱ 50,000 for 1915, ₱ 20,000 for 1916, and ₱ 100,000 for 1917.<sup>35</sup>

To increase agricultural production in Muslim territories, the government included "agricultural propaganda" in the work program of officials. Agriculture — farming and gardening was made a practical subject in the schools. Some graduates of Muñoz Agricultural School were sent to Mindanao to teach modern agricultural methods, in some cases, at agricultural farm settlement schools.<sup>36</sup>

As a consequence, the production of agricultural crops, such as abaca, coconut, corn, and rice increased. In 1917, rise in the production of copra and abaca was a "little short of phenomenal."<sup>37</sup> The following year, coconut replaced abaca as the leading export crop due to the tremendous expansion of the oil industry abroad. The great demand increased prices for coconut products and caused planters to expand their coconut lands in 1918. In some localities, abaca plantations were replanted to coconuts.<sup>38</sup>

1919 was a "bad year" not only for the farmers of Mindanao and Sulu, but throughout the country.<sup>39</sup> The prices of the major agricultural exports slumped, virtually paralyzing Philippine exports. In Cotabato, locust infestations destroyed over 70 per cent of the rice crops and droughts destroyed corn crops. Indeed, 1919 witnessed a rice crisis in the Philippines.

To further encourage agriculture in Mindanao and Sulu, Harrison, in his official report for 1919, recommended the continuance of fund allotments for the opening and maintenance of land and water communication, land surveys, and irrigation system. He also urged for more capital, homeseekers and laborers to be brought to Mindanao, and for greater assistance, protection and encouragement to be given to persons who desire to cultivate lands in the area. He ordered the immediate application of the Cadastral Law to Mindanao and Sulu, and asked that more liberal financial terms be granted to planters by the Philippine Na-

tional Bank and other similar financial institutions established by the insular government.<sup>40</sup>

Developments in trade and commerce followed closely those in agriculture. At the time of agricultural progress, both domestic and foreign commerce expanded in Mindanao and Sulu. A marked increase in domestic trade was mainly brought about by a decline in the profitability in the old Philippine trade with Singapore and Borneo.<sup>41</sup>

When 1919 and 1920 there was no satisfactory market for export products, foreign trade stood almost at standstill. Retail and wholesale merchants incurred heavy losses when they hurriedly disposed of their goods at reduced prices.

In its aim to bring the Muslim Filipinos to the same cultural level as the Christians and unite both groups into a harmonious relationship, the government had perhaps made no greater effort than the establishment of educational institutions in Mindanao and Sulu. Initially, the opening of schools was hampered by strong opposition from the old Muslim headmen and *panditas* (religious leaders), who feared that this might undermine, if not destroy their religious practices, habits, and customs.<sup>42</sup> Owing to the influence of headmen and *panditas*, many a Muslim family refused to send their children to government schools. By 1915, the end of the military regime in Mindanao and Sulu, the children who attended schools numbered only 4,535.<sup>43</sup>

The more significant progress made when civil authorities took over the government was due to a number of factors. One factor was that there was no more opposition from some influential Muslims. The Philippine Legislature also liberally granted funds for the opening and support of new schools in the territory. In 1915, for instance, it set aside ₱ 1,000,000 for the construction and maintenance of more primary schools in non-Christian provinces<sup>44</sup> and for the training of teachers for these schools.

Another factor was Carpenter's executive order which made school attendance compulsory for children 7-13 years old who resided within two kilometers from a school.<sup>45</sup> To prevent indifferent parents from escaping or refusing to comply with this rule, the order prohibited people from changing their residence without previous permission from their respective provincial governors.<sup>46</sup>

The progress in education was reflected in increased enrollment

and in the number of teachers employed in the schools. The growth of schools in the Mindanao area is shown in the following table:

TABLE NO. I <sup>x</sup>

Year	No. of Schools in Operation	No. of Teachers	Enrollment
1914	157	311	14,800
1915 <sup>y</sup>	180	373	16,019
1916	—	—	—
1917	292	613	25,167
1918	372	772	32,438
1919	468	1,049	41,179
1920	606	1,261	53,096
1921	690	1,452	61,187

<sup>x</sup> The figures were taken from the official reports of the Governor-General, 1914-1921,

<sup>y</sup> No data were available.

The number of Muslim girls enrolled in government schools increased rapidly. In 1917, the number of Muslim girls in Public schools was 331; the following year, it rose to 724, or an increase of 119 per cent.<sup>47</sup> This was significant, for prior to establishment of civil rule in the area, no girls went to school for formal education. Their place in traditional Muslim society had always been the home, and if they had any instructions at all, it was given by private tutors.

In general, the school system was adapted to the "peculiar economic and social needs" of the various localities. Vocational instruction was emphasized — boys were taught subjects in agriculture, and girls were given lessons in weaving and sewing. In some communities, instruction in the preparation of sea products and other lines of work known to the people were provided by the schools.<sup>48</sup>

Most teachers were Christian Filipinos. Aside from being qualified, they were employed in line with the government's educational object-

ive — to promote harmonious relationship between Christian and non-Christian Filipinos. In 1917, about 500 teachers from the more developed parts of the country, were sent to the Muslim provinces to carry on the work. More teachers were also employed, including six princesses from the Sultanate of Sulu.<sup>49</sup>

The government also extended health and social welfare services to the Muslims. This activity was found most rewarding. On one hand, it gave essential ameliorative benefits to the people; on the other hand, it gained friendship and support for the government. As Carpenter put it: “(hospitals and dispensaries) are the means I have found effective... in the maintenance of public order.”<sup>50</sup>

Government hospitals were established in the provincial capitals of Agusan, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, Sulu, and Zamboanga. Health dispensaries were also constructed to provide medical relief to people of outlying communities. At first, the Muslims were suspicious of these services and they refused to take advantage of these medical facilities. Later, when they changed their attitude and began accepting modern medicine, more hospitals and dispensaries were built in the territory. In 1921, there were 103 government dispensaries in operation.<sup>51</sup>

In 1916, the insular bureau of health took over the control and management of health in Mindanao and Sulu. Thus, the campaign to improve the people's health in the regularly organized provinces was extended to Muslim territories. Modern hygiene and sanitation was taught to school children. Health authorities carried out vaccinations against cholera, typhoid, and smallpox. The government also drilled artesian wells to give the people safe drinking water. Health and social welfare services were likewise dispensed by private sectarian organizations. At Zamboanga, the Roman Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church Mission each operated a hospital.<sup>52</sup> The latter also maintained a “Moro Settlement House”, where Muslim women and children were taught weaving and lace making. Another private hospital was managed by the Congregational Mission in the town of Davao. These hospitals were generally patronized by Christian Filipinos but well-to-do Muslims also sought medical aid within their walls.

Equally important was the extension of public works throughout Mindanao and Sulu to facilitate their economic development, as well as to effect government control. At the time the military authorities con-

trolled the area, only a few permanent roads were constructed, mainly to facilitate the transport of troops needed for the pacification campaign. When the civil regime was instituted, a more vigorous program of road-building was carried out. Moreover, special attention was given to the construction and care of trails, improvement of ports and harbor facilities, the maintenance of telephone lines, the removal of obstacles to navigation in rivers, and the construction and upkeep of public buildings, especially schools and hospitals.

As in the regularly organized provinces, public works funding was a problem, in spite of the fact that funds came from three different sources: municipal, provincial, and insular governments. There was also the problem of insufficient labor supply, caused partly by poor working conditions and the idea of living in remote and isolated regions, and partly by the availability of better employment in coconut and hemp plantations.<sup>53</sup> Despite these difficulties, significant progress was made in public works as shown in the following table:

TABLE NO. II<sup>x</sup>

Year	Roads (kms)			Trails (kms.)	Telephones (kms.)
	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class		
1914	None	90	199	2,400	None
1915	65.9	114.9	285.2	2,437	None
1916	94.9	87.2	340.3	2,515	567
1917 <sup>y</sup>	—	—	—	—	—
1918	118.8	184.5	2,327.7	1,898.3	1,381.6
1919	143.5	234.7	309.7	2,075.7	1,381.6
1920	143.5	190.0	220.0	2,000	1,381.6
1921	154.0	141.1	257.2	1,442.7	1,381.6

<sup>x</sup>The figures were taken from the official reports of the Governor-General, 1914-1921.

<sup>y</sup>No data were available.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that under the Harrison

administration conscious efforts were made to bring the Muslim Filipinos to the same cultural level as the Christian Filipinos and to integrate them into the colonial body politic. For the first time since the implantation of American sovereignty in the Philippines, a civil government was established over the Muslim territories. Through the civil government, all branches of public services were extended to the people. Despite initial difficulties, government policies were carried out with relative success largely because of the important role played by Carpenter as the first civil governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

**NAPOLEON J. CASAMBRE** is associate professor at the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City. He earned his master's degree in history (1958) at Cornell University and his Ph.D. in history (1968) at Stanford University.

#### NOTES

1. *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, II, p. 907.
2. Act. No. 787, Philippine Commission, June 3, 1903.
3. Francis Burton Harrison, *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence, A Narrative of Seven Years* (New York, 1922), 0. 95.
4. Executive Order No. 24, Sept. 8, 1911.
5. Commanding General of the United States Army Forces in the Philippines from Jan. 13, 1911 to April 15, 1914.
6. Pershing to Bell, Nov. 1, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Harrison, *p. cit.*, p. 105.
9. According to Harrison, the Muslim datu revolted to avenge an insult and injury received from a sergeant who kicked him when he presented some grievances at a military headquarters. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
10. Cablegram sent by Harrison to the Secretary of War, Nov. 25, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.
11. In his recommendation, Bell said: "...he [Carpenter] is by long odds better qualified than any one else I know to assume the important obligations of Governor of the Moro Province. His character and temperament, together with his demonstrated ability and ripe experience, put him in a class himself. Furthermore, I know no civilian in the Islands who commands the respect of the army in such degree as does Mr. Carpenter." See Bell to Harrison, Nov. 20, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.
12. Harrison to Carpenter, Nov. 28, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.
13. *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 3rd Philippine Legislature, 2nd session, p. 908.
14. Act. No. 2408. For a complete text of the Act, see *Bureau of Insular Affairs* File 5075-89.
15. Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Secretary

of War, 1914, embodied in the **War Department Annual Reports**, 1915, III, p. 5

16. **Report of the Governor-General**, 1914, p. 61.
17. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 115
19. *Ibid.*, p. 116
20. Carpenter, in justifying this policy to Gen. Frank McIntyre, said: "The Moro is . . . without ability as yet to comprehend government except as purely a personal matter entirely dependent upon the personality of the highest visible authority. He knows there is a Governor-General in Manila and as a rule he believed it in the same way that he believed in the existence of Alah and without any more thought of the possibility of direct personal appeal. The 'Governor of Zamboanga' is the tangible ultimate authority in the minds of the Moros and it has been increasingly apparent to me that if provincial governors are to be strengthened duly... the 'Governor of Zamboanga' must get into the remote invisible class of Alah and the Governor-General." Carpenter to McIntyre, July 24, 1917, in **Bureau of Insular Affairs Files**— Personal File of Frank W. Carpenter.
21. Brent to McIntyre, Sept. 20, 1916, **Bureau of Insular Affairs File** — 5075-117.
22. **Memorandum Agreement between the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands and the Sultan of Sulu**, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.
23. **Report of the Governor-General**, 1916, p. 17.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 33.,
25. Section 3, Act No. 2674, Philippine Legislature, Feb. 20, 1917.;
26. The exact provision follows: "The Secretary of Interior, through the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, shall hereafter exercise the powers and perform the administrative and supervisory duties therefore vested and performed by the Government of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu over the municipal, provincial, municipal district governments and their authorized subdivisions."
27. **Report of the Governor-General**, 1916, p. 41.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 65.
31. **House Documents**, 67 Cong., 2 sess., No. 267, p. 37.
32. **Report of the Governor-General**, 1915, p. 7.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Executive Order Nos. 12 and 13, Feb. 17, 1915; also Executive Orders Nos. 36 and 37, May 20, 1915.
35. **Report of the Governor-General**, 1917, p. 69.
36. *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 62.
37. Report of the Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 60.
38. Report of the Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, *Ibid.*, p. 84.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
40. **Report of the Governor-General**, 1919, p. 78.
41. *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 74.
42. **Report of the Director of Education**, 1908, p. 85.
43. Report of the Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, **Report of the Governor-General**, 1913, p. 352.
44. Act No. 2531, Philippine Legislature, Oct. 26, 1915.
45. Report of the Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, **Report of the Governor-General**, 1918, p. 75.

46. **Ibid.**
47. **Ibid.**
48. Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction, **Report of the Governor-General, 1915**, p. 216.
49. **Report of the Director of Education, 1919**, p. 45.
50. Carpenter to McIntyre, July 24, 1917, found in the **Bureau of Insular Affairs File – 5075-122.**
51. **House Documents, 67 Cong., 2 sess., No. 398**, p. 70.
52. **Report of the Governor-General, 1918**, p. 74.
53. Report of the Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, **Report of the Governor-General, 1918**, p. 80.,

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