

LEONARD WOOD AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

A Dissertation

by

JAMES HERMAN PRUITT II

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2011

Major Subject: History

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ABSTRACT

Leonard Wood and the American Empire. (May 2011)

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During the ten years following the Spanish American War (1898 to 1908), Major General Leonard Wood served as the primary agent of American imperialism. Wood was not only a proconsul of the new American Empire; he was a symbol of the empire and the age in which he served. He had the distinction of directing civil and military government in Cuba and the Philippines where he implemented the imperial policies given to him by the administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. In Cuba, he labored to rebuild a state and a civil society crippled by decades of revolutionary ferment and guided the administration's policy through the dangerous channels of Cuban politics in a way that satisfied – at least to the point of avoiding another revolution – both the Cubans and the United States. In the Philippines, Wood took control of the Moro Province and attempted to smash the tribal-religious leadership of Moro society in order to bring it under direct American rule. His personal ideology, the imperial policies he shepherded, and the guidance he provided to fellow military officers and the administrations he served in matters of colonial administration and defense shaped the American Empire and endowed it with his personal stamp.

To my wonderful and supportive wife Nicole
and my three beautiful daughters – Faith, Teagan, and Keileigh

SDG – Jeremiah 6:16

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Due to the success of the Spanish American War, President William McKinley's administration unexpectedly found itself in possession of insular territories in the Caribbean and the Far East. Unlike the smaller coaling stations scattered around the globe, or even the Hawaiian Islands with their substantial community of American expatriates, the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico were large islands inhabited almost exclusively by indigenous populations. Under McKinley and the later administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the United States struggled to develop an imperial policy to govern these new territories and to bolster its recently acquired status as a world power. During those first ten years (1898 to 1908) of the American Empire, the primary agent of American imperialism was Major General Leonard Wood.

Wood was not only a proconsul of the American Empire; he was a symbol of the empire and the age in which he served. He had the distinction of directing civil and military governments in Cuba and the Philippines where he implemented the imperial policies given to him by the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations. In Cuba, he labored to rebuild a state and a civil society crippled by decades of revolutionary ferment and guided the administration's policy through the dangerous channels of Cuban politics in a way that satisfied – at least to the point of avoiding another revolution – both the Cubans and the United States. In the Philippines, Wood took control of the Moro

This dissertation follows the style of *The Journal of Military History*.

Province and attempted to smash the tribal-religious leadership of Moro society in order to bring it under direct American rule. His personal ideology, the imperial policies he shepherded, and the guidance he provided to fellow military officers and the administrations he served in matters of colonial administration and defense shaped the American Empire and endowed it with his personal stamp.

Due to his prominence, Wood's imperial career provides a window into the post-1898 American empire and to the progressive forces that shaped imperial policy in a number of substantial ways. First, as the executive branch's chosen instrument of imperial governance, Wood's colonial administration of Cuba and the Moro Province provides an excellent opportunity to trace the development and implementation of imperial grand strategy in the new possessions. Second, Wood's career opens an avenue from which to study the U.S. Army's role in occupation, pacification, military government, and imperial defense. Third, an examination of Wood's imperial experience highlights the importance of individuals in determining and implementing American foreign policy. An assessment of Wood's service in Cuba and the Philippines offers new insights on colonial administration, the demands of imperial service, and the larger impact of the Progressive Movement.

Although often consigned to the realm of military or diplomatic history, the American Empire and General Wood's tenure as a colonial administrator is crucial to understanding the Progressive Era of which it was a major part. With few exceptions, historians have separated American overseas expansion from domestic Progressivism

but their influence upon one another is incalculable.¹ The same forces that gave rise to Progressivism on the national level gave the United States the ends, ways, and means to project its power abroad and to expand beyond its continental limits. The remarkable economic growth and technological advancements, and the resulting problems of industrialization, immigration, and labor, not only called forth the progressive reformer but gave the country sufficient military and economic means to turn its interest overseas. The centralization of political and military power onto the national level, the result of the Progressive crusade to bring order out of the chaos of industrialization and unregulated capitalism, gave the federal government the ability to project its power beyond the continental bounds of the nation. Within the government, progressive reformers sharpened the instruments of American expansion, the U.S. military and diplomatic services, through efforts aimed at professionalization and efficiency. Progressive theories on education, government, public health, economic organization and the structure of civil society often provided the methods of imperial governance. The quest for sustained economic growth, the development of foreign markets and even the progressive's commitment to social progress provided some of the ends to expansion and inspired those who wanted to carry the blessings of civilization and progress to the less fortunate around the world.

The military occupation and governance of Cuba and the Philippines provided a showcase for the progressive experiment. Military and civil governors and military/civil

¹ For the Progressive-Imperial connection, see: James L. Abrahamson, *America Arms for a New Century: The Making of a Great Military Power* (New York: Free Press, 1981) and John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United State Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973).

commissions provided strong executive leadership and furnished the necessary personnel, usually soldiers, needed to gather information and process it in a systematic fashion that could be effectively utilized by policy makers. In addition, both nascent native democracy and the more traditional conservative forces proved too weak to hinder progressive executive policy. In short the empire was a fertile field for the progressive plant to grow and nurture. Many of the movement's breakthroughs came within the empire.

Wood's military government implemented many of the reforms valued by progressives in the United States. The military government pioneered efforts at sanitation and public health that led to the creation of the yellow fever commission under Major Walter Reed, U.S. Army. Through extensive research partially funded by the military government, the commission discovered the mosquito as the primary carrier of the disease and implemented effective means to control the frequent epidemics of the disease for the first time. Cuba also became a testing ground for the practicality of Progressive educational theory and the insular government worked closely with Harvard to train native teachers in those methods. In public works Governor Wood adopted an extensive program in Cuba to not only build an infrastructure and lay the ground work for economic progress but to solve problems of unemployment; a progressive reform not adopted in the United States until Franklin Roosevelt and the Great Depression. Similar

efforts occurred to one degree or another in the Philippine and in most of the American interventions in Central America and the Caribbean.²

Leonard Wood's imperial service has been the subject of three scholarly biographies: Herman Hagedorn's *Leonard Wood: A Biography* (1931), Jack C. Lane's *Armed Progressive: General Leonard Wood* (1978), and Jack McCallm's *Leonard Wood: Rough Rider, Surgeon, Architect of American Imperialism* (2006).³

Hermann Hagedorn was a colleague of Wood and the "official biographer" with unlimited access to the Wood papers and the cooperation of Wood's confidantes and contemporaries. He portrayed Wood as the model colonial administrator, a benevolent autocrat who undertook the difficult task of reconstructing both Cuba and the Moro Province and defending the Philippines against Japanese aggression. His overly favorable portrayal of the general and uncritical treatment of Wood's many controversial actions is the primary drawback to his work.

Jack Lane's biography argued that Wood's activities in Cuba and the Philippines reflected Progressive efforts in the United States – the drive for efficiency and the reform of schools, hospitals, charitable institutions, the judiciary, and even government. Wood was a proponent of a new model army, which valued managerial, administrative, and diplomatic talents as much as experience in troop command. As Commanding

² Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1860-1941* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1998); Howard Gillett, Jr., "The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1899-1902: Workshop For American Progressivism," *American Quarterly* 25 (October 1973); and David F. Healy, *The United States in Cuba, 1898-1902: Generals, Politicians, and the Search for Policy* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963).

³ Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography* 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931); Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive: General Leonard Wood* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978); and Jack McCallum, *Leonard Wood: Rough Rider, Surgeon, Architect of American Imperialism* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

General of the Philippine Division, he proved an ardent champion of American expansion and relished the possibility of military action against China and Japan. If Hagedorn's work suffered from hagiography, Lane's dislike for his subject prevented him from providing a balanced assessment of Wood's role as imperial administrator. Lane viewed Wood as a capable administrator, but also a ruthless self-promoter obsessed with personal advancement and glory.

Jack McCallum made an important distinction between the actions of Wood as imperial proconsul in Cuba and the Philippines. He argued that in Cuba, Wood served as the model colonial administrator who sought to rebuild a nation from the ruins of civil war. But in the Moro provinces, Wood served as an enforcer of American rule and paid little attention to nation building. McCallum attributed the difference in approach to the vicious confirmation hearings over Wood's promotion to major general that occurred in the interim between the two assignments. The attacks upon his character and military abilities led him to seek glory on Philippine battlefields at the cost of nation building. Although a more balanced overall portrayal, McCallum overemphasizes Wood's personal experiences but failed to place him in the broader context as agent of American empire.

For a number of reasons, including the shortcomings in the previously mentioned biographies, Wood's career as a colonial administrator and instrument of American expansion deserves a fresh examination. With the exception of McCallum's biography, all biographies of Wood are over three decades old. Lane and many of the other military biographers of the period wrote within the context of Progressivism as defined by the

organizational theories of Robert Wiebe's *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (1967).⁴

Following the organizational approach outlined by Wiebe, these studies focused on the professionalization and bureaucratization of the American military as it mirrored those efforts in other professions.

In addition to the potential for further research into Progressivism, the American empire also raises topics relevant to current policy debates. Cuba and the Philippines both provide an excellent opportunity to study nation-building, what the U.S. Army now terms as Phase 4 operations, the inherent tension in civil-military relations, and the cultural problems of working with those of a different political, ideological, and religious heritage. It is also an opportunity to observe how the U.S. Army, operating in a climate of persistent conflict and in a volatile strategic environment, transformed itself from a frontier constabulary to a modern army capable of full spectrum readiness. In Cuba, Leonard Wood, as military governor, sought to use the personnel and structure of the U.S. Army, a highly centralized, hierarchical organization, to create a democracy and launch a stable and independent country. In the Philippines, initially in an effort to battle an insurgency, the Army assumed political control and responsibility for individual

⁴ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). For the Progressive-U.S. Army connection, see: James L. Abrahamson, *America Arms for a New Century: The Making of a Great Military Power* (New York: Free Press, 1981) and John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United State Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973). Other exceptions to the compartmentalization of the American empire and the most common medium for exploring its interconnectedness with the Progressive Movement has been through the biographies of imperial policymakers. Such biographies include: Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1938); Donald Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior: the early life of John J. Pershing* (New York: Scribner, 1973); Heath Twitchell, Jr., *Allen: The Biography of an Army Officer, 1859-1930* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974); Allan R. Millett, *The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the United States Army, 1881-1925* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975); A.J. Bacevich, *Diplomat in Khaki: Major General Frank Ross McCoy and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1949* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1989).

towns and villages. Only gradually did the military occupation give way reluctantly to a civil commission and eventually a civil governor. When Wood took control of the Moro Provinces, the War Department gave the reins of both civil and military government to him, as it had in Cuba. Unlike Cuba, however, many Filipino Muslims [Moros] had not yet submitted to American authority and Wood had to use a combination of military force, diplomacy, and progressive reform to achieve that goal. The opportunities and challenges encountered by Wood in both areas are precursors to the international environment of the 21st Century where the United States once again attempts to use the military to bring stability, democratic progress, and security to parts of the world.

The following account of Leonard Wood's career examines the first years of American government in Cuba and the Philippines and places his administration squarely in the milieu of the progressive reform. While acknowledging the previous work on the development of colonial policy in Washington D.C. and the interactions between the colonial administrators and the federal government, the narrative expands to include the actual implementation of policy on the ground and the impact of that implementation on the formation of policy from above. The larger distinction between implementation of policy and the initiation of policy on the policy formation process and the administration level will also be discussed. Six major administrative policy areas pursued by the U.S. Army in both areas are considered: sanitation and public health, public works, economic development, education, law and order, and imperial defense. The goal is a comprehensive analysis of Wood's career as a proconsul that demonstrates the interconnectedness of the American empire, the Progressive Era, and the U.S. Army.

CHAPTER II

THE ROAD TO SANTIAGO

By the time of his death in 1927, Leonard Wood had risen to the rank of major general, held the office of Army Chief of Staff, just missed becoming the Republican nominee for President in 1919, been Governor General of the Philippines, and had otherwise served his country with distinction for over forty years. His military career began humbly enough on June 17, 1885, when, as a recent graduate of Harvard Medical School, he entered the employ of the U.S. Army as a contract surgeon for \$100.00 a month. Wood had originally hoped for an appointment as a commissioned officer in the regular Army's Medical Department.⁵ However, the War Department had no vacancies at the time and the young doctor accepted a contract position with the hope of securing a commission in the future. From these modest beginnings, Wood steadily built a solid military career by seizing opportunity, overcoming challenges, and by making powerful friends. Eager to eventually make the transfer from the Medical Department to the combat branches, Wood also became an avid student of military science. Many of the lessons he learned on the frontier influenced his response to the situations in Cuba and against the Moros.⁶

⁵ The term *regular*, as well as *regular army* or *regular troops*, refers to individuals or groups who have chosen the army as their career. The term excludes those whose career is in a different profession but who have joined or been drafted into the army for a limited time or purpose – citizen soldiers, the National Guard, or volunteer units.

⁶ Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine*; and Brian McAllister Linn, "The Long Twilight of the Frontier Army," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 141-167. Birtle, Linn, and others trace the continuity between the U.S. Army's experience on the American frontier and its experience on the imperial frontier.

The Education of a Frontier Officer

As his first assignment, the War Department sent Dr. Wood to Fort Huachuca in the Department of Arizona. He arrived at his new post on July 4, 1885, and immediately went on an expedition against the illusive Apaches who often left the reservation to raid the surrounding countryside and into Mexico. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Wood eagerly embraced the often grueling life on a frontier post and routinely volunteered for field service. Assigned to Troop B, commanded by Captain Henry W. Lawton, a noted Indian fighter and veteran of the Red River War, Wood participated in many of the last major campaigns against the Apaches in the southwest. In these campaigns, Wood served with two of the most notable general officers in the Indian Wars: General George Crook and General Nelson A. Miles.⁷

George Crook commanded the Department of Arizona from September 4, 1882 to April 12, 1886. Known for his unconventional approach, he introduced several tactical innovations that proved successful in countering the guerrilla warfare waged by the Indians. To solve the problem of mobility in often broken country, Crook abandoned the use of supply wagons and instead relied upon pack mules. He became especially noted, sometimes derisively, for his careful selection and care of the mules and for his elevation of their packing to a science. In several campaigns he cut loose from his supply trains altogether and attempted to emulate his adversaries by living off the countryside. Crook also relied heavily upon Indian allies – often members of the same

⁷ Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973); and Lane, *Armed Progressive*. The following description of Crook and Miles relies heavily upon Utley and Lane.

tribe that he pursued – as his chief tactical arm. His tenacity in pursuit, his general forthrightness in negotiations with the hostiles, his concern for their well-being once peace had been achieved and his record of patient administration made him one of the most successful campaigners in the U.S. Army.

Nelson A. Miles, Crook's rival and an accomplished Indian fighter known for his campaigns against the Sioux and the Nez Perce, took command of the Department of Arizona when General Crook asked to be relieved because of conflict with General Philip H. Sheridan, the Army's commanding general, over how to deal with Geronimo. Although considered at the time a repudiation of Crook and his methods, Miles utilized the same tactical innovations with only one important difference. Whereas Crook relied upon his Indians allies supported by regulars, Miles fielded an expedition of handpicked regulars assisted by Indian scouts to pursue Geronimo and his followers. He chose Lawton and his command to form a lightly equipped long-range striking force. After a personal interview with Dr. Wood, Miles "selected him for the difficult and important service of accompanying Capt. Lawton's command in the Geronimo's campaign on account of his intelligence enterprise and strong physique and directed him to make a study of the differences between the Indian and white man as to power, endurance, courage, etc."⁸

The grueling four month campaign, in which the expedition hounded Geronimo and his followers as they crisscrossed between Arizona, New Mexico, and northern

⁸ Nelson A. Miles to Stephen Field, 2 November 1889, Box 26, Leonard Wood Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; and Leonard Wood, *The Journal of Leonard Wood, May-September, 1886* ed. Jack C. Lane (Albuquerque; University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 26.

Mexico, finally induced Geronimo to surrender. In the process, Wood, who with the exception of Lawton was the only officer to serve for the duration, gained valuable experience as he often functioned as Lawton's second in command and even exercised independent field command on occasion. At one point, when it looked like Wood might have to return due to an infected tarantula bite, Lawton wrote to his wife that: "It not only leaves the command without a medical officer, but no one to look after him, and he has always been my warmest friend and supporter. I don't know what I shall do without him."⁹ Miles, who became a personal friend and early mentor to Wood, later commented that "in case of war I should expect him [Wood] to excel as a leader in the line of the army rather than in following his profession as I think he would prefer the more serious duties of the line of the army than of his profession."¹⁰

After the successful completion of the Geronimo campaign, Miles adopted Wood as a protégé and, when he assumed command of the Division of the Pacific in 1888, had the young doctor appointed to division headquarters. For the next five years, Wood served closely with the general and availed himself of every opportunity to study and apply military science. As at Fort Huachuca, Wood continued to volunteer for active field service. He supplemented these outings with the few readings on military science he could find and by participating in the annual camp of instruction at Monterey. According to Miles, he devoted "a good portion of his time to study, much to physical exercises and a small percentage to the usual amusements and recreations."¹¹ In his

⁹ Henry W. Lawton to Mary "Mame" Lawton, 14 July 1886, Henry W. Lawton Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

¹⁰ Nelson Miles to Stephen Field, 2 November 1889, Box 26, Wood Papers.

¹¹ Ibid.

spare time, Wood met, courted, and eventually married Louise Condit-Smith, the ward and niece of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Stephen Field. “Lou” became a life-long partner in Wood’s military career, a staunch promoter of his interests in Washington, and a defender of his legacy after his death.

In September 1895, after serving two uneventful years at Fort McPherson, Georgia, the War Department ordered Wood to Washington D.C. as an assistant attending surgeon to the president and members of his administration. Wood served both Grover Cleveland and William McKinley and became friends with each. When McKinley became president, Wood became the personal physician to his chronically ill wife and had personal contact with the president on a daily basis. In June of 1897, Wood met and soon became close friends with Under-Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt recruited Wood into his inner-circle and the latter became a proponent of Roosevelt’s large policy. Eager for military glory and advancement, Wood and Roosevelt watched the Cuban revolution and the growing tension between the United States and Spain anxiously.

The Spanish-Cuban-American War

The Cuban Revolution of 1895 followed decades of revolutionary ferment that had sporadically flared into open rebellion, most notably in the Ten Year’s War from 1868 to 1878. Such widespread discontent stemmed from economic and societal forces which rocked Cuba in the latter half of the nineteenth century and to which the Spanish government of the island proved unwilling or unable to cope. Although the Cuban

economy during that period remained predominately agricultural, sugar became the primary staple crop and shifted the agricultural base away from the large cattle ranches and a more diversified crop base. The seasonal nature of sugar production combined with the complete emancipation of the slave labor force in 1880 generated massive amounts of unemployed workers who either lingered in the countryside or migrated to the cities in search of work. The continued mechanization of sugar cultivation added to their numbers. The landowners fared little better as the Ten Year's War resulted in substantial destruction, led to increasing indebtedness to Spanish financiers, and made it difficult to secure capital. In the face of these difficulties, Spanish authorities resisted appeals by indigenous leaders and steadfastly maintained an archaic form of mercantilism that kept Cuba from expanding its exports and importing cheaper finished goods from abroad. The end of a reciprocity trade agreement with the United States on sugar was the final blow that opened the door to revolution.¹²

The discontent with and eventual insurrection against Spain witnessed the development of three distinct power centers in the Cuban revolution. Their relations to one another, to Spain, and eventually to the United States impacted the course of the war and the American occupation that followed. The theoretical head of the Cuban insurrection was the Cuban Provisional Government, also known as the Council of Government, which proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Cuba and adopted a constitution on September 16, 1895. The Cuban Junta, headquartered in New York, dealt

¹² Healy, *The United States in Cuba*; Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961); and Louis A. Perez, *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983). All three of these authors offer a detailed account of the buildup to the Spanish-American War and the Cuban revolutions that preceded and helped to shape that war.

almost exclusively with the United States government and handled the public relations campaign designed to enlist American support for Cuban independence. The junta raised funds, purchased supplies, enlisted volunteers, lobbied governmental officials and fed sensational stories to the American media that helped to generate the move toward intervention. The Cuban Liberation Army led by Maximo Gomez and controlled through various regional leaders constituted the third power center. By 1898 the Cuban Liberation Army and Spanish military forces had reached a stalemate, with the Spanish in control of the major towns and the insurgents in control of the countryside. Due to their geographical isolation from one another, the lack of a reliable communication system, and to competing interests, the three power centers often worked at cross-purposes in their efforts to achieve Cuban independence.

The lack of coordination among the Cubans became starkly apparent when President McKinley bowed to growing public and congressional pressure and asked Congress for permission to forcibly intervene in Cuba. After Congress passed the declaration of war on April 25, 1898, Estrada Palma, head of the Cuban Junta in New York, immediately pledged Cuban support of the American war effort and placed the Cuban Liberation Army under American command without consulting either the army or the home government. When the Cuban Provisional Government learned of Palma's actions, it dispatched Vice-President Domingo Mendez Capote to the United States to supersede Palma as the ranking Cuban delegate in Washington. Nevertheless, it endorsed his decision and on May 12, 1898, ordered the Liberation Army to submit to

American authority. Consulted by neither Palma nor the home government, Cuban military leaders denounced the decision but complied.

Prior to the declaration of war, McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers to supplement the regular army for a possible campaign in Cuba. As part of the expansion, the War Department appointed Wood Colonel and Roosevelt served as the Lieutenant-Colonel of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, better known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders. The American forces sailed from Tampa, Florida on June 14, 1898, and cooperated with forces of the Cuban Liberation Army in the Oriente province under General Calxto Garcia for an attack on Santiago. Roosevelt and Wood served together throughout the Santiago campaign until the surrender of the Spanish army on July 16, 1898.

Preventing a Humanitarian Catastrophe

As the Fifth Corps of the U.S. Army advanced from its landing site at Daiquiri toward Santiago de Cuba, the devastation wrought by the war and the depth of the humanitarian crisis that threatened to engulf the island became increasingly apparent. Almost from the beginning the Fifth Corps struggled with what to do with the refugees who flocked to their ranks in search of food and medicine. The problem intensified when the capture of El Caney and the San Juan Heights opened the door for an assault on Santiago. With the investment of the city and preparations underway for a prolonged siege, a delegation of the British, Portuguese, Chinese and Norwegian consuls asked Major General William R. Shafter to postpone the artillery bombardment of the city so

they could evacuate between 15,000 and 20,000 people to the town of El Caney. They also petitioned the general to provide the refugees with enough food to survive. Shafter, with inadequate docking facilities at Daiquiri and Siboney and a supply train that could barely meet the needs of the Fifth Corps, denied the request. In a telegraphic report to the Secretary of War, Shafter expressed his dismay at the situation and submitted the matter to the President for review. He explained the logistical difficulties of supplying a town fifteen miles from his landing and pointed out that the “little town of Caney will not hold one thousand people and great suffering will be occasioned to our friends, as we must regard the people referred to; and it is now filled with dead and wounded, the dead unburied.”¹³

Despite Shafter’s inability to assist the refugees and the refusal of the Spanish authorities to allow them to evacuate with sufficient food, by the second week of the siege an estimated “20,000 starving people” had fled Santiago.¹⁴ Conditions in El Caney, the destination of many of the refugees, went from bad to worse. The only humanitarian aid came from the Red Cross and a handful of military personal who found time to volunteer as the siege and corresponding negotiations between Spain and the United States continued. Frank Norris, a soldier willingly impressed into service with the Red Cross, helped to feed close to three thousand starving children on corn mush cooked in kettles borrowed from the British consul on the second day of the truce. Unfortunately, supplies ran out before all the children could be fed and before any of the

¹³ William Shafter to Secretary of War [hereafter SecWar], 4 July 1898, in “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 55th Cong, 3d Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, 105-106.

¹⁴ Nelson Miles to SecWar, 13 July 1898, in “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 118.

adults could eat. Norris later wrote that the scenes of depravation haunted him and the other volunteers, especially the incessant cry for “comida” that rose from those who filled the town square and by the sight of those “in rows double and triple rows, on the edge of the square, prone and inert amidst the white bundles of their household effects exhausted, listless, stunned and stupefied by the terrific clamor.”¹⁵

As demonstrated by the inability to effectively deal with the refuge problem, the United States came to Cuba largely unprepared to handle the humanitarian crisis it found there. Despite Congressional approval on May 18, 1898, to supply “large quantities of subsistence stores, ordnance and ordnance stores, medicines and medical supplies, and engineer property,” none of the supplies reached Cuba in time for the war effort or the early days of the occupation.¹⁶ It was not until July 2, 1898, that the Secretary of War directed the Commissary-General of Subsistence “to arrange for a supply of food for prisoners and indigent citizens that may come under control of Maj. Gen. W.R. Shafter. To this end one large ship containing not less than 1,500 tons should be provided at the earliest possible day.”¹⁷ By that time, the refugee problem had become acute. With the surrender of Santiago on July 16, 1898, the United States assumed responsibility for the destitute inhabitants of the city and the surrounding countryside. As Leonard Wood later noted to his wife, “The Red Cross has saved the army here; without them thousands would have died.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Frank Norris, “Comida: An Experience in Famine,” *Atlantic Monthly* 83 (March 1899): 343.

¹⁶ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 9.

¹⁷ SecWar to Commissary-General of Subsistence, 2 July 1898, in “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 102.

¹⁸ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 20 August 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

In addition to the refugee problem, the biggest challenge for the U.S. Army in Cuba was the lack of realistic guidance from the McKinley administration on how the early occupation should proceed. On July 18, 1898, McKinley provided the broadest possible guidelines to Shafter in the form of an official proclamation intended for publication in both English and Spanish. The proclamation first heralded the end of Spanish rule in the conquered territory and asserted the right of the United States to govern. It then assured the Cubans that “the inhabitants, so long as they perform their duties, are entitled to security in their persons and property, and in all their private rights and relations.”¹⁹ “Though the powers of the military occupant are absolute and supreme,” McKinley promised, the United States would rule through the existing municipal laws and legal structure, including the local constabularies and judges.²⁰ Although these could be “suspended or superseded by the occupying belligerent ... in practice they are not usually abrogated but are allowed to remain in force.”²¹ The rights of the Cubans and the structure of their local governments would only be altered if it became necessary to insure that law and order prevailed.

As indicated by his proclamation, McKinley initially assumed that a military occupation would occur with only a minimal of interference at the local level. The United States would, for a time, simply replace Spain at the top of the governmental structure and the existing insular government would continue to function under American auspices. Shafter operated under the same assumption as McKinley. As he

¹⁹ William McKinley to William Shafter, 18 July 1898, in “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 125.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

reported to the War Department: “In taking charge of the civil government, all officials who were willing to serve were retained in office and the established order of government was preserved as far as consistent with the necessities of military rule.”²² When Shafter ordered Wood, recently commissioned a brigadier general in the Volunteer establishment, to take charge of the city on July 20, 1898, his instructions to “see that order and quiet are observed against all disturbers of the peace, and prevent no armed men to enter the city except such of our own men as come on duty,” mirrored those of his commander in chief and limited the occupations role to merely keeping law and order.²³

McKinley and Shafter’s vision of a limited occupation proved unrealistic in the immediate aftermath of the war as it underestimated the devastation and overestimated the ability of the local government to handle the crisis. The problem in Santiago was far larger than simply maintaining the peace. As Ray Stannard Baker later described the situation for *McClure’s Magazine* in 1900:

Santiago was thronged with starving and destitute people; it was agitated by the disbanding Spanish army, and surrounded without by undisciplined hordes of Cubans. There were 15,000 sick in a population of 50,000 and people were dying at the rate of 200 a day. The streets were knee-deep in mud and filth, and thousands of dead animals festered in the areaways, so that the air above was black with buzzards. Of government and police there were none, or of courts or schools. The jails were choked with prisoners, the hospitals were full, and, to cap the sum of woe, yellow fever was raging.²⁴

²² “Report of the Major General Commanding the Army,” 5 November 1898, 55th Cong, 3d Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, 159.

²³ E.J. McClenland to Leonard Wood, 20 July 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

²⁴ Ray Stannard Baker, “General Leonard Wood: A Character Sketch,” *McClure’s Magazine* 14, no. 4 (February 1900): 375.

These problems proved too much for the local Cuban government, which already suffered under several handicaps. The previous Spanish regime and the insular elites had viewed local government offices as a way of rewarding political support rather than as a position for effective government. Thus, despite the excessive number of officeholders, few proved useful in the early day of the occupation. Shafter found it necessary to pare their numbers to cut costs and Wood, once he became military governor of Santiago, either ignored or replaced them.²⁵ In addition, these initial officeholders, often carry-overs from the hated Spanish administration, had little legitimacy with the Cuban people and often incited hostility rather than inspiring law and order. Even had the Cuban officeholders been effective, the extent of the needs of the Cuban people overwhelmed the limited resources available to the local government and left local officials powerless. For these reasons the task of governance fell entirely upon the U.S. Army.

Wood accepted the responsibility and plunged enthusiastically into the work of revitalizing Santiago. The office of military governor soon became the central civil and military authority for the city and eventually the province. To prevent the widespread loss of life and the further devastation of the Cuban population, Wood abandoned the limited role envisioned by McKinley and Shafter and took the occupation government into the void created by the collapse of the local government and the economy to provide basic necessities to the residents of the city.

²⁵ "Report of the Major General Commanding the Army," 5 November 1898, 159.

The first work undertaken was feeding the starving, taking care of the sick, cleaning up and removing the dangerous material in the city. In addition to correcting these local conditions, it was necessary to send food and medicine throughout the province, maintain order, re-establish municipal governments, reorganize the courts, and do the thousand and one things incident to re-establishing the semblance of government in a stricken and demoralized community.²⁶

Rather than simply a matter of just keeping the peace, Wood had to find and distribute food and clean water, provide medical care, “cleanse” the city and institute basic sanitation practices to prevent any further epidemic, and dispose of the dead.

In the pursuit of these goals, Wood also abandoned McKinley’s assertion that the U.S. would rule through the established laws and civil office holders and began to issue a long stream of directives from the office of military governor. As he wrote at the time, “all law here is subordinate to the military and all kinds of work come under my supervision.”²⁷ Operating under these premises, he took control of the police, the prisons, the hospitals, and even charitable institutions. He appointed Major George M. Barbour to supervise the process of street cleaning and sanitation.²⁸ He also ignored McKinley’s guarantee of the personal and property rights and commandeered all serviceable vehicles to remove garbage and dead animals from the streets and to transport the human dead east of the city where they were stacked and burned. To prevent an epidemic, he mobilized local doctors and organized sanitation squads to

²⁶ Leonard Wood, “The Military Government of Cuba,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 21 (March 1903): 153.

²⁷ Leonard Wood to Caroline Wood, 26 July 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

²⁸ George Barbour was not a member of the military. His title of “major” was honorific and, although he wore a uniform, he had purchased it with his own money. In the past Barbour had fought against the Indians in Nebraska and in the Civil War. At the time of his volunteer work in Santiago, he was a partner with Buffalo Bill in the Wild West Show.

perform house to house inspections. The squads kicked in the doors of homeowners who resisted the intrusion and forcibly sanitized those dwellings. They filled in polluted cisterns and removed garbage and debris. To assist these squads, Wood mobilized the citizenry and used public punishment, including the lash, to enforce sanitation and compliance. As Robert Porter, McKinley's special envoy to Cuba reported:

The resistance on the part of the native population [to sanitation measures] was even more stubborn than that of the Spanish soldiers to our forces around Santiago. The doors of houses had to be smashed in; people making sewers of the thoroughfares were publicly horsewhipped in the streets of Santiago; eminently respectable citizens were forcibly brought before the commanding general [Wood] and sentenced to aid in cleaning the streets they were in habit of defiling. The campaign has ended in the complete surrender to the sanitary authorities and the inhabitants of Santiago, regardless of class, have had their first object-lesson in the new order of things inaugurated by the war.²⁹

When the crews on some of the transports in the harbor threatened to mutiny, Wood ordered them "put in irons and kept on bread and water, etc."³⁰ Although Wood exceeded what McKinley and Shafter had in mind, they made no effort to rein him.

To feed the starving population, Wood eventually divided the city into districts and established a food distribution station in each. For supplies he relied upon the provisions captured from the Spanish army, from those increasingly provided by the U.S. Army, from aid shipments from the United States, and from what the Red Cross and some of the foreign consuls contributed. As the Spanish army gradually withdrew from the province to their ports of disembarkation, the U.S. Army extended their control

²⁹ Robert P. Porter, *Industrial Cuba: Being a Study of Present Commercial and Industrial Conditions, with Suggestions as to the Opportunities Present in the Island for American Capital, Enterprise, and Labour* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1899), 63.

³⁰ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 21 July 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

into the interior. To aid the Cubans in the province, Wood organized pack trains containing food and medicine and sent them into the countryside. He also organized a committee of reliable citizens in each ward of the city to conduct house visits to make sure everyone had enough food to eat. By September, when the crisis had finally ebbed, the military government issued about ten thousand rations a day and three thousands pounds of fresh beef.³¹

From the initial planning stage for offensive operations in Cuba, fear of an epidemic from yellow fever or some other tropical disease dominated the thoughts of the Fifth Army Corps and many of the political leaders in Washington. Although later experiments conducted by the army and the military government of Cuba proved that the mosquito transmitted yellow fever, medical experts knew little about how to prevent the disease at the time. Then accepted medical knowledge attributed the spread of the disease to microbes and prescribed various sanitation measures to stamp it out. With the advance to Santiago, the number of yellow fever patients increased and Shafter grew increasingly concerned. The day after the surrender of Santiago, the War Department ordered him to adopt radical measures designed to stave off an epidemic:

immediate isolation of those affected by the disease of yellow fever from the commands; ... frequent change of camp, and in all cases the selection of fresh ground, uncontaminated with the disease, ... the command must be kept away from all habitations, blockhouses, huts, and shanties of every description that have been occupied by Spanish or Cuban people; ... the establishment of guards and a rigid quarantine, to keep all native

³¹ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 18 September 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

or Spanish inhabitants out of any of the camps and away from any intercourse of whatever description with the troops.³²

In addition to these measures, the War Department urged Shafter to transfer the bulk of his command to the mountains above what many at the time erroneously considered the “fever belt.”

When these measures failed to arrest the spread of yellow fever, several officers in Cuba decided to write a letter to Secretary of War Russell A. Alger expressing in no uncertain terms the precarious situation. Too weakened to move to the high ground, they demanded the troops be evacuated to the United States. The War Department, afraid that such a move would bring the epidemic to American shores, had hesitated.

The officers wanted to force the War Department to proceed and at their urging, Wood dictated what became known as the “Round Robin” and presented it to Shafter.

However, before it reached the War Department, someone leaked the Round Robin and a letter from Colonel Roosevelt to the press. The leak caused a national sensation that embarrassed the War Department and forced the evacuation. Immediately, everyone involved began to obfuscate their role in the affair. Wood and Roosevelt attributed the leak to Shafter. Shafter implied that the leak occurred prior to the letters reaching his desk and stated that he considered the whole affair overblown. Wood’s fellow officers placed the responsibility for the language of the draft on him while he contended that it was a group effort and had met with everyone’s approval. However, regardless of

³² Nelson Miles to William Shafter, 18 July 1898, in “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 36.

ultimate responsibility, the fact remains that the situation appeared so dire that army officers risked their careers to push for an evacuation of the Fifth Corps.

In response to these fears, Wood made excellent use of his medical training and, by the time of the “Round Robin,” had already launched the systematic sanitation program he hoped would eradicate the disease from Santiago and thus prevent the highly anticipated loss of life among the occupying forces. Initially Wood believed his task would take two weeks, but it was two months before he wrote to Lou that the “old town is at last clean and we are down so to speak to modern dirt which while not attractive is of a less offensive character than that of 1520.”³³

Although the adopted measures stamped out individual cases and prevented an epidemic of yellow fever in the city, the situation in the hospitals proved grim enough as the effects of others diseases, starvation, and poor sanitation took their toll on the population. On August 20, 1898 Wood wrote, “the conditions here are something frightful, and in the civil hospital ... crowded. Small children may be seen any day striving to waken their mother already dead or dying. The amount of work is very great and very trying.”³⁴ A delegation of twelve nuns from a nursing order, offered to help, he sent them to the Civil Hospital where they worked for one night and then promptly left the next day.³⁵

Wood’s energy and managerial ability gradually improved conditions, as did the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Spain. Santiago began to receive a

³³ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 21 July 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers; and Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 18 November 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

³⁴ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 20 August 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

³⁵ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 18 August 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

steady supply of food and together with improved sanitation, the crisis passed by mid-September. Wood and the Army now began to shift to long range planning for Cuba. The military nature of the occupation also changed as the combat elements of the Fifth Corps and the defeated Spanish army, numbering 22,864, departed from the island. The Fifth Corps embarked for their isolation camps in the United States from August 4 to 25 and the War Department replaced them with new occupation troops. The United States also provided transportation for the removal of Spanish prisoners from August 9 until September 17, 1898. Upon Shafter's recommendation, Wood remained in charge of Santiago. Wood's old Apache campaign friend, now promoted to a Volunteer major general, Henry W. Lawton took command of the District of Santiago. Shafter wrote to the War Department that "General Wood is by far the best man to leave in command of this Post and perhaps the whole district. If he is not to have the entire command I would suggest Lawton as the only other man here in very way equipped for the position."³⁶ With the war over, the humanitarian crisis averted, and the postwar occupation taking shape, the United States began to face squarely the question of what to do with Cuba.

³⁶ William Shafter to Adjutant General, 4 August 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

CHAPTER III

PROGRESSIVE IMPERIALISM: THE SANTIAGO MODEL

The American occupation of Cuba lasted from July 17, 1898, until the United States transferred control to the newly elected Cuban government under President Estrada Palma on May 20, 1902. In the immediate aftermath of the American intervention, policymakers in Washington and within the occupational government deliberated over how to proceed with the occupation. Minimalists embraced the initial strategy endorsed by President McKinley in his official proclamation and envisioned a U.S. occupation with only a nominal amount of interference by the U.S. government beyond the insular level. They preferred to leave the transformation of Cuba to the private sector and only sought to provide a stable insular government that would attract outside capital.

Progressives supported the policies of Leonard Wood and wanted a more activist role in which the U.S. Army – through the office of military governor – fundamentally reshaped Cuba in accordance with progressive principles as a prerequisite for independence.

During the first year and a half, July 17, 1898 to December 20, 1899, proponents of the two strategies competed for control over occupation policy and for the support of the administration.

The American occupation of Cuba went through three distinct periods. The initial phase of occupation, July 17, 1898 to January 1, 1899, witnessed the divergence between the minimalist approach espoused by Washington and the activist approach pursued by Wood in Santiago. After his initial proclamation, McKinley did little to

interfere with the actual occupation and instead focused on the pressing geopolitical questions raised by the victory in the Spanish-American War and the new status of the United States as a world power. Wood considered the absence of direct oversight an opportunity to push his progressive reforms and to persuade the administration to adopt his course of action when the U.S. Army assumed complete control of the island on January 1, 1899. The debate over strategy lasted until McKinley's appointment of Major General John R. Brooke as military governor seemingly settled the question in favor of the minimalists. However, Brooke proved unable to rein in his subordinates and lost control of the direction of occupation policy by June 1899. When it became clear that his administration would not produce a free, independent, and self-governed Cuba or even chart a potential path to that objective, the McKinley administration reversed course and adopted the progressive model. The appointment of Elihu Root as Secretary of War and his elevation of Wood to the position of military governor on December 20, 1899, initiated the third and final phase of the U.S. occupation.³⁷

Geopolitical Considerations

Although the United States declared war upon Spain for the sole purpose of liberating Cuba, combat operations against Spanish forces soon spread from Cuba to Puerto Rico and eventually beyond the Caribbean to the Philippines in the Far East. The rapid and unexpected expansion of the war and the subsequent transformation of the

³⁷ At the time of his appointment as military governor, Wood held the rank of major general of volunteers. President McKinley had promoted Wood to the rank of brigadier general of volunteers on July 8, 1898. He promoted Wood to the rank of major general of volunteers on December 7, 1898. On April 4, 1901, McKinley promoted Wood to the rank of brigadier general in the U.S. Army.

United States from a regional to a global power generated large and unexpected geopolitical and domestic challenges that impacted American policy toward Cuba. Most of the pressing challenges for the administration stemmed from the extension of the conflict into the Philippine archipelago where the defeat of the Spanish brought questions as to the future of the Philippines and the role the United States would play in that region.³⁸

While combat operations in Cuba effectively ended with the surrender of the Spanish army on July 16, 1898, operations in the Philippines continued until the fall of Manila on August 13. Even then the potential for conflict remained as the United States and their former allies, the Filipino nationalists led by Emilio Aguinaldo, maintained an uneasy truce while the latter waited for the McKinley administration to make its position clear on the future of the Philippines. According to Brian McAllister Linn, “McKinley was persuaded that abandoning the islands would result in internecine war and draw the imperialist powers into a potentially explosive struggle.”³⁹ Concerned over such a conflict and with its national interest clearly on its mind, the United States went to the Paris Peace Conference intent on retaining control over the Philippines. The Philippine nationalists, unwilling to trade one colonial master for another, soon challenged American authority. On February 4, 1899, an American outpost and a Filipino patrol clashed on the outskirts of Manila. The altercation launched the Philippine War, which

³⁸ Healy, *The United States in Cuba*. Healy argues extensively that developments in the Philippines guided the conception and implementation of U.S. occupation policy in Cuba.

³⁹ Brian M. Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army in the Pacific, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 10.

lasted until the Roosevelt Administration declared victory on July 4, 1902. Regional pacification campaigns dragged on until 1913.

At the Paris Peace Conference, which lasted from October 1 to December 10, 1898, two major issues dominated the deliberations: the status of the Philippines and responsibility for the Cuban debt. Although the United States, the undisputed victor, had little problem officially ratifying its control over the Philippines, the Spanish proved more determined on the issue of Cuban debt. A construct of Spanish imperial accounting, the Cuban debt included the expense of the Spanish civil administration and military forces in Cuba, part of the expenditure of transporting Spanish officials to and from the island, and on occasion the cost of lifetime pensions for those officials, their widows and their daughters.⁴⁰ The debt also incorporated the cost entailed by Spain in suppressing previous Cuban revolts and independence movements in Mexico, San Domingo, and Peru. Spain had long held its Cuban colony responsible for these debts, estimated at over \$500,000,000. After the cessation of hostilities, Spain wanted the United States to assume responsibility for the debt or to at least guarantee Cuban responsibility. To the dismay of the Spanish delegation, American representatives steadfastly refused either to accept that responsibility or to saddle it on any future Cuban government. In compensation, and to also lessen the loss of the Philippines, the United States agreed to pay Spain \$20,000,000. The Senate of the United States, after much debate over the acquisition of the Philippines, approved the Treaty of Paris by a vote of 57 to 27 on February 6, 1899.

⁴⁰ Robert P. Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, 11.

The Emergence of Leonard Wood

As the McKinley administration and the War Department grappled with the larger challenges it faced in the aftermath of the war, responsibility for the direction of the occupation in Santiago increasingly descended upon the U.S. Army. Surprisingly, Wood, who only a couple of months earlier had been a little known captain, emerged as an early architect of American occupation policy. After the postwar humanitarian crisis had passed, Wood did not return to the minimalist position of McKinley but instead boldly ignored official policy and pressed his progressive agenda forward. That a doctor from the U.S. Army's Medical Department, scheduled to revert back to his prewar rank with the official end of hostilities, became a leading voice on occupation policy spoke volumes about the preoccupation of the administration with other issues and about Wood.

A controversial figure throughout his military career, Wood inspired intense devotion among his supporters and an equally passionate dislike, bordering on hatred, from his detractors. He collected both friends and foes with equal rapidity. As a commanding officer, he actively mentored junior officers who showed aptitude and promise and eventually assembled a team of imperial minded protégés whom he relied upon in both Cuba and the Philippines. After his death, these officers eulogized their chief and sought to honor and protect his memory and service. They regarded him not only as a senior officer but as a father figure and a patron who took a dynamic interest in their career and advancement. Frank McCoy, the best example of this cadre of young officers, served with Wood in both Cuba and the Philippines and eventually rose to the

rank of major general. He married Wood's daughter, collaborated with Hagedorn on his biography of Wood, and was buried next to the general in Arlington National Cemetery. On the other extreme, Wood also made substantial enemies who dogged his career and often threatened to rain ruin down upon his head. Powerful enemies from his days of imperial service included John Brooke, James Wilson, Joseph H. Dorst, and Senator Mark Hanna. Ironically, Wood's ability to engender such hatred rose from the same character traits and leadership style that endeared him to others.

Wood had a strong, forceful personality and a high degree of innate talent when it came to leadership and organization. These talents brought success and gave him confidence and the capacity to work without direct supervision. His ability to quickly grasp the essentials of most situations and to conceive and organize an appropriate response made him a powerful administrator and a force to be reckoned with in the early days of occupation. He liked to see things for himself and frequently traveled throughout his command to observe situations first hand and to access local leadership and resources.

Along with the confidence came great ambitions and a desire for advancement and recognition, which he relentlessly pursued regardless of the personal costs. Ray Stannard Baker, a reporter for *McClure's Magazine*, characterized Wood as "a man always ready for the opportunity."⁴¹ He enjoyed military service and turned down several lucrative business opportunities to remain in the army. He spent long periods of time away from his family and the comforts of civilization in some of the most grueling

⁴¹ Ray Stannard Baker, "General Leonard Wood," 376.

military posts imaginable. Without any formal training in the military arts, he became an intense student of the subject while still keeping abreast of developments in the medical field. He studied the native languages of the places he served and encouraged his subordinates to do the same. On the way to his command in the Philippines, he made a careful study of European colonial rule. Wood also prided himself on being able to perform the same physical regimen he demanded of his command. He possessed remarkable physical strength and enormous powers of endurance, as he had proven during the Geronimo campaign. He could work long hours in the tropics, withstand the ravages of disease, and persevere against almost overwhelming odds.

Wood also held strong convictions, which governed his conduct and reinforced his domineering personality. Committed to the progressive ethos, he believed in the active use of government for the betterment of society. He took pride in the United States and its mission, according to the expansionists, to bring civilization to the uncivilized. He especially gloried in his role within that mission. In many ways, Wood modeled his administration after an enlightened despotism. By right of conquest, the United States held absolute power in the island and the military governor, as the direct representative of the United States, exercised that power to the benefit of the people, whether or not the people agreed. He considered those who did not agree as either ignorant children who had to be taught or corrupt scoundrels who had to be disciplined. He adopted the progressive model of a rule by experts and surrounded himself mostly with younger officers possessing specific expertise or talents and delegated to them the important tasks of the administration. They reported directly to him and he maintained

overall supervision of the government. Those who disagreed substantially with Wood and did not show proper loyalty found themselves excluded from power or replaced. Although often insubordinate and disloyal himself, he could not tolerate even the hint of insubordination or disloyalty in others.

Wood's confidence in his own ability and in his personal convictions about the right course to follow often led him to exceed his orders and to act independently. If his immediate superior circumscribed his field of action or stifled his pursuit of what he considered the proper course, then Wood did not hesitate to circumvent the chain of command and appeal to a higher authority. He made powerful political friends throughout his career and he willingly appealed to those friends to push his agenda and to overcome obstacles in his way. If Baker considered Wood "ready for the opportunity," many considered him a ruthless and treacherous opportunist bent upon advancing his own career.

During the first few months of the occupation, Wood received a free hand from Shafter and functioned almost autonomously in matters involving the revitalization of the city of Santiago. All of that changed however when the 5th Corps began to evacuate from Cuba. In General Order 118, issued on August 10, 1898, the War Department created the Department of Santiago and placed Major General Henry Lawton in charge. The War Department left the command of the city of Santiago to Wood, who operated under the supervision of the department commander. Initially, the two former comrades got along fine as their respective duties and responsibilities were distinct from one another. On September 21, 1898, Lawton even appointed Wood as the Civil Governor

of the province. However, as the initial crisis passed and Wood continued to press his progressive reforms, especially the costly public works projects, Lawton began to balk at their cost and refused to approve many of the expenses. Wood, dependent on the custom duties that Lawton controlled, wrote to Lou that “Lawton is simply an obstructionist.”⁴² The two seemed to be headed toward a potential showdown over occupation policy.

The clash never came because Lawton, always a heavy drinker, went on a six-day drunken tear through the city of Santiago. In the process, he made a public spectacle of himself, assaulted the chief of police and destroyed private property. A reporter from *The New York Evening Sun* witnessed the incident and reported it to the editor, William Laffan. Laffan, aware that the matter would embarrass the administration and end Lawton’s career, graciously chose not to print the story but instead passed it on to McKinley. McKinley quietly relieved Lawton as department commander but took no further disciplinary action.⁴³ Instead he brought Lawton back to the United States, praised him publicly for his work, and then sent him to his next assignment in the Philippines. Although Wood, who McKinley appointed to replace Lawton, advanced because of Lawton’s drunkenness, he played no part in the event and expressed serious concerns about his old friend. As he told Mrs. Wood,

Lawton, poor chap, leaves tomorrow morning on steamer for N.Y. Ordered home on 60 days’ leave as a result of his little spree. I don’t know that I have felt worse. He has done so well down here and poor little Mrs. Lawton was on her way east to meet some friends coming down and all this will be such a shock to her. Of course there is no

⁴² Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 28 September 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

⁴³ William McKinley to William Laffan, 7 October 1898, William McKinley Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; and Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 64-65. Lane, who was no fan of Wood, exonerated him of involvement in Lawton’s demise.

excuse for Lawton's going off in this way but he was disgusted at several getting recommendations for promotion before him and let go. Of course it is a great thing for me but I don't want a rise at poor old L. expense but do want to hang onto the command here as it gives one a great chance.⁴⁴

Allegations that Wood betrayed his friend for advancement dogged the general for years and provided more fuel for his detractors. The fact that Lawton soon died in combat in the Philippines only made Wood's alleged betrayal worse.

Progressive Imperialism – The Vision of Leonard Wood

Wood pursued a progressive imperialism in Santiago because he felt that fundamental changes had to occur within Cuba before it could prosper and survive as an independent nation. As Wood saw it, if a paternalistic military government gave the Cubans the example of good and efficient government, provided the framework for democracy, and elevated the standard of living through improved public health and sanitation, public education, and economic development, then a stable functioning democracy would emerge and all rational Cubans would embrace and sustain it. Imbued with such a vision Wood worked for the next year and a half to construct an occupational government and implement a series of vigorous reforms designed to make Santiago a model for all of Cuba. Although Wood encountered strong opposition once Brooke assumed the office of military governor, he consistently labored to make his progressive vision for Santiago a reality.

⁴⁴ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 11 October 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

As the foundation of his progressive plan for the rehabilitation of the province, Wood envisioned a large and systematic program of public works. Immensely valuable in its own right, public work projects under Wood's direction advanced all of his major policy areas. Initial projects centered on relieving the humanitarian crisis caused by the war and dealt with basic matters of sanitation and public health. These projects provided jobs for the destitute and gave them a sense of purpose and ownership in the rehabilitation of the province. After the initial crisis had passed, Wood expanded his projects to include road construction and harbor improvements. Although the immediate relief of unemployment continued as a goal, Wood's long term vision saw infrastructure improvements as raising the standard of living and preparing the way for future economic prosperity and the creation of private sector jobs. In short, Wood considered public work projects the primary tool for rehabilitating the island and for relieving destitution among the Cubans.⁴⁵

Due to the destructive nature of the Spanish-Cuban War, the first problem the military government encountered, whether in the city of Santiago or the smaller towns, always dealt with issues of sanitation, famine, and public health. During the conflict, in an attempt to deny resources to the other side, both Cuban and Spanish forces destroyed rural farmlands and much of the existing infrastructure. For personal safety and to attain the basic necessities of life, most of the rural population moved to the cities. Once in the cities, the refugees overwhelmed the limited amount of medicine, food, and water available. The War Department's 1899 report noted that Cubans were living in

⁴⁵ Leonard Wood, "Existing Conditions and Needs in Cuba," *The North American Review* 168, no 510 (May 1899): 596.

overcrowded conditions without the infrastructure needed for proper sanitation and with none “of the precautions against disease known to modern sanitary science.”⁴⁶ Disease soon became rampant and along with malnutrition began to claim a heavy toll. By the time of the American intervention, most of the cities and larger towns mirrored the conditions the army had found in Santiago. As the American occupation extended its control into the province, Wood repeated the steps he had previously taken to relieve the humanitarian crisis.

The situation found in the city of Holguin when the U.S. Army took possession of it from the Cubans proved typical. Under Spanish control, a smallpox epidemic had raged within the city and the surrounding countryside for over three years.⁴⁷ The Holguin district had 9,000 reported cases of smallpox with 3,000 of a “virulent type.”⁴⁸ Wood sent elements of the Second U.S. Volunteer Infantry into the region to establish an American presence there and to assist the local population. They established a large isolation hospital and immediately began the process of cleansing the city and providing for basic sanitation. As in Santiago the whole process took around two months to complete. As Wood reported to the War Department, the “work they were called upon to perform was arduous and dangerous. So complete was the infection that many of the houses had to be burned. The exact loss of life among the natives will never be known, but it must have amounted to a thousand or more, as in some instances entire

⁴⁶ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, vol. 1, pt. 1, 13.

⁴⁷ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

⁴⁸ “Report of Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood, U.S. Volunteers, Commanding Department of Santiago,” 9 August 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, vol. 1, pt. 3, 301-302.

villages were depopulated.”⁴⁹ Due to the precautions taken by the medical authorities, who had vaccinated the troops twice, the Americans did not experience a single case of small pox even though their duty required them to work closely with infected villagers.⁵⁰

The U.S. Army found similar conditions in cities like Manzanillo and throughout the entire province of Santiago. Alger concluded in the War Department’s annual report: “The sanitary condition of all cities of this province is simply terrible, and a great amount of work and expenditure of much money will be necessary to make them habitable.”⁵¹ In the city of Santiago alone, the continued maintenance of proper sanitation required draconian punishment, including the use of a horsewhip on offenders. Individuals who violated the sanitation codes, and escaped corporal punishment, often found themselves sentenced by the governor to thirty days of hard labor cleaning the streets.⁵² George Barbour, Sanitary Commissioner for the city, regularly employed 125 men and 32 sturdy carts pulled by a team of mules to keep the streets clean.⁵³ To dispose of the refuse collected by his workers, Barbour had it taken to the outskirts of the city where they doused it with petroleum and burned it.

When the United States assumed control of the whole island in January 1899, the U.S. Army adopted the methods first utilized by Wood and invested time and energy into exploring proactive methods to prevent and eventually eradicate tropical diseases rather than just responding to an outbreak. In Santiago, Wood proposed measures to

⁴⁹ Ibid., 302.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1898, 150.

⁵² Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, 62-63.

⁵³ Ibid.

increase the supply of fresh water for the city and to dredge the waterfront. He wrote to McKinley:

I believe, [the waterfront is] the focus of most of the fevers, and especially of the Yellow Fever in Santiago, as it is composed almost entirely of the washing of the city during the past three hundred years, and has formed a great mass of bank of corruption, which is exposed at low tide and must be most unhealthy and dangerous. It has been impossible to touch this during hot weather, as any stirring it up would result in an immediate outbreak of Yellow Fever; but his winter I intend to remove it with the use of suction dredges and scows and dump it way out to sea in deep water.⁵⁴

In the annual Report of the Secretary of War, his assessment of the situation in Cuba and the steps to be taken there mirrored the recommendation of Wood in Santiago:

The sanitary conditions of the cities and towns throughout the island were found to be as bad as it is possible to conceive. Through and systematic inspections were made, sanitary corps were organized, streets were cleaned, sewers were opened, cesspools and sinks were emptied, public and private buildings were disinfected, methods of disposing of refuse were adopted, water supplies were improved, and rules were established and enforced to prevent a recurrence of similar conditions. In the larger cities a thoroughly good sanitary condition will require the establishment of grades, the construction of adequate sewer systems, and increase of water supplies.⁵⁵

In the first six month of 1899 alone, the occupation government spent, from the customs revenue of the island, \$1,712,014 on sanitation and \$293,881 on charities and hospitals.⁵⁶ When Wood became military governor at the end of 1899, the scope of

⁵⁴ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

⁵⁵ "Report of the Secretary of War," 29 November 1899, 14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 15

sanitation projects increased and included efforts like the yellow fever commission that eventually led to the virtual eradication of that disease from the island.

The sanitation efforts pursued by the United States were not entirely altruistic. The War Department, U.S. Army field commanders in Cuba, and the McKinley administration all acknowledged that sanitary reform and the eradication of disease in the island benefited Americans in Cuba and the continental United States.⁵⁷ The 5th Corps, the initial American invasion force, had suffered heavily from yellow fever and other diseases at all levels of command. At one time or another, Shafter, General Joseph Wheeler, Lawton, and Wood all suffered from yellow fever. Regular troopers, often bivouacked in the tropics with nothing more than a tent between them and the elements or quartered in infected barracks that once housed the Spanish, suffered even more. Improved sanitation on the island lowered the attrition rate in the occupation force and made it possible for the army to extend its control throughout the island. It made the island safer for foreign investors and even brought economic benefits to the southern portion of the United States, which had almost yearly suffered from yellow fever epidemics originating in a Cuban port. Robert Porter, McKinley's special envoy to Cuba, argued:

Not only the commercial prosperity of Cuba, but to a considerable extent that of the southern portion of the United States depends upon the possibility of destroying the foci of yellow fever which exist in the larger cities and towns – especially in Havana and Matanzas – and which have been the cause of the epidemics of this disease which have occurred in the United States during the present century. It is believed that to destroy these germs is possible, and from a mere industrial and

⁵⁷ “Report of the Secretary of War” 29 November 1898, 10.

commercial point of view it would be a paying investment to spend several millions of dollars, if necessary, to effect it.⁵⁸

Along with their efforts to improve sanitation and public health, the U.S. Army found it necessary to issue rations to the Cubans to prevent malnutrition and even starvation. The war had destroyed or curtailed the cultivation of most native sources of food. Shortly after the occupation began, the army established distribution centers within each city and throughout the province and simply handed out all available rations to the population. As organization and the amount of food increased, distribution became more systematic. General Order No. 110 standardized the typical ration at “8 ounces of bacon; 12 ounces flour, or ounces corn meal; and to 100 rations: 6 pounds coffee (green), 10 pounds sugar, 2 quarts vinegar, 4 pounds salt, 4 ounces pepper, 4 pounds soap.”⁵⁹ As public work projects got underway, the U.S. Army made participation in those projects a prerequisite for receiving rations and ordered that “all able-bodied men needing food will be given work, as soon as practicable, on the repair of roads and sanitary and other public works.”⁶⁰ Governor Brooke’s even ordered that men “who are offered work and refuse to work should not be fed.”⁶¹ Originally adopted as a temporary necessity, the extent of wartime devastation on Cuban agriculture and the lack of economic development in the island forced the United States to supply rations to the Cubans for more than a year. Not until November 1899 could the U.S. Army cease issuing rations to the general population and confine their distribution to hospitals and

⁵⁸ Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, 29.

⁵⁹ “Civil Report of Maj. Gen. John R. Brooke, Military Governor of Cuba,” 1 October 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, vol. 1, pt. 6, 22.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

asylums. All total, in the first year and a half of occupation, the army had issued 5,493,000 rations at a cost of \$1,417,554.⁶² While rations, sanitation, and public health measures brought a needed stability to Cuba, the occupation government sought to move from stability to self-sufficiency.

One of the most pressing problems encountered by American forces as it consolidated control over Santiago and moved into the interior, involved what to do with the Cuban Liberation Army, which numbered close to 11,000 in the province with about 5,000 stationed around the city of Santiago.⁶³ The Cuban Liberation Army had worked closely with the U.S. Army since the start of the American intervention and, despite some disagreements and recriminations on both sides, the spirit of cooperation held beyond the ceasefire with the Spanish. Much of the credit for the cooperation goes to General Calixto Garcia, who as commander of the Oriente province (Santiago) assisted Shafter and the 5th Corps in its campaign against the Spanish. Garcia and the forces under his command later acted as an unofficial auxiliary of the U.S. Army by securing the countryside as Spanish forces relinquished control and moved toward their point of embarkation.⁶⁴

In filling the vacuum created by the departure of the Spanish, the Cuban Liberation Army performed an important service by keeping the province from descending any further into chaos; however, it complicated the expanding American occupation because it left the Cubans in control of many of the towns and cities. The

⁶² "Report of the Secretary of War," 29 November 1899, 13-14.

⁶³ "Report of Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood," 9 August 1899, 302.

⁶⁴ "Civil Report of Maj. Gen. John R. Brooke," 1 October 1899, 6.

existence of an organized and well led army, skilled in guerrilla warfare and in control of most of the municipalities in Santiago province, caused concern for the American occupation force. Relations between the two forces were delicate at best and a serious misstep could lead to conflict. Although the United States had promised Cuban independence, doubts still lingered among the Cubans, especially as the Americans showed no signs of following the Spanish in withdrawing from the island. A similar situation in the Philippines led to the bloody insurrection that took the United States government almost three years to suppress. The U.S. Army command in Santiago, aware of the potential danger, stayed in close contact with Washington as it searched for a proper solution.

The McKinley administration, with Lawton and Wood playing the lead role on the ground, eventually solved the impasse through skillful diplomacy and by exploiting conditions in the province. While reassuring the Cubans that an American occupation would be a short one, Lawton and Wood appealed to the members of the Cuban Liberation Army on several levels. To Cuban soldiers, often suffering from privations in their encampments, they offered employment and provisions if they would lay down their arms, peacefully disband, and return to their homes. To many of the officers and commanders they offered positions within the occupation government and in the various municipal governments being reorganized at the time by Wood. The strategy worked and, on September 27, 1898, Lawton informed Washington that he had successfully recruited Garcia to the American cause and appointed him to the board of directors of

the Cuban Educational Association with a modest salary. By the end of October 1898, the Cuban Liberation Army in the province of Santiago ceased to exist.⁶⁵

Many of the soldiers unwilling or unable to return to more peaceful pursuits joined the local civilian police force or the newly formed Rural Guard, a mounted police force designed to function in the countryside. Wood created the Rural Guard to extend the reach of the occupation government into the interior, to curb brigandage and robbery, and to quell any potential opposition to the occupation. Eventually composed of between 250 and 300 officers and men, who were, according to Wood, “carefully selected from the best material in the Cuban Army,” the guard functioned as a paramilitary force with their own uniforms and insignia.⁶⁶ They reported directly to the military government and received \$36 a month in gold for their service.⁶⁷ The guard proved so effective that by August 1899 Wood informed the Secretary of War that “all sections of the country being reported quiet and practically free from these lawbreakers [brigands].”⁶⁸

The assistance of the Cuban Liberation Army and the Rural Guard gave the United States the time needed to organize the occupation beyond Santiago and to mobilize the men and resources necessary to carry it out. To accomplish the task, the War Department organized the occupation force along two theoretical lines – military and civil. The military occupation focused almost exclusively on issues relating to the use and maintenance of American armed forces in Cuba, namely the proper deployment,

⁶⁵ “Report of Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood,” 9 August 1899, 302.

⁶⁶ Leonard Wood, “The Existing Conditions and Needs in Cuba,” *The North American Review* 168, no 510 (May 1899): 601.

⁶⁷ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

⁶⁸ “Report of Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood,” 9 August 1899, 302.-303.

housing, and provisioning of army personnel, matters of defense from external threat, and issues of internal control and stability. The civil occupation focused on restoring order and preparing the island for self-government and independence. The breadth and depth of what that entailed depended upon whether a minimalist or progressive held the reins of power at the time. Nonetheless, despite the formal separation, the distinction between the military and civil sphere was more imagined than real. In regards to insular affairs, the United States combined both civil and military functions into the office of the district commander, departmental (province) commanders, and military governor for the whole island. Officers and enlisted personnel, drawn from the forces assigned to occupation, often served in both a civil and military capacity. While the degree of separation between military and civil affairs increased as the United States moved toward granting Cuban independence, the U.S. Army remained the final authority on all policy decisions.

In Santiago Wood divided the province into five administrative districts along basically the same lines as the Spanish. These districts included Santiago under Wood's direct control, Manzanillo under Colonel S.M. Whitside of the 10th Cavalry, Holguin under Major J.L. Fowler of the 10th Cavalry, Guantanamo under Lieutenant Colonel M. Hooton, 5th Infantry, and Mayari under Major T. F. Forbes of the 5th Infantry.⁶⁹ Wood gave each district commander a general letter of instructions and placed him in charge of

⁶⁹ "Report of the Adjutant General's Office, Headquarters Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe," 3 August 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, Supplementary Material, Department of Santiago Staff Reports, 18. While command structure remained consistent, the personnel mentioned reflect their assignment to the command at the time of the report. The War Department had assigned elements of the 10th Cavalry and the 5th Infantry to occupation duty in the province of Santiago and thus Wood had to rely upon officers and enlisted personnel from their ranks to staff the civil-military administration.

both military and civil affairs in his district.⁷⁰ Funds for the various projects undertaken by the occupation government, both civil and military, flowed from Wood as departmental commander to his district commanders. They supervised the expenditure of these funds and oversaw, from conception to completion, projects designed to elevate the standard of living in Cuba and prepare it for self government.

Since Wood felt self government and eventual independence depended upon the existence of viable local civil governments, he visited towns and cities throughout the province to put an interim form of municipal government in place. As in Santiago, the situation in most of the municipalities bordered on anarchy as the functioning apparatus of a state had virtually ceased to exist. As Wood later recalled,

When the American authorities took charge of the Province of Santiago de Cuba they found the civil affairs of the province in a condition of complete chaos. The treasuries of all the different municipalities were empty; the offices were vacant; public records, such as had not been burnt or destroyed, were bundled up in abandoned buildings. The courts had ceased to exist. In fact there was only a semblance of any form of civil government.⁷¹

While the Spanish and then Cuban armies had provided the necessary structure and discipline to keep most municipalities in some form of order, the U.S. Army wanted to rid itself of that responsibility and restore the local municipal governments to functionality as soon as possible.

⁷⁰ "Report of Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood," 9 August 1899, 301.

⁷¹ Leonard Wood, "The Establishment of the Civil Government in the Province of Santiago," *The Independent* 51 (June 15, 1899): 1601.

Unable to hold elections in the turbulent aftermath of the war, Wood used his executive authority as governor to install and empower municipal administrations.

While the number of public officials appointed by Wood varied according to the size and importance of the municipality, the basic administration for each municipality included a mayor, a secretary, and at least one or two police officers.⁷² In each town he visited, he followed a similar procedure. As he told McKinley,

The policy in all appointments has been to call together the most prominent and reliable men, present to them the situation, explain what appointments I wish to make, and then to call on them for recommendations, impressing upon them the fact, that a failure to recommend good men will result in an entire loss of confidence in my part, and be disastrous in the end to their cause.⁷³

In each of the meetings with local elites, Wood struck a delicate balance between frankness and intimidation. Although he often listened to local concerns, the assessment of the situation and the agenda set forth came from the governor and not from the locals. Wood wanted “good men” who would implement his agenda. He expected compliance and forthrightly stated the consequence for non-compliance. The tactic became a favorite and Wood often used it in dealing with the Cubans and later the Moros.

Wood rejected the temptation to appoint large numbers of Americans to civil offices at the municipal level or elsewhere. He recognized Cuban resentment toward the Spanish appointees brought in by the previous regime and wanted to avoid a similar

⁷² Wood, “Establishment of the Civil Government,” 1602.

⁷³ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers; and Wood, “Establishment of the Civil Government,” 1603.

situation with an American dominated civil government. Instead he saw the reconstructed municipal governments under American oversight as an opportunity to train the Cubans in the practice of good government and honest, efficient administration. Wood argued that “if we are here to teach them to govern themselves, it would seem that the best way to begin is by letting them try, standing here ourselves simply to supervise, and, if necessary, check, when we see affairs going wrong.”⁷⁴ As he had to those making recommendations on leadership, Wood emphasized to each office holder that their appointment and subsequent performance in office reflected upon Cuba and the Cuban people.

In appointing these men I have impressed upon them the fact that their duty is a very important one, and if they fail to maintain civil order, to arrest all offenders against the law, and to conduct themselves with propriety, that the failure will be, not a failure for them personally, but a failure for civil law in Cuba, and an advertisement to the world that they are unable to control and govern themselves.⁷⁵

Wood felt the Cubans had some serious liabilities when it came to government service and early on he subscribed to many of the racial stereotypes held at the time. He wrote to Mrs. Wood in October that she “would be amazed at the frankness of some of the people who want to buy favors and influence, they are so absolutely corrupt.”⁷⁶ Writing to McKinley the follow month he called Cubans “impetuous and hot-headed and liable to do a good many foolish things.”⁷⁷ To the readers of *The Independent* he

⁷⁴ Wood, “Existing Conditions and Needs,” 599; and “Report of the Secretary of War,” 29 November 1899, 16.

⁷⁵ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

⁷⁶ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 11 October 1898, Box 190, Wood Papers.

⁷⁷ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

explained that a “great failing of this people is their desire for office and salary, considering, as they often do, petty official positions more honorable than honest labor.”⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Wood felt that these habits, learned under the corrupt Spanish administration of the island, could be unlearned by following the example of the United States and by the careful shepherding of the military government. In working together to revitalize the province, Wood used the military occupation to provide an example for the Cubans to follow and to give them training in the “efficient administration of public business.”⁷⁹ He preached insistently to the Cubans “upon the fact that prosperity comes as the result of hard work and simple, honest and efficient government.”⁸⁰ Honest and efficient governance meant not only municipal reform but a reform of the Cuban judicial system.

To many Cubans their judicial system had become a symbol of corruption. Under Spanish administration, the legal system had favored the wealthy and recognized distinctions in race and ethnicity. Spanish officials often appeared above the law while blacks, at the lower end of the economic and ethnic hierarchy, received harsher treatment. Cubans of Spanish descent or mixed ancestry often fell somewhere along the spectrum depending on their heritage and relative economic worth. Government authorities used the judicial system to intimidate and bully their opposition. Prisoners often went months, in some cases years, without trial because the state wished to keep them out of the way or because they could not afford to pay the legal fees associated

⁷⁸ Wood, “Establishment of the Civil Government,” 1602.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 1603.

with the cost of a potential trial. As the war progressed and the municipal system of government had declined, the judicial process had almost ground to a halt. Cubans unfortunate enough to be caught in the system often waited longer for a trial than their time of incarceration would have been if convicted of the accused offense. In many municipalities the jails overflowed with political prisoners and prisoners whose accused crime was no longer known to the authorities.

In an attempt to curb such injustices, Wood introduced into the judicial system of the province Anglo-Saxon legal concepts, previously unobserved in Cuba. He made every effort “to impress upon them [the Cubans] the fact that the civil law must in all free countries be absolutely supreme, . . . , and that all people, without regard to race, color, or religion, are entitled to equal protection.”⁸¹ To remove the law as a potential political weapon, he issued a bill of rights early in his administration and guaranteed “the freedom of press, the right to assemble peaceably, the right to seek redress for grievances, the right of habeas corpus, and the right to present bail for all offense not capital.”⁸² To alleviate the overcrowding in the jails, Wood immediately set up military courts chaired by an officer of the U.S. Army to review the cases and to set free all but those charged with serious offenses.

While these courts sorted out the prisons, Wood reorganized the lower courts and the provincial supreme court located in the city of Santiago. He streamlined the judicial process, improved the efficiency of the courts, and could by May 1899 boast a fifty

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

percent reduction in cost.⁸³ In appointing justices to the supreme court, Wood advised McKinley that he chose men “wholly on account of legal attainment; the Bar Association of the province having been consulted as to the character and qualification of the new judges.”⁸⁴ On December 1, 1898, in a solemn ceremony attended by Wood and representatives of the occupation government and the McKinley administration, Wood convened the first session of the revamped supreme court. As he had with other Cuban civil servants, he sought to impress the necessity of honest and efficient government upon the justices.

Your enemies who say the Cuban cannot govern themselves will watch you critically, and your friends hopefully. Above and beyond all, be honest in your decisions, for absolute integrity must ever be the foundation of a fair and impartial judiciary. I pray you do not follow the example of those who have made the courts of Cuba a byword for corruption.⁸⁵

Recovery from the aftermath of the war and the establishment of municipal and civil government was only the first phase of the plan to rehabilitate Santiago. Policymakers wanted the municipalities and the provincial government to eventually become self-supporting and carry on the work begun under the military occupation. Both progressives and minimalists agreed that economic development held the key to a prosperous and stable Cuba and thus the key to self-sufficiency. However, they disagreed on how that development should proceed. The minimalists wanted to leave the task mainly to the private sector and to encourage development primarily by ensuring

⁸³ Wood to McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers; and Wood, “Existing Conditions and Needs,” 601.

⁸⁴ Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, 64.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

political stability and the rule of law. Wood and the progressives agreed with the need for political stability but wanted the occupational government to go further and to actively lay the foundation for economic growth through an expanded program of public works and the systematic creation of an infrastructure network for the island.

At the end of Spanish control, the island contained isolated sections of roads, railroads, railways, and harbors, but no insular wide system existed to unite the scattered elements. Although the Spanish had taxed millions from the island, they had spent almost nothing to maintain existing infrastructure or develop it beyond the major towns. Most of the roads into the interior of the island were mere trails unsuitable for wagon or cart traffic. Where interior roads had existed in the past, lack of maintenance had either allowed the jungle to reclaim the land or the tropical rains to wash out the road. At the beginning of the American occupation transportation inland consisted primarily of pack-mule trains and even these could not function in some areas during the rainy season.⁸⁶ The lack of an adequate transportation network made travel expensive and time consuming. To travel inland from Santiago to Havana, a distance of only a couple of hundred miles, took the same amount of time as someone traveling from New York to San Francisco.⁸⁷ Consequently, the shortest and safest route between the port cities was by ocean transport.

The inadequacy of the Cuban infrastructure significantly restricted the economic development of the island by preventing the creation of an insular market and by hampering the flow of Cuban goods produced in the interior from reaching the

⁸⁶ "Report of Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood," 9 August 1899, 304.

⁸⁷ Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, 30.

international market. Wood's initial effort to address the problem focused on the roads within the city of Santiago. Once his administration had addressed immediate issues of sanitation, the focus of public works shifted to repaving many of the existing thoroughfares in the city. The new pavement elevated the level of the road and graded it with a high arch to improve drainage and to eliminate, as much as possible, the potential for standing water. Graveled ditches on the side helped as well. These improvements further promoted sanitation and made the roads suitable for cart and wagon traffic thus generating the potential for more commerce.

Wood also turned his attention to addressing problems with the port, the crumbling waterfront with its dilapidated warehouses and inadequate docking and storage facilities, and to extending the roads into the interior of the island. As he reported to Brooke in October 1899:

The new wharf is nearly completed, as well as the extensive repairs required on the old wharf. Extensive filling along the water front is still being carried on and general sanitary improvements are being pushed forward as vigorously as possible. The main road to the interior of the island, passing from the city over the mountains by way of Dos Caminos, San Luis, and Palma Soriano, is being constructed as rapidly as possible. The extent and difficulty of the work in passing from the plain about Santiago over the mountain to the interior plateau are great and will require considerable time and labor for its accomplishment. The road is at present passable for vehicles, but extensive macadamizing of certain sections will be required before it can be considered to be of a permanent character and serviceable at all seasons and under all conditions. This road is of the greatest benefit, furnishing as it does the only outlet for the interior country except the railway, whose freight rates are so high as to be practically prohibitive.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ "Reports of Brigadier-General Leonard Wood – Supplementary Report," 31 October 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, vol. 1, pt. 6, 862.

Along with the transportation infrastructure, the occupation government in Santiago strove to complete a communication network to connect the various cities in the province. During the war the Cuban insurgents had destroyed virtually all the telegraph lines in an attempt to isolate Spanish troops and disrupt communications. The U.S. Army Signal Corps, charged with the task of restoring communication, reported that it “amounted practically to a rebuilding of the entire system; and this through the roughest part of the Island of Cuba.”⁸⁹ As Second Lieutenant Victor Shepherd of the Signal Officer’s Office pointed out to Wood: “The difficulty of the work may be more fully appreciated when it is understood that many miles of wire had to be strung through dense tropical forest and over trails traversed with difficulty by pack animals.”⁹⁰ To assist in the repairs and to maintain the network once completed the Signal Corps hired a large number of linemen; many were Cubans completely new to the technical field.

Providing employment for the Cubans was one of the primary goals of the public works program and had far reaching benefits for the entire province. The unemployed in the cities consisted largely of farmers and agricultural workers from the rural areas who had fled to the towns to escape the ravages of the war. Often these refugees lost everything and had no capital with which to rebuild and, even if they could rebuild, the lack of infrastructure made it impossible to get their products to market at an acceptable cost. Unable to return to their land, the refugees remained in the towns where they became a burden on the social system. Wood’s program of public works attacked the

⁸⁹ “Supplementary Report, Department of Santiago – Signal Officer’s Office,” 27 July 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, Supplementary Report, 76.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

problem on two fronts. First, the rebuilding of the transportation infrastructure opened up the interior and created a market for their goods. Since the projects often employed the same farmers who would benefit from the improvements, it also gave them the capital to invest in rebuilding their farms. As Wood told readers of *The North American Review*, “with steady labor, means will be furnished to the small farmers to purchase tools and, perhaps, a mule or a horse, and to establish themselves once more upon a comparatively prosperous basis.”⁹¹ According to Wood, Brooke, and other observers, the creation of such infrastructure would attract capital investment from outside of Cuba and then the “fertility of the soil and the industry of the people will work out a happy solution of the [economic development] problem.”⁹²

To assist in the recruitment of outside capital, the McKinley administration and the War Department became a clearinghouse of information on Cuba and the potential for economic development in the island. Shortly after the cessation of hostilities with Spain, McKinley dispatched Robert Porter as Special Commissioner to report on the “industrial, commercial, and financial condition” of the island. Porter spent seven months preparing his report. During that time he visited all the provinces and most of the principal cities and towns. Along the way he interviewed over five hundred people, mainly business leaders. Porter published his report, *Industrial Cuba: Being a Study of Present Commercial and Industrial Conditions with Suggestions as to the Opportunities*

⁹¹ Wood, “Existing Conditions and Needs,” 600.

⁹² “Civil Report of Maj. Gen. John R. Brooke,” 1 October 1899, 14.

Present in the Island for American Capital, Enterprise, and Labour, in February 1899.⁹³

A condensed version followed in April as an article in *The North American Review*.⁹⁴

The extended report contained an economic history of the island accompanied by the statistics and data needed to reassure prospective investors. *Industrial Cuba* became the standard work on Cuba at the time. Investors, missionaries, and foreign policy experts used the information contained therein throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

The War Department also became a source of material and data for those interested in Cuba. From 1898 until the end of the occupation in 1902, the annual reports of the War Department contained detailed intelligence gathered and reported by the occupation forces. The reports not only covered the actions of the occupation government but contained statistical tables on the imports and exports to and from various ports, detailed descriptions of the various Cuban provinces and the agricultural and mineral products produced therein, comprehensive analysis on the cost of material and labor in various parts of the island, and maps and commentary on existing towns and infrastructure. These reports provided a snapshot into Cuban life and conveyed valuable information to those interested in Cuba and its potential development.⁹⁵

⁹³ Robert P. Porter, *Industrial Cuba: Being a Study of Present Commercial and Industrial Conditions, with Suggestions as to the Opportunities Present in the Island for American Capital, Enterprise, and Labour* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1899).

⁹⁴ Robert P. Porter, "The Future of Cuba," *The North American Review*, 168, no. 509 (April 1899).

⁹⁵ "Special Report On Insular Affairs, As Per Instructions Of Circular No. 10, War Department, March 25, 1899," 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, vol. 1, pt. 6, 821-841; "The Island of Cuba," 1 August 1899, 56th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Doc. No. 2, Supplementary Material, Roster of Troops Serving in the Division of Cuba, 3-20; "Report of the Secretary of War," 27 November 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 1, Appendix B, 99-106; and "Report on A Geological Reconnoissance of Cuba," 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, 3-123. The aforementioned are examples of the information contained in the annual reports for those years. Additional information and statistics can be found scattered throughout those reports.

Wood considered public education an important part of the rehabilitation effort and essential to the future of the island. The economic development envisioned by Wood required an educated workforce as its foundation. Such a workforce would be able to move beyond manual labor and accelerate further economic development in the island by attracting capital investments. The spread of public schools also provided the occupation government with the opportunity to teach the skills progressives felt necessary for self-government. As Wood explained to the readers of *The Independent*: “Whatever work has been done here has been founded upon the belief that no liberal form of government can exist except among an intelligent, well educated people.”⁹⁶ Such a population, according to Wood, would understand the rule of law, respect civil government and democracy, and make the rationale decisions required of a self-governing people. To accomplish those ends, he put together a Board of Public Education for the province, encouraged municipal authorities to build at least one school in each municipality, and laid the groundwork for future improvements. As military governor of the province, he commissioned a board – composed of one Cuban and four Americans - to review of the Spanish system of public education and recommend a scheme for the establishment of an educational system throughout the province. However, progress on public education ground to halt as the new insular government under Brooke claimed control of educational policy.

Similar to the sanitation measures, the transportation and communication infrastructure created by the occupation government served a dual purpose. While it

⁹⁶ Wood, “The Establishment of the Civil Government,” 1602.

benefited the Cubans and led to economic development, it also benefited the occupation forces. The improved system of roads increased the ability of the U.S. Army to move men and supplies quickly. It enabled them to further extend their control into the interior and to patrol against brigands and possible revolutionaries. Improved communications assisted the military government in coordinating its efforts and in maintaining garrisons at remote but strategic posts.⁹⁷ The Cubans, not unaware of the dual nature of the improvements and increasingly concerned about foreign investors, looked upon the public works with suspicion. Ray Stannard Baker described the mood best to his American readers: "...the average Cuban cannot see the utility of such improvements, except as a means of providing work for the unemployed. He is merely vaguely jealous, feeling somehow that the American is repairing Cuba so that it will be habitable for himself."⁹⁸ Cuban concerns grew as the U.S. occupation continued and the Brooke administration appeared unable or unwilling to chart an exit strategy.

Conclusion

As military governor of Santiago Province for most of the first year and a half of occupation, Leonard Wood conceived and implemented a comprehensive set of reforms designed to rehabilitate Santiago and create a model of progressive imperialism. Wood embraced the progressive ethos of direct governmental intervention and used his authority as military governor to advance the progressive agenda in Cuba. He operated from the premise that military governance provided an excellent opportunity to reshape

⁹⁷ "Supplementary Report, Department of Santiago – Signal Officer's Office," 27 July 1899, 76.

⁹⁸ Baker, "General Leonard Wood," 369.

Santiago in accordance with progressive principles, to create a model of good and efficient government, to instill into the Cubans the traits necessary to govern themselves, and to spur the economic development he felt necessary to create self-sufficiency. His reforms fundamentally challenged traditional Cuban society and greatly exceeded President McKinley's declared view on the proper limits for the occupation. In exceeding his authority and operating on his own initiative, Wood met with significant resistance from the Cubans, from other department commanders who had their own reform agenda, and from Governor John Brooke, a minimalist who sought to curtail progressive reform and reign Wood in as a subordinate. The struggle for control of insular policy had ramifications for the island, for the U.S. Army, and for the direction of occupational policy.

CHAPTER IV

POLICY DEBATES AND IMPERIALISM

During the first year and a half of the Cuban occupation, July 17, 1898 to December 20, 1899, a profound and sweeping debate over American imperial policy and its ramifications took place. In the Philippine archipelago, the president enjoyed greater control and personal discretion on administrative policy due to the continuation of hostilities after the outbreak of the Philippine War on February 4, 1899. In Cuba the explicit commitment to self government embodied in the Teller Amendment and the cessation of hostilities curtailed presidential prerogative and opened the door for greater Congressional involvement and even disagreements within the McKinley administration over policy. The debate and ensuing division witnessed the rise of three distinct philosophies on how to proceed: the minimalist approach espoused by President McKinley and Governor John Brooke in Havana, the progressive approach pursued by Wood in Santiago and championed by Theodore Roosevelt, and the natural expansionist / annexationist approach advocated by James Wilson in Matanzas and supported by Senator Joseph B. Foraker. These philosophies demonstrated profound disagreements over the proper administration and eventual future of the island, the direction of imperial policy, the proper role of government, and the appropriate employment of the U.S. Army. As departmental commanders, Wood and Wilson resisted the implementation of McKinley's minimalist approach and developed their own imperial policy. Both men garnered support for their policies in Washington and elsewhere in the Republican Party

by exceeding the chain of command, appealing directly to supporters and potential supporters, and by the skillful use of the media. Their success in forestalling and supplanting the strategy of their commander-in-chief demonstrated the importance of the colonial administrator and the ability of those chosen to implement policy to influence the actual development of said policy.

Leonard Wood and the 1898 Campaign for Governor

Although Wood had presided over a progressive government in Santiago for most of the occupation in 1898, he and other advocates of the progressive approach realized that the continuation of their strategy depended upon who McKinley chose to be military governor of the island when the Spanish relinquished complete control on January 1, 1899. As McKinley deliberated on a potential governor, the progressives mounted a campaign designed to woo the president into embracing their strategy and to appoint either Wood or Wilson to the post. Wood had already established his progressive credentials in Santiago. However, despite his wartime rank, he was a relatively junior officer from the Medical Department and thus a long shot to become governor as more senior officers could lay claim to the position. On the other hand, while Wilson's commitment to the progressive position remained largely unknown, he had vast experience and numerous connections in Washington. He had served with distinction during the U.S. Civil War and, although he had spent much of the last thirty years in the private sector, he remained well connected in government circles. He had only recently rejoined the service in anticipation of the conflict with Spain. Leading

progressive like Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge favored the appointment of Wilson but advanced Wood as an alternate should Wilson prove unacceptable to the administration.

Although not their first choice for military governor, Wood still served as a standard bearer for the progressive cause and as a rising star in their ranks. Roosevelt, fresh from the war and in his own race for the governorship of New York, lobbied for Wood with the administration. He urged McKinley to forego the practice of promotion based on seniority and to appoint Wood a brigadier general in the Regular Army. He also lobbied Lodge, “We want young Generals of Wood’s capacity, sound good sense and extraordinary energy.”⁹⁹ Lodge and others progressives promised their support and encouraged Wood in his efforts. Gradually, as the occupation proceeded in 1899, Wilson and the progressives parted company and the latter increasingly turned to Wood as the alternative to the Brooke.

Not content to leave the politicking to others and determined to secure the governorship for himself, Wood launched a campaign of his own. He wrote to anyone he thought could advance the progressive strategy in Washington and possibly influence his appointment as military governor. He used his professional experience in Santiago and his grasp of the conditions in the island to develop a comprehensive plan for the continued revitalization of the city and recommendations for the pending occupation of the entire island. Initial elements of his plan, as expressed in a long letter to Secretary of War Alger on September 15, 1898, focused heavily on an ambitious public works

⁹⁹ Theodore Roosevelt to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, 19 September 1898, in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, 1898-1900*, ed. Elting Morison (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 2:877.

program. As the occupation continued, the plan grew to include the plethora of reforms that marked Wood's administration of Santiago.

Wood's initial lobbying effort met with some success in Washington where like-minded public officials praised his administration of Santiago and promised their continued support. Lodge proved especially encouraging:

There is not one of the suggestions you make which does not commend itself to me as thoroughly sound and valuable, and if there is anything I can do by letter to Washington, or later by personal effort to aid you, I wish you would let me know. ...immediate steps such as you suggest, for the establishment of schools, improvement of the water supply and the dredging of the harbor, should also be taken as soon as possible.¹⁰⁰

Encouragement also came from Robert Porter, Special Commissioner of the United States to Cuba, who had met Wood when he toured the island on behalf of the administration. Porter had spoken glowingly of Wood's efforts in Santiago in his reports. He told Wood that McKinley "follows your excellent record with a great deal of satisfaction" and that at "any and all times confidential hints from you will be well received at headquarters, where your judgment is respected and with the best of reasons."¹⁰¹

Heartened by the reception of his views, Wood wrote directly to McKinley on November 27, 1898, explaining both his philosophy and his methods: "The plan of the administration [Wood's administration in Santiago] has been one of personal supervision to the greatest extent possible. I inspect, advice, and counsel with hundreds of people

¹⁰⁰ Senator Henry Cabot Lodge to Leonard Wood, 26 September 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

¹⁰¹ Robert Porter to Leonard Wood, 11 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

daily, always with one end in view that is getting them to disband, getting them to work, and impressing upon them the necessity of recognizing the absolute authority of the civil law.”¹⁰² “The civil government of this Province,” he continued, “for a time at least, has got to be one almost of paternalism; one has got to go among the people, advise them, help them, and in fact give one’s personal attention to the greatest extent possible, considering no detail too small to be worthy of careful investigation.”¹⁰³ He urged the President to embrace a similar philosophy for the insular government, to avoid centralization of power in Havana in the short term, and to allow departmental commanders virtual autonomy. Instead of minimalist government from the top, Wood contemplated an activist government involved in the smallest details of Cuban life and implementing progressive reforms at all levels. If, he counseled McKinley, “we are to have a successful civil government, each Department Commander has got to be physically able to make extensive tours of inspection, to be a great deal among the people, and to give the greatest amount of personal attention to all the details of the civil work in his Department.”¹⁰⁴ Centralization of the insular government in Havana should, according to Wood, wait until progressives at the local level had reformed Cuban society and prepared the way.

Wood went so far as to briefly hire a personal lobbyist, A.E. Mestro, to make his case to President McKinley and other members of the administration. He sent Mestro to Washington in October with letters for McKinley and other policymakers and instructed

¹⁰² Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 27 November 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

him to obtain a personal interview with each recipient if possible.¹⁰⁵ Mestro also drummed up support for Wood's gubernatorial aspirations in the New York press. He succeeded in getting *The Evening Sun*, a pro-administration daily, to editorialize on behalf of Wood. *The Sun*, sister paper to *The Evening Sun*, supported Wood as well. Writing at the behest of Vice President Garrat Hobart, Frederick Evans of *The Evening Sun* conveyed to Wood "the highest respect and admiration" held by both papers for Wood and pledged their support for his work.¹⁰⁶ Evans told Wood that his "old friends are delighted beyond expression with your splendid success in the field and as an administrator, and you may count your new friends and admirers by tens of thousands."¹⁰⁷

Roosevelt and Wood even joined forces to launch a media campaign designed to further the progressive cause. As Roosevelt told the publishers of *Scribner's Magazine*, the real work in Cuba, the work of Leonard Wood, was in "making a State."¹⁰⁸ In an article for *Outlook*, Roosevelt described Wood as the "model American military administrator" and argued that such administrators should be given "the widest possible latitude as to means and methods of solving the exceedingly difficult problems set before them."¹⁰⁹ *Scribner's Magazine*, sufficiently enlisted to the cause, contracted with Wood to write an article detailing the nature of his work in "the making of a State out of a

¹⁰⁵ A.E. Mestro to Leonard Wood, 16 October 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

¹⁰⁶ Frederick Evans to Wood, 20 October 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers. *The Sun* and *The Evening Sun* would later become harsh critiques of Wood and his administration in Cuba. Both papers actively opposed his nomination in 1903 to become a Major General in the Regular Army.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Charles Scribner's Sons to Wood, 3 December 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

¹⁰⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, "General Leonard Wood: A Model American Military Administrator," *Outlook* 61, no. 1 (January 7, 1899): 20.

conquered province. We feel that what you have to say will be of great importance in forming public opinion on questions of the greatest moment, and we believe that the public which we reach is a very important element in the formation of that opinion.”¹¹⁰

Wood’s contribution to *Scribner’s Magazine* appeared in the May 1899 issue and ran to thirteen pages including sixteen photos.¹¹¹ Wood used most of the narrative to vividly describe the conditions found in Santiago after the war and the heroic efforts taken by the U.S. Army and the Cuban people just to survive. He detailed the efforts taken by the occupation government to stabilize conditions in Santiago and to avoid a further humanitarian catastrophe. He then went on to explain the additional reforms needed to revitalize Santiago and insure the safety and wellbeing of the people. Although the piece and the other articles came out too late to influence McKinley’s immediate selection of a governor, they did provide a national forum for the progressives to shape and direct public opinion in support of their agenda and to bring pressure on McKinley and other minimalists in the administration.

Governor John Brooke and the Minimalist Approach

To shepherd his minimalist strategy, McKinley chose General John R. Brooke as the first Military Governor of Cuba. Over sixty at the time of his appointment, Brooke had begun his military career in 1861 and rose to become one of only three major generals in the regular army at the time of the Spanish American War. A solid career soldier, who governed cautiously and followed the instructions of his superiors to the

¹¹⁰ Charles Scribner’s Sons to Wood, 3 December 1898, Box 26, Wood Papers.

¹¹¹ Leonard Wood, “Santiago Since the Surrender,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 25, no. 5 (May 1899).

letter, Brooke made a reliable governor. Unlike many of his subordinates, he was not the man to take the initiative and he dutifully limited the role of the occupational government to the boundaries prescribed by the administration. McKinley essentially gave Brooke the same instructions he gave to General Shafter the previous July. As Brooke relayed to the Cuban people: “I deem it proper to say that the object of the present Government is to give protection to the people, security to person and property, to restore confidence, to encourage the people to resume the pursuits of peace, to build up waste plantations, to resume commercial traffic; and to afford full protection in the exercise of all civil and religious rights.”¹¹² Brooke saw his task as maintaining law and order and refused to proceed beyond that goal. The task of rebuilding he left largely to the private sector.

Shortly after assuming control from Spain in January 1899, Brooke began the construction of a dual military and civil government for the island. The insular civil government, located in Havana, consisted of four departments: State, Finance, Justice and Public Instruction, and Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Public Works. The civilian heads of each of these departments became known collectively as the Cuban Cabinet. Individual cabinet members oversaw the civil bureaucracies of their departments, responded to specific requests by the governor, developed and implemented policy decisions at the insular and departmental level, and reported directly

¹¹² Adjutant General’s Office, Division of Cuba, *Civil Orders and Proclamations, 1899*, (Havana: Office of the Military Governor, 1900), Civil Order No. 1.

to Brooke, or his chief of staff, Major General Adna R. Chaffee.¹¹³ Brooke exercised final authority over all civil and military affairs.

Immediately below the insular level, the occupational government consisted of seven geographic departments which corresponded to the traditional provinces of the island: Pinar del Rio under Brigadier General George W. Davis, the province of Havana under Major General Fitzhugh Lee, the city of Havana under Major General William Ludlow, Matanzas under James Wilson, Santa Clara under Major General John C. Bates, Puerto Principe under Brigadier General Louis Carpenter, and Santiago under Wood. The departmental commanders organized and then supervised the civil governments of their provinces. They reported to Brooke and to the insular civil government, whose policies they were expected to implement in their departments.

In his organization of the insular government, Brooke re-introduced many of the grievances that had led to the revolt. Instead of reforming the entire system of governance, Brooke created the Cuban Cabinet and then simply placed it atop the existing civil structure used by the Spanish. He expressed to the Cubans his intent to “carry out these objects through the [existing] channels of civil administration, although under military control” and that the “civil and criminal code which prevailed prior to the relinquishment of Spanish Sovereignty” would remain in force.¹¹⁴ He failed to recognize, as Wood had in Santiago almost six months earlier, that the Cubans resented the system of governance designed by the Spanish and felt persecuted by a legal system that had left thousands in judicial limbo. He further exacerbated the problem by

¹¹³ Chaffee was a Major General in the U.S. Volunteer Establishment and a Colonel in the Regular Army.

¹¹⁴ Division of Cuba, *Civil Orders and Proclamations, 1899*, Civil Order No. 1.

retaining many of the officials who had served under the Spanish. As Jose Gonzaloz y Lanuza, an official in Santiago, laid the matter before Brooke, the “revolution fought Spain in order to overthrow the entire past; its men went to war in order not merely to snatch a flag from our soil, but in order to see that they became masters of their own land, and in order to organize our commonwealth politically and civilly as the entire people should choose.”¹¹⁵ The Cubans had not fought to maintain the colonial system of government or to trade one colonial master for another. In short the Cubans had not fought to maintain the status quo.

Brooke’s centralization of authority and financial resources in Havana also struck a raw nerve with Cuban leadership in the provinces and with his own departmental commanders. The centralization of fiscal policy had been one of the primary objections to Spanish rule. The provinces, especially Santiago, had resented being taxed by the Spanish for projects that only benefited the capital. In the five months prior to Brooke becoming governor, Santiago had enjoyed complete control over its own revenue and Wood had not hesitated to spend that money on improving the province. When Brooke centralized control of the custom revenues in Havana and forced the departmental commanders to apply for funds before they could launch major projects, many in the provinces began to complain openly. The process eventually led to problems with Wood and Wilson.

Brooke further alienated the Cubans through a series of misunderstandings that seemed to minimize their role in liberating Cuba from Spain. When Brooke officially

¹¹⁵ Jose A. Gonzaloz y Lanuza to John R. Brooke, 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

took command from the Spanish, he denied the Cubans the right to participate in the ceremonies or to parade in triumph through Havana. When the United States returned the body of General Calixto Garcia to Havana in February – the general had unexpectedly died while on a diplomatic mission – Brooke bungled the ceremonial procession and excluded the Cubans from participating. Although Brooke never repeated these blunders, the initial missteps significantly harmed his relations with the Cubans.

Brooke and the minimalists proved more successfully in dealing with the potential threat to the American occupation posed by the existence of Cuban led organizations dedicated to Cuban independence: the Cuban Junta in New York, the Cuban Liberation Army in the field, and the Cuban Council of Government. Although united in their common struggle against Spain, these three factions had never cooperated well together. Geographically isolated from one another and with competing interests, the American intervention drove a further wedge between these groups. The McKinley administration recognized the division and exploited it to their advantage. At the onset of the intervention, the administration decided to make the Cuban Council of Government irrelevant by simply ignoring it and dealing directly with the Cuban Junta and the Cuban Liberation Army. The administration developed a close working relationship with the Cuban Junta and eventually co-opted its leadership in a pro-American faction. In February 1899, at the behest of the Estrada Palma and the Junta, McKinley sent Porter to visit General Maximo Gomez, supreme commander of the Cuban Liberation Army, at his headquarters in Remedios. Gomez agreed to disband the army and support American occupation as the clear way to peace and eventual

independence. In exchange the United States promised to pay the Cuban soldiers and assist them in returning to civilian life. Gomez traveled to Havana later in the month to officially confer with the U.S. military government. Brookes, who had learned a lesson from the previous fiascos, went out of his way to honor Gomez and his supporters. In the end the United States appropriated \$3,000,000 and paid each Cuban soldier who came forward \$75. By late summer, the Cuban Liberation Army ceased to exist.

The Cuban Council of Government, unable to exert control over the Junta or the Liberation Army, found itself increasingly isolated. In an attempt to broaden its appeal the Council dissolved itself and invested its authority in a national assembly which met in Santa Cruz del Sur in Camaguey in October 1898. The Santa Cruz Assembly, however, exerted no more influence than its predecessor. The Junta increasingly ignored its directives and the administration stonewalled representatives from the group who traveled to Washington on its behalf. When Gomez accepted the premise of an American occupation without consulting the Assembly, it removed him from the leadership of the army by simply abolishing his rank. The effort backfired and inflamed public sentiment against the Assembly. On April 4, 1899, the Assembly gave up the fight, accepted the reality of the American occupation, and voted to dissolve itself. In doing so it removed the last organized threat to the American control.

Despite the removal of organized Cuban opposition, Brooke's tenure as military governor was anything but peaceful. Brooke's lack of initiative and his caretaker style of governorship did not set well with many of his departmental commanders. Throughout most of 1899, they actively campaigned for his job and continually carped

against his administration. Both Wood and Wilson chafed under Brooke's minimalist approach. Wood, in Santiago, resented the centralization of control in Havana and especially the loss of customs revenue, which limited the number of progressive projects he could pursue. Wilson, in the rich agricultural region of Matanzas and Santa Clara, wanted to implement a program for agricultural rehabilitation. When Brooke refused to support their plans, both men superseded the chain of command and appealed to their friends in Washington. With little active support from the administration, and with a president who actually encouraged backdoor communications, Brooke found his position increasingly untenable and by mid-year the military government had disintegrated into competing factions. All movement toward an independent and self-governing Cuba ceased.

The Progressive Campaign for Governor

By the end of his initial six months in Cuba, Wood had reached an important crossroads in his military career. Fulfilling an ambition dating back two decades, he decided to officially leave the Medical Department and to seek an appointment as a line officer in the Regular Army. In doing so he hoped to maintain the rank he had acquired during the war and subsequent occupation. Without the intervention of the War Department or the administration, Wood would once again become a captain and most likely have to return to service as a doctor. He hoped to avoid that scenario. Wood also set his sights upon becoming the military governor of Cuba. Always an ambitious officer, the governorship proved attractive to him for two reasons. First, it represented

the natural culmination of his efforts at Santiago and would allow him to expand the progressive program to the whole island. He believed in the progressive strategy for the revitalization of Cuba and he wanted to see it succeed. Second, and in some ways more important, his appointment as military governor would go a long way to making his entry as a line officer in the Regular Army not only a possibility but a success as well. As governor he would keep his senior rank and thus avoid a seniority system which had kept so many officers in the junior ranks for their entire careers. Success as governor would also brighten his prospects for a productive and illustrious military career. He never made peace with the appointment of Brooke as military governor nor the preferment of the progressives for Wilson as their candidate. His campaign for the military governorship did not end when Brooke assumed control on January 1, 1899. It merely intensified.

The clash between Brooke and Wood began almost immediately after the arrival of the governor in Havana. Brooke moved quickly to assert his authority and to centralize power in the insular government. In a January 10th letter from Adna Chaffee, Brooke revoked Wood's ability to independently appoint judges, fiscals, and other high level civil servants in Santiago.¹¹⁶ Instead the governor required him to report directly to Havana on his efforts at judicial reform and to submit a list of potential candidates with recommendations for the approval of the insular government. Wood could not even remove an official for any reason without the approval of headquarters.

¹¹⁶ Adna R. Chaffee to Leonard Wood, 10 January 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

In a second letter dated the same day, Chaffee rebuked Wood for allowing the citizens of Santiago to question the policy of routing all customs revenues to Havana prior to their disbursement.¹¹⁷ Wood, who also resented the policy, had allowed and possibly even encouraged the criticism. Chaffee ordered Wood to contact local newspapers and warn them that “any further criticism, reflections, or publications of calls to mass assemblage for discussion of this subject” would not be tolerated and would lead to the “suspension of the offending paper.”¹¹⁸ Respectful discussion of local needs was permissible but emotional and “unintelligent criticism of the policy and purposes of the President, or of those of the Division Commander ... are wrong and must [not] be countenanced by you.”¹¹⁹ Chaffee concluded with a reminder to Wood that he would “be expected to conduct the affairs of your Department along the lines prescribed for guidance, repressing with your influence, power if necessary, all acts that may tend toward interference with an orderly execution of, and adherence to, every regulation prescribed by the President for the government and business affairs of the Island.”¹²⁰

The following week, Chaffee once again wrote to Wood as the governor moved to extend his control over the finances of Santiago. Chaffee asked for specific information on the salaries of all civil servants as well as their rank and species of payment. He asked for an estimate of the indebtedness of the department at the end of the month, an accounting for that debt, and a preliminary estimate of expenses in

¹¹⁷ Adna Chaffee to Leonard Wood, 10 January 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid. Emphasis in the original letter.

February. To make clear the chain of command, Chaffer instructed Wood that, “No project involving payment of money derived from custom revenues will be entered upon without first securing approval of division commander [Brooke] unless it be absolutely necessary sanitary work. Much sanitary work ought to be done by men without other employment in return for food.”¹²¹ The days when Wood could run the show in Santiago unfettered were clearly over.

Wood had enjoyed professional autonomy for too long and he resented the circumvention of his power. Bypassing official channels, he cabled the War Department for permission to travel to Washington for a brief visit. Over the objections of Governor Brooke, the administration granted the request. In the states, Wood received a hero’s welcome for his much publicized work in Santiago. He accepted accolades from fellow progressives and from the Metropolitan Club in Washington and the Union Club in New York. He met with the president, officers at the War Department, and the Senate Military Affairs Committee. At each of these meetings he lobbied for local autonomy for the departmental commanders and against the loss of customs revenue to Havana. He warned that the progressive program in Santiago would grind to a halt with the loss of revenue. The administration listened but refrained from taking any direct action at the time.

Along with his lobbying efforts, Wood found time to testify before the Dodge Commission while in Washington. Having penned his hope on a senior appointment in the regular army and in need of the administration’s support to make that a reality, Wood

¹²¹ Adna Chaffee to Leonard Wood, 19 January 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

moderated many of his previous criticisms of the war effort and of Secretary Alger. His testimony proved so favorable that it briefly strained his relationship with Roosevelt, who wanted Alger removed from office. Roosevelt had increasingly become the leading voice in the growing opposition to Alger and he had counted on Wood's testimony to back up his allegations of misconduct and incompetence. Wood, however, dependent as he was on the good graces of the President and the War Department, demurred. As an officer in the Medical Department, line officers considered him an outsider and he could count on little support from the War Department for his appointment or in his feud against Brooke. He served at the behest of the president and could not afford to alienate that support. Although, over the next several months, he became increasingly critical of Brooke, he carefully avoided any criticism of the president or the administration. He focused on Brooke and he did so publicly.

Wood followed his initial article in *Scribner's Magazine*, published in May 1899, with one in *The North American Review*, published the same month. In *The North American Review* article, "The Existing Conditions and Needs in Cuba," Wood never mentioned the governor by name, but his references to what was wrong with the existing conditions left little doubt who was to blame. According to Wood, the insistence on retaining much of the Spanish system and its functionaries, the centralization of authority in Havana, and the creation of a bloated insular government had denied the Cubans what they wanted – "a firm but liberal and just government of the people, for the

people and by the people, under American military supervision.”¹²² Wood strayed dangerously close to insubordination when he opined, “What is to be avoided, above all things, is militarism, military pedantry, unelastic methods and any continuance of the old Spanish system of multitudinous office holders, filling unnecessary office and rendering practically no return for the salaries paid them.”¹²³ He also used the article to settle scores with Brooke over the customs dispute:

The agitation which recently took place in Santiago was not based, as was currently reported in the United States, on an effort to retain in Santiago all the revenues of the Province; but it was caused by rumors of an effort to abolish what we all hold most dear, that is, the local, municipal and provincial (or State) autonomy. What the Cuban people desire is that each Province should be developed very much upon the lines of our States, and that the relations of the Province to the General Government should be similar to those of the States of the Union to the Federal Government.¹²⁴

In June 1899, Wood published a short but devastating critic of the Brooke administration in *The Independent*. He accused the insular government of neglecting the public business and stated that the “present methods [of governance] are ... intolerable.”¹²⁵ Brooke’s centralization of power in Havana and his insistence of a top-down approach to reform had simply failed.

A vast amount of work has to be done in all the towns to make them habitable and healthy. The present condition of affairs demands in the most imperative terms strong local control of local affairs, with, of

¹²² Leonard Wood, “The Existing Conditions and Needs in Cuba,” *The North American Review* 168, no 510 (May 1899): 593.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 599.

¹²⁵ Leonard Wood, “The Establishment of the Civil Government in the Province of Santiago,” *The Independent* 51 (June 1899): 1604.

course, the whole system under the firm but broad and liberal supervision of a central authority. The best results will be obtained if to those responsible for the control, development and re-establishment of the different sections there be given wide discretion and they be left unhampered as far as possible by petty and arbitrary restraints. If one man cannot be trusted to act with honesty, good sense and judgment, another should be found who can be.¹²⁶

In perhaps his boldest move yet, Wood went beyond a repudiation of Brooke's administration and the policies, he all but directly called for his dismissal. The McKinley administration remained silent.

Brooke, however, did not take these challenges to his authority lightly. On July 26, 1899, Chaffee sent a scathing cable to Wood describing his expenditure report for August as "carelessly written" and something that "cannot be allowed."¹²⁷ "The haphazard methods heretofore existing in this matter must cease instantly... The accounts rendered by you for the last six months are a disgrace to the Army."¹²⁸ To make the matter more humiliating for Wood, Chaffee sent the cable without cipher and thus open for all to read. As Wood told Roosevelt,

[Brooke] charged me with 'great folly in building roads, haphazard methods of doing business, and submitting reports for six months which were a disgrace to the army.' This was sent through virtually public channels as it was handled by ten or fifteen different men in the signal corps, clerks in the office of Department Headquarters etc. In addition to sending it through the signal corps he directed me to repeat it in full back to him. This I did.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Adna Chaffee to Leonard Wood, 26 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 3 August 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

Wood retaliated with his own cable to the War Department. In his cable, sent through Division Headquarters, Wood repeated the Chaffee cable in full and then denied “every insinuation and reflection” and “specifically every charge” tendered by Brooke.¹³⁰ Wood also demanded a court of inquiry to clear his name, exonerate his record, and to stop Brooke’s attempt “in every way to hamper, hinder and discredit my [Wood’s] work here.”¹³¹ The demand for an official court of inquiry, and the negative publicity that would most certainly ensue from it, led McKinley to intervene personally with Wood. In return for the promise of a promotion to Brigadier General in the Regular Army, McKinley asked Wood “to keep the peace with Brooke and co.”¹³² Although the peace remained a troubled one, the conflict did not flare into open war again during the remainder of Brooke’s tenure as governor.

McKinley’s pledge reiterated an earlier promise he had made to Wood. Wood took McKinley at his word with such trust that he turned down a lucrative business opportunity to remain in the army. Earlier in the year, shortly after his return to Cuba in February, the Washington Railway and Electric Company had offered Wood the presidency of the company, a \$20,000-a-year salary - almost four times his army pay - and a five year contract. The position offered stability whereas continued service in the army – absent any direct action by the president - would most likely lead to a reduction in rank and pay. Roosevelt wrote to Wood in June and urged him to take the position as

¹³⁰ Leonard Wood to Louise Wood, 3 May 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Louise Wood to Leonard Wood, 31 October 1899, Box 190, Wood Papers.

it would lead to a “literally limitless future.”¹³³ Wood considered the offer but decided to place his hopes in political favor. He declined the offer.

James Wilson and the Matanzas Alternative

Major General James Wilson, like Wood, also harbored gubernatorial ambitions. During the American Civil War, Wilson distinguished himself as both a reliable staff officer and battlefield commander as he rose from the rank of second lieutenant in the Topographical Engineers to become major general of volunteers and head of the Union cavalry for the Military Division of the Mississippi. He had reorganized the corrupt Cavalry Bureau during the war and then administered parts of Georgia after the conflict ended. Born in Shawneetown, Illinois, on September 2, 1837, Wilson entered the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1855 and graduated in 1860 with a brevet commission in the U.S. Army. Wilson remained in the army until 1870 when he left the service to pursue greater financial security for his growing family. For the next fourteen years he struggled as a railroad executive and managed several railroads in the east. They all eventually failed. In 1884, due to a quick sell of stock before his latest venture failed, he entered semi-retirement as a moderately wealthy man and devoted himself to pet entrepreneurial projects, to writing and speaking, to politics, and to managing his investments. From 1885 to 1886, at the behest of some New York investors, he spent ten months in China scouting various routes for a potential railroad, making a careful study of the country, and visiting with various governmental officials. Although the

¹³³ Theodore Roosevelt to Leonard Wood, 18 June 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

venture never materialized, the knowledge he gained made him an expert on Asian affairs and an unofficial advisor to the McKinley administration. From his home in Wilmington, Wilson consolidated his position in Delaware politics and became a small but recognized leader of the Republican Party at the national level.

With the declaration of war against Spain, Wilson abandoned retirement and lobbied the administration for an appointment as a major general in the Regular Army. Although they denied his request, the War Department offered him the rank of major general in the U.S. Volunteer establishment. He accepted and served under Major General Nelson Miles for the invasion of Puerto Rico. In the aftermath of the conflict, he hoped to become either military governor of Puerto Rico or Cuba. The administration passed him over both time. When Brooke became military governor, the administration assigned Wilson as one of his department commanders.

Due to his experience and seniority, and despite his absence from the army for almost thirty years, Wilson considered the governorship of Cuba rightfully his. He counted the loss of the governorship to Brooke as a personal affront and an attack on his military honor since he was “the most worthy of that distinction.”¹³⁴ Wilson considered Brooke “a very poor stick for any such command” and “while he is an officer of eminent respectability and good character, he is a stupid and inexperienced person in all matters pertaining to civil life or the administration of government. He is close, also, to the retiring age, and very torpid in his intellectual operations.”¹³⁵ As one of the seven

¹³⁴ James Wilson to Lucien F. Burpee, 21 November 1898, Box 43, Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

¹³⁵ James Wilson to Bluford Wilson, 10 December 1898, Box 43, Wilson Papers; and James Wilson to John J. McCook, 10 December 1898, Wilson Papers.

departmental commanders, Wilson was not happy about playing second fiddle to a man he considered his inferior.

As with Wood in Santiago, Wilson held his own view of American imperialism and had developed his own strategy for how the occupation of Cuba should proceed. He favored the immediate annexation of Cuba and the incorporation of the island into the America political and economic structure. However, since the Teller Amendment prohibited that course of action, he recommended that the United States withdraw from the island after concluding a reciprocal commercial treaty with a new insular government. The treaty would essentially lower all trade barriers between the United States and Cuba. In the ensuing period of independence, the resulting economic forces would cause the island to naturally gravitate toward the United States and eventually ask for annexation.¹³⁶ He felt that the whole process would take ten years.¹³⁷ After only a month of taking command of Matanzas, Wilson declared U.S. objectives in the island achieved and urged the withdrawal of the U.S. Army from the province and eventually from Cuba.¹³⁸ Wilson saw no need to remain in Cuba any longer and felt that to do so would only postpone the inevitable annexation of the island and sour the good will of the Cubans toward the United States. He repeatedly warned about a growing unease among the Cubans as to the intentions of the Americans.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ James Wilson to Joseph B. Foraker, 12 May 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹³⁷ James Wilson to Henry B. Thompson, 5 July 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹³⁸ James Wilson to William P. Frye, 18 February 1899, Box 43, Wilson Papers; and James Wilson to Anthony Higgins, 25 February 1899, Box 43, Wilson Papers.

¹³⁹ James Wilson to William Potter, 22 February 1899, Box 43, Wilson Papers; James Wilson to John McCook, 9 March 1899, Wilson Papers.

Since Wilson advocated a quick withdrawal from the island, he did not follow Wood's approach in Santiago and create an intensive program of public works. As military governor of Matanzas and later Santa Clara, he did little more than oversee the civil government of the provinces and maintain basic sanitation. He did not reject the progressive reforms outright but considered them inapplicable to the Cuban situation.

If Cuba were a permanent dependency of the United States, or if we were charged by law with the establishment of a government for these people, we might do many things which it is now more or less of an impertinence for us to undertake. It seem to me, from reading your [Wood's] reports, that your views are more or less colored by the consideration that in one way or another, our occupancy of this island is to be permanent; but under the present conditions of the law, and of public opinion in this United States this result will hardly be obtained in the near future.¹⁴⁰

Not only did he considered such actions an "impertinence," but a waste of revenue and a distraction from the more important task of creating a functioning civil government.

Although Wilson rejected Wood's progressive program of public works, he embraced the possibility of actively involving the insular government in reviving Cuban agriculture. To that end he developed and sponsored an extensive program for agricultural rehabilitation and lobbied Brooke and the War Department for support. Wilson had concluded, shortly after his arrival in Cuba, that the economic development of the island – at least in the short run – depended on the exportation of raw materials, especially sugar and tobacco. Since Matanzas constituted the agricultural center of the island, the agricultural rehabilitation of the province figured largely in the overall

¹⁴⁰ James Wilson to Leonard Wood, 17 October 1899, Box 45, Wilson Papers.

economic outlook. The devastation caused by the war had destroyed the agricultural infrastructure and siphoned off operating capital.

Although Wilson regarded himself as the representative of the agricultural class as a whole, his program focused almost exclusively on rehabilitating the sugar plantations. He justified that focus because “sugar is the first, second, third and fourth interest of the island, and that tobacco, fruits, cattle, etc, are by products or mere auxiliaries in the primary of important business of the people.”¹⁴¹ Due to the nature and scale of the work involved, the restoration of the sugar industry required a large and immediate infusion of capital. Something Wilson believed Wood failed to understand.

His [Wood’s] plan appears to be to carry on great public works and thus employ the people at remunerative wages. He thinks that they would apply their wages to the development of agriculture and other resources of the Island, and that in time prosperity would be restored. He apparently forgets that there is not much profit in day labor and that about all the advantage which could come from his plan would be the completion of roads, harbors, streets, etc, for business which does not exist. The people thus would be about as badly off at the end of the period taken up in construction as they are now.¹⁴²

Rehabilitation of the sugar industry could not proceed under Wood’s plan, the sugar industry required direct assistance from the government.

Initial efforts at rehabilitation, proposed by Wilson in February 1899, simply advocated for the redistribution of custom duties to “farmers and small proprietors” so they could purchase the necessary equipment and supplies and resume farming.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ James Wilson to O. H. Ernst, 14 June 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ James Wilson to William Frye, 18 February 1899, Box 43, Wilson Papers.

During the spring months, Wilson consulted local leaders and further developed his agricultural plans. A visit by Alger in March allowed him to place those plans before the administration. Brooke initially expressed tentative approval of the plan but deferred to Washington. Washington, however, remained silent as neither the administration nor the War Department responded.¹⁴⁴

Rebuffed by the silence of the administration and the unwillingness of Brooke to proceed without direct orders, Wilson conducted a behind the scenes campaign to replace Brooke as governor and thus allow him to implement his plans for Cuba. He found a ready ally in Senator Foraker, who disagreed with much of McKinley's occupation policy. In addition he also launched his own public relations campaign. Unlike Wood, Wilson never ventured into print himself and remained largely behind the scenes. He worked most often through Paul Dana of *The New York Sun* and Albert G. Robinson of *The New York Evening Post*. To both of these men he leaked details of the administration in Cuba, his personal commentary on events, confidential copies of his unpublished reports, and tidbits of gossip and second-hand commentary garnered from his vast correspondence. He also worked closely with their correspondents in the island. In April he asked Dana to have the new representative from *The Sun* visit him: "I think I can put some strings in his hands which will enable him to 'get the hang of the schoolhouse,' more promptly than he would if he were left to his own devices."¹⁴⁵ Of course, "getting the hang of the schoolhouse" meant understanding the situation in Cuba from Wilson's perspective, acknowledging the shortcomings of the current policy, and

¹⁴⁴ James Wilson to Charles Emory Smith, 29 May 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹⁴⁵ James Wilson to Paul Dana, 4 April 1899, Box 43, Wilson Papers.

embracing eventual annexation as the only logical course for the island. Wilson gave Dana and Robinson unofficial access to the policy debates over Cuba. In return they both championed Wilson and attacked his critics and rivals in their respective papers and articles.

Sea Change – The Summer of 1899

The minimalist policy advanced by the McKinley administration and implemented by Governor Brooke had stalled by the summer of 1899. The future of Cuba remained in political limbo as the administration gave out conflicting signals and the occupation government failed to make any progress toward establishing a civil government. In the press and among policymakers, “the Cuba problem” became a topic of discussion as uncertain as to policy and who controlled it threatened to engulf the administration. Two events in the summer, however, brought an end to indecision and marked the demise of the minimalist policy.

At the beginning of June, Governor Brooke convened a conference of all his departmental commanders in Havana. Sensitive to the beating his administration was taking in the press and to growing Congressional concerns, Brooke called the meeting to rein in his subordinates and to develop a comprehensive policy for the whole island.¹⁴⁶ The meeting, however, came too late to salvage any sense of consensus. Wood and Wilson had already formulated and, to varying degrees, implemented their own vision

¹⁴⁶ The Division of Cuba consolidated its geographical commands once again on July 1, 1899. Those commanders present at the conference included Fitzhugh Lee in the Department of the Province of Havana and Pinar del Rio, William Ludlow in the Department of Havana (city), James Wilson in the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara, and Leonard Wood in the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe. The administration added Puerto Principe to Wood’s command after the July 1st consolidation.

within their departments. Neither was willing to settle for anything less than the official endorsement of his plan. The group came closest to a consensus on a plan proposed by Wood to divide the surplus revenues of the island among the various departments based on their population. The departmental commanders, free from the oversight of the insular government, could then decide on how best to use the resources in their departments. Brooke, still without clear direction from the president or the secretary of war, refused to consent and the meeting quickly disintegrated into political wrangling. The meeting ended with each departmental commander appealing to their supporters in Washington. The June gathering marked Brooke's last attempt to achieve a coherent Cuban policy and to unify the command under his leadership. The disintegration of the conference meant the end of any chance of progress at the insular level.

The second event, and by far the one with the largest impact on Cuban policy, came with the forced resignation of Secretary of War Alger. Since the Spanish American War, criticism over the mismanagement of the war had dogged the secretary and the War Department under his leadership. Although many in the Republican Party considered the secretary to be an albatross around their neck, McKinley refused to abandon Alger and the secretary continually expressed his determination to remain in office until the end of the administration. Subsequent investigations by the Dodge Commission pointed to problems within the management of the War Department and further discredited the secretary and his administration. Yet, surprisingly, Alger clung to his position for almost a year after the war and what prompted his departure had nothing to do with his effectiveness at the War Department. Alger fell from favor with

McKinley when he agreed to run for the U.S. Senate seat from Michigan against a McKinley stalwart. When the president learned of the betrayal, his relationship with Alger soured and the secretary tendered his resignation in July.

Almost immediately the scramble began to see who would replace Alger. Possible candidates for the position included General Franke Greene of New York, Wilson, Roosevelt, Wood, and Elihu Root. McKinley's subsequent offer of the position to Root, the only candidate without any previous military background, demonstrated his frustration with U.S. colonial policy and the military. As Root later told the New York County Lawyers' Association, a representative of the president called him and offered him the position.

I answered, 'Thank the President for me, but say that it is quite absurd, I know nothing about war, I know nothing about the army.' I was told to hold the wire, and in a moment their came back the reply, 'President McKinley directs me to say that he is not looking for any one who knows anything about war or for any one who knows anything about the army; he has got to have a lawyer to direct the government of these Spanish islands, and you are the lawyer he wants.'¹⁴⁷

As McKinley's response to Root indicated, after a year of frustrated policy and stalemate, the president had decided on a new approach and enlisted the aid of someone without any previous involvement in military affairs. The move so astounded the progressives that Roosevelt, although he judged Root to be "an absolutely upright and very able man" who would "make a good Secretary," considered the appointment to be

¹⁴⁷ Elihu Root, *Addresses on Government and Citizenship*, ed. Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916).

“simply foolish” and an “excuse” not to have a “sweeping reform of the office, or too thorough-going a policy.”¹⁴⁸

Root, however, proved to be exactly what the progressives needed to implement their strategy. He possessed a keen legal mind that could quickly grasp the essentials of most situations. More importantly, he could logically and coherently articulate his policy agenda and then develop a systematic strategy that advanced his goals. Over the next three years, the progressive ethos spread not only in Cuba but to the War Department where Root became a strenuous supporter of reformers in the ranks and presided over some of the most sweeping reforms in the history of the department. Within a month of accepting the nomination, Root had read the existing civil reports and instructed the departmental commanders in Cuba to submit a special report on civil matters in their provinces so that he could reach an honest appraisal on the effectiveness of the occupation. Each took the opportunity to not only cover their current policies and existing conditions but to push their vision for the future of the occupation. Wood and Wilson both recognized that McKinley’s minimalist approach would soon come to an end. The recognitions added incentive to their quest to replace Brooke and bring their respective strategies to the fore of Cuban policy.

Concerned that Wood might secure the prized governorship, Wilson became increasingly strident in his attacks upon the latter. Since the early days of the occupation, he considered the public works projects in Santiago to be an impertinence and a distraction from the main question of civil government. When an epidemic of

¹⁴⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, 21 July 1899, in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Elting E. Morison (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 2:1038-1039.

yellow fever broke out in Santiago in July, Wilson took his criticism a step further and wrote many of his contacts, including important senators and army brass, that Wood had caused the epidemic through his public works program.

It is suggested that this is but the result of the digging and turning up of the soil to which General Wood so extensively resorted in Santiago. It is claimed by local Cuban physicians that cutting and filling in this Island which exposes the fresh earth to the direct rays of the sun is always followed by fevers and frequently by yellow fever. I am told by officers who served in Santiago that this danger was pointed out to General Wood, and that he 'pooh-poohed' it. You will remember that in the towns of my department we have done nothing of that sort, but confined ourselves rather to the cleansing of streets, house yards and cess pools, and to the disinfection of the filthy localities. So far we have no fever: whether it is a mere coincidence or the result of our forbearance I leave the future to decide.¹⁴⁹

Wilson also claimed to know from officers who had served in Santiago that "Wood has been 'blowing,' and that Santiago is neither so clean as it ought to be, nor so well governed."¹⁵⁰ He felt completely satisfied that any objective comparison of his work with the work of Wood in Santiago, would convince anyone that he was the better choice for governor. As he wrote to H.V. Boynton at the War Department: "I need not tell you, if Brooke goes, I want the place, and shall under all the rules expect it."¹⁵¹

As summer turned to fall and rumblings of reform emanated from the War Department, Wilson became more direct in his attacks on Wood. He wrote to Roosevelt

¹⁴⁹ James Wilson to Sam W. Small, 7 July 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers. Subsequent investigations into yellow fever proved the mosquito transmitted the virus and it had little to do with the excavations done for public works. Matanzas did not have a yellow fever epidemic at the time as they experienced a drought, which delayed the advent of the rainy season and significantly reduced the mosquito population. Public works or the lack thereof was not a factor.

¹⁵⁰ James Wilson to Henry B. Thompson, 10 July 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹⁵¹ James Wilson to H. V. Boynton, 29 July 1899, Box 44. Wilson Papers.

in late July to remind him that “personal friendship” was not a good enough reason to support Wood for the governorship over him. “I could never consent, nor do I think my friends would consent that I should be overslaughed by him.”¹⁵² Over the next several months he attacked Wood as the beneficiary of presidential favoritism and a biased media. He constantly derided his prior military service as simply consisting of “three days skirmishing.”¹⁵³ He visited the Santiago battlefield and declared reports of the importance and valor of the Rough Riders to be overstated, as Kettle Hill could not have had more than ten defenders.¹⁵⁴ He even began to spread rumors that Brooke had begun an investigation into Wood for ordering the execution of alleged bandits without a proper trial.

Both Brooke and Chaffee tell me that Wood is in very deep water. They know personally that he has been hanging a lot of people without trial, and have directed him to make an impartial investigation. Brooke, however, read me a dispatch to him in which he distinctly stated that he would himself send a commission unless the work was thoroughly and impartially done. Chaffee says that Wood told him in person that he was having alleged banditti killed without trial. When he sent his men out of them he expected them to bring back their heads, or evidence of their death. Of course this is all in the strictest sense confidential. I have no right to repeat it, but I know you will make no improper use of it.¹⁵⁵

In the fall of 1899, rumors about the future of Cuba included a scenario in which the McKinley administration created a colonial style civil government which would rule the island for an indefinite period of time. Wilson used the rumor to open two additional fronts against the McKinley administration. He argued that any civil government, other

¹⁵² James Wilson to Theodore Roosevelt, 31 July 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹⁵³ James Wilson to A.G. Robinson, 6 April 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers.

¹⁵⁴ Wilson to Goldwin Smith, 27 December 1899, Box 45, Wilson Papers.

¹⁵⁵ James Wilson to R. Suydam Grant, 14 September 1899, Box 44, Wilson Papers;

than one organized and led by the Cubans themselves, was simply a delaying tactic designed to forestall self government.¹⁵⁶ He encouraged his supporters to lobby the Senate against the plan and to urge them to take the direction of the Cuban policy away from the president. He wrote to Foraker that McKinley favored the policy of delay “and all who hope to get plunder out of the island by one process or another, will favor all measures which tend to prolong the situation. General Wood will cooperate with this class, because he will think it will be to his interest to do so.”¹⁵⁷ Action in the Senate, Wilson felt, offered the only hope of preventing such an injustice and affront to national honor.

If I am correct in this assumption, the Senate will very closely scrutinize all appointments and nominations [i.e. Wood] made in connection with the administration of affairs in this island, and it will seek to have a definite and distinct announcement of policy from the President as to how and when he is going to terminate the present occupation of the island. [the adoption of the Wilson plan]¹⁵⁸

Wilson made the same appeal to the acquaintances in the Cuban leadership and urged them to resist the establishment of a civil government under American auspices.¹⁵⁹ He created enough of a disturbance that Root felt the need to publish his annual report, which provided a path to Cuban independence without a colonial civil government, to quiet the turmoil.

¹⁵⁶ James Wilson to Joseph Foraker, 16 October 1899, Box 45, Wilson Papers.

¹⁵⁷ James Wilson to Joseph Foraker, 9 December 1899, Box 45, Wilson Papers.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ James Wilson to Civil Governor Jose Miguel Gomez, 25 October 1899, Box 45, Wilson Papers; and James Wilson to Gonzalo de Quesada, 9 December 1899, Box 45, Wilson Papers.

The political uncertainty in June and July renewed the lobbying efforts upon Wood's behalf. Roosevelt led the way and wrote to members of the administration urging that Brooke be recalled and that Wood be given the command. In a letter to Secretary of State John Hay, Roosevelt stressed the importance of making a good start in colonial policy if the United States expected to continue with its policy of expansion.

A series of disasters at the very beginning of our colonial policy would shake this administration, and therefore our party, and might produce the most serious and far-reaching effects upon the nation as a whole, for if some political cataclysm was the result, it might mean the definite abandonment of the course upon which we have embarked [Roosevelt's "large policy" of expansion] – the only course I think fit for a really great nation.¹⁶⁰

To Attorney General John W. Griggs, Roosevelt stressed the political liabilities involved should the situation deteriorate further in Cuba. "Our success or failure in the Philippines and in Cuba means the success or failure of the President, and therefore of the republican party, and therefore of the nation."¹⁶¹

Two both men Roosevelt sang the praises of Wood, who "stands out head and shoulders above everybody for conspicuous success."¹⁶²

We need tact and judgment just as much as we need firmness in Cuba now. Wood is a born diplomat, just as he is a born soldier. I question if any nation in the world has now, or has had within recent time, anyone so nearly approaching the ideal of a military administrator of the kind now required in Cuba. Perhaps one or two of the Englishmen who have appeared in India during the last forty years come up to his level, but only one or two....¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to John Hay, 1 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹⁶¹ Theodore Roosevelt to John W. Griggs, 1 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Theodore Roosevelt to John Hay, 1 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

Roosevelt argued that in recognition for Wood's success, and as an acknowledgement of the dire situation in Cuba, the traditional seniority system of the army should be ignored and Wood placed in absolute control of the island. As he told Hay, if "we are going to try to administer Cuba and conquer the Philippines on the seniority plan, we had better abandon the two jobs at once, as it is not possible to carry either through successfully on such terms."¹⁶⁴ Roosevelt advised Griggs that colonial administrators had to "possess tact and judgment, fertility of resource, patience, courage, and limitless endurance, and they must possess all of these qualities in the very highest degree."¹⁶⁵

After the appointment of Root as Secretary of War, Roosevelt began to bombard him with unsolicited information and advice on Cuba. Since Roosevelt and Wood maintained a regular correspondence and the latter vented much of his frustration with Brooke and the situation in Cuba in his letters, Roosevelt often had a lot of interesting material for the secretary. On 8 August 1899, Roosevelt notified Wood that he had decided to show some of his letters to Root as a way of impressing upon him the seriousness of the situation in Cuba. Although Wood felt uneasy and had requested in the letters that they remain confidential, he did not stop Roosevelt from meeting with Root or from using his letters to appeal directly to Root and thus subvert the chain of command. By October Root had grown weary of the Roosevelt's incessant lobbying. In a brief interview to discuss the Philippines, Root bluntly told him that "he did not at the moment care to hear ... anything more about Cuba."¹⁶⁶ Undeterred Roosevelt took the

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Theodore Roosevelt to John W. Griggs, 1 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹⁶⁶ Theodore Roosevelt to Leonard Wood, 9 October 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

opportunity presented by the comment to declare Brooke unfit and urge Wood as his replacement.

Wood had other powerful supporters in Washington as well. Senator Thomas Platt from New York declared his support for Wood.¹⁶⁷ Lodge, once a champion of Wilson, not only swung his support to Wood but also actively lobbied on his behalf alongside Roosevelt. Frank Greene, as a candidate for the secretary of war position, declared himself in favor of Wood.¹⁶⁸ Charles Dawes, Comptroller at the Treasury Department, expressed his support and admiration. According to Dawes, Wood had made a particular impression on him and others but his selfless service and by his dramatic decision to cut short his own leave in July to return to Santiago to fight against the yellow fever.¹⁶⁹

Wood's greatest asset in Washington, however, remained his wife Louise (Lou) Wood. A fixture in Washington society for most of her life, she attended all the fashionable parties, celebrations, dinners, and other gatherings of the political elites. She dined regularly with the McKinley and Roosevelt families. When Root and his family moved to Washington, she got to know them as well. Her presence in Washington kept her husband's career constantly before his political superiors and it allowed her to provide information to the politicians that Wood could not do through official channels. It also allowed her to keep Wood abreast of all the developments and gossip in Washington. Wood often made specific requests for information to find out

¹⁶⁷ Theodore Roosevelt to John Hay, 1 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹⁶⁸ Frank Greene to Leonard Wood, 28 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

¹⁶⁹ Charles Dawes to Leonard Wood, 31 July 1899, Box 27, Wood Papers.

the general disposition of someone toward him. She, in turn, reported to her husband the details of her social schedule and the topics of discussion at each. Although she destroyed parts of her letters before bequeathing them to the archives, enough remains to show a husband and wife team working conjointly to advance their military career.

Wood owed much to his wife.

Conclusion

On 13 December 1899, Secretary of War Elihu Root announced the appointment of Wood as the new military governor of Cuba, effective as of 20 December 1899. The announcement marked the end of McKinley's minimalist strategy and opened the way for the progressive imperialism Wood had implemented in Santiago. Although Brooke had failed as military governor, most of the blame for that failure belonged to McKinley. McKinley had placed Brooke in an untenable position by encouraging backdoor communications with his subordinate commanders and then failing to support the governor's efforts to rein in those subordinates. His toleration of direct acts of insubordination by Wood undermined the whole command structure of the occupation force and contributed to the policy drift that characterized the first year of insular rule. Wood succeeded in his quest for the governorship due to his record in Santiago and his ability to forestall the imperial strategy of the administration while implementing his own progressive agenda. It was to his political benefit to cripple the Brooke administration and present himself as the clear alternative. Progressives in Washington,

eager to use the island as a showcase of progressivism, supported a Wood candidacy and applied steady pressure on the administration.

Historians have largely judged Wood harshly for involving himself in the political process, for advocating certain policy positions over others, and for his shameless advancement of his own career by campaigning for the governorship of Cuba. Without a doubt Wood did all of these things; however, two points should be kept in mind. First, the occupation of Cuba proved to be a very political enterprise. American intervention in the Cuban revolution and the subsequent occupation of the island greatly divided policymakers, even those within the same party. The implementation of any strategy in Cuba depended on the ability of the administration and its chosen colonial administrators to win political support for its policies and to continually satisfy partisan demands. Wood, more than any other candidate for governor, realized that necessity and crafted an image as a progressive and competent colonial administrator. Second, the institutional culture of the U.S. Army at the time lent itself to political involvement. In the days of a relatively small army, before mandatory retirement or even fitness exams, promotion stagnated and younger officers had to get noticed in order to get ahead. They often found it necessary to ally themselves with powerful military and political patrons who could advance their career. Wilson, who later criticized Wood as a political general, wrote the same letters to his political patrons, in some cases the same patrons that Wood courted. Similar situations occurred in the careers of Nelson Miles, John Pershing, Hugh Scott, Fred Ainsworth and many others. The Byzantine system of alliances between members of Congress and various staff officers in the Bureaus of the

War Department have become legendary and should end the notion that Wood was the only officer involved in the political process.

CHAPTER V

BUILDING THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

As Military Governor of Cuba, Wood faced two important and interrelated challenges – the formation of an occupation government that would advance his progressive agenda and the framing of a Cuban government to replace the occupation. Wood began by creating a unitary state designed to make progressive reform easier to implement at all levels of government. Promptings by Root and McKinley overcame Wood’s reluctance to move toward independence and led to a call for municipal elections and eventually a constitutional convention. Wood worked closely with Root to achieve these objectives and to address the demands of imperial defense. Root exercised direction supervision on matters of Cuban-American relations and with overall policy but allowed Wood significant freedom in following his progressive agenda. Wood kept Root abreast of developments in Cuba and offered input upon the resources needed and the methods employed to achieve the objectives of the administration. Root listened to these suggestions and made policy adjustments as long as the end result achieved the administration’s goals. American imperial policy toward Cuba evolved around the policy axis of the War Department and the occupational government in Havana. Their effective partnership eventually led to the termination of the American occupation and the creation of the Republic of Cuba.

Concentration of Power into the Office of Military Governor

After assuming command on December 20, 1900, Wood moved immediately to concentrate all power and authority into his office. Despite his vehement opposition to his predecessors, Wood now asserted:

The military government of Cuba, as constituted and operating December, 1899, consisted of a military governor, with authority sufficient to conduct the government of the island and to institute such changes in existing law and procedure, both in the general law of the land and municipalities, as he deemed necessary for the conduct of a just and stable government, ample to maintain order and to give adequate protection to property and vested rights, and to secure to the inhabitant of the island the greatest degree of liberty consistent with existing conditions.¹⁷⁰

Ironically, Wood cited McKinley's original proclamation to the Cubans on July 18, 1898, the same proclamation which Shafter and Brooke cited as limiting the governor's power and authorizing a minimalist occupation.¹⁷¹

Wood's assertion of his prerogatives indicated a substantial shift in American policy toward the island. Since the onset the occupation had drifted along without a consistent internal program of insular administration and with little headway made toward a self-governing Cuba. The War Department needed the personnel and financial resources currently committed to Cuba for the war effort in the Philippines. In Washington, Congressional forbearance with McKinley's colonial policy had begun to wane and increasingly opponents of the president – usually Democratic but with a

¹⁷⁰ "Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood," 1 January 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

smattering of Republicans - inserted themselves into imperial policy through investigative committees and fact finding tours. The upcoming presidential election in the fall of 1900 and the increasing rhetoric of the anti-imperialists made it essential to show progress in Cuba.

The creation of a unified command under his leadership also reflected Wood's personality and management style. As a progressive reformer, Wood believed that the concentration of political power under a central authority made political and societal reform much easier than a system which defused power through several levels. Viewing himself as a benevolent autocrat, Wood chafed at any insular restrictions upon his power and wanted a government in which he or his administration could touch every level of society without interference. Surrounding himself with like-minded subordinates who possessed expertise in certain policy areas, Wood set about creating a central government that could and would govern the island.

The Havana based Cuban Cabinet offered Wood the first opportunity to consolidate his political control. The cabinet consisted of four native secretaries who directed the four departments of the nascent Cuban government - the Department of State and Government, the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, Industries, and Public Works, and the Department of Finance. The cabinet initially operated as a quasi-independent entity that made recommendations to the military governor and oversaw the daily operations of their departments. Brooke granted the secretaries substantial freedom and refrained from directly interfering in their administration. The former governor had even refused to act

directly on a request by Secretary Root to resolve problems of gross negligence and corruption in the judicial system. Instead he referred it to the Secretary of Justice and Public Education, who promptly took no action to rectify the problems.¹⁷²

As Governor of Santiago, Wood had railed against the Cuban Cabinet because of their opposition to his progressive agenda and because of their insistence on continuing many of the practices of the Spanish administration. Wood considered the cabinet secretaries to be little better than scoundrels out to enrich their own fortunes by oppressing the Cuban people. A clash appeared inevitable. The situation however resolved itself when the Cuban Cabinet requested an audience with the new governor on the day of his arrival in Havana and resigned en masse.¹⁷³

The resignations gave Wood the opportunity to restructure the Cabinet and its various departments along the lines he had pursued in Santiago. Within ten days, Wood created a separate Department of Public Works from the existing Department of Agriculture, Commerce, Industries, and Public Works. He also broke up the Department of Justice and Public Instruction into separate departments. These reforms expand the total number of departments to six. In the future, as further progressive reforms dictated, Wood created new departments and expanded the central government accordingly. To reform their internal bureaucracies and make sure the departments adopted progressive reforms, Wood created separate committees, largely composed of Americans, to serve alongside the Cuban departments and provide guidance.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Charlton T. Lewis, President of the Prison Association of New York, to Elihu Root, 20 December 1899, Box 170, Elihu Root Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

¹⁷³ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 22 December 1899, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁷⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 30 December 1899, Box 170, Root Papers.

To ensure the backing of other insular leaders, Wood sought to co-opt their support. On January 1, 1900, he called a meeting of the Civil Governors from the various provinces and invited other influential leaders, including Cuban army officers and member of the wartime Cuban government, to attend as well. He consulted with General Maximo Gomez and suggested to Root that he and two other generals be placed on a committee to oversee the welfare of the veterans in return for a substantial salary.¹⁷⁵ His efforts to win over the insular leaders paid off in the long run by giving him a working relationship with opinion makers in Cuba and largely securing their support for his administration.

The drive to concentrate power into the hands of the military governor extended to other U.S. agencies conducting operations in Cuba. The U.S. Navy, the Revenue Marine Hospital Service, and the U.S. Postal Service all operated in Cuba independent of the military governor. All three services used insular resources and drew upon the insular treasury without accountability to the occupational government and without regard for the needs of the military occupation or the civilian population. Although such entities had functioned separately under Brooke, their autonomy did not fit with Wood's goal of a unified command. Lack of official coordination between the three services and the insular government led to inefficient planning, to turf wars, and in one case to corruption. Wood especially disliked the ability of these entities to interfere with his policies and then appeal to their superiors in Washington for support. Over the next year, he worked with Root to reign in these independent actors.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

The presence of the U.S. Navy in Havana and its control of the port thereof, created several problems. The port of Havana accounted for over 60 percent of the total value of exports for the island and collected customs receipts ten times that of the next largest port.¹⁷⁶ Consequently, the administration of the harbor impacted the economic development of the entire island. Although American naval presence was small and activity minimal, the U.S. Navy occupied valuable facilities along Havana harbor and thus, by mere possession, denied the use of those facilities to the general public or the occupational government. The navy controlled the Machina Wharf, the only wharf capable of loading passengers and baggage directly onto a ship. A separate naval yard occupied the only wharf suitable for the loading and unloading of lumber and other heavy freight. The inability of commercial shipping to use these facilities resulted in delays and additional costs. These costs and the resulting demurrage fees placed a heavy financial burden upon insular commerce.¹⁷⁷ To compound the problem, Captain of the Port, Lucian Young, a Navy lieutenant commander, was independent of insular control and was not required to coordinate with the military government, the municipal government, or local merchants. Although Young proved receptive to coordination, other officers stationed in the city failed to report their presence to the military governor and proved less receptive to inter-service cooperation with the U.S. Army led occupation. Root, working closely with Secretary of the Navy John Long, eventually

¹⁷⁶ "Report of Major Tasker H. Bliss, Collector of Customs for Cuba," 6 August 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 3, 193 and 214.

¹⁷⁷ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 26 April 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

resolved many of the issues and preserved inter-service harmony by making the office of Captain of the Port of Havana a part of the governor's staff.

The Revenue Marine Hospital Service, which conducted a quarantine service for the island, proved troubling as well. Wood found the service uncooperative and complained to Root that it often imposed "quarantines between sea coast towns of the Island and between ports of Cuba and the United States, far in advance of any necessity whatever, [which] serves to seriously injure commerce and disturb the normal flow of trade and traffic."¹⁷⁸ Medical personnel serving with the Marine Hospital duplicated many of the services already provided by the U.S. Army and often clashed with the military doctors in scattered turf wars. The duplication of services led to additional expenses without additional benefits. The Marine Hospital contracted for supplies and services without reference to the insular government and then submitted the bills to the government for payment out of the treasury. Root secured an executive order from the President that gave Wood control over the expenditures of the Marine Hospital and attached a commissioned officer from that service to his staff.¹⁷⁹

The U.S. Postal Service and its Department of Posts in Cuba proved a much more difficult and politically dangerous situation to handle for both Wood and the McKinley administration. Director General of Posts in Cuba Estes Rathbone had carved out a substantial fiefdom in the island totally free of supervision by the insular

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 26 April 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 8 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 2 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 29 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

government and even the War Department.¹⁸⁰ In many ways, the resources at his command dwarfed those of the insular government. His office employed a workforce of seventy-nine clerks at substantial salaries. By contrast, the Office of the Military Governor employed thirty clerks and eleven messengers to meet the needs of the entire Havana based military government and the offices of the Staff Departments of the Cuba Division. Rathbone drew a personal salary of \$6,500.00 annually. In addition, his benefits included per diem for meals, housing rental, coach, coachman, footman, and attire plus laundry service for the aforementioned servants. Total compensation for salary and expenses exceeded \$12,000.00 annually, all paid from the insular treasury without any oversight by the insular government. As Wood complained to Root,

This office, I believe, has been built up by the present incumbent as much to gratifying personal motives as anything else. New routes are established, new projects are formed and new offices created without reference to these Headquarters. Large deficits are presented monthly for payment. This [is] only one of the several instances where officials have gradually increased the scope of their influence until the harmonious administration of Island affairs is seriously threatened.¹⁸¹

Rathbone reported directly to the U.S. Postmaster General Charles Emory Smith and he jealously guarded his autonomy. Shortly after taking office, Wood wrote to Rathbone about a pending appointment in the Department of Posts. Rathbone considered the communication a violation of his professional prerogative and the perceived infringement necessitated a visit by Smith to the War Department where he called Root's attention to the executive order that created the Department of Posts in

¹⁸⁰ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 24 March 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁸¹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 28 March 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

Cuba and established it as independent of the insular government and the War Department.¹⁸² Root, somewhat surprised by the incident, promised to pursue the matter with Smith as soon as possible. In the meantime, he suggested that Wood proceed cautiously and not provoke the Director General.¹⁸³

The issue between the insular government and the Department of Posts came to a head in the late spring. In response to Congressional inquiries shortly after the new year, Wood launched a systematic review and general audit of insular finances. Early on discrepancies began to emerge in the postal accounts and further investigation showed negligence on the part of the clerks in following proper accounting procedures. These discrepancies led to further investigation and more questioning. Feeling the heat from the investigation, Charles Neely, head of the financial department of the Department of Posts, fled the island on April 28, 1900. Subsequent investigation found that he had embezzled close to \$100,000.¹⁸⁴ Wood sensed a larger conspiracy and immediately broadened the scope of the investigation. By the middle of May, investigators had implicated most of the internal auditors at the Department of Posts and even Rathbone. Wood advised Root that “the only chance to free ourselves of blame is to smash the offender without regard to who they are.”¹⁸⁵ Root agreed and told Wood “to scrape to the bone, no matter whose nerves are hurt by it.”¹⁸⁶ Washington sent down A.L. Lawshe as an independent auditor to oversee a new audit of the postal accounts and to advise Wood on the situation. On May 20, 1900, the postmaster general suspended

¹⁸² Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 24 March 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 4 May 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁸⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 5 May 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁸⁶ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 9 May 1900, Box 28, Wood Papers.

Rathbone and replaced him with J.L. Bistow, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General. Root and Wood detained Rathbone on the island as a material witness against Neely until enough evidence mounted to indict Rathbone as well. Wood insisted, and Root and the administration concurred, that the Neely, Rathbone, and the other conspirators should be tried by the Cuban courts and made an example of American colonial integrity.

The postal scandals and the ensuing trial took almost two years to resolve and had far reaching effect upon the colonial administration and upon Wood personally. Due to delays in gathering evidence and Neely's legal battle against extradition back to Cuba, the actual trial did not begin until January 4, 1902. The trial ended on March 24, 1902, with the conviction of Neely, Rathbone, and several others for conspiracy and the embezzlement of a conservatively estimated \$130,000.¹⁸⁷ The vigor and determination with which Wood investigated the postal scandal and prosecuted the offenders created powerful enemies in Washington. Rathbone, a political protégé of Marcus Hanna, proved to be especially well connected. Hanna never forgot the treatment of Rathbone and looked for opportunities to attack Wood. In the short term, however, as a result of the scandal, the Department of Posts came under the auspices of the insular government on July 14, 1900. Wood had finally achieved the unified command he felt necessary to the governance of Cuba.

The drive for a unified command illustrated Wood's tendency to demonize his opponents and his inability to remove himself personally from the issues involved. In

¹⁸⁷ "Annual Report of The Director-General of Posts, Habana, Fiscal Year 1900," 29 January 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 3, 259.

his mind the original Cuban Cabinet did not oppose his ideas of governance or even his progressive agenda. They opposed him personally and they did so because they wanted to exploit the Cuban people for personal gain. Although he presented no evidence to support such an allegation, he had no problem slandering them to the McKinley administration. He made similar allegations against Rathbone based upon the salary and benefits he enjoyed. Even before evidence of misconduct surfaced, Wood accused him, not of inefficiency, but of “gratifying personal motives” and building his own political kingdom. Since Wood considered these men evil, he had no qualms about destroying their careers. The members of the Cuban cabinet went voluntarily into political exile. Rathbone, who proved corrupt, did not get off so easy. A simple trial and punishment was not enough for Wood. Rathbone had to be “smashed” publicly in a Cuban court with Wood overseeing the investigation and prosecution. Wood’s need to fulfill his sense of justice and enact retribution for what he perceived as a personal slight led to problems for the administration and for him personally. It was not the last time.

The ongoing postal scandal gave a rationale for further Congressional inquiries into the colonial government. It also gave hope to those who wanted to find other instances of corruption in the colonial possessions that might injure the McKinley administration politically, especially in an election year. Root complained to Wood in June,

We [The War Department] are flooded with resolutions of inquiry from both Houses of Congress, relating to pretty nearly everything the army has done for the past two years in the islands or elsewhere, involving an enormous labor, so that we can appreciate the position you are placed in in Cuba when we forward such resolutions to you. I am sending you

today copies of four communications from the Investigating Committee of the Senate.¹⁸⁸

The most comprehensive request came on May 26, 1900, when the U.S. Senate “directed its Committee on Relations with Cuba to investigate and report ... regarding the money received and expended in the island Cuba” from the start of the occupation through 30 April 1900.¹⁸⁹ The report was to include “a statement of all public works of every kind, including buildings, wharves, railroads, and all other structures built or constructed, improved, repaired, or decorated; and a statement of the personal property which was purchased or procured and intrusted to any officer of the military government within the said time.”¹⁹⁰ These requests required an enormous amount of work for the insular government, forced them to hire additional auditors, and cost an additional \$15,000 in 1900 alone.¹⁹¹

The increased Congressional scrutiny led Wood to institute a complete overhaul of the insular financial system. He ordered the insular treasurer and the auditors “to immediately put their offices in condition to be prepared for a most rigid and searching investigation in case our Democratic friends in Congress attempt to in any way discredit the administration of affairs in the Island.”¹⁹² Later in the year, he directed the Insular Treasurer to extend the overhaul into the civil departments of the insular and municipal governments. The reforms required a transition from the old Spanish system of

¹⁸⁸ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 2 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁸⁹ “Report of Major E.C. Brooks, Quartermaster, U.S.V., Auditor for the Island of Cuba, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900,” 12 March 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 3, 106.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 12 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; and “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 81.

¹⁹² Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 8 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

accounting, deemed too cumbersome by the Treasurer, to the accounting system used by the U.S. Army. The process took months as representatives from the Treasurer traveled to each municipality and instructed the local officials in the new system. It required the Auditor to create an insular auditing system in the midst of the ongoing occupation and then to centralize control of that system under a single auditor and his Cuban assistant. In the process the government had to hire and train a substantial number of clerks and instruct American officers unfamiliar with the accounting system. Working with American officers proved frustrating due to the constant rotation of officers around the world, thus necessitating an ongoing training program. Native clerks offered more stability but the language problem provided yet another obstacle to overcome. In the end these efforts paid off as the insular Treasurer reported he was “able to lay their records before the War Department in such shape as to leave no inquiry of the Congressional committee unanswered.”¹⁹³

In addition to the official requests, Congressmen and their political agents soon found their way to Cuba in search of damaging information. Some even went so far as to try and create incidents by inciting the Cubans against colonial policy. In February 1900, the Mayor of Matanzas reported that a J. H. Drake of Chicago was traveling throughout the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara and advising the municipal officials there to oppose the forthcoming suffrage requirements.¹⁹⁴ In April 1900, Wood reported Democratic agents in Havana looking for damaging material to use against

¹⁹³ “Report of Major E.F. Ladd, Treasurer of the Island of Cuba,” 1 September 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 3, 59-60.

¹⁹⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 8 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

McKinley. In June 1900, Root reported information from his sources in Washington that Democrats had operatives in the island. Throughout much of the year, Wood and Root labored to keep a handle on the situation. The political intrusion into insular affairs lessened after McKinley won reelection but it never completely ended. Against such scrutiny, the unified command structure and the support of the local elites proved essential.

Despite being under political scrutiny, the most serious threat to Wood's governorship came from his long feud with Governor Brooke. In late November 1899, with the decision of the governorship still in question, James Runcie, a longtime friend of Wood, wrote a damning article about the Brooke administration and gave it to Ray Stannard Baker. In the article Runcie charged Brooke with incompetence and blamed the McKinley administration for a lack of direction in insular policy. *The North American Review* published the article in February of the following year. Its publication came as quite a shock to Wood and he immediately wrote to Root to distance himself from the article. According to Runcie he had written the article for Baker as a statement of his views but had been clear that it was not intended for publication.

Under the previous Secretary of War, Russell Alger, policy disputes within the army had constantly found its way into the press. Since his appointment, Root had worked to curtail that activity and to keep policy matter completely in house. In a stern letter to Wood he wrote, "I am trying to check the tendency to turn the army into a newspaper debating society, and have just made an order prohibiting the publication of inspection reports and similar papers which have been gradually tending away from their

proper office of frank and full information to superiors into newspaper articles.”¹⁹⁵ He called the matter “grossly improper.”¹⁹⁶ If, and here Root expressed considerable doubt, Runcie had a pledge from Baker, “it is certainly incumbent on him to call Baker to account for it.”¹⁹⁷

Initially, Wood mounted a stiff defense of Runcie. He wrote to President McKinley and, although he did not excuse the article, portrayed Runcie as a selfless servant who worked without pay “almost day and night to promote the welfare and success of the American administration in Cuba.”¹⁹⁸ Convinced that Baker had committed a breach of trust, Wood asked Oswald Villard of the *New York Evening Post* to write an editorial in defense of Runcie and to take Baker and *The North American Review* to task for their indiscretion. The editorial appeared on March 10, 1900. Four days later George Harvey, editor of *The North American Review*, produced the original letter from Runcie to Baker. The letter not only gave Baker permission to publish the article but allowed him to use the author’s name if he thought it was necessary. Presented with the evidence, Wood quickly dropped his defense of Runcie.

Although the matter created considerable stir in the press and within the War Department, its significance should not be overrated. Shortly after the publication of the article, Runcie voluntarily separated himself from the occupational government. President McKinley counseled Root that the matter should be left to Wood “to deal with himself. The offence was committed in his Department by one of his subordinates and

¹⁹⁵ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 13 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Leonard Wood to William McKinley, 25 February 1900, Box 28, Wood Papers.

friends. His own sense of propriety will indicate the course which ought to be followed.”¹⁹⁹ After Harvey produced the letter to Baker, Wood took no further action than to acknowledge Runcie’s separation. Root, while still displeased, accepted the resolution and considered the matter closed. He took no further action against Wood or Runcie. Although Runcie continued to harbor resentment against Baker and now Wood, the issue vanished as quickly as it arose.

Municipal Elections

As insular governor and thus the point man for imperial policy, Wood framed a system of government for Cuba. He based his conception of the Cuban government on the unitary state model. In a unitary state the central government dictates policy to all levels of the state and no other governmental body (regional or local) has exclusive control over a policy area. All levels of government submit to the central government. In a federalist model, as in the United States, regional and local governments exercise exclusive control over certain policy areas. Not so in the unitary state model. During the American occupation, the military government in Havana developed policy and then issued policy directives for the provincial and municipal governments to follow. The provincial and municipal governments reported back to the central government but had no choice but to follow policy directives. The elected civilian government, to which Wood handed power in 1902, closely followed the unitary state model of the military occupation.

¹⁹⁹ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 21 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

In the occupation government, authority and power flowed from the military governor through the cabinet to the provincial civil governors and eventually to the local municipalities. The office of the military governor exercised both legislative and executive power with policy decisions taking the form of civil orders and circulars issued to the general public. Although the Cuban Cabinet had a hand in the development of public policy and supervised the daily operation of the military government, it functioned under the direction and supervision of the governor and submitted to his ultimate authority. The Department of State and Government, within the Cuban Cabinet, supervised the work of the six provincial civil governors who in turn supervised the work of the municipalities in their jurisdiction. The military governor appointed each of the civil governors who exercised civil control over municipal governments.²⁰⁰ Prior to the municipal elections on June 16, 1900, the insular governor also appointed the alcaldes and councilmen who constituted the municipal governments. The top down command structure greatly centralized authority and made reform efforts easier to implement. However, it took ultimate control of local and regional matters away from the municipalities and provincial governments and invested that control in the central government in Havana. By these means the governor-general of the island could review and rewrite the municipal budget for the smallest towns of the island and thus dictate the priorities pursued by the local government.

Wood never seriously considered using the federalist model to recreate the Cuban political structure in the image of the United States. He adopted the unitary

²⁰⁰ "Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood," 1 January 1901, 1.

model almost by default. The top down administration harmonized well with the command structure of the U.S. Army, the instrument of imperial governance which had served by default as the government after the initial chaos of the war. It also reflected the progressive preference for a strong executive and a powerful central government. The Spanish had governed the island along those lines before the American intervention so the Cubans had familiarity with the model. Many, especially in the eastern provinces, felt that such a system favored Havana at the expense of the other regions. Ironically, as a provincial military governor, Wood felt the same way and had personally lobbied the War Department against the creation of a unitary state. He strongly warned that it would cause regional divisions to emerge and possibly lead to another revolution. However, as insular governor, a unitary state complemented the drive for a unified command in Havana and he quickly and quietly reversed his previous position.

Wood discounted the danger of concentrating power in Havana and dismissed problems with centralized government under Spain.²⁰¹ In his view it was not the system of government but the people and the programs they pursued. Under a Brooke or Wilson, who rejected progressive reforms, centralization created a problem because it denied regional commanders like Wood the opportunity to pursue their progressive agendas. Under a progressive administration, centralization no longer posed a problem because the right man would implement the right program. The progressive program, Wood and others believed, would naturally reduce regional differences as it raised the standard of living for the entire island and transformed the country into the progressive

²⁰¹ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 27 January 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

image of a modern state. Neither Wood, nor his supporters, ever considered that a centralized power in Havana pursuing a progressive agenda might inflame provincial discord or that one program might not be right for all. As he had in the past, Wood questioned the motives of anyone who raised such concerns.

The Brooke administration had taken the initial step toward creating a Cuban state by launching a census of the entire island. By presidential proclamation, McKinley had declared the census “the first and necessary step in building up the structure of their government.”²⁰² Brigadier General Joseph P. Sanger oversaw the census effort. Six Cuban supervisors, one chosen from each of the provinces, supervised the work of 1,607 Cuban enumerators who conducted the field work. The census found a total population of 1,572,797 of which 533,498 (almost 34 percent) could read and write and 1,039,299 (almost 66 percent) could not.²⁰³

Although the insular government waited until the completion of the census to publish the suffrage requirements for the upcoming municipal elections, Root and Wood had decided on a limited suffrage before the latter had even left Washington to become governor. The census simply provided the hard numbers needed to support a limited suffrage. Root considered literacy an important requirement not just for voting but for the survival of the Cuban Republic. If popular education did not reduce the number of illiterate in Cuba, Root argued, then the “permanence of free constitutional government could hardly be expected.”²⁰⁴ Fearing a “second edition of Haiti and Santo Domingo” if

²⁰² Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 28 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁰³ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 1, 29.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

the “absolutely illiterate element be allowed to dominate the political situation,” Root and Wood proposed strict suffrage requirements.²⁰⁵ Under the new election law,

every native male Cuban or Spaniard who had elected to take Cuban citizenship, of full age [21 years old], might vote if he either could read and write, or owned real estate or personal property to the value of \$250, or had served in and been honorably discharge from the Cuban army; thus according a voice in the government of the country to everyone who had the intelligence to acquire the rudiments of learning, the thrift to accumulate property, or the patriotism to fight for his country.²⁰⁶

Wood had wanted the soldier vote restricted to officers, non-commissioned officers, and individual soldier who met the other two requirements. However, after discussing the issue with insular leaders, the administration decided to extend the vote to all Cubans who had fought in the war against Spain.

In mid-February 1900, Wood appointed a commission to draw up the rules and regulations to govern the municipal elections. The commission consisted of fifteen individuals, thirteen Cubans and two Americans. As with many of the commissions he appointed as governor, the inclusion of a few Americans allowed Wood to keep abreast of developments in the committee, exercise some control over deliberations, and ultimately shape policy direction. In this particular instance, the commission became deeply divided on the rules governing the elections. When the commission submitted two plans to the governor, Wood rejected the will of the majority and adopted the plan favored by the American representatives.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 23 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; and Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 20 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁰⁶ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 29. Also see Appendix G.

²⁰⁷ “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 36.

Once the military government issued the regulations and established the apparatus needed to conduct the elections, it stepped away from the process and left it in the hands of the Cubans. Local registration boards began registering voters in May. Local boards of elections conducted the municipal elections on June 16, 1900, without the presence or assistance of any American soldiers and without any reported disturbances.²⁰⁸ The voters went to the polls and elected municipal officers including the alcalde (mayor), members of the ayuntamientos (city council), the municipal treasurer, municipal judges, and correctional judges. Of the 150,648 voters registered in the island, 110,816 or 73.5 percent turned out to vote.²⁰⁹ (See Table 5:1) The elected officials took office on July 1, 1900 to serve for a term of one year.

Table 5:1 Provincial Statistics of Voters in the Municipal Elections²¹⁰

<u>Province</u>	<u>Voters</u>
Pinar del Rio	10,224
Habana	36,207
Mantanzas	11,873
Santa Clara	24,283
Puerto Principe	6,382
Santiago de Cuba	21,887
Total	110,816

The municipal elections disappointed and concerned Wood. Despite the fact that the percentage of voter participation in Cuba exceeded the percentage of voter

²⁰⁸ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 18 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; and "Report of the Secretary of War," 30 November 1900, 30.

²⁰⁹ "Report of the Secretary of State and Government," 2 August 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 2, 36.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

participation in the American presidential election of the same year (73.5 percent to 73.2 percent), Wood considered the turnout indicative of a lack of general interest and public spirit. He wrote to Washington to bemoan the fact that “the revolutionary element . . . was generally successful throughout the island” and that the conservative element took “very little active interest in elections.”²¹¹ According to Wood, most of the conservative political parties – the Union-Democratic party, the Autonomist party, etc. – withdrew from the race after it became apparent that they could not win against the revolutionary elements.

These people will not make a contest on the lines which we make at home. Whichever party feels it is about to be defeated is apt to withdraw entirely from the contest. It has happened in Havana this year and at various places in the island. The only way to prevent a one sided administration is to insist that there shall be a small minority representation and provide for it in the electoral law.²¹²

Notwithstanding Wood’s concerns, the administration in Havana and Washington accepted the outcome of the elections and moved forward with establishing the Cuban state.

Imperial Defense

The municipal elections in June marked not only the first step in the creation of an independent Cuban state but the beginning of a substantial drawdown in American troops on the island. Root and the War Department considered the municipal elections

²¹¹ “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 52; and Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 3 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²¹² Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 3 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

ample proof that the political stability in Cuba warranted the removal of additional troops. Four days after the municipal elections, Root wrote to Wood regarding the manpower issue.

I suppose now you can let me have some troops. We need them very much to replace those we must send from here to the Philippines, for within a few months we must begin bringing back the volunteers. I will not rob you of your cavalry but I wish you would telegraph me on receipt of this how many infantry you can spare, leaving yourself only such troops as are absolutely necessary to preserve order. We cannot afford to leave a single man more than that in Cuba. The sending of troops to China, of course, increases the necessity in the Philippines.²¹³

To facilitate the reduction in troop strength, Root suggested the consolidation of all the military departments in Cuba into one large department under the direction of the military governor. When Wood first took command in Havana, the occupational government of Cuba consisted of four military departments: the Department of Havana under Brigadier General William Ludlow; the Department of the Province of Havana and Pinar del Rio under Brigadier General Fitzhugh Lee; the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara under Brigadier General James H. Wilson; and the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe under Colonel Samuel M. Whitside, who had replaced Wood as departmental commander on January 22, 1900. Each of the military departments required its own command and support staff. Consequently, the elimination of a military department freed up the staff officers and the enlisted personnel under their

²¹³ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 20 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

direction for service elsewhere. Root considered the consolidation the “simple and natural thing to do upon the reduction of troops.”²¹⁴

Consolidation actually began before the elections with the discontinuation of the Department of Havana, consisting of the city of Havana and some of the surrounding territory. Shortly after the beginning of the year, General Ludlow engaged in a bruising battle with the Havana press corps. Several of the local papers, specifically *La Lucha* and *El Cubano*, attacked not only the administration but the general personally. Ludlow returned fire using papers friendly to the military government and appealed to Wood to suppress the anti-administration papers or to at least allow him to suppress the papers. Since nothing in the editorials threatened public order, Wood denied the request and urged the general to either accept the criticism as that which befalls all public men or to appeal to the courts for redress against the libelous attacks.²¹⁵ All attempts at reconciliation however failed. Root, aware of the situation even before Wood called his attention to it, temporarily brought Ludlow back to the states for consultations on the proposed War College.²¹⁶ In the following months, Root and Wood worked to transition Ludlow out of Cuba and, on May 1, 1900, they combined the Department of Havana with the Department of the Province of Havana and Pinar del Rio to form the Department of Havana and Pinar del Rio under the command of Lee.

On July 21, 1900, the War Department further consolidated the military departments by merging the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara with the

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 6 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²¹⁶ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 13 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

Department of Havana and Pinar del Rio to create the Department of Western Cuba. Once again, Lee commanded the enlarged department while Wilson departed to join the China Relief Expedition. For the past seven months, Wilson had been a thorn in the side of the military government and the War Department. After the administration passed him over for the governorship, he continued his letter writing campaign against both Wood and the adopted policy of the McKinley administration. He publicly condemned the occupation for not accepting his agricultural reform program while at the same time accusing the War Department of adopting his plan for Cuban independence and choosing a less qualified man to run it. In Matanzas he openly entertained opponents of the McKinley administration and sought unsuccessfully to undermine the policies of the occupational government. Although plainly insubordinate, he remained in his position largely due to his influence within the U.S. Army and with certain member of Congress. The China expedition provided a convenient and politically safe means of extracting him from the island.

On October 29, 1900, the War Department completed the consolidation of the military commands by joining the Department of Western Cuba with the Department of Eastern Cuba, the renamed Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe, to form the Department of Cuba. In the process, the War Department reduced the number of troops in Cuba to almost half, going from 334 officers and 10,796 men to 260 offices and 5,468 men.²¹⁷ Over the next year, as Cubans took over more and more of the daily operations

²¹⁷ "Report of the Secretary of War," 30 November 1900, 4.

of the government, troop levels fell further to 166 officers and 4,748 men.²¹⁸ The decline continued until the end of the occupation on May 20, 1902.

Jack Lane attributed the reduction in military departments to Wood's desire to get rid of his former rivals. While Wood was eager to get rid of Wilson and asked Root on several occasions to transfer him from the island "as soon as convenient," he also indicated that there was "no need to embarrass yourself in any way by an immediate change in these stations."²¹⁹ Root took Wood at his word and Wilson continued to command his department for seven months after Wood took office. As to the others commanders, Wood welcomed their continued service and at no time asked for their removal. In his response to Root's suggestion that all the departments be consolidated into one, he cautioned the Secretary to move slowly and consolidate only one department at a time.²²⁰ Ludlow returned to the states in 1900 to head the Ludlow Board, which laid much of the groundwork for the Army War College. He died the next year after serving briefly in the Philippines. Lee returned to the states to command the Department of the Missouri and retired in 1901. James Wilson returned from China after suppressing the Boxer Rebellion and retired from the army in 1902. Until his death in 1925, he continued to travel, to write, and to attack Leonard Wood whenever possible.

Wood proved remarkably generous with those he had previously clashed with under the Brooke administration. After assuming the office of governor, he requested that Adna Chaffee, Brooke's chief of staff, remain at his post. Since Chaffee had

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

²¹⁹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 22 December 1899, Box 170, Root Papers.

²²⁰ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 27 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

authored several of the reprimands from Brooke to Wood, the relationship between Chaffee and Wood never became intimate. Nonetheless, the governor recognized the ability and integrity of the older general, as well as, his extensive connections within the Army. He expressed to Root on numerous occasions his desire to appoint Chaffee a departmental commander or to some other important senior post in the occupational government. When Chaffee asked to be relieved in May 1900, Wood requested that he be given a promotion in recognition of his service in Cuba and assigned to command a department in the states.²²¹ “He is a fine old soldier,” Wood wrote, “and an honest straight forward man, and whatever he thinks of me, I wish him good luck and good fortune everywhere.”²²² Ultimately, Chaffee commanded the American contingent of the China Relief Expedition.

The drawdown of troops in Cuba and increasing manpower issues across the American empire revealed the importance of officers to occupational duty and to reconstruction. Officers in Cuba performed a number of essential functions for the military government. As Wood acknowledged in his annual report, “the variety and number of duties, most of them entirely new, which our officers have been called upon to perform has included supervision and control of almost every class of work, whether administrative or constructive.”²²³ Officers provided the manpower needed “on all occasions for inspection work of all sorts; from organizing and inspecting schools to

²²¹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 1 May 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ “Report of Major General Leonard Wood, U.S. Volunteers, Commanding Division of Cuba,” 10 September 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 260.

running Custom Houses.”²²⁴ They “are, in a way, the frame work on which we build very largely, even our civil government for the time being; not as direct participants, perhaps, but as men we can send about to quietly look into things and whom we can depend upon to give good advice and a helping hand here and there.”²²⁵ Wood attributed the success of the officers in meeting these challenges to their “habits of thoroughness, obedience, and straightforwardness, which are the results of military training, [and which] form a splendid basis for administrative and reconstructive work.”²²⁶

The need for officers in Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico stretched the American officer corps to the limits and negatively impacted the U.S. Army. Due to the need for officers in the field, military education virtually stopped between 1898 and 1902. Occupation duty often took officers away from their regiments, left the regiments understaffed and thus led to problems in training, morale, discipline, and overall efficiency. Officers serving in whatever capacity often went without leave while working in a dangerous and hostile environment.

In light of the shortage, Wood took several steps to meet manpower needs in Cuba. He asked the War Department to fill all the officer billets for each company in the island and he requested that officers currently detached from their command be returned for service, excepting those otherwise engaged in similar work in the Philippines or on

²²⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 27 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ “Report of Major General Leonard Wood, U.S. Volunteers, Commanding Division of Cuba,” 10 September 1900, p. 260.

“important special work” in the states.²²⁷ On several occasions he lobbied Root to personally block the normal transfer of an officer from the island to another duty station. New officers required time to train and to familiarize themselves with the details of the occupational government. Even if they arrived prior to the departure of their predecessor, Wood estimated that it would take months for them to become as valuable as the officer they replaced. By its very nature occupation duty required the establishment of trust and a working relationship between local officers, their civil counterparts, and the Cuban people they served. Such a relationship required time and a constant contact between the parties involved. A high rate of turnover amongst officers meant that these relationships had to be rebuilt each time an officer switched duty stations. Finally, in order to free up officers on the island itself, Wood abandoned as many of the smaller posts and temporary stations as possible and gathered the troops into larger garrisons.

Service in the tropics created its own problems. The threat of yellow fever and other tropical diseases meant that an officer with a family often had to maintain two residences, one in the tropics for himself and one in the states for his family. In many such cases, Wood complained that “the outlay exceeds the income of the officers in question” and he requested additional pay for those placed under such a burden.²²⁸ In further deference to the tropical heat and disease, Wood recommended that troops deployed to Cuba arrive in the cooler winter months between the first of November and end of March so that they would have time to acclimate before the hot summer months.

²²⁷ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 27 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²²⁸ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 15 January 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

He limited, as much as possible, outdoor activities – outdoor drill, target practice, practice marches, reconnaissance, and scouting – to these months as well. In the summer, the command concentrated on indoor instruction. Given these limitations, Wood developed specific ideas on the type of garrison troops needed.

All troops intended for service in Cuba should be mounted troops except necessary batteries of artillery and companies of infantry for garrison duty at two posts. Infantry engage in active work in Cuba during the hot and rainy months, and even during the winter, will suffer severely from malaria, heat, and exhaustion, whereas mounted troops can perform hard service without bad results. The work required in Cuba is of such a character that the troops require to have a high degree of mobility. The climatic conditions are such that this mobility must be obtained with as little effort as possible on the part of the troops.²²⁹

Wood encouraged the War Department to increase the size and strength of the cavalry arm for imperial service. He also proposed the formation of native regiments of cavalry on several occasions but the suggestion was never followed through with much vigor. Despite these precautions, service in the tropics proved especially arduous and led to increased desertions.

The Constitutional Convention

The success of the municipal elections paved the way for calling a constitutional convention to establish a civilian government for the island. Wood traveled to Washington in July 1900 to strategize with McKinley and Root on how to proceed. Dissatisfied with the quality of the people elected in the municipalities, Wood counseled

²²⁹ “Report of Major General Leonard Wood, U.S. Volunteers, Commanding Division of Cuba,” 10 September 1900, p. 262.

patience and delay. He felt that the Cubans were not ready for independence or self-government and needed time to learn under the tutelage of the American occupation. McKinley and Root disagreed. Congressional pressure and public opinion favored an end to the occupation. The administration had grown weary of defending its Cuban policy in the face of Congressional inquiries and against partisan political attacks. The president and secretary both wanted to end the situation and move on politically. They sent Wood back to Cuba with orders to hold an insular wide election for delegates to a Constitutional Convention to meet in the fall of 1900. Wood later showed a similar reluctance to accept that Moros and Filipinos were capable of self-government.

Shortly after his return to the island, Wood complied and issued orders to hold a general election on September 15, 1900, for delegates to a constitutional convention scheduled to begin on November 5, 1900. The order set the total number of delegates at thirty-one with each of the six provinces electing a number of delegates proportional to its population: Pinar del Rio (3), Havana (8), Matanzas (4), Santa Clara (7), Puerto Principe (2), and Santiago (7). According to Wood's proclamation, delegates were "to frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, and, as a part thereof, to provide for and agree with the Government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that Government and the government of Cuba, and to provide for the election by the people of officers under such a constitution and the transfer of government to the officers so elected."²³⁰

²³⁰ "Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood," 1 January 1901, p. 519.

Wood viewed politics in Cuba along a political spectrum running from conservative to radical. He classified the conservative element as “highly intelligent Cubans of the land owning, industrial and commercial classes.”²³¹ The conservatives supported the American occupation and some even favored annexation to the United States. Above all – including independence and self-government - the conservative wanted political and economic stability even if it meant continued occupation. The radicals, again according to Wood, represented the uneducated who clamored for immediate independence and self-government. They wanted freedom to exploit their fellow Cubans, raid the Cuban treasury, and build their own political fiefdoms on the island. Radical leaders were demagogues who gained power by rallying the people against the occupation and for radical proposals such as universal suffrage. Wood believed the majority of Cubans to be conservative but apathetic about politics because they favored continued American occupation. He believed that conservative apathy had plagued the municipal elections and led to the election of radical elements at that level.

To avoid a repetition of the municipal election results, Wood took several steps to insure conservative representation at the constitutional convention. In the month prior to the election, Wood traveled extensively throughout Cuba and impressed upon “the leaders of all parties that they must not trifle with this Constitutional Convention, and that if they send a lot of political jumping-jacks as delegates they must not expect that their work will be received very seriously.”²³² He encouraged members of the insular cabinet, justices of the supreme court, and local conservative leaders who had worked

²³¹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 26 September 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²³² Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 13 August 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

with his administration to run as delegates.²³³ In August, to avoid radical domination and ensure at least some conservative representation, he modified the electoral law to introduce a plan of minority representation.²³⁴

Participation in the election of delegates increased substantially from that of the municipal elections. The number of registered voters increased from 150,648 to 185,501, or by a total of 34,853, a 23 percent increase.²³⁵ The number of actual voters in the election rose by 20,811 from 110,816 to 131,627 or by 19 percent.²³⁶ (See Table 5:2) Despite initial optimism, Wood had mixed feeling about the actual election results.

I am disappointed in the composition of the Convention in one way and satisfied in another. I hoped they would send their best men. They have done so in many instances, but they have also sent some of the worst agitators and political rascals in Cuba. I should say we have about ten absolutely first class men and about fifteen men of doubtful qualifications and character and about six of the worst political rascals and fakirs in Cuba.²³⁷

Again Wood reasoned that voter apathy suppressed the conservative vote. Although almost 71 percent of registered voters participated in the election, Wood estimated that less than 30 percent of qualified voters had participated. He considered the election “entirely one-sided, the vote cast being comparatively small, the conservative element displaying practically no interest in the campaign.”²³⁸ As he explained to Root, “The

²³³ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 3 September 1900, Box 170, Root Papers; and Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 8 September 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²³⁴ “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 62. See Article XXXII of Civil Order No. 316.

²³⁵ “Report of the Secretary of State and Government,” 2 August 1900, 37-39.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 26 September 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²³⁸ “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, p. 62.

sum and substance of the whole thing is that the people of the Island are to-day enjoying more liberty than they have ever had before, and they are not, as a body, anxious to take another leap in the dark. In other words they lack confidence in their own people.”²³⁹

Table 5:2 Voters in the Elections for the Constitutional Convention by Province²⁴⁰

Province	Registered Voters	Voters
Pinar del Rio	18,191	13,278
Habana	49,565	31,620
Mantanzas	18,344	12,899
Santa Clara	39,662	29,148
Puerto Principe	11,122	6,991
Santiago de Cuba	48,617	37,691
Total	185,501	131,627

In his correspondence and reports, Wood continually referred to a conservative majority among the Cubans that supported his administration and longed for a continuation of American rule. However, the existence of such a majority is hard to reconcile with the realities of the political situation. As statistics for the municipal elections and the elections for the constitutional convention show, voter participation remained high and proportional throughout all the provinces. Nonetheless, no conservative majority stepped forward in any region – rural or urban - to openly campaign for the positions Wood claimed they held. In his analysis of the municipal elections, he admitted that the more conservative parties pulled out of the elections

²³⁹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 26 September 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

because they would have lost. After the elections for the constitutional convention, he blamed apathy, contentment with the status quo, and a distrust of fellow Cubans for the lack of a large conservative turnout. Yet, the constitutional convention presented the perfect opportunity for the conservative majority to step forth and defend the status quo or to put its stamp on the future. Mostly likely the illusive conservative majority served as a fiction Wood used to justify his policies and to argue for a continued occupation.

Several historians, who have examined Wood's role in creating the Republic of Cuba, have portrayed him as favoring the eventual annexation of the island by the United States. While Wood at times did voice support for Cubans who favored annexation, he never became an adamant annexationist. He did, however, hold serious doubts about the present capability of the Cubans for self-government. Shortly after assuming the governorship, he argued for a long occupation, "not measured by months, but by years; several of them at least."²⁴¹ According to Wood, the Cubans needed direction and tutelage in self-government. They needed time to adopt the progressive ethos and to benefit from progressive reform. He considered it perfectly acceptable to convene a constitutional convention, write a constitution, and establish a Cuban government in accordance with its framework as long as the governor remained an "American commanding the military forces of occupation and holding an absolute power of veto."²⁴² Wood undoubtedly had himself in mind for the role of permanent proconsul and claimed the backing of the silent conservative majority. If adopted, the

²⁴¹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 16 February 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁴² Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 3 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

situation in Cuba would mirror the form of governance adopted by the British in Egypt and India.

Root rejected the idea. He wanted to “make a clean cut between the military government and the new Cuban government, turn over the administration and get out.”²⁴³ By 1901 the secretary had become disillusioned with the imperial governance of the island.

I am getting pretty tired of having Congress on the one hand put us under independence of Cuban resolutions, and Foraker franchise resolutions and resolutions of hostile inquiry and criticism, and on the other hand shirk all responsibility; . . . [he feared another year of governance] with the Cubans howling at us to do something, and with the democratic press abusing us because we do not do something, and with the certainty that we will be met by a denial of our lawful authority if we undertake to do anything.²⁴⁴

He felt it better to be “relieved from the burden and annoyance of their government” and to focus on other policy areas.²⁴⁵ Wood accepted the decision of the administration but continued to warn of the dangers of Cuban independence even as he implemented the policies that led to its fulfillment.

When the Constitutional Convention convened on November 5, 1900, Wood called the meeting to order and gave a short address to the delegates. He reminded them: “It will be your duty, first, to frame and adopt a constitution for Cuba, and, when that has been done, to formulate what, in your opinion, ought to be the relations between

²⁴³ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 9 January 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Cuba and the United States.”²⁴⁶ Other than to say that the “constitution must be adequate to secure a stable, orderly, and free government,” Wood gave no specifics about the framework of government or the nature of relations between the United States and an independent Cuban republic.²⁴⁷ He then left the convention to its own deliberations.

The convention moved quickly and completed a draft of the proposed constitution in less than three months. The “Constitution of the Republic of Cuba” provided the legal framework for the insular, provincial, and the municipal governments. Like the occupational government, the Cuban Republic followed the unitary state model. It bestowed upon the President of the Republic, as the chief executive officer, the ability to enforce the laws at all levels of the government. The constitution gave both Congress and the President the ability to intervene at the provincial and municipal level to supersede laws and remove officials in accordance with the other provisions of the constitution. Although it retained and acknowledged separate provincial and municipal governments, the constitution empowered the central government and weakened regional and local autonomy. It did nothing to address the regional rivalries that had contributed to the previous rebellions.

With the completion of the constitution, the convention turned its attention to the question of relations between an independent Cuba and the United States. While the constitutional framework for governing the island invoked almost no interest on the part of the McKinley administration, the issue of relations generated a heated debate between

²⁴⁶ “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 626. See Civil Order No. 455.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the Cuban convention and the United States government. The administration wanted to extend a virtual protectorate over the island with explicit right of intervention in insular affairs and the acquisition of naval coaling stations. The Cubans wanted to maintain as much freedom of action as possible while still satisfying the Americans enough to bring an end to the occupation. Wood, as military governor, had the unenviable task of reconciling the two parties.

The Cubans felt that the question should be settled independent of the constitution and that the United States and the future Republic of Cuba could work out the details on relations later in the form of a treaty between sovereign nations.²⁴⁸ Therefore, the convention chose initially to ignore the issue, complete the constitution, and then forward it to the President without any discussion on the matter. To some degree they may have hoped that to do so would put sufficient pressure on McKinley to accept the constitution without a clear determination on relations. Although Wood initially agreed with the Cuban proposal to separate the issues, Root insisted that the Cubans incorporate the terms of relations as part of the constitution. To forestall the Cubans from sending the constitution directly to the President, Root issued clear instructions that the proposed constitution had to proceed first to the military governor and then through the military chain of command. He directed Wood not to forward to Washington any constitution that ignored the question of relations.²⁴⁹

Wood worked quietly behind the scenes throughout January 1901 to induce the convention to make a clear statement of relations based upon their own authority. The

²⁴⁸ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 8 September 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁴⁹ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 7 February 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

Cubans resisted and the conservative leadership claimed that open support of an American protectorate would endanger the convention and empower the radicals. Wood urged caution but Root remained firm. He wanted the Cubans to agree to a protectorate and embody it in their constitution so that it would become a matter of international law and thus deter other nations from interfering in Cuban affairs. He warned the convention,

If Cuba declines to accord to this Government the authority and facilities for her protection, she will have to look out for herself in case of trouble with any other nation, and we will deal with that other nation. And we should probably deal with the other nation not on account of Cuba but on our own account. If the American people get the impression that Cuba is ungrateful and unreasonable they will not be quite so altruistic and sentimental the next time they have to deal with Cuban affairs as they were in April 1898.²⁵⁰

Root instructed Wood to pass along the desires of the administration but to do so in such a way that it did not appear that the governor was “making demands, or even official suggestions.”²⁵¹

As the Cubans remained immune to unofficial and private suggestions, Root wrote a long letter to inform Wood “of the views of the Executive Department of our government upon that subject in a more official form than that in which they have been communicated to you hitherto.”²⁵² Root’s letter contained the germ of what became the Platt Amendment. He ensconced these suggestions in a historical review of U.S.-Cuban relations from Thomas Jefferson through the McKinley administration. These points,

²⁵⁰ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 9 January 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

according to Root, embodied nothing new but simply confirmed rights that the United States had already gained through the Teller Amendment, the war with Spain, and the resulting Treaty of Paris. Wood agreed with these points and suggested that Root go a step further and require the Cubans to maintain the sanitation measure implemented during the occupation.

Wood, as Root intended, presented the views of the administration to the newly created Cuban Committee on Relations. The Cubans objected to the right of intervention and to the granting of naval coaling stations. The committee soon became as paralyzed in dealing with the question of relations as had the convention as a whole. Wood attributed the inaction to “moral cowardice” on the part of the delegates.²⁵³ Secretly, he told Root, they all considered the proposals just but feared being held accountable for their actions by their countrymen. As such, Wood wrote, the delegates had intimated that it would be “easier to yield to request or demand of U.S. than [to] suggest relations.”²⁵⁴ Wood recommended the administration steadily apply pressure to the committee and resubmit the suggestions in the form of a direct request.

The Platt Amendment, which passed out of the U.S. Senate committee on February 25, 1901, and became law on March 2, 1901, made the terms official and ratcheted up the pressure on the convention. The amendment slightly revised and expanded the original suggestions made by the administration and incorporated Wood’s suggestion about ongoing sanitation policy. Congressional codification of those suggestions into law strengthened the hand of the administration in dealing with the

²⁵³ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 24 February 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Cuban convention. Root argued that it made the acceptance of these points essential to ending the occupation.

The amendment created a brief firestorm of protest among the delegates. Despite Wood's assurance that they wanted and needed the administration to demand a certain set of provisions, the Cubans were at first dumbstruck by the action. Some delegates threatened to dissolve the convention. Others threatened to ignore the Platt Amendment, proceed with drafting the electoral law, and adopt the constitution without any reference to relations. More conservative members wanted to modify the wording of the amendment to make it less intrusive. Others wanted the United States to make a unilateral declaration of the Platt Amendment and thus free them from having to vote upon it. Almost all claimed that they had no authority to accept the amendment.

In the midst of the firestorm and afraid that the efforts of the convention would come to nothing, Wood wrote Root in support of the conservative elements. He called the apparent differences between the position of the administration and the conservatives to be "largely a matter of words, but words are . . . sometimes very important among sensitive people."²⁵⁵ Root, however, remained firm. He made it clear to Wood and the delegates that acceptance of the Platt Amendment provided the only means of ending the occupation.²⁵⁶ If the convention could not complete its task, then another would have to be convened to take its place.

Public opinion in Cuba also reacted negatively to the Platt Amendment. Reports of public demonstrations from across the island began to pour in on March 6, 1901. In

²⁵⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 7 March 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁵⁶ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 2 March 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

Havana, 15,000 people turned out in the streets to protest. Telegrams against the amendment came from the different municipalities. Although the political uproar lasted well in to April, Wood minimized their importance and rode out the storm. As he wrote to Root, “I am permitting the people to blow off steam freely and shall not interfere with any talk or publication unless it becomes absolutely dangerous to public order.”²⁵⁷ The only legal action involved the forced closure of *La Discussion de la Habana* and the arrest of its editor / owner and cartoonist. The paper had printed an illustration in honor of Easter Sunday entitled “The Cuban Cavalry.” It depicted the Cuban people crucified between two thieves – McKinley and Wood.²⁵⁸

For the Cubans the main point of contention remained the clauses granting the United States the right of intervention and naval stations. According to Wood, the “radical element has interpreted both of these clauses incorrectly. They have attempted to make it appear that the intervention will take place at the whim of the officers occupying naval stations.”²⁵⁹ Although Wood blamed the radicals, the Cuban Committee on Relations saw enough validity in their argument to request an official interpretation on the clauses and to attempt to place restrictions on their implementation. The administration complied with both Wood and Root giving assurances that the Platt amendment was not “synonymous with intermeddling or interference with the affairs of a Cuban government.”²⁶⁰ Root even agreed to negotiate the details surrounding the naval stations as long as the convention agreed to make such stations available.

²⁵⁷ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 7 March 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁵⁸ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 6 April 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁵⁹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 23 March 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁶⁰ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 29 March 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

The assurances provided by Root and Wood failed to satisfy the convention and they requested permission from the president for a committee to travel to Washington and discuss the matter with him directly. Wood characterized the trip as a mere political gesture designed to allow the committee to save face in their acceptance of the Platt Amendment. To the Cuban public, the convention portrayed the trip as a means “to obtain information on certain of the articles of the amendment which they do not quite understand period.”²⁶¹ According to Wood, the actual “purpose of this visit is in reality to accept Platt amendment but this must not be even intimated. That such is the fact I know from the men themselves. Everything depends upon this being unknown.”²⁶² The Cuban delegation, accompanied by Wood, arrived in Washington on April 24, 1901, and spent three days with Root, McKinley, and various senators. All reiterated the assurance made earlier by Root and Wood. The Cubans took copious notes and returned to the island for another round of deliberations.

After an additional month of internal consideration, the Constitutional Convention passed an annotated version of the Platt Amendment as an appendix to the constitution by a vote of 15 to 14. While the convention accepted the amendment verbatim, the Committee on Relations surrounded the actual wording with explanatory remarks that limited the application of the amendment. Since the explanatory remarks largely reflected the committee’s discussion with the administration, Wood urged Root to accept the decision. Root demurred and replied that he did not think that the

²⁶¹ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 15 April 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

amendment as passed would allow the president to withdraw the army from Cuba.²⁶³

Wood assured Root that “it is considered here to have been accepted without modifications; that the explanations, remarks, etc., are words, nothing more. ... There is nothing to worry about.”²⁶⁴ Root evidently found much to worry about and he quickly called Wood to fall in line. He considered the annotation and explanations attached to the amendment unacceptable and flatly stated that the president would not withdraw the U.S. Army until the convention passed a pristine version of the Platt Amendment and made provisions for the execution of the stipulations contained therein. A chastened Wood carried the news to the Convention which passed the Platt Amendment “exactly as written without any change or modification whatever” by a vote of 16 to 11 on June 12, 1901.²⁶⁵

Conclusion

As military governor of Cuba, Wood did not function in an operational vacuum. Larger factors of imperial governance, domestic partisan politics, Congressional scrutiny, and bureaucratic rivalries influenced the process of state building in Cuba. A proper response to these challenges required the development of a close working relationship between the governor and the secretary of war. Root and Wood proved an effective team and together they reshaped the lackluster policies of their predecessors and moved the occupation of Cuba to a successful conclusion. Although Wood

²⁶³ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 28 May 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁶⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 30 May 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁶⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 13 June 1901, Box 170, Root Papers.

supported the ultimate objectives of Cuban independence, he considered the timetable to be unrealistic. He wanted time to train the Cubans not only in self-government but into progressive government. To that end he shaped an internal program of progressive improvements designed to transform Cuban into the progressive image of the United States.

CHAPTER VI

EFFORTS TO BUILD A CUBAN NATION

Responsibility for the internal programs and reforms designed to rebuild Cuba and prepare it for independence fell squarely upon Leonard Wood as Military Governor. Although Wood kept Secretary of War Root informed of developments in Cuba, the secretary largely left Wood to pursue his own agenda on internal matters and only intervened if the issue in question had larger policy or political ramifications. Root had chosen Wood, at least in part, due to his much publicized success in rebuilding Santiago and he delegated to him the task of doing the same for the entire island. Wood eagerly accepted the challenge and adapted the Santiago program to the insular level. As he had as a departmental commander, Wood focused on five major administrative policy areas that would have been familiar to American progressives: sanitation and public health, public works, economic development, education, and law and order. In his two and a half years as governor, Wood relied upon an insular government composed of an amalgamation of civil and military institutions under his ultimate direction to transform his agenda into reality.

General Governance

The occupation government that emerged under Wood's direction proved a peculiar combination of civil and military components. The Cuban Cabinet served as the primary civil apparatus for governing the island. Wood inherited the general cabinet

structure from Governor Brooke but immediately expanded the cabinet posts from four to six departments – the Department of State and Government, the Department of Finance, the Department of Public Works, the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, the Department of Public Instruction, and the Department of Justice. He appointed men of his own choosing to lead these departments and to report directly to him. Most appointees were men of influence who had served in the revolution and/or represented a political faction in postwar Cuba. While Wood governed through these civilian secretaries and listened to their opinions, he did not consider himself bound in anyway by their recommendations or even by traditional lines of authority. To exert control over the existing bureaucracies, Wood often created sub-departments, usually under the direction of a U.S. Army officer, within the existing cabinet departments to implement the reforms he desired and to report directly to him. In other instances, as in the case of the army engineers, he simply wedded elements of the U.S. Army to the existing Cuban bureaucracy.

To oversee the daily operation of the insular government, Wood relied heavily upon the Department of State and Government under Senor Diego Tamayo. The department under his direction consisted of three sections: the Section of State, the Section of General Government, and the Section of Government. The Section of State functioned as the Cuban equivalent of the U.S. State Department and handled all matters related to foreign and consular affairs. The Section of Government dealt with matters of daily governance including issues related to the press, copyright, censorship, and archives. The Section of Government dealt with areas of municipal government, public

order, jails and penitentiary, and public health and charities. Tamayo served faithfully with Wood throughout the occupation and even functioned as his primary contact with the Cuban Constitutional Convention. With the routine tasks of general governance handled by a competent and trusted secretary, Wood had the freedom to pursue the internal programs and reforms he felt fundamental to success in Cuba.

Financing the Reforms

Wood enjoyed considerable freedom of action in Cuba largely due to his ability to keep the financial cost of his administration within the bounds of what the insular treasury could afford and thus did not have to request funding from the administration or Congress. Although Congress had the power to review insular finances - a power they availed themselves of continually - the military governor alone had direct control of the receipts and disbursements. In the words of Wood's aide, Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, the governor served as the "unrestricted appropriating authority and [was] directly responsible for the use of state funds."²⁶⁶ Wood saw in Cuba a country in desperate need of internal improvements, good government, and modernization and he willingly committed insular resources to meeting those needs. Under his direction, the military government spent more per year in normal operating costs and on internal improvements than it received in revenue. "My policy," Wood explained in his annual report, "has never been to accumulate a large reserve of money at the expense of doing necessary public work, but rather to expend the public funds in important and necessary

²⁶⁶ "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. M'Coy, Aide-De-Camp," 1 January 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 1, 157.

improvements.”²⁶⁷ Between January 1, 1900 and May 20, 1902, the military government received \$44,132,111 in revenue and spent \$45,360,899. The Wood administration inherited \$1,863,958 from the Brooke administration and left \$635,170 in the Treasury for the Republic of Cuba when it assumed control. (See Table 6:1)

Table 6:1 Revenue and Disbursements²⁶⁸

Year	Revenue	Disbursement	
Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1900			1,863,958.46
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1900	19,044,305.46	19,060,811.64	-16,506.18
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1901	17,941,314.36	18,678,437.11	-737,122.75
Jan. 1 to May 20, 1902	7,146,491.43	7,621,650.67	-475,159.24
Cash on hand May 20, 1902			635,170.29

The overwhelming majority of revenue flowing monthly into the Cuban treasury came from the Cuban Customs Service. The U.S. Army, under the direction of the military government, took control of insular customs on January 1, 1899. Under the Spanish administration, corruption, graft, and political patronage had riddled the customs service and significantly reduced its efficiency and revenue intake. The United States consolidated the service into sixteen customs houses throughout the island and placed

²⁶⁷ “Civil Report of Brigadier General Leonard Wood, USA, Military Governor of Cuba,” 5 July 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, pt. 1, 199.

²⁶⁸ “Report of Lieutenant Frank R. M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W & X, 259-260. For comprehensive fiscal information regarding disbursement of funds per appropriation and for a statement of receipts and disbursements from 1 January 1900 to 31 December 1900. “Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, Exhibit T & V. For comprehensive fiscal information regarding disbursement of funds per appropriation and for a statement of receipts and disbursements from 1 January 1901 to 31 December 1901. “Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, Tenth U.S. Cavalry, Aide-De-Camp, in Charge of Allotments of Insular Funds for the Period of January 1, 1902 to May 20, 1902,” 8 December 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, Exhibit H & I. For comprehensive fiscal information regarding disbursement of funds per appropriation and for a statement of receipts and disbursements from 1 January 1902 to 20 May 1902.

each under the direct supervision of an American, usually an officer or a former officer in the U.S. Army.²⁶⁹ Major Tasker H. Bliss served as the Chief of the Cuban Customs Service and as the collector of customs for Havana throughout the occupation. He supervised the entire customs service as well as a small fleet of revenue cutters and customs launches. The elimination of corruption allowed the insular government to lower import and export duties while at the same time collecting more revenue.²⁷⁰ The military government eventually abolished all export duties on April 1, 1901. (See Table 6:2. For a list of the amounts collected at each customs house, see Appendix A.)

Table 6:2 Customs Revenue Compared to Total Insular Revenue²⁷¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Customs Revenue</u>	<u>Total Revenue</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Revenue</u>
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1900	16,136,523.28	19,044,305.46	85%
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1901	15,657,616.84	17,941,314.36	87%
Jan. 1 to May 20, 1902	5,774,411.93	7,146,491.43	81%
Total	37,568,552.05	44,132,111.25	85%

The remaining income destined for the Cuban Treasury came from a mixture of internal revenue and receipts from the postal and telegraph services. The Department of Finance (Hacienda) oversaw all areas of internal revenue, supervised municipal finances, executed payroll for all governmental employees, and managed all governmental buildings and public lands. The revenue the department collected came largely from

²⁶⁹ “Civil Report of Major General Leonard Wood, United States Volunteers, Military Governor of Cuba, for the Period from December 20, 1899 to December 31, 1900,” 1 January 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 1, 85.

²⁷⁰ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 1, 36-37.

²⁷¹ “Report of Lieutenant Frank R. M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit X, 260; “Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit V; and “Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit I.

taxes (conveyance, inheritance, industrial, commercial, freight, etc.) and from the sell or rental of public lands, property, or resources. (See Table 6:3) Charged by Wood to develop and implement a systematic form of internal taxation and to standardize municipal accounting procedures and the collection of municipal taxes, the department sent trained representatives across the island as instructors. Leopoldo Cancio, a native of Cuba, led the department for most of the two and half years of Wood's administration.

Table 6:3 Revenue from Sources other than Customs²⁷²

Receipts	Year Ending Dec. 31, 1900	Year Ending Dec. 31, 1901	Year Ending May 20, 1902	Total
Internal Revenue	798,638.34	693,879.48	339,171.49	1,831,689.31
Postal Service	321,539.62	359,060.64	161,314.40	841,914.66
Telegraph Service	66,834.19	82,830.71	44,832.64	194,497.54
Miscellaneous	81,857.68	183,852.01	98,865.47	364,575.16
Total	1,268,869.83	1,319,622.84	644,184.00	3,232,676.67

At the beginning of the American occupation, the insular government simply allocated block grants of funding to the various departmental commanders and allowed them to disburse the money as they deemed best based on local conditions. The War Department and General Chaffee, chief of staff to Governor Brooke, abolished that system on June 1, 1899, and instituted one based on allotments that the Wood administration inherited. Under the allotment system, estimates on governmental expenditures originated at the municipal, provincial, and/or departmental level and worked their way up the chain of command to the military governor who made the final

²⁷² "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. M'Coy," 1 January 1901, Exhibit X, 260; "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, 1901," 30 January 1902, Exhibit V; and "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy," 8 December 1902, Exhibit I.

decision on whether to authorize the allocation of funds for the estimate. Wood rejected fixed budgeting as impossible due to the extraordinary demands involved in the “general reconstruction of the country, and the building up of new institutions.”²⁷³ Only the amount of money available in the treasury limited the funds expended in reconstruction. The lack of restrictions allowed Wood to easily transfer funds between allotments and to rapidly alter funding as he saw fit. If a demand arose for more funds, he simply curtailed public works and detailed the saved funding to the new demand. Once approved disbursements proceeded down the chain of command to the various civilian and military disbursing officers.

Ultimate responsibility for maintaining the integrity of the insular financial system fell to the Auditor’s Department of the Military Government. Prior to June 30, 1899, five separate auditors exercised “distinct and independent jurisdiction over accounts pertaining to the moneys of the island.”²⁷⁴ President McKinley created the single office of auditor for the islands with an auditor and two assistant auditors. The assistants, one for customs receipts and one for postal receipts, functioned under the auditor but remained in their respective departments. When Wood took office as military governor, he moved to centralize the auditing system further. The postal scandal gave momentum to his efforts and by May 1900 a strengthened and centralized office of auditor emerged. The new office kept track of the financial affairs of both the civil and military sides of the occupation and worked closely with the governor, the

²⁷³ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 198-199.

²⁷⁴ “Report of Major E.C. Brooks, Quartermaster, U.S.V., Auditor for the Island of Cuba, for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1900,” 12 March 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 3, 84.

departmental heads, and military commanders to answer inquiries from Congress. After such a rough beginning, the department soon settled into a routine and functioned effectively for the remainder of the occupation. It concluded its work on July 19, 1902, almost two months after the transfer of power to the Republic of Cuba, with a complete thorough accounting for the financial affairs of the military government. The auditor and Congressional oversight provided the only check on Wood's financial independence.

Reconstituting Municipal Government

As he had in Santiago, Wood regarded local municipalities as the key to a revitalized Cuban society and the foundation upon which to build a stable insular government. During his governorship and even previously as a provincial commander, Wood spent a lot of time and resources reconstructing municipal government and attempting to standardize their operations. He considered the decades of Spanish mismanagement the primary obstacle to establishing good government. Municipal officers,

were much hampered in the performance of their official duties by the prevalence of old customs and ideas, which had resulted in an almost entire destruction of public spirit and interest in good government. For twenty-five years previous inattention to municipal duties and responsibilities had characterized nearly all the municipalities of Cuba. There had always been a tendency to an abnormally large personnel and entirely disproportionate outlay for official salaries in comparison with expenditure for public improvements.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵ "Civil Report of Leonard Wood," 1 January 1901, 8.

Under the tutelage and discipline of the insular government, Wood sought to curtail these abuses, reform and standardize municipal expenditures and the collection of revenue, inspire civic pride and involvement, and turn the municipalities into a mechanism of progressive reform.

The insular government ultimately wanted the municipalities to be financially self-sufficient and able to pay their own operating costs through the collection of local taxes; property taxes, licensing fees, etc. The devastation caused by the Cuban insurrection however made it impossible for the municipalities to immediately meet even the basic operating costs as the amount collected through internal taxation proved negligible. During 1899 the Brooke administration found itself forced to come to the aid of the municipalities and to pay all principal expenses – public education, police and judicial system, sanitation and sanitary works, jails, hospitals, and asylums.²⁷⁶ Even with the insular government covering these costs, the municipalities ended the year \$300,000 in debt and once again the insular government had to come to their financial assistance.²⁷⁷ Shortly after becoming governor, Wood endorsed Brooke's decision to use insular funds to cover the principal expenses of the municipalities for the foreseeable future. He did however stipulate that all other municipal expenses had to be covered by local taxation and that the insular government would not cover any municipal deficits incurred after December 31, 1899. The municipal governments had to learn to live within their budgets.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Wood worked closely with the Department of Finance to assist the municipalities in gaining a financial foothold. The task proved difficult because the previous Spanish administration had in many cases destroyed all public records. The new municipal government had to start from scratch by compiling tax lists, making new property assessments, and re-assembling the countless number of records needed for taxation purposes. Many of the people chosen for and later elected to municipal office had little to no experience in such matters and the Department of Finance had to dispatch instructors once again to assist local officials and train them in the basics of municipal accounting.

Wood hoped that the first municipal election on June 16, 1900 would mark the beginning of municipal independence from insular oversight and supervision. Instead, he later reflected that it “was the beginning of a period of great difficulty for the general government.”²⁷⁸ The newly elected officials, replacing those previously appointed by the military government, had to be trained and brought up to speed on municipal finances. To assist the new officials, the Department of Finance issued explicit instructions, rules, and regulations to follow in submitting municipal budgets, collecting taxes, and requesting funds. It also launched systematic inspections of the various municipalities with the goal of finding and correcting abuse and mistakes. By the end of the year, financial irregularities had led to the suspension of some alcaldes, the removal of others, and the arrest of more than a few.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

Serious and politically embarrassing issues arose in Havana and Santiago.

Although Wood initially had high hopes for the Havana municipal government, by the end of 1900, he flatly declared it the “worst and most incompetent in the island” and noted that “constant restraint has had to be applied [by the insular government] to prevent serious abuses.”²⁸⁰ By the end of 1901, Wood had become so fed up with the city government that he recommended in his official report that it be declared a federal district and governed by a commission. Only the constant supervision of the military government had kept municipal officials from creating circumstances “dangerous to public interest, and has necessitated the entire control of sanitary and engineering work and a close supervision over the police and their protection against political attacks.”²⁸¹ In Santiago, an investigation by the inspector general found enough evidence of mismanagement and corruption to require the removal of the mayor and the appointment of a replacement by Wood.²⁸²

The level of control exercised by the insular government over the municipalities troubled a number of important Cubans. Emilio Nunez, Civil Governor of Habana Province, warned that state funding of municipal government risked depriving the municipalities of their individuality, “inasmuch as the State on contributing to their maintenance must necessarily have intervention in the exercise of control over matters for which it pays – a highly dangerous situation if the liberties that those institutions

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 10; and Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 21 June 1900, Box 170, Root Papers.

²⁸¹ “Civil Report of Brigadier General Leonard Wood, Military Governor of Cuba, for the Period from January 1st to December 31st 1901,” 31 December 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, 6.

²⁸² Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 4 January 1901, Root Papers.

should have as modern principles advise, are to be respected and augmented.”²⁸³ Nunez called a meeting of all the municipal mayors of his province in May 1900 to discuss municipal autonomy and the revision of the tax structure so that each municipality could fund its own expenditures. The conference unanimously held “it to be of great utility to the common interest that the greatest possible decentralization in government matters should prevail and ... that a true and effective municipal autonomy be established.”²⁸⁴

Nunez went further,

the centralization of power by the latter [State] being antagonistic to the good principles of government, whereby the municipalities are deprived of rights that pertain to the as local governments, individual initiative is enervated, the liberty of the people to elect their rulers is annulled, and the action of the government, that should be promptly exercised by the proper parties, hindered in their management and control of interests that are freely confided to them.²⁸⁵

Nunez and the alcaldes of his province called for the greatest amount of freedom possible at the municipal level with the State only exercising the right to inspect municipal government. They acknowledged the need for the municipalities to become self-sufficient and urged the abolishment of municipalities that could not support themselves.

P.G. Betancourt, civil governor of the Matanzas province, raised concerns about the structure of the municipal system as well. In his annual report, he pointed out that most of the municipalities were artificial entities created by the Spanish government at

²⁸³ “Report of the Civil Government of the Province of Habana,” 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 2, 97.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

the end of the Ten Years War as a means of extending its control over the interior. “The establishment of our municipalities is not due to the natural expansion of social life, nor to the wise union of minor groups, the reason whereby they do not have the characteristic vigor of spontaneous formations, nor do they respond to effective and traditional exigencies.”²⁸⁶ Many of the municipalities, Betancourt held, did not serve the people they represented but the interests of the political party, individual leaders, and the previous Spanish government which sought to dominate the municipalities to further its own agenda. He recommended that the municipalities be restructured and territorial adjustments made to provide the tax base necessary for self-sufficiency.

Concern over the centralization of power in Havana extended to the Department of Finance. Secretary Cancio acknowledged that current financial policy would essentially make the municipalities “agents of the central administration, even when they were of popular and elective origin” and he believed Wood’s administration deprived local officials “of the feeling and of the exercise of self-responsibility [and] never educates them for self-government.”²⁸⁷ Cancio argued for local control and self-sufficiency as the only means of learning self-government. He believed that the simple act of funding municipal services with insular funds encouraged irresponsibility among municipal leaders who counted on the insular treasury to meet their budget deficits.

Wood did not share the reservations of his subordinates or even those of Secretary Root who wanted to end a system that kept the municipalities “under complete

²⁸⁶ “Report of the Civil Government of the Province of Matanzas,” 28 June 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 2, 112.

²⁸⁷ “Report of Leopoldo Cancio, Secretary of Finance,” 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 3, 18.

financial subjection to the Havana government.”²⁸⁸ Wood saw the insular government as an excellent tutor for the municipal governments and dismissed fears that centralized control and policy directives from above might not be the best way to address local issues and concerns. In only a matter of a few months, Wood had completely reversed his position and now championed the policy on which he had challenged Brooke. The ease with which Wood abandoned former principles leaves the impressions that the main thing for Wood was control. In Santiago he wanted control of the finances so he voiced opposition to centralization that would have placed Brooke in control. As insular governor he wanted control so he supported centralization and downplayed the need for regional autonomy. For Wood it was not about the principles or the system but about accruing power. He trusted himself, an enlightened progressive, to use that power for the good of all. He did not trust that amount of power in others.

While he dismissed their concerns of centralization, Wood agreed with Betancourt that the number of municipalities were excessive and thus depleted the tax base unnecessarily. Out of the 128 municipalities, a total of 106 existed in the western provinces of Havana, Matanzas, Pinar del Rio and Santa Clara. Only 22 existed in the eastern provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe. The four western provinces contained 43 percent of the total area of the island and the two eastern provinces controlled 57 percent.²⁸⁹ Since municipal income came largely from property taxes, the sheer number of municipalities in the western provinces insured a smaller revenue base for each. Wood worked closely with the Department of Finance and the Department of

²⁸⁸ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 27 January 1900, Root Papers.

²⁸⁹ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 7.

State and Government to reduce the number of municipalities by either abolishing smaller ones or consolidating them with larger townships. By the end of the occupation, he had reduced the total number of municipalities to 82.²⁹⁰ The goal, according to Wood, was for each surviving municipality to have no fewer than 12,000 inhabitants, “and territory with a sufficient number of properties in production to yield in the near future . . . the necessary income from the maintenance and support of such public obligations as the municipalities of Cuba are called upon to fulfil (sic).”²⁹¹ After two and half years of labor to make the municipalities more self-sustaining, the increase in revenue only allowed the insular government to terminate its support for municipal police. All other policies areas remained funded by the insular treasury. (See Table 6:4)

Table 6:4 Expenditure per Appropriation related to Municipalities²⁹²

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>To May 20, 1902</u>	<u>Total</u>
Municipalities	58,896.06	1486.00	20,000.00	80,382.06
Police	988,077.61	367,614.89	2,921.60	1,358,614.10
Total	1,046,973.67	369,100.89	22,921.60	1,438,996.16

Sanitation and Public Health

In Santiago Wood pioneered many of the sanitation measures later adopted by the military government under Brooke. He expanded on these measures when he assumed ultimate command in Havana. Throughout the occupation departmental commanders and local military officers bore primary responsibility for basic sanitation

²⁹⁰ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 5.

²⁹¹ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 3.

²⁹² “Report of Frank M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260. “Report of Frank McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit T. “Report of Frank McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

and hygiene in the cities garrisoned by American troops.²⁹³ Municipalities not garrisoned by American troops controlled their own sanitation efforts, usually under the supervision of the U.S. military authority in their area. Initial sanitation efforts focused largely on the removal of the existing filth and garbage from the cities and designing basic means of disposing of future waste in a hygienic manner. By early 1900 most of the municipalities had freed themselves from the debris and carnage left from the war and began to institute measures designed to relieve specific local conditions.

Havana, as the capital and chief port of the island, proved an especially troubling municipality in regard to sanitation. Devoid of a functioning sewer system, many of the residents simply allowed refuse and filth to accumulate in the streets and gutters or in private cesspools. Much of the garbage and filth ultimately found its way to the bay which had, according to the chief surgeon, the “reputation as one of the filthiest in the world.”²⁹⁴ Medical authorities attributed many of the diseases that periodically raged through the municipal population to these unsanitary conditions. Major Valery Havard, Chief Surgeon for the department, argued that no system of sanitation could be truly effective so “long as the city is honeycombed with latrines, old and new, and fragments of ill-constructed, unventilated sewers (often mere elongated cesspools), whose contents seep into the porous limestone.”²⁹⁵ Under these conditions, Havard concluded, “a high rate of sickness can not be prevented.”²⁹⁶

²⁹³ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 4-5.

²⁹⁴ “Sanitation and Yellow Fever in Habana, Report of Major V. Havard, Surgeon U.S.A., Chief Surgeon,” 8 February 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 2, 311-312.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 311.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Major W.C. Gorgas, who oversaw sanitation efforts in the city of Havana, attempted to implement a systematic solution to the problem while leaving the construction of a municipal sewer to the realm of public works. Under his direction the sanitary department methodically inspected every house in the city at least three times during a given year. The inspectors issued work orders to homeowners found in violation of the basic sanitation code and required that they perform the necessary work, usually within the period of a week. Homeowners who refused to comply with an order received a fine. If the inspectors found a particularly unsanitary house, then a sanitation squad under the direction of an inspector cleaned the house immediately. Wood directed that all houses be cleaned and kept cleaned through the regular and liberal application of disinfectants, usually electrozone, bi-chloride of mercury and/or chloride of lime, sprinkled on the walls, in and around the houses, and in the yards and courts.²⁹⁷ Houses with defective plumbing received a visit from the engineering department, which authorized and then supervised the necessary repairs. By February 1901, Gorgas had divided the city into twenty inspection districts with his department inspecting six hundred houses per day and issuing an average of 250 orders for cleaning. At that rate, the Havana sanitation department could inspect the entire city every two months.²⁹⁸ The Havana office developed a property database containing a file that documented

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 232; and “Report of Brigadier General William Ludlow, U.S. Army, Military Governor of Habana and Commanding Department of Habana,” 1 June 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 4, 15.

²⁹⁸ “Report of Major W.C. Gorgas, Chief Sanitary Officer, City of Habana,” 5 February 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 2, 232.

everything the department had done pertaining to a particular house.²⁹⁹ Similar efforts occurred in the other major cities.

In addition to the property inspections, the major municipalities also employed a large force of street sweepers to remove the filth and garbage from the public streets and parks. In Santiago the street sweeping crews cleaned the 86 ½ miles of city streets on a daily basis. Colonel Samuel Whitside, the departmental commander, estimated that within a year the sanitation department removed 25,000 cubic yards of street sweepings and 118,000 cubic yards of garbage from the city, which it then burned using 35,000 gallons of crude petroleum.³⁰⁰ In Havana specially designed barges hauled the garbage and refuge out to the open sea and dumped it. Disinfectant squads often cleaned the public buildings, utilities, streets, and sewers with liberal portions of the same disinfectants used on the houses. Within a single year, Santiago alone used four thousand gallons of carbolic acid and eleven thousand pounds of chloride of lime.³⁰¹

Private charitable institutions in Cuba had crumpled under the demands placed upon them by the decades of political unrest, war, and economic decline. Secretary Root reported that the war had left most charitable institutions without “funds or supplies . . . dilapidated, filthy, and unsanitary. The hospitals were practically without apparatus, medicines, or physicians. The children in the asylums were receiving but little education, insufficient food and insufficient care.”³⁰² Initially the occupation government attempted to work within the existing institutions to meet the healthcare

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ “Report of Colonel Samuel M. Whitside, Commanding the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe,” 30 June 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 3, 289.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 34.

needs of the population by providing a monetary stipend to cover the cost of individual patients. In Havana the municipal government provided direct funding of between \$7.50 to \$10.00 per month for each orphan and from 25 to 50 cents a day for hospital patients.³⁰³

Under the Brooke administration, departmental commanders supervised the various charitable institutions and hospitals and provided funding estimates. The somewhat loosely organized and decentralized system soon gave way to Wood's desire to centralize authority and control in Havana. Less than two months after taking office, Wood appointed Major Edwin St. John Greble as Superintendent of Charities and Hospitals. In April Wood brought in Homer Folks, who had led the charge for the public health movement in New York City, as a consultant to help Greble organize and launch the Department of Charities, which Wood created by executive degree with Civil Order No. 271 on July 7, 1900.³⁰⁴ Nominally under the control of the Department of State and Government, Greble reported directly to Wood.

The fundamental law governing charities throughout the island, Civil Order No. 271, drastically altered the previous relationship between charitable institutions and the public by removing the control and supervision of these organizations from the private sector to the government. The law defined "charitable institutions" as all private hospitals, "orphan asylums, and institutions for destitute children, juvenile reformatories, homes for the aged, hospitals for the insane, and all other institutions and societies

³⁰³ "Report of William Ludlow," 1 June 1900, 21.

³⁰⁴ "Civil Orders and Circulars, 1900," 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 1, 481. Civil Order No. 271.

organized for, or whose principal business is the support or assistance of, persons who are unable to support or care for themselves.”³⁰⁵ To oversee these institutions, the law created an eleven member board of charities with each of the members appointed by the military governor – one from each province and five at large members. Charitable institutions reported annually to the board. The board inspected each institution once every six months and had the power and authority to hold hearings, compel testimony, and question witnesses under oath. The board or its surrogates had “full access to the grounds, books, and papers of every such institution, and . . . [could] require from the officers and persons in charge thereof any information which they . . . deem[ed] necessary . . . to make a thorough inspection.”³⁰⁶ Public funding and the level of oversight given to the central government had a chilling affect upon private charitable contributions, which subsequently declined. It also led to the withdrawal of several religious orders from participation with the institutions.³⁰⁷

Civil Order No. 271 had its most profound impact on the care and supervision of orphaned and destitute children. Article II shifted the burden of caring for destitute or delinquent children to the central government and away from municipal, district, and provincial institutions. It prevented the establishment of new orphanages and allowed the board of charities to disband existing ones, which it increasingly did until less than a dozen remained at the end of the American occupation. To replace the orphanages, the law created a Bureau for placing Children in Families. Those children who could not be

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 495. Civil Order No. 271, Article 6, Sec. 63.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ “Final Report of Brigadier General James H. Wilson, U.S. Volunteers, Commanding the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara,” 22 July 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 3, 272.

placed in a family went to the Training School for Boys at Santiago de las Vegas or to the Compostela Training School for Girls at Havana. The boys attended public school, trained in military drill, and learned a trade at the 200 acre institution, which contained a fully functional farm and various industrial workshops. The girls attended public school and received instruction in the various branches of housework. Children between the ages of ten and sixteen, previously convicted of a crime or misdemeanor, attended the Reform School for Boys at Guanajay or the Reform School for Girls at Aldecoa. Those committed by the state to the reform schools received the same education and training as those in the training schools but within an environment structured to reward good behavior and punish bad. The bureau returned most of the destitute children, committed to the orphanages by their impoverished families, to their relatives once the economic situation in the island began to improve. Over the course of the occupation, it placed an additional 530 children with other families.³⁰⁸ By the end of the occupation, the military government had either placed the orphaned or destitute children in private homes or committed them to one of the aforementioned government institutions. (See Table 6:5) Only a handful of private institutions remained and the state provided no funding for children outside of their own system.

³⁰⁸ “Report of Major J.R. Kean, Surgeon, U.S.A. Superintendent Department of Charities of Cuba from January 1st, 1902 to May 20th, 1902” 9 July 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, pt. 3, 43.

Table 6:5 Number of Children in the State Support System at Date

<u>Institute</u>	<u>July 1, 1901³⁰⁹</u>	<u>Dec. 31, 1901³¹⁰</u>	<u>May 20, 1902³¹¹</u>
Reform School for Boys	408	179	211
Reform School for Girls	83	96	94
Training School for Boys	113	338	378
Training School for Girls	170	155	171

The Department of Charities organized and financed numerous medical facilities throughout the island. The department created the General Asylum for the Insane at Mazorra, near Havana, and centralized the care of the insane to that facility. (See Table 6:6) Formerly held at local hospitals and even in some prisons, Wood and Greble made a concerted effort to have all the insane transferred to Mazorra for treatment. The state sponsored two leprosy hospitals, both named San Lazaro Hospital, in Havana and Santa Clara. At the provincial level, the department supported and managed five General Hospitals, one located in each province with the exception of Pinar del Rio. Each of the general hospitals operated a training program for nurses conducted by Americans recruited by the insular government as instructors.³¹² The department also fully funded twenty-four municipal hospitals and provided financial assistance to municipal institutions designed to assist the elderly. As with many other municipal services, the

³⁰⁹ "Report of Major J.R. Kean, Major and Surgeon U.S.A., Superintendent, Department of Charities, 1901," 26 August 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 5, 27.

³¹⁰ "Report of the Department of Charities for the Period from July 1 to December 31, 1901, submitted by J.R. Kean, Major and Surgeon, U.S.A., Superintendent of Charities," 10 April 1902, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 5, 5-10.

³¹¹ "Report of J.R. Kean," 9 July 1902, 4-9.

³¹² "Report of the Secretary of War," 27 November 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 1, 37.

central government hoped the municipalities would eventually assume finance responsibility. It did not happen under the American occupation.

Table 6:6 Number of Patients at the General Asylum for the Insane at Mazorra at Date

January 1, 1901	639 ³¹³
July 1, 1901	722 ³¹⁴
December 31, 1901	861 ³¹⁵
May 20, 1902	939 ³¹⁶

One of the most celebrated achievements in the area of sanitation and public health came with the investigation into yellow fever and its propagation. Initially the occupational government treated the disease as a filth disease caused by the unhealthy and unsanitary environment existing in most Cuban cities. They felt confident that the extensive sanitation measures adopted by the military would completely eradicate the disease over time; however, despite their best efforts, yellow fever continually broke forth in epidemic proportion. Almost everyone in a leadership expressed his own pet theory on the source and spread of the disease – frequenting houses of ill-repute, drinking intoxicating liquor in the tropical heat, disturbing the microbes in the soil through excavation, coming into contact with articles or a dwelling associated with a fever patient, etc. Each new outbreak brought increased sanitation and various other prescriptions, depending on the pet theory, designed to contain the disease. Yet, the disease proved unmanageable and unpredictable.

³¹³ “Report of J.R. Kean,” 26 August 1901, 14.

³¹⁴ Report of the Department of Charities,” 10 April 1902, 10.

³¹⁵ “Report of J.R. Kean,” 9 July 1902, 10.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

The U.S. Army and the Surgeon-General of the Army took the existence and dangers of tropical diseases seriously and dispatch what became known as the American Yellow Fever Commission to Cuba to investigate all “acute infectious diseases prevailing” on the island.³¹⁷ The four member board arrived on June 25, 1900, under the command of Major Walter Reed, Surgeon, U.S. Army. Members of the board included Reed and Contract Surgeons James Carroll, Aristides Agramonte, and Jesse Lazear, U.S. Army. They immediately launched into an investigation of a yellow fever epidemic then underway in Quemados. Reed approached Wood for the funding to conduct numerous experiments designed to evaluate many of the pet theories about yellow fever. Wood recognized the value of the project and, thanks to the lack of fixed accounting, immediately transferred funding previously approved for police. He also drafted a set of guidelines to govern how the board conducted experiments using volunteers from the U.S. Army stationed in Cuba. In drafting the guidelines, providing funding, and authorizing the recruitment of volunteers from the ranks, Wood accepted ultimate responsibility for the project.

The experiments conducted by the board effectively dispelled many of the myths surrounding yellow fever. It then confirmed and scientifically demonstrated the original theory advanced by Dr. Carlos Finlay of Havana that mosquitoes spread the disease. In response to the finding, Wood launched an extensive program designed to eradicate the mosquito and to control the spread of the disease. He had barracks and quarters covered with mosquito screens, water receptacles covered, and doused pools of water with

³¹⁷ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 27 November 1901, 39.

kerosene to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes.³¹⁸ New guidelines released by the military occupation called upon health authorities to keep yellow fever patients isolated from mosquitoes and to try and eliminate any mosquitoes still in the area that might have already become infected. The program worked and by June 1901 Wood claimed that the effort against yellow fever had essentially driven the disease from the island.³¹⁹

The Quarantine Service, operated by the insular government, assisted in the effort to control the spread of disease. At all of the principle ports of the island, the service had the power and authority to detain individual vessels, passengers, and cargo suspected of being infected or carrying infected material or personnel. The service equipped its agents at each principle port with disinfecting apparatus designed to handle various types of shipping whether afloat or ashore.³²⁰ The geographical location of Cuba made Havana a valuable port for the tramp steamers, passenger liners, and other vessels operating between ports in the United States, Central America, and Mexico. In the past such coastal shipping had carried yellow fever from Central America to Cuba and then to the United States.³²¹ Usually these epidemics remained largely in the American south but at times reached as far north as Washington D.C. The Quarantine Service and the equipment it used proved essential in prohibiting the propagation of disease and making trade safer.

In addition to the benefits to public health in Cuba and the United States, these efforts had a larger impact upon American imperial policy. The success of sanitation

³¹⁸ "Report of Major General Leonard Wood, U.S.V., Commanding the Department of Cuba," 30 June 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 3, 285.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ "Civil Report of Leonard Wood," 1 January 1901, 83.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

and public health efforts in Cuba answered the larger question of whether or not American troops could serve effectively in the tropical environment. Through the strenuous efforts undertaken by Wood and the military government the death rate per thousand of American troops in Cuba actually dropped below that of troops in the United States in 1901 and remained lower throughout the occupation. The death rate for thousand of troops in the United States was 10.14 in 1901 and 6.9 in 1902.³²² In Cuba the rate was 9.72 in 1901 and 5.29 in 1902.³²³ As Brigadier General Fitzhugh Lee had foreseen in 1900, “if vigilance is at all times exercised troops can be kept in the tropics without loss of health, vigor, or military efficiency.”³²⁴ The Medical Department forecast in 1901 that, with the enforcement of the sanitary regulations, “the health of the troops stationed in the Tropics will be quite as good as if stationed in our own Gulf States.”³²⁵ The conclusion proved promising for continued efforts in the Philippines and for the pending canal project. (See Table 6:7)

³²² “Report of the Secretary of War,” 27 November 1901, 15; and “Report of the Secretary of War,” 1 December 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, 5.

³²³ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 27 November 1901, 15; and “Report of the Secretary of War,” 1 December 1902, 5.

³²⁴ “Report of Brigadier General Fitzhugh Lee, Commanding the Department of Western Cuba,” 23 August 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 3, 283.

³²⁵ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 27 November 1901, 15.

Table 6:7 Expenditure per Appropriation Related to Sanitation and Public Health³²⁶

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1902</u>	<u>To May 20, 1902</u>	<u>Total</u>
Charities and Hospitals	1,757,697.08	1,589,459.13	547,337.66	3,894,493.87
Quarantine Service	275,228.56	209,797.90	62,015.35	547,041.81
Sanitation	3,018,903.50	2,787,093.16	1,035,808.40	6,841,805.06
Total	5,051,829.14	4,586,350.19	1,645,161.41	11,283,340.74

Public Works

Wood considered an insular program of public works directed from Havana essential to the revitalization of the island and the future economic and thus political prosperity of the Cuban Republic. Wood estimated that almost nothing had been done beyond his own efforts in Santiago and some road construction in and around Havana for almost forty years.³²⁷ The Brooke administration had authorized two road projects in Mantanzas province but work ground to a halt as the department lacked the necessary equipment to properly survey and plan the field work. The secretary of public works reported that, outside of Havana, not “a single set of instruments for surveys and field work” existed in the entire island.³²⁸ The military government even lacked basic road building equipment like steam rollers and stone crushers.³²⁹ If Wood wanted a system of public works at the insular level, he had to build it from scratch.

³²⁶ “Report of Frank M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260; “Report of Frank McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit T; and “Report of Frank McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

³²⁷ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 128.

³²⁸ “Report of the Secretary of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1900,” 25 September 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 12, vol. 1, pt. 1, 2.

³²⁹ Ibid.

True to his convictions about the importance of infrastructure development, Wood poured every ounce of revenue not allocated elsewhere into the various projects. In his first civil report, he declared, the “work of this department [public works] is among the most important and its responsibilities and duties will greatly increase with the development of the island and be limited only by the amount of funds available for the construction of public works. The field is a vast one and includes every variety of general engineering work.”³³⁰ He refused to allow revenue to accumulate in the insular treasury. Instead he diverted surplus funds toward a growing list of insular projects. He even planned, as the municipalities assumed financial responsibility for other expenditures, to reallocate the funds previously spent on the municipalities to public works.³³¹ To the incoming Cuban government, Wood stressed the importance and necessity of public works for many years to come. He counseled that the “demand for expenditure in this field is so great that the allotments from year to year will necessarily be limited only by the amount of money available.”³³²

Wood considered public works important because the completion of those projects multiplied the impact of the money spent into other policy areas. Road construction and infrastructure improvements contributed to sanitation, economic development, and imperial defense while providing needed employment to the population. A single road could address drainage and sewage issues, open up untapped markets in the interior, allow previously isolated farmers access to coastal markets,

³³⁰ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 128.

³³¹ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 10.

³³² “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 199.

develop lines of communication and increase the ability to move troops, and put funds in the pockets of the previously unemployed. Wood recognized great potential in the Cuban people and their natural resources. He saw public works as the key to unlocking that potential and elevated it to an independent cabinet post once he became governor.

The Department of Public Works went through several modifications over the first six months of Wood's tenure. In the end it emerged as a hybrid organization composed of civil and military components. Jose Ramon Villalon, the Secretary of Public Works, exercised nominal control over all public works on the island. The U.S. Army relinquished official control over projects undertaken in the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Matanzas and Puerto Principe to the department on July 1, 1900, and those in the provinces of Havana, Santa Clara, and Santiago de Cuba a month later. Practically, however, the U.S. Army and more particularly Wood remained in charge of these projects through the Office of Chief Engineer and through local engineer officers scattered throughout the island. The chief engineer bore responsibility for harbor improvements in Havana, conducting an extensive survey of that city, and for the preparation of a military map of the island. He also supervised the work of the Chief Engineer of the City of Havana and acting engineer officers stationed at Matanzas, Manzanillo, Cienfuegos, Holquin, Puerto Principe, Santiago, Quemados, Baracoa, and San Luis.³³³ Through the Chief Engineer and the engineer officers, all members of the

³³³ "Report of Major H.F. Hodges, Corps of Engineers, U.S.A., Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba for the Six Months ending June 30, 1901" 15 September 1901, 57th Cong, 1st Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Materials, Department of Cuba, vol. 13, 3, 5-6.

U.S. Army, the military governor controlled the focus and extent of public works in Cuba.

Although the military government pursued a variety of projects, Wood considered the primary task of the department “to open up communication between the rich agricultural, mining, and timber districts, and means of transportation by rail and sea.”³³⁴ To that end he pursued an extensive program of road construction and improvements designed to open access into the interior. At the beginning of his governorship, Wood estimated that Cuba needed 1,500 miles of “first-class turnpike roads” at a relative cost of \$10,000 a mile for a total price tag of \$15,000,000.³³⁵ He considered the fifteen million a conservative estimate since it did not include secondary connector roads or allow for much variation in the cost of material and transportation. Even connector country roads could cost between \$9,000 and \$15,000 per mile.³³⁶ Much of the cost came from the superior quality of the roads Wood envisioned for the island. The tropical weather and a rainy season that lasted from June to October proved disastrous to simple roads of packed dirt or gravel. These roads became impassable to all but pack animals during the worst weather.³³⁷ Wood intended to build roads made of packed stone and pavement designed to shed the water into accompanying ditches and culverts. Bridges, designed and built by the engineers, would span the larger streams and rivers.

³³⁴ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 19; “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 37-38; and “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 27-29.

³³⁵ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 131.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

Since the necessary funding and time did not exist to undertake all the projects envisioned, the military government kept several factors in mind while prioritizing road construction. Not wanting to repeat the mistakes of the Spanish and inflame regional tension, the occupation government made a conscious decision to undertake road construction projects in all the provinces rather than to focus exclusively on Havana. In deciding the priority of projects and the particular route, the government gave precedence to projects that connected the interior to existing infrastructure, opened up new fertile territory, and/or connected the countryside to the market towns. The government also gave consideration to projects that provided needed employment to areas still recovering from the devastation of the war or lowered railroad shipping rates by providing an economically alternative means of transportation. All in all the government sought to create a growing network of turnpikes and roads designed to link the countryside to the city and harness the natural resources of the island for economic development. With only a construction window of roughly seven months between mid-November and the end of May, prioritization proved essential.³³⁸

The lack of accurate and comprehensive maps of the island hindered efforts by the military government to develop the infrastructure network. At the time only partial maps, usually of a city, railroad, or fortification, existed with any degree of accuracy. No reliable topographical map of the island existed.³³⁹ To remedy the situation, Wood assigned responsibility for creating an accurate “military map” of the island to the Chief Engineer. The very designation of a “military map” demonstrated the various purposes

³³⁸ “Report of the Secretary of Public Works,” 25 September 1900, 2.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 15

served by public works. The chief engineer planned to use practice marches made by U.S. Army garrison troops to collect the necessary information. The patrols were to explore the unmapped countryside, collect topographical, economic, and political data, and then send their completed reports to the Office of the Chief Engineer for compilation. Unfortunately, the shortage of officers caused by hostilities in the Philippines and China limited the availability of officers for these patrols until 1902. In the meantime, the chief engineer compiled what information he could from the small number of patrols possible, from surveys conducted as part of the road building program and railroad construction, and from coastal surveys conducted by the Light-House Department. The military map of Cuba remained largely incomplete at the end of the occupation.

In addition to road building and map making, the department engaged in various projects across the island. The military government conducted harbor improvements in all the major port cities. The extent of the improvements ranged from simple wharf repair, to the expansion of wharf and pier facilities, to the dredging of harbors to allow for increased commercial shipping. The Light-House Service, which became a part of the Department of Public Works just prior to the transfer of government, oversaw the construction and equipping of light-houses, the buoying and marking of harbors, and other tasks consistent with coastal shipping. In the major cities, the military government spent considerable time and energy in repairing or constructing new public buildings. The secretary had high hopes for these buildings and saw something more than just the creation of new working space or the growing government. He wanted the building to

possess architecture and artistic appeal so as to encourage emulation in the private sector. “Fine buildings,” he argued, “not only serve to make the community having them feel proud but they also furnish an indirect public income. Wherever architecture is good, commerce is prosperous. In reality many cities of Europe live to-day upon the money spent by tourists who are attracted to them by the beauty of their buildings.”³⁴⁰ The department also assisted in general sanitation efforts through their construction of city streets and gutters, the disinfectant of public building, the inspection and repair of private homes and sewers, and their completion of water treatment plants and public sewage systems in several of the major cities.

The program of public works promoted by the military government met with little resistance except for in Havana where American imperial policy clashed with American commercial interests. The dispute centered on the construction of a sewage system for the city. In 1895 the authorities in Havana had accepted plans advanced by Michael J. Dady and Company, an American construction firm, for the building of that system. The acceptance of the initial plans conferred upon the Dady firm the right of *tanteo* under Cuban law. The right of *tanteo* bestowed certain privileges in contract negotiations and an invested financial interest in the project. Subsequently, the Havana authorities also accepted Dady’s bid for the project. Since final approval did not occur until just before the American occupation, the Spanish governor refused to approve the action and left the decision to the incoming military government. The issue remained

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 14.

dormant under Brooke but as Wood launched his sanitation and public works programs, Dady reasserted his right to the project.

Wood initially wanted to ignore Dady and to proceed with plans drafted and approved by the army engineers. The engineers and consultants Wood brought in on the project, including Mr. D.J. McComb superintendent of sewers in Washington, D.C. and Mr. Samuel M. Gray of Providence, Rhode Island, all agreed that Dady's plan was insufficient for the needs of the city, failed to deal with the proper disposal of sewage, and would cost the city \$14,000,000 to build and an annual charge of \$165,000 to maintain. According to army engineers, the plan backed by the military government would cost \$8,250,000 and "would give to the city a complete system of sewage and modern pavements now needed."³⁴¹

The dispute lasted throughout 1900 and prevented major efforts at sanitation and road construction in Havana. When Wood refused to acquiesce and recognize Dady's right of *tanteo*, Dady went on the offensive. He spent money freely in Havana to stir up the local press and to sway public opinion on the issue. He enlisted powerful friends in Washington and the Republican Party to advance his case. He hired Lemuel Quigg, an influential player in New York politics and a former member of the House of Representatives, as his legal council. At various times he charged Wood with exceeding his authority, ignoring Spanish and Cuban law, and of interfering at the municipal level. Wood responded by having his engineers write a detailed review of the Dady plan and systematically demonstrate why it would not benefit Havana. The situation remained

³⁴¹ "Report of Major W.M. Black, U.S.A., Chief Engineer," 31 July 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 12, vol. 2, pt. 3, 54.

deadlocked until Root and Quigg opened backdoor negotiations to settle the issue. Eventually, the two agreed and Root suggested to Wood that Dady might accept an offer of \$250,000 to relinquish his rights to the projects and all claims against the military government.³⁴² Wood, anxious to pursue the projects in Havana, agreed and the two sides reached an agreement on January 25, 1901.

The variety of work undertaken by the Department of Public Works and the engineers proved incredibly diverse. The insular treasury covered the cost of most of these projects including those undertaken in the larger municipalities of Havana, Puerto Principe, Santa Clara, Cienfuegos, Santiago, Matanzas, and Cardenas. In his initial report, Major William M. Black, Chief Engineer, touted the efforts in Cuba as a training ground for army engineers and as beneficial to the whole army since “prior to the Spanish war, few opportunities for development were attainable for the younger officers.”³⁴³ At least in Cuba, service in the American empire promised to offer an assortment of assignments to stretch the skills of any engineer. (See Table 6:8. For a summary of public works undertaken in Havana, Matanzas, and Santiago, see Appendix A.)

³⁴² Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 2 January 1901, Root Papers.

³⁴³ “Report of Major Black,” 31 July 1900, 2.

Table 6:8 Expenditure per Appropriation Related to Public Works³⁴⁴

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>To May 20, 1902</u>	<u>Total</u>
Light Houses	120,586.97	284,938.98	71,916.62	477,442.57
Public Buildings	191,974.58	913,123.07	602,493.27	1,707,590.92
Public Works	1,895,256.07	1,692,754.41	740,252.14	4,328,262.62
Total	2,207,817.62	2,890,816.46	1,414,662.03	6,513,296.11

Economic Development

Wood drew a direct correlation between the political stability of the Cuban republic and the economic development of the island. Neither could exist for long without the other. As he told Root, “[w]ork, contentment and political tranquility go hand in hand in Cuba as elsewhere and people with full bellies and pockets are more reasonable than idlers, and agitators cannot reach them.”³⁴⁵ In turn, political stability and the corresponding lack of political agitation allowed the population to turn their energies toward developing the island. Political stability also increased investor confidence and fostered a willingness to risk financial capital in the island. Throughout his governorship, Wood used the military government to impose the necessary political stability while he implemented programs designed to foster economic development. In the end, he hoped the economic development would then generate the political stability that could replace the artificial stability provided by the occupational government.

A major obstacle to economic development came from the scarcity of financial capital in the island. The decades of political unrest and revolution had depleted all

³⁴⁴ “Report of Frank M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260; “Report of Frank McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit T; and “Report of Frank McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

³⁴⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 4 January 1901, Root Papers.

insular sources and many, including the large land owners, found themselves unable to purchase the equipment, seed, livestock, and other supplies necessary to make the land productive again. Large private ventures remained beyond the reach of most Cubans as no capital existed for major construction projects and funding for infrastructure improvements largely came from customs receipts. Foreign investors proved reluctant to advance capital due the uncertainty about the political future of the island. Such uncertainty made loans difficult and costly to obtain. In some rural areas, interest rates ran as high as 24 percent.³⁴⁶

The Foraker Amendment, which prohibited the McKinley administration and the occupation government from granting franchises and business concessions in the island, inadvertently added to the problem. The amendment effectively barred any enterprise that required government authorization. The problem became most apparent in the area of railroad construction. The Cuban Company headed by Sir William Van Horne, noted railroad builder and former president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, wanted to build a railroad from Santa Clara to Santiago. The venture would connect the western and eastern halves the island for the first time in Cuban history. Robert Porter had first noted the political and economic implications of such a central railroad in *Industrial Cuba*. He argued that a central line running the length of Cuba would assist the central government in exerting its power, and “rapidly trend to the revival of commercial and general business as the facility for quick passage from one end of the island to the other, and

³⁴⁶ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 76.

from the trunk line over branches to the seaboard cities.”³⁴⁷ Wood agreed with Porter’s findings and, since the project had profound economic and political ramifications, he enthusiastically supported the endeavor. However, under the Foraker Amendment the military government could not grant the Cuba Company the authority needed to obtain right-of-ways, build bridges, or cross public and private lands. Wood appealed to the War Department for assistance.

Root saved the project by developing a scheme to grant the Cuba Company “revocable permits.” The “revocable permits” were not as binding as official franchises or concessions and could be revoked by the Cuban government following the end of the occupation. To avoid potential conflict with Congress, Wood wrote to Foraker on December 21, 1900, to explain the reasoning behind the revocable permits and to ask the senator’s support in the endeavor. Wood even went so far as to recommend the repeal of the Foraker Amendment. Foraker consented to the plan but refused to consider the repeal of his amendment. With the tacit blessing and assurance of the War Department, the military government, and Congress, Van Horne and his fellow investors agreed to the scheme and began work. The new railroad began operations in December 1902, seven months after the transfer of power to the Cuban Republic.

The legal concept of “revocable permits” did not advance much beyond the area of railroad construction. As long as the Foraker Amendment remained in force and the political future of the island remained uncertain, foreign capital did not flood into Cuba in a meaningful way. Wood continued to lobby Root and others for repeal of the

³⁴⁷ Robert P. Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, quoted in “Report of William H. Carlson, Commissioner of Railroads,” 28 February 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 12, vol. 2, pt. 2, 7.

amendment but it proved impossible in Congress where even Republicans opposed repeal. The transfer of power from the occupation government to the new Republic of Cuba in May 1902 ultimately settled the matter by rendering the amendment mute. The new Cuban government proved less discerning and more acquiescing to foreign capital, which soon flooded into the island and led to American domination of many of the principle industries. American economic penetration did not occur in Cuba to any great extent during the occupation, as many historians have erroneously insisted. Instead, such economic penetration came with the approval and encouragement of an elected Cuban government.

Economic development depended not only on the introduction of foreign capital but also upon the opening of foreign markets to Cuban agricultural products. Prior to the final Cuban revolt against Spain, the United States and Cuba had enjoyed close economic ties. However, tariff revisions on both sides coupled with Spanish mercantilist policies closed the American market to Cuban products. Wood sought to open these markets once again and hoped that by doing so he would ensure the economic survival of Cuba and bind her closely to the United States. From the early days of his governorship, Wood championed reciprocity between the two countries and worked diligently to rally support for a trade treaty along those lines. In his annual report for 1900, he argued that all “farseeing business men realize that Cuba’s prosperity and advancement depend absolutely upon her commercial relations with the United States, where her two main products [sugar and tobacco] have their principal market.”³⁴⁸ Wood

³⁴⁸ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 65.

considered reciprocity not just beneficial but essential to the survival of the Cuban Republic and its political stability.³⁴⁹

Root agreed with Wood and advocated for trade reciprocity in the administration. He accepted Wood's conclusion that economic prosperity for the island depended upon Cuban sugar and tobacco gaining access to the American markets. In his annual reports, Root took the situation a step further by showing the symbiotic relationship between Cuba and the United States – “for the peace of Cuba is necessary to the peace of the United States; the health of Cuba is necessary to the health of the United States; the independence of Cuba is necessary to the safety of the United States.”³⁵⁰ Root argued that the same humanitarian impulse and calculated self-interest that had led the United States to intervene in 1898 should lead to trade reciprocity. Despite administration support, Congress proved reluctant to move forward on the trade issue as powerful lobbies representing cane sugar, beet sugar, and tobacco opposed the measure.³⁵¹

As the date for the transfer of power approached, Wood increased the pressure upon Congress to act. He organized the General Society of Merchants and Manufacturers of the Island of Cuba and assembled petitions and data designed to encourage congressional action. He spent \$15,626 from the Cuban treasury to lobby in Washington for an exemption to the American tariff and to distribute literature designed

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

³⁵⁰ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 27 November 1901, 53.

³⁵¹ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 9 January 1901, Root Papers; and Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 10 January 1902, Root Papers.

to educate the American public on the economic needs of Cuba.³⁵² He so bombarded Congress with circular letters and information on the topic that several members of Congress complained to the president. The War Department responded by instructing Wood not to send any more circular communications to Congress, though Root still allowed him to correspond with individual members who showed an interest in the issue.³⁵³ Wood's efforts proved futile in the short term as the occupation ended without any commitment to reciprocity. Nonetheless, the battle over reciprocity continued and eventually the Roosevelt administration pushed through a treaty in December 1903.

The treaty of reciprocity between the United States and Cuba owed much to the Wood administration. Wood recognized reciprocity and the opening of the American market as essential to economic development in Cuba. He rallied supporters in Cuba and made crucial contacts with business interests in the United States supportive of lower tariff on Cuban sugar, notably the American Sugar Company. Wood brought the issue to the attention of the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations and he lobbied Congress incessantly on the issue. Although the eventual triumph came seventeen months after the end of the occupation, the reciprocity treaty clearly demonstrated the power of an imperial proconsul to not only initiate policy but to push it through against domestic opposition.

While Wood worked to overcome the deficiency in investment capital and to open the American markets to Cuban produce, he took several other steps as military governor to help economic development. From the beginning, Wood worked closely

³⁵² "Civil Report of Leonard Wood," 5 July 1902, 10.

³⁵³ Elihu Root to Leonard Wood, 7 February 1902, Root Papers.

with the War Department on setting and adjusting tariff rates for products entering and leaving Cuba. Initially the War Department set the rates but, as the occupation progressed and Wood continually made suggestions regarding adjustments, it conceded virtual control of the tariff to the governor. Since customs revenues provided the majority of funding for Wood's internal reforms, he strove to strike a balance between revenue gains and placing an additional burden on Cuba's economy.³⁵⁴ In some areas he refused to lower rates on certain products if the businesses involved did not pass the savings on to the consumers. In areas he hoped to stimulate development, as in agriculture, he allowed tools, farm implements, seed, livestock and other necessary items to enter the country duty free. On April 1, 1901, Wood abolished all export duties in an attempt to encourage Cuban exports. The move reduced revenue to the insular treasury but it made Cuban products more competitive on the international market.

The system of public works had a large impact on the problem as well. As he had in Santiago, Wood regarded public works as a way of introducing capital back into the insular financial system. Farmers and laborers without the capital necessary to rebuild their livelihood could find employment on one of the numerous public works projects throughout the island. Such employment would provide for their immediate needs and allow them to lay aside a small amount for rebuilding. Additionally, public works, especially road construction and harbor works, often lowered the cost of transporting produce and goods. Prior to the extension of roads into the interior of the island, the high cost of transportation meant that produce that could not sell locally had

³⁵⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 6 February 1900, Root Papers.

to be left to rot in the field.³⁵⁵ To assist in lowering the cost of transportation, Wood worked with the insular railroad commissioner to write a new railroad law to control shipping rates and standardized freight charges. Wood considered the railroads a “public service and that the public is entitled to consideration and that unreasonable and unjust charges and disregard for the public will and public interest will no longer be tolerated.”³⁵⁶

In the insular cabinet, the task of supporting economic development fell to the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries. Organized at the central and provincial level, the department performed the important task of establishing rules and regulations regarding patents and commercial activity. It also worked with local authorities to reconstruct commercial records destroyed by the Spanish administration and to oversee all matters relating to agriculture, commerce, industry, forests, mines, and fisheries. The department set as its goal the cataloguing and systematic supervision of Cuba’s natural wealth. Its annual reports and other publications discussed in detail the nature of the crop system in Cuba, the untapped mineral wealth, the bounty of forest products, and the incredible resources that awaited foreign capital seeking to invest in the island. In assembling the necessary information the department reconstructed from almost nothing the entire record on the extent and ownership of mines in Cuba. To further advertise the natural wealth of the island the department sent a delegation to the Charleston Exposition in South Carolina and the Buffalo Exposition in New York.

³⁵⁵ “Report of the Civil Government of the Province of Puerto Principe Puerto Principe Report,” 15 September 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 2, 205.

³⁵⁶ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 41.

Wood regarded Cuba as “essentially an agricultural country” that derived “her welfare principally from the soil.”³⁵⁷ Under his specific direction of the governor, the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry adopted several measures primarily designed to revitalize the agricultural sector. Wood allotted special funding from the insular treasury and directed Perfecto Lacoste, the secretary of the department, to purchase cattle and horses and then to sell them at cost to poor farmers. During the course of the program the department imported over 400,000 head of cattle.³⁵⁸ Buyers could pay cash or finance the purchase on a three year note at 4 percent interest. The department also purchased large quantities of agricultural implements -including plows, hoes, machetes and axes - and distributed them to the people through local committees organized in the targeted districts. The department established local agricultural stations, conducted extensive research into local conditions, provided informational seminars, and assisted with the diagnosis and treatment of sick livestock and diseased crops. Lacosta hoped that the network of agricultural stations would facilitate the exchange of knowledge between planters and train agricultural experts who would awaken the island from its “lethargy and relative retardation in which, in this matter, no doubt through lack of intelligent direction, it finds itself.”³⁵⁹ (See Table 6:9. For a summary of information on Cuban imports and exports, see Appendix A.)

³⁵⁷ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 74.

³⁵⁸ “Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries for the Period of January 1 to April 30, 1902,” 17 May 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, pt. 2, 30.

³⁵⁹ Report of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry,” 15 March 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 4, 5.

Table 6:9 Expenditure per Appropriation Related to Economic Development³⁶⁰

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>To May 20, 1902</u>	<u>Total</u>
Agriculture	207,963.83	172,519.36	38,244.79	418,727.98
Bills of Lading And Transportation	175,685.00	105,014.99	45,000.00	325,699.99
Captain of Ports	64,582.67	72,127.87	29,653.31	166,363.85
Expositions	19,729.85	103,536.07	12,659.76	135,925.68
Postal Service	571,070.07	440,901.00	176,705.88	1,188,676.95
Immigration Station			19,558.72	19,558.72
Total	1,039,031.42	894,099.29	321,822.46	2,254,953.17

Public Education

Wood considered public education a key component of ongoing economic development and essential to the survival of the future Cuban republic. The census conducted prior to the municipal elections in 1900 found that over 65 percent of the population could not read or write. Years of neglect by the Spanish regime and even the Brook administration did little to address problem. Public school enrollment prior to the war showed 36,306 students enrolled but reports indicated that less than half actually attended.³⁶¹ Toward the end of Spanish rule the system completely broke down.

Enrique Jose Varona, first secretary of public education under Wood, reported that “There was not a single schoolhouse in the island; the teachers, always badly paid, lived in penury; school furniture and appliances were out of the question, the school attendance almost insignificant, and the greater portion of the school population was

³⁶⁰ “Report of Frank M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260; “Report of Frank McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit T; and “Report of Frank McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

³⁶¹ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 32.

illiterate. There was not a single high school.”³⁶² Although the Brooke administration authorized the municipalities to open schools under the old Spanish system, the results proved disappointing. By December 1899 public school enrollment numbered only 21,435, significantly less than it had under the Spanish.³⁶³ The deplorable conditions within the schools remained largely the same.

The lack of progress spurred the Brooke administration to take additional steps. In November of 1899, Brooke created the position of Superintendent of Schools and appointed Alexis E. Frye to fill the post. Frye, a wealthy graduate of Harvard, had requested a commission from the War Department to do educational work in the new colonial possessions. Root sent him to Cuba to work with the military government. Brooke followed the appointment of Frye with a new school law on December 6, 1899. The new law, propagated as Order No. 226, empowered Frye to travel the length and breadth of the island to establish the schools needed to serve an estimated 462,856 children.³⁶⁴ It gave him the power to “organize, direct, and inspect all the schools of Cuba,” develop a course of study, formulate the necessary exams, choose the curriculum, and eventually conduct a census of school age children.³⁶⁵ Frye energetically entered into his new duties. At the beginning of Brooke’s new school law,

³⁶² “Report of Enrique Jose Varona, Secretary of Public Instruction,” 14 September 1900, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 4, 57.

³⁶³ “Report of Superintendent of Schools, January 1 to September 14, 1900,” 8 March 1901, 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 4, 217.

³⁶⁴ “Report of Enrique Jose Varona,” 14 September 1900, 57.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

312 schoolrooms existed in the whole island. Frye expanded the number to 3,126 in four month.³⁶⁶

Wood, who inherited General Order No. 226 and Frye from the Brooke administration, initially allowed the latter to continue his work with the assistance of the newly independent Department of Public Instruction. However, by March the rapid expansion of the school system and the nature of the arrangements made in regard to teachers, facilities, and equipment led Wood to place a temporary moratorium on future expansion until the existing schools could be inspected. To address the problem and to consolidate control of the public school system in Havana, Wood assigned one of his aides, Lieutenant Matthew Hanna, a West Point graduate and former school teacher from Ohio, to write a new school law for the island.

The new school law, published as Civil Order No. 279 on June 30, 1900, followed closely the Ohio model favored by Hanna and sought to rectify the problems found under the old law by restructuring the administration of public education. The new law continued the office of Superintendent and created a new office of Commissioner of Public Schools. The superintendent dealt exclusively with educational issues and served as the president of the newly created board of superintendents. Each province elected its own superintendent and Frye served as the superintendent of schools for the entire island. The board dealt with issues regarding proper teaching methods, textbook selection, course design, teacher selection and training, and related educational issues. The newly created commissioner functioned as the chief executive officer of the

³⁶⁶ “Report of Public Schools of the Island of Cuba for September, October, November, and December, 1900,” 56th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, vol. 1, pt. 11, vol. 1, pt. 4, 97.

school system charged with the implementation of the new law and responsible for the condition of the insular schools. He dealt with issues of infrastructure, school buildings, furniture, repairs and construction, contracts, and salaries for teachers, janitors, etc.

The restructuring had a tremendous impact upon primary public education. In the first year the military government spent almost three-quarters of a million dollars, including an initial order of \$150,000 for 100,000 full sets of desks and chairs as well as other school material.³⁶⁷ The military government renovated existing schoolrooms and refitted existing barracks for educational purposes. Wood resisted the push to higher American teachers, a practice followed in the Philippines, and instead hired Cuban teachers at salaries higher than their American counterparts.³⁶⁸ He felt that “to establish stable government by the people we must use the people directly concerned, otherwise they will be a governed and not a governing people.”³⁶⁹ He also thought it unwise to flood “the Island with American teachers ignorant of the language and customs of the people, and foreign in religion and sentiment” since to do so would lead to charges that “the United States wished to Americanize the children.”³⁷⁰

Ironically, although Wood resisted the Americanization of the children, he felt it best to improve the quality of teachers found in Cuba by sending them to the United States for training. In the summer of 1900, Harvard University raised \$70,000 for 1,281 Cuban teachers to “attend a summer school of instruction at Cambridge, designed to fit

³⁶⁷ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 33.

³⁶⁸ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 95-96.

³⁶⁹ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 17-18.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

them for their duties.”³⁷¹ Teachers representing 119 of the 128 municipalities in Cuba attend the summer session. Classroom instruction included English, the history of Cuba and Latin America, the history of the United States, and geography. Lectures also covered areas such as school and classroom management, civic instruction, and morals. To supplement the coursework, the teachers went on extended field trips to Boston, New York City, the United States Military Academy at West Point and Washington, D.C. In addition to the cultural and historic sites, they attend grand receptions in their honor by the President of the United States and Mayor of New York City. Teachers unable to make the journey attended special summer schools in the provincial capitals. All the participants received pay for the summer. The military government sent two hundred teachers to Harvard University the next year and conducted mandatory summer schools for rest. In 1901 the government also began providing \$30,000 in scholarships for thirty Cuban teachers to attend the New York State Normal School in New Paltz. By 1902 sixty Cuban teachers had enrolled in the program.³⁷² The new elected government of the Republic of Cuba discontinued the program after the transfer of sovereignty.

Alexis Frye resigned as Superintendent of Public Schools in January 1901. For the past year, Frye and Wood had clashed over the details of primary education in Cuba. Hostilities began with the hold placed on the expansion of public schools in March, continued through the Harvard program, and ultimately came to a head when the new school law stripped Frye of much of his responsibility and made him officially subordinate to Wood’s representative. Frye and Wood simply did not work well

³⁷¹ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 33.

³⁷² “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 18.

together. The superintendent had the enthusiasm but lacked the organizational skills to run the public school system to the satisfaction of the military authorities and according to the standards of the military government. Wood characterized Frye as a man with “very little executive ability” and complained in his annual report that, when Hanna became Commissioner of Public Schools, “he found the affairs of this Department in a very unsatisfactory condition. There had been no systematic supervision of the details of the system and affairs were rapidly reaching a condition which, unless he had been placed in charge, would have resulted disastrously for the school system and the finances.”³⁷³ Although Frye resigned on his own initiative, Wood had made it clear to Root the previous August that he wished to remove him from the administration.³⁷⁴

In addition to the reform of primary education, Wood worked closely with Enrique Jose Varona, Secretary of Public Instruction, to reform the University of Havana. When Wood took over as governor, the University boasted ninety-six faculty and a total of two hundred students.³⁷⁵ In some of the departments, the number of faculty outnumbered the number of students. The faculty contributed little to the intellectual life of the island and some even lived in Spain while drawing a full salary from the Cuban government. Like all institutions of public education in Cuba, the University lacked basic infrastructure and supplies. No well defined course of study programs existed and certificates and degrees could often be purchased by the pupils without completing a systematic program.

³⁷³ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 18 June 1900, Root Papers; and “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 26.

³⁷⁴ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 6 August 1900, Root Papers.

³⁷⁵ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 85.

Wood and Varona moved quickly to reform the institution. They dismissed many of the faculty deemed unworthy of retention and held competitive examinations to fill the vacancies. They reformed the admission requirements and restructured the course of study to make it a four year academic program. They limited access to the professional schools to graduates or to those who could pass an examination to demonstrate competency. In addition the military government purchased new furniture, equipment, and books while renovating or building new academic facilities and specialized laboratories. Varona extended these reforms to the institutions which fed students into the University of Havana and to the secondary schools located in each province. By the end of 1900, the occupational government had substantially remodeled the institutions of higher education on the island.

Wood believed education to be the key to a stable constitutional government and as a deterrent to revolution. His commitment to public education – primary, secondary, and higher education – revealed itself in the insular budget and the time and staff he dedicated to the issue. Wood devoted up to 25 percent of total insular revenue to reforming and rebuilding public education. Extensive public works projects, including the construction of several modern academic facilities, helped to build the necessary educational infrastructure. At the time of the transfer, the occupation government had begun to build and equip an average of one school room per working day.³⁷⁶ Wood's delegation of much of the reform effort to Hanna demonstrated the importance he placed upon the success of the reforms. Hanna, belonged to the small circle of young aides that

³⁷⁶ "Civil Report of Leonard Wood," 5 July 1902, 17.

Wood entrusted to carry out his instructions faithfully. Other aides like Hugh Scott and Frank McCoy served in various capacities but Hanna remained in public education throughout the occupation. At the end of the 1901-1902 academic year, total enrollment in public schools numbered 250,000 out of an estimated school population (ages six to eighteen) of 395,225.³⁷⁷ The Department of Public Instruction employed 3,476 teachers scattered across the island to meet the need.³⁷⁸ (See Table 6:10)

Table 6:10 Expenditure per Appropriation related to Public Education³⁷⁹

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>To May 20, 1902</u>	<u>Total</u>
Normal State Schools and University	507,647.43	898,068.97	352,030.81	1,757,747.21
Municipal Schools	2,685,905.17	3,038,943.80	1,134,023.96	6,858,872.93
Repairs and Supplies	815,907.71	274,470.85	199,142.86	1,289,521.42
Total	4,009,460.31	4,211,483.62	1,685,197.63	9,906,141.56

Law and Order

On the very day Wood arrived in Havana to become military governor, Root forwarded to him a letter from Charlton Lewis, President of the Prison Association of New York, regarding the condition of the legal system in Cuba under both the Spanish and Brooke administrations. Lewis had just completed two weeks “inspecting jails and

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 17&19.

³⁷⁸ “Supplementary Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Four Months of January, February, March and April 1902,” 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, pt. 2, 72.

³⁷⁹ “Report of Frank M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260; “Report of Frank McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit T; and “Report of Frank McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

examining the administration of the penal laws” in Cuba.³⁸⁰ He found the conditions deplorable.

Great prisons are overcrowded with men and boys. Assassins, brigands, sodomites, pickpockets, and young men charged with disorderly conduct, or merely suspected of slight offences, are herded together, in absolute idleness and unrestricted intercourse. With no change of clothing, no blanket or semblance of bed, many hundreds sleep on bare stones, where filth and vermin are kept down only by constant sprinkling with disinfectants.³⁸¹

To make matters worse, in what Lewis termed a “hell upon earth,” most of the prisoners had yet to be tried and were thus held by the state indefinitely while the authorities investigated the charges against them. In many instances, prisoners spent more time in prison awaiting trial than their sentence would have been if they had been convicted of the offense. Among these prisoners were twenty-two Americans, some of whom still awaited trial five months after their arrest. Lewis’s appeal for the Brooke administration to remedy the situation came to nothing so he wrote directly to Secretary Root and called for “prompt interference from the War Department.”³⁸² He warned that if details of the abuses became public it would lead to universal condemnation.

Impressed with a sense of urgency by Root, Wood immediately launched his own investigation into the prison and judicial system and confirmed the assessment by Lewis. He found the prisons to be “without proper sanitary arrangements, without proper appliances for cooking, lighting, or ventilations; in fact they were simply

³⁸⁰ Charlton T. Lewis to Elihu Root, 20 December 1899, Box 170, Root Papers.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² *Ibid.*

medieval prison houses. There seemed to be no system looking toward the reformation of the inmates, the whole purpose being to punish, never to correct.”³⁸³ The prisoners lived in abominable conditions. In addition to the conditions detailed by Lewis, Wood discovered that the inmates at the prison for women in Havana could not appear in mass “because they were without clothes to cover their nakedness; and they came before the inspector one by one, passing the same garment from one to another.”³⁸⁴ One woman, who had been confined for more than seven years, had a three year old child. Wood wrote to Root incredulous that such conditions “could have existed in Havana directly under the eyes of our own authorities.”³⁸⁵ He immediately launched steps to correct the abuses.

The structure of the judicial system itself proved the fundamental obstacle to the swift execution of justice. The authorities arrested individuals suspected of a crime and placed them in prison. A court of the first instance conducted by a judge and one secretary investigated the charges against the accused and then either dismissed the case or took it to trial. The court of the first instance moved remarkably slow and the rate of cases dispensed with by the court remained but a fraction of the new cases brought to the court. Over the course of the war and the first year of the occupation, a considerable backlog of cases had developed. About the only way to receive prompt attention and to have a case go speedily to trial was to bribe the judge or his secretary. According to Wood, the Cuban judiciary “had surrounded itself with a cobweb of tradition and

³⁸³ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 11-12.

³⁸⁴ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 30 November 1900, 35.

³⁸⁵ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 6 February 1900, Root Papers.

conservatism and adopted a procedure so cumbersome and slow of execution as to render impossible a prompt administration of justice. There seemed to be an unlimited number of ways of getting man into prison” but few ways of getting him out.³⁸⁶

To solve the problem, Wood created new ways to empty the prisons and speed up the administration of justice. In January 1900 he created a special board of pardons. Although the board visited prisons throughout the island, it focused primarily on Havana. Board members reviewed the cases of individuals still awaiting trial and dismissed those cases which lacked sufficient records or in which the accused had already served more time than if actually convicted of the alleged crime. In the first year they freed 520 prisoners including one imprisoned for eleven years without trial and several for whom no records existed as to the original arresting charge. To reduce the backlog of cases, Wood established police and correctional courts to deal with minor offenses in most of the cities. These courts provided the citizenry with access to prompt trials and relieved the case load upon the other courts. General Ludlow had originally created a police court in Havana during the Brooke administration but the governor had declared it unconstitutional. Wood reversed the decision, expanded the jurisdiction of the courts, and replicated them in the other cities. Less than four month into the effort, Wood boasted to Root that his judicial reform had reduced the prison population in Havana from six hundred to 180 prisoners and that the new system of lower courts had

³⁸⁶ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 65.

reduced the work load of the other courts by at least 30 percent.³⁸⁷ By the end of the occupation, the time from arrest to final action on the case averaged 3 ½ months.³⁸⁸

Wood also ordered the thorough sanitation and renovation of the existing prisons and instituted a systematic inspection of the facilities. The insular prison system, under the direction of the military government, consisted of the penitentiary (presidio) in Havana, provisional prisons located in the provincial capitals, and district prisons in each of the judicial districts. General improvements to the prisons within the system included the installation of modern cooking facilities, proper sanitation and plumbing, ventilations systems, and laundry facilities. Prisoners received proper bedding and clothing. The authorities provided each jail with a physician and the necessary medical supplies. In the larger facilities, the military government instituted a work program and offered basic school instruction to the inmates. Hanna worked with General Montalvo, warden of the Havana penitentiary, to develop a new set of guidelines for governing the prison based upon the rules and regulations used at Joliet and Leavenworth in the United States. Instead of placing all prisoners in the general prison population, the government separated those convicted of a crime from those still awaiting trial and the adults from underage offenders. Wood placed the whole system under the supervision of General Carlos Garcia Velez, son of General Calixto Garcia, as the general Inspector of Prisons. Garcia inspected each prison at least three times a year and submitted detailed reports to the military government.³⁸⁹ According to Wood, Garcia took “a very intelligent interest

³⁸⁷ Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 12 April 1900, Root Papers; and Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 26 April 1900, Root Papers.

³⁸⁸ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 24.

³⁸⁹ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 11.

in the prison reform movement, and in the establishment of a system tending to the reform and education as well as to the punishment of the prisoner.”³⁹⁰ By the end of the occupation, Wood compared the prisons favorably to those in the United States.

As prison reform proceeded, Wood and the Department of Justice, turned their attention to reforming the judicial system itself. The original system, maintained under the Spanish and continued under the Brooke administration, favored the government and its interests over the rights and interests of the people. The system allowed for the indefinite detention of individuals without trial and in some cases without being officially charged. It denied access to a speedy trial, permitted the taking of evidence against the accused in his absence, and allowed hearsay evidence. The authorities, operating under the old system, did not have to inform the accused of the charges against him or guarantee that he would receive competent council. Brushing aside those who wanted legal reform to wait until the advent of an elected Cuban government, Wood introduced two aspects of American law into the Cuban system in an attempt to address many of the problems under the old order. On December 1, 1900, Civil Order No. 427 introduced the Writ of Habeas Corpus into the system. Wood hoped that the practice would put a final end to many of the abuse he found when he took office. To help right the balance between the state and the individual, Wood also introduced trial by jury. Neither of these concepts had completely taken hold by the end of the occupation.

The primary hindrance to judicial reform came from popular perceptions of the system as corrupt. For as long as most Cubans could remember, the Spanish regime had

³⁹⁰ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 24.

used the judicial system as a tool for oppressing the people, silencing dissent, and punishing the enemies of those in power. The system favored the powerful and the wealthy. Corruption and the judiciary had almost become synonymous in the mind of the average Cuban. Therefore, the typical Cuban proved unwilling to suddenly embrace a system that had once been the bane of Cuban existence. Most were reluctant to officially file a complaint, to serve as witnesses for the prosecution, or to serve on a jury. Wood recognized the fact and, while he argued that the judicial system had improved, he acknowledged that it “is difficult to change in a day methods generations old.”³⁹¹ He felt the only hope to changing popular perceptions came from a clear and consistent commitment to impartial justice and a fair and honest administration. To that end the military government sought to make examples out of corrupt judges and instituted policies designed to isolate them from possible influence peddling.

As the final element in the system of law and order, Wood restructured the Rural Guard and transformed it from a provincial law enforcement organization to an insular police force. Wood had organized the first rural guard units in Santiago during the fall of 1898 as a way to extend law and order into the rural districts. The force combated brigandage and tracked down criminals in the interior. The Rural Guard made it unnecessary to employ the U.S. Army in policing actions and arguably made those actions more successful. Composed largely of former members of the Cuban Liberation Army, the rural guard enjoyed a close affinity with the Cuban population, understood their language and customs as only a native could, and had first hand knowledge of the

³⁹¹ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 1 January 1901, 73.

terrain and circumstances encountered in the field. Wood held that the force, “being of the people and from the people, has operated without causing those feelings which would surely have followed had the army of occupation been required to perform this duty.”³⁹² Other departmental commanders, with the exception of Wilson in Matanzas, adopted a similar organization in their territories. These provincial rural guard units served under the direct command of the departmental commanders and each differed from those in other departments in regard to regulations, weaponry, mounts, and details of organization.

Shortly after taking office, Wood moved to consolidate those commands under his direct control in Havana. On January 16, 1900, a board of senior rural guard members met to discuss possible schemes of reorganization. These efforts culminated in Civil Order No. 90, issued on February 26, 1900, which provided for the uniform organization of rural guard units throughout the provinces. Over the next year, the military government worked to bring the rural guard units up to the standards of the U.S. Army and used American military officers as inspectors. A second reorganization act, propagated as Civil Order No. 101 on April 18, 1901, placed these provincial units under a single commander stationed in Havana and acting under the direct orders of the military governor. Wood appointed Brigadier General Alejandro Rodriguez, formerly a Major General in the Cuban Army, to the position of Chief of the Rural Guard.

Wood further organized the rural guard along military lines by consolidating the various commands into four departments, each under the command of a Lieutenant

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 64.

Colonel: the Provinces of Havana and Pinar del Rio, the Provinces of Matanzas and Santa Clara, the Province of Puerto Principe, and the Province of Santiago de Cuba. These commanders each had a number of detachments under their supervision. The military government furnished each detachment with permanent barracks and stables and ensured that the guard members were well mounted, armed and uniformed. When the Republic of Cuba accepted control from the United States, the Rural Guard employed a total of 1,604 officers and men organized into fifteen troops stationed at 247 posts scattered throughout the island.³⁹³

In the last year of the occupation, Wood created a Cuban “Cuerpo de Artilleria” to garrison the artillery defenses around Havana once the U.S. Army left the island. Captain Dwight E. Altman of the U.S. Army trained the Cuban artillery forces in the same instructions given to the U.S. Artillery service. At the time of the transfer, the Cuerpo de Artilleria consisted of three companies with arrangements made for a fourth.³⁹⁴ It was Wood’s desire to place the artillery units under the command of the General Rodriguez of the Rural Guard and together the two organizations would form the armed forces of the new republic.³⁹⁵ However, the American occupation ended without the merger. (See Table 6:11)

³⁹³ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 5 July 1902, 189.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 191.

³⁹⁵ “Civil Report of Leonard Wood,” 31 December 1901, 49.

Table 6:11 Expenditure per Appropriation Related to Law and Order³⁹⁶

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>To May 20, 1902</u>	<u>Total</u>
Jails	490,651.48	511,232.39	219,791.03	1,221,674.90
Justice	701,288.01	991,656.61	404,608.50	2,097,553.12
Cuerpo de Artilleria		24,590.81	24,930.67	49,521.48
Rural Guard	1,789,824.98	929,111.28	356,168.68	3,075,104.94
Total	2,981,764.47	2,456,591.09	1,005,498.88	6,443,854.44

Conclusion

On May 20, 1902, Governor Leonard Wood officially handed power over to Tomas Estrada Palma, the newly elected President of the Republic of Cuba, in an elaborate ceremony. He then boarded the cruiser *U.S.S. Brooklyn* and sailed for the United States. The occupation of Cuban had last a little less than four years. For two and half years, Wood had struggled as military governor to rebuild the island after decades of war and neglect and then to prepare it for independence and self-government. He did so by focusing on five policy areas he considered essential to the survival and well-being of any future government – sanitation and public health, public works, economic development, public education, and law and order. The internal programs developed in these policy areas were largely his own. To assist in the first large scale effort by the United States at nation building, Wood had created an occupational government that was an amalgam of elements of the U.S. Army and Cuban political and military leaders. He felt a sense of relief and satisfaction with the work he had done; yet, he thought “it would have been much better for the Cuban people if we had remained

³⁹⁶ “Report of Frank M’Coy,” 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260; “Report of Frank McCoy, 1901,” 30 January 1902, Exhibit T; and “Report of Frank McCoy,” 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

several years longer in Cuba and give them a chance to settle down on a much more sound basis.”³⁹⁷ In the end he feared the occupation had been too short for the reforms and progressive ethos to take hold.

Wood’s fears came true as most of his progressive agenda did not outlive his administration. The problem however was not with the Cubans but with the style and form of governance that he imposed upon the island. Much of the progressive agenda did not originate with the Cubans and, although they benefited from elements of it, the reforms never developed institutional legs of their own. Wood could impose the progressive agenda because of the power and authority he possessed as military governor and because the people had no legitimate outlet to oppose the administration short of active rebellion or passive indifference. Palma, as the head of the newly elected Cuban republic, had neither that power nor authority. Even if he had supported the progressive ethos whole-heartedly, his political will alone was not enough.

The centralization of power in Havana had negative repercussions as well. The unitary state model exacerbated regional tensions – as it had under the Spanish and Brooke administrations. It also retarded the growth and development of municipal government by not allowing those governments the ability to fail. Despite Wood’s contention that a period of tutelage by the insular government would make the municipal governments efficient and self-supporting, most municipalities remained dependent upon the insular government to meet their financial needs. His Cuban critics had been right.

³⁹⁷ Unpublished Diary of Leonard Wood, May 20, 1902 to January 31st, 1906, entry for May 20, 1902, Box 3, Wood Papers.

CHAPTER VII

IN THE MORO PROVINCE

Leonard Wood left Cuba with his professional standing and reputation substantially enhanced. In 1898 he had entered the Spanish-American War as a little known captain in the medical department who had, through political influence, received a temporary commission as a colonel with one of the volunteer regiments. He emerged from service in Cuba in 1902 as a brigadier general in the regular army with an international reputation as the foremost American imperial proconsul. In the span of two and half years, Wood had seemingly taken a devastated former Spanish colony and transformed it into an economically developing and independent new republic. His penchant for self-promotion and the writings of his progressive friends kept his work in Cuba before the public and won him acclaim. As a brigadier general, Wood stood next in line according to seniority to become a major general. A relatively young general officer at age forty-one, Wood could expect, barring an untimely demise or scandal, to spend at least twenty years in the senior ranks of the U.S. Army and exert significant influence on its development at the beginning of the twentieth-century. His intimate friendship with President Roosevelt gave further luster to his rising star.

Wood's service as an imperial proconsul did not end with Cuba. On August 6, 1903, sixteen months after leaving Havana, he became civil governor of the Moro Province and commanding general of the corresponding Department of Mindanao. In the familiar civil-military role, Wood abandoned previous Moro policy, exemplified in

the Bates Agreement, and aggressive sought to undermine the traditional system of datu governance and replace it with direct American rule. Given a high degree of latitude in his actions and policies, Wood adopted the same progressive agenda he felt had worked so well in Cuba and relied heavily upon the strength of American arms to enforce compliance. The Cuban model, however, did not work well in the Moro Province and military action did not prove as decisive as he hoped. At the end of his tenure, the United States remained no closer to peacefully incorporating the Moros into the American empire than before.

Interlude

On his return from Cuba, Wood and trusted members of his staff – Hugh Scott and Frank McCoy - took up residence in Washington D.C., which remained his base of operations until he left for the assignment in the Philippines. Although in Washington to complete the reports on the Cuban occupation and to close out the financial and administrative records of the military government, Wood found time to lobby for trade reciprocity with Cuba, to accept a number of speaking engagements, and to complete several small assignments for the army at large. Residence in the nation's capital also gave him an opportunity to renew his friendship with Roosevelt and the two became constant companions.

Less than a month after returning to the United States, the War Department forwarded to Wood an invitation from Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany, to attend the annual maneuvers of the Prussian Army scheduled for September 1902. Wood joined

the official delegation consisting of himself and generals Samuel B. M. Young and Henry Corbin. To coincide with the trip, Wood embarked on a continental tour of Europe that lasted from July 24 to November 9. At the beginning of the tour, he joined his wife and family in Spain and then traveled through France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and eventually Great Britain. Along the way, Wood made it a point to visit not only the traditional cultural and historical sites but also many of the major battlefields of Europe.

At the German maneuvers and later in Great Britain, Wood served as an unofficial liaison between Roosevelt and the German and British governments. He met not only the German emperor and empress but also members of the German high command, including Crown Prince Albert and Baron von Koenig. He also became familiar with the British delegation to the event, which included Lord Roberts, and generals Ian Hamilton, John French, and Thomas Killy-Kenny. On the morning of September 10, 1902, Wilhelm II asked Wood to join him for a private interview during a lull in the maneuvers. The emperor strove to impress upon Wood that Germany, the United States, and England had to maintain “friendly relations” and that those “who said Germany wanted war were absolutely in error.”³⁹⁸ The emperor made a favorable impression upon Wood who recorded the conversation in his diary and later reported it to the President.

³⁹⁸ Leonard Wood Diary, 10 September 1902, Box 3, Wood Papers.

In Great Britain, Wood helped to advance the growing Anglo-American rapprochement.³⁹⁹ He lunched with the King at Buckingham Palace, attended an awards ceremony in honor of Lord Roberts and General H. Herbert Kitchener, and attended state dinners where he met Prime Minister Arthur Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Lansdowne, and Henry Campbell-Bannerman. On October 30, 1902, he attended a dinner at the House of Commons hosted by Arthur Lee, Civil Lord of the Admiralty and a close friend of Roosevelt. At the session of Parliament that followed the dinner, his British hosts introduced him as the “absolute ruler of a foreign country,” in reference to his governorship in Cuba, and seated him next to the Prince of Wales.⁴⁰⁰ During the twenty days spent in Great Britain, Wood toured the English and Scottish countryside and met with numerous military and imperial officials.

Wood returned to Washington in early November and spent roughly the next four months completing Cuban affairs before accepting an assignment to command American troops assigned to the Department of Mindanao. On his way to the Philippines, Secretary of War Elihu Root wanted him to make a careful study of the methods of colonial government and native constabularies. Wood left Boston on March 28, 1903 and traveled through Europe to Egypt where he reviewed English and Egyptian troops, visited various schools and sanitation projects, and had several long talks with Lord Cromer over imperial policy. From Egypt he traveled with stops to inspect

³⁹⁹ Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968). Perkins detailed the lessening of hostility between the two countries and the early development of what became known as the “special relationship” between Great Britain and the United States. According to Perkins, the personal diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt and many of his associates played a large role in that development.

⁴⁰⁰ Leonard Wood Diary, 30 October 1902, Box 3, Wood Papers.

colonial administration in India, the Dutch colonies, the French in Saigon, and the English administration of Hong Kong. He arrived in Manila on July 19, 1903, almost four months after leaving the United States. Although Wood visited most of the major European colonies in Asia during his trip and spent considerable time with imperial officials and military commanders, the extent of his study only amounted to observations recorded in his diary and in a few letters.

On his way east, Wood learned his political enemies had renewed their media criticism of his administration in Cuba. The unfavorable publicity complicated Roosevelt's task in securing Congressional support for Wood's promotion to major general. Republican Senator Mark Hanna led opposition to Wood in the Senate. Hanna personally resented the fact that while in Cuba Wood had arrested and prosecuted Estes Rathbone, a political protégé and an influential person in Ohio politics. Perhaps more importantly, Hanna recognized that Wood's nomination provided him with an opportunity to undermine Roosevelt. A close friend of McKinley, Hanna had opposed Roosevelt's nomination as Vice President and longed to secure the Republican presidential nomination in 1904. Indicative of these inter-Republican party struggles was the fact that Senator Joseph Foraker, Hanna's rival for control of Republican politics in Ohio and a firm Roosevelt supporter, managed Wood's defense in the Senate.⁴⁰¹

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs conducted hearings concerning Wood's nomination from November 19 to December 15, 1903. Opponents of the nomination raised allegations of malfeasance in Cuba and argued that Wood lacked the

⁴⁰¹ H. W. Brands, *T. R.: The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 492-495.

military experience and background to be a major general. Some even went so far as to openly charge Roosevelt with favoritism. Rathbone, James Runcie, James Wilson, John Brooke and Alexis Frye provided testimony against the nomination. Support for the nomination centered on the testimony of Secretary Root and some who had served with Wood in Cuba and wrote to volunteer their testimony. Root, at the behest of Foraker, systematically addressed the charges of wrong doing and placed the War Department and his personal reputation squarely behind Wood. He stressed the fact that Wood came up for promotion in his regular order of seniority - the same order designated by President McKinley when he promoted Wood to brigadier-general.⁴⁰² He reminded the committee that Wood had exercised an extremely important and responsible command in Cuba and that he had under his command 10,000 American troops. None of those below Wood in rank could boast to have ever held such responsibility or to have ever commanded such a large force.⁴⁰³ Root questioned why men who had not opposed Wood's nomination to brigadier-general, when McKinley had jumped him over the heads of other candidates, now opposed a promotion based on seniority. In closing he stated that "I feel under a debt of the greatest gratitude to General Wood for what I think is one of the most conspicuous and meritorious pieces of work ever done by an American."⁴⁰⁴ The Senate confirmed Wood's nomination to major general on March 18, 1904, seven months after his arrival in the Philippines.

⁴⁰² Senate Committee on Military Affairs, *Nomination of Leonard Wood to be Major-General: Hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs*, 58th Cong., 2nd sess., 1904, 859.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 859-869.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 869.

The Moro Province

Since the start of the American occupation, the military Department of Mindanao presented a unique challenge to those charged with extending American control throughout the Philippines.⁴⁰⁵ The department primarily consisted of the large island of Mindanao and the smaller islands of the Sulu archipelago, with the island of Jolo the most prominent of the Sulu chain. An amalgamation of people groups that differed substantially from one another in ethnicity, culture, and religion populated the region. These groups consisted of a comparatively small number of Christian Filipinos who dwelt largely in the coastal regions, pagan tribesmen – including tree dwellers and headhunters - who remained in the interior of the Mindanao, and Moro practitioners of Islam who dominated the region but lived mainly in the southern parts of Mindanao and the Sulu islands.

The Moro proved the largest human obstacle to American control of the region. The Spanish had named the Muslim inhabitants of the area “Moro” in reference to the Islamic Moors the Christians had driven from Spain. Although usually of Malay descent, the Moros were united only by their religion. Even among themselves they had no corporate identity but lived in various clans under the rule of a local chieftain, known as a datu. For almost four hundred years, the Moros had resisted Spanish colonization and attempts to curtail their social and religious practices. Spain’s claim to the region by right of conquest was tenuous at best. Even in times of relative peace, Spain had to

⁴⁰⁵ Moro Province was the geopolitical designation for the civil administration of the region created when the Philippine Commission passed Act No. 787 on June 1, 1903. The Department of Mindanao was the designation for the military department which geographically coincided with the Moro Province. It existed prior to the creation of the Moro Province and operated alongside the civil administration during the tenure of Wood and his successors.

maintain large numbers of troops in the region. When Admiral George Dewey attacked Manila, half of the Spanish troops in the archipelago were engaged in military operations against the Moros on Mindanao and Jolo.

The Philippine War, coming shortly after the end of hostilities with Spain, initially kept the U.S. Army from any attempt to exert direct control over Moro territory. Intent on fighting the war and desirous of avoiding any armed conflict with the Moros, Brigadier General John C. Bates negotiated an agreement with the Sultan of Sulu, Jamal-ul Kiram II on August 20, 1899. According to the terms of the agreement, the Sultan and his principal datus acknowledged American sovereignty over the Moros and their territory. In exchange the United States recognized the jurisdiction of the Sultan over intra-Moro affairs and paid a stipend to him and his principal datus for their support in maintaining the peace. The United States promised to respect the authority of the datus over their territory. In case of an incident between Moros and American troops, the Bates agreement guaranteed a “careful investigation before resorting to harsh measures.”⁴⁰⁶ Article III specifically guaranteed: “The rights and dignities of His Highness the Sultan and his datus shall be fully respected; the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected; and no one shall be prosecuted on account of his religion.”⁴⁰⁷ Since the initial agreement only covered the Moros of the Sulu archipelago, Bates concluded similar agreements with all the Moros on Mindanao, with the exception of those around Lake

⁴⁰⁶ Peter Gordon Gowing, “Appendix B: Agreement Between General John C. Bates, United States Army, and the Sultan of Sulu, Together with certain Sulu Chiefs, Signed At Jolo August 20, 1899,” in *Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1983), 348-349.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Lanao. While President McKinley never submitted the agreements to the Senate for ratification, they served as a general accord between the U.S. Army and the Moros. Although not free from incident, the agreements resulted in a period of relative peace and stability in the region. Breaches of the peace remained localized and restricted to individual Moros, a few rebellious datus, and overzealous army commanders who often exceeded their authority. The agreements governed relations between the United States and the Moros from 1899 to 1904.

The creation of the Moro Province on June 1, 1903 marked a departure from previous attempts by the U.S. Army and the Philippine Commission to deal with the problems in the Department of Mindanao. Prior to its creation, the U.S. Army exercised exclusive control in the area and no civil authority existed. Act No. 787 of the Philippine Commission, the product of a joint collaboration between the civil commission and the Philippines Division, created a combined civil-military government in which the military commander of the region could also serve as the civil governor. The act provided for the structure of the provincial government and empowered the newly created Legislative Council of the Moro Province to create a judicial system, organize public schools, undertake public works, and suppress the slave trade and abolish slavery. The Philippine Commission avoided specificity in how to accomplish these objectives and left much to the discretion of the provincial governor. Root and Roosevelt chose Leonard Wood to lead the first civil-military government.

Wood assumed command of the Moro Province intent on abandoning what he considered the failed policies of his predecessors.⁴⁰⁸ He had no intention of ruling through the Sultan or the local datus, whom he considered responsible for “maintaining a state of affairs marked by licentiousness, murder, robbery, slavery, piracy and kidnapping, a condition far exceeding in its crimes any which has before come under American control.”⁴⁰⁹ His actions following his arrival in the province made it clear to the Moros that he did not feel bound by the terms of the Bates Agreement. In direct defiance of the agreement, he dispatched numerous, heavily armed reconnaissance patrols without the accustomed notification of local datus required by Article XII. On August 26, 1903, just twenty days after arriving in the province, he marched a column of troops numbering 550 men and officers to the residence of Sultan Jamal-ul Kiram II and commandeered a local structure near the royal residence as his personal headquarters.⁴¹⁰ Since the sultan had recently left the island, Wood sent for his brother, the Rajah Muda, who ruled in his absence. When the Rajah Muda declined the invitation due to illness, Wood sent Scott, a doctor, and an armed escort of one hundred men to the royal palace to investigate. After humiliating the acting sultan in front of his harem, Scott brought him to see Wood at the military encampment. The whole incident not only violated the “rights and dignities” guaranteed the sultan and his datus in Article III but also violated Article IV which promised that “encroachment will not be made upon the lands immediately about the residence of His Highness the Sultan, unless military necessity

⁴⁰⁸ Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 20 September 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

⁴⁰⁹ Leonard Wood to William H. Taft, 7 October 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

⁴¹⁰ Leonard Wood Diary, 26 August 1903, Box 3, Wood Papers.

requires such occupation in case of war with a foreign power.”⁴¹¹ Wood clearly did not feel bound by an agreement concluded by his predecessors and still sanctioned by the U.S. Army and the President.

Wood decided even before he had a chance to assess the situation on the ground that the Bates Agreement no longer served American interests in the region – if it ever had. To pave the way for uniform governance under his authority, he encouraged his superiors to abrogate the agreement. He personally lobbied Taft, Root and Roosevelt to that end. In December 1903, he submitted a fifty-four page report to the Philippine Commission recommending the same action.⁴¹² The first two pages summarized the arguments against the agreement. The remaining fifty-two pages purported to provide evidence, in the form excerpts from official reports and interviews with individual Moros, that the Moros had failed to honor the agreement from the start. Wood chose not to mention his own violations of the agreement or those of the U.S. Army. In the spring of 1904, the Roosevelt administration authorized abrogation. Wood informed the sultan on March 21, 1904.

The nullification of the agreements moved Wood one step closer to his ultimate goal of abolishing the datu system of governance and replacing it with the direct American rule. Wood did not expect the Moros to acquiesce to the new system without a fight and his gunpoint diplomacy seemed designed to provoke Moro opposition and provide rationale for a military response. He expected that a quick, severe lesson

⁴¹¹ Gowing, “Appendix B,” in *Mandate in Moroland*, 348-349.

⁴¹² “Report of General Wood as to Abrogation Bates Treaty,” 16 December 1903, 58th Cong., 2d, sess., H. Docs., vol. 5, Exhibit T, 489-542.

demonstrating the prowess of the U.S. Army would quickly bring all the Moros into line.⁴¹³ He wrote to Roosevelt: “I think one clean-cut lesson will be quite sufficient for them but it should be of such character as not to need a dozen frittering repetitions.”⁴¹⁴ Wood proved correct in his assumption that the Moros would fight but he grossly underestimated the extent and duration of the resistance.⁴¹⁵ Ultimately, Wood launched not one but sixty-seven military expeditions during his tenure as departmental commander. The quick decisive blow simply did not work.

Previous biographers, confronted with Wood’s overt aggression in the Moro Province and his tendency to rely on a military rather than administrative solutions, have sought to reconcile that aggression with his relatively peaceful administration of Cuba. Most have considered the battle over his confirmation, which coincided with the onset of new assignment, the pivot in Wood’s imperial career and the key to understanding his conduct in the Moro Province. Jack Lane argued that the Congressional hearings made Wood “extremely sensitive to the charges of military inexperience. In Mindanao he found an answer: he could conduct military expeditions against the Moros and thereby allay the charges once and for all.”⁴¹⁶ According to Lane, Wood used any excuse to launch operations against the Moros in order to build a military reputation and thus refute his critics. Jack McCallum, writing almost thirty years later, agreed with the

⁴¹³ “Report of the Secretary of War,” 7 December 1903, 58th Cong., 2d sess., H. Docs., vol. 1, 35-36; and “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 58th Cong., 3rd sess., H. Docs., vol. 12, pt. 2, 574.

⁴¹⁴ Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 3 August 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers. He expressed similar sentiments to Secretary of War Root. Leonard Wood to Elihu Root, 3 August 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

⁴¹⁵ Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 28 July 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

⁴¹⁶ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 126.

significance of the confirmation hearings. “Wood emerged from the confirmation hearings a different man. In Cuba he had been a model administrator, but a year of vicious attacks on his record and his character left him cynical and bitter. If vilification was the reward for his Cuban performance, there was no reason to reproduce that performance in the Philippines. Leonard Wood, the most adroit colonial administrator America had ever had, went to Zambonga in the Moro province as governor, major general, policeman, and enforcer, but not as nation builder.”⁴¹⁷ Although the confirmation battle undoubtedly impacted Wood, the policies he pursued were not simply an attempt to build a military reputation or the product of cynicism. Instead, they reflected longstanding issues of personal character and a prejudice against those who did not share his values. He went to the Moro Province as a nation builder but the nation he sought to build had little room for what he considered the barbaric Moros and their practices.

Wood held the Moros and their leadership in contempt. Even before he met the sultan, Wood described him to Roosevelt as “a run down, tricky little Oriental degenerate, with half a dozen wives and no children; a state of affairs of which I am sure you thoroughly disapprove.”⁴¹⁸ He urged repeal of the Bates agreement because he felt it sanctioned the sultan and the datu system and thus “stands in the way of the establishment of a good government, inasmuch as it recognizes the authority of a class of men whom we have found to be corrupt, licentious, and cruel; men whose authority, as a matter of fact, is exercised, not through just laws, but through the power of slavery and

⁴¹⁷ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 212.

⁴¹⁸ Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 20 September 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

peonage; through power resulting in the indulgence of unbridled lusts, robbery, forcible seizure of property, etc.”⁴¹⁹ Wood wanted to eventually abolish the datu system and to place the average Moro, whom he considered “semi-savage,” under the control of a patriarchal government led by the civil governor.⁴²⁰ He had determined, that by necessity, his civil administration would have to build a new Moro society on progressive principles as it deconstructed its traditional institutions.

The lack of a significant check upon his authority and actions proved a significant problem as well. Wood suffered throughout his career from an overabundance of self-confidence and a domineering personality. Once he had decided on a course of action, he rarely wavered from that course even when it led to insubordination toward a commanding officer or even a president. In Cuba he had clashed with Henry Lawton in Santiago and John Brooke in Havana. In the Philippines he would eventually clash with Secretary of War Taft and even President Roosevelt. Secretary of War Elihu Root proved the only person who could consistently keep the general in line. During Wood’s tenure as military governor of Cuba, Root had kept a tight rein upon Wood and his actions. Wood reported directly to the Secretary who expected to be informed of all developments in the island. On certain high-level policies, Root dictated to Wood the proper course of action and made sure that he held that course. On numerous occasions he called the general to account for his actions and overruled decisions he had made. The close proximity of Cuba to the United States, the openness of its society, and the existence of an independent press on the island assisted

⁴¹⁹ “Report of General Wood as to Abrogation Bates Treaty,” 16 December 1903, 489.

⁴²⁰ Leonard Wood to William Taft, 7 October 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

in these efforts by allowing Root to keep independent tabs on Wood. The official correspondence between the two men is replete with instances of Root raising issues or calling Wood to account for actions that the governor would have rather left alone.

Assignment to the Moro Province removed Wood from direct oversight and buried him in a bureaucracy where he easily carved out an independent fiefdom. As the civil governor and military commander, he reported to the larger civil and military bureaucracy governing the Philippines. The Moro Province was just one of thirty-nine provinces reporting to the Philippine Commission. The Department of Mindanao existed as one of three departments – Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao - which ultimately made up the Division of the Philippines under the command of a major general. Wood reported to the Philippine Commission, the Governor General of the Philippines who led the commission, and to the military commander of the Division of the Philippines. Rather than receiving the scrutiny needed, his reports simply became part, sometimes just an appendix, to the larger reports of the Philippine Commission and the Division of the Philippines.

Wood's dual role as civil governor and military commander contributed to the lack of accountability. In other provinces the civil governor had to make a formal written request for American troops and certify that the problem exceeded the capacity of the civilian-controlled Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts to handle. The military commander then had to concur and both develop a plan of action. The civilian and military leadership in Manila then had to approve the request and the plan in consultation with one another. Since Wood served as both civil and military commander

in the province, a potential check on his authority and judgment did not exist. Civilian leadership in Manila largely considered the Moro Province a military problem and abandoned any attempt at oversight. The three general officers who commanded the Philippines Division during Wood's tenure in Mindanao did little better. All were senior officers on their way to retirement and they often served as a rubber stamp for the younger, politically connected, general. Even when Wood violated standing orders by launching military expeditions without prior approval, he received permission after the fact. The geographic isolation of the province and the lack of a robust free press meant that the reports submitted by Wood and his subordinates served as the only reliable source of information. In some cases, as with the military action on Bud Dajo, Wood used his control of the cable service to censure and delay press reports that contradicted his own narrative.

The potential for oversight from the War Department weakened even further when Elihu Root resigned as Secretary of War on January 31, 1904. William Howard Taft, former Governor General of the Philippines, replaced Root. Although Wood had served for a few months under Taft, the two had a tenuous relationship at best. Governor Taft had resented comparisons in the press between his work in the Philippines and the work of Wood in Cuba. He had written directly to Root in January 1903 to question the wisdom of sending Wood to the Philippines. When Roosevelt decided to send Wood to the Moro Province, the President wrote to assure Taft that Wood respected him and would respect his authority as governor.⁴²¹ Wood went out of his way to meet

⁴²¹ Theodore Roosevelt to William Taft, 25 February 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

with Taft in Manila and reassure both him and the President “that the co-operation between military and civil authorities will be cordial and sincere so far, at least, as I am concerned.”⁴²² Although the working relationship between Wood and Taft remained cordial, the two never developed the partnership that work so well between Wood and Root in Cuba.

The Civil Administration

In the civil administration of the Moro Province, Wood sought to replicate the success he had in Cuba by adopting the same progressive agenda and pursuing the same administrative policy areas as in his previous command. He failed to recognize that the Moro Province differed significantly from Cuba and lacked the three most important factors that lent to success in the former command – municipal governments, financial resources, and a certain degree of urbanization. Municipal government in Cuba served as the foundation for the unitary state Wood set out to create and provided the local structure needed to make his progressive agenda a success. The Moro Province had few municipalities. The progressive agenda and the civil programs it spawned were highly expensive and only possible in Cuba due to the substantial revenue generated by the customs service. The Moro Province had few ports, almost no international trade, and thus very little customs revenue. Urbanization lent itself to progressive reforms and to the administrative policy areas pursued by Wood. In Cuba the administration targeted municipal areas for extensive programs in public works, public education, and economic

⁴²² Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 3 August 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

development. These programs made little sense in the predominately rural areas of the Moro Province.

Act No. 787 of the Philippine Commission created the basic outline for the civil government of the Moro Province. It authorized the civil governor of the Philippines, with the consent of the commission, to appoint a governor, attorney, secretary, treasurer, superintendent of schools, and engineer for the province. The governor and the other five appointees constituted the Legislative Council of the Moro Province and bore responsibility for developing the government of the province and subsequent districts, creating a judicial system to govern the various tribes, organizing a system of public schools, undertaking public works, and abolishing slavery and the slave trade.⁴²³ After his arrival in Manila, Wood spent the better part of two weeks in consultation with Governor Taft about the structure of the new government and candidates for the various positions on the council. Wood reserved the right to appoint, with the approval of the commission, the military members of the Legislative Council. He left the appointment of the three civil members of the council – attorney, treasurer, and superintendent of schools – entirely up to Taft. The Legislative Council of the Moro Province met for the first time on September 2, 1903.

The Philippine Commission divided the Moro Province into five districts upon its inception: Zamboanga, Sulu, Cottabato, Davao, and Lanao. Mindanao encompassed all the districts with the exception of Sulu, which included all of the Sulu chain and had its headquarters on Jolo. The Governor of the Moro Province, with the consent of the

⁴²³ “Report of the Philippine Commission,” 1904, 58th Cong., 3d sess., H. Docs., vol. 11, 8-10.

Legislative Council, appointed a governor, secretary, and treasurer for each of the districts. The governor of each district served as the chief executive of the district and implemented the instructions and orders of the provincial government. Wood appointed army officers as governors to command each district. Colonel Hugh Scott, a trusted aide to Wood, took charge of the Sulu district, which many considered the most volatile. He was the only district governor to also command the troops stationed in his district.

Wood spent the first few months establishing the provincial and district governments outlined by the Philippine Commission. After he had completed the organization of the districts, he turned his attention to the municipalities. In his administration of Cuba, Wood had regarded the municipalities as the key to revitalizing Cuban society and the foundation of a stable insular government. Although in need of reform and supervision, the municipal governments in Cuba played a large role in everything from the establishment of public schools and the implementation of public works to improvements in public health and the judicial system. The problem in Cuba had been too many municipalities and Wood had had to consolidate from 128 to 82 municipal governments. In the Moro Province, he inherited no organized municipalities and during his entire governorship could only organize fifteen municipal districts: Siassi, Cagaya de Sulu, Jolo, Zamboanga, Dapitan, Iligan, Malabang, Cottabato, Davao, Mati, Makar, Baganga, Caraga, and Cateel, and Parang.⁴²⁴ Even some of these only existed on paper “for want of suitable personnel to assume charge of affairs.”⁴²⁵ Most of

⁴²⁴ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 575; and “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 59th Cong., 2d sess. H. Docs., vol. 7, pt. 1, 359.

⁴²⁵ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 575.

these municipalities existed in the predominately Christian areas, which meant that the municipality, the beachhead of the progressive agenda, did not extend significantly into Moro territory.

Since most of the population lived outside of the municipal areas, Wood created tribal wards “to provide for the government and control of the Moro and other uncivilized peoples” throughout the province. Act No. 39 of the Legislative Council of the Moro Province authorized the district governors, in consultation with the provincial governor, to create tribal wards consisting of one tribe or related tribes and then to appoint a headman from among the tribal *datus* to oversee the tribal ward.⁴²⁶ Like the district governor, the headman acted as the chief executive of the tribal ward. He implemented the laws and instructions of the civil government and generally served as an extension of the American government into the tribes. He could, with the approval of the district governor, divide the tribal ward further into districts and appoint deputies from among the other *datus*. The headman received an annual salary of between 240 to 1800 pesos (hereafter \$P). His deputies received an annual salary of between \$P96 to \$P600.⁴²⁷ In the long run, the incorporation of the *datus* into the American system, their use as agents of imperial governance, and the loss of their independent authority, undermined the *datu* system even as the Americans sought to use.

Wood considered the decline in the status and authority of the *datu* a positive accomplishment. He viewed the tribal ward system a temporary expedient at best. He hoped that as the municipalities grew the members of the tribe would abandon the tribal

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 633-638.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

system to become “full citizens of the municipality.”⁴²⁸ He encouraged district governors and other officials to induce the tribes to settle into villages and adopt an agrarian lifestyle. The establishment of villages made it easier to extend the benefits of American rule – public education, law and order, etc. – to the people. Initially Wood organized the municipalities created in Act No. 21 of the Legislative Council along the lines prescribed by Philippine Commission Act No. 82 but the dual system of municipalities and tribal wards forced a revision. In Act No. 35 of the Legislative Council, Wood modified the municipal code then in effect to recognize and incorporate the tribal system and other circumstances unique to the Moro Province. Act No. 35, enacted on February 9, 1904, became the municipal code of the province.⁴²⁹ Act No. 787 called for the “creation of local governments among the Moros and other non-Christian tribes, conforming as nearly as possible to the lawful customs of such peoples, and vesting in their local or tribe rues as nearly as possible the same authority over their people as they now exercise.”⁴³⁰ Wood ignored the mandate and organized his local governments as close as possible to the model existing in the rest of the Philippines.

Act No. 787 also called for the recognition of tribal distinctions and a due reference to the “customary laws” of the Moros and pagan tribes when the civil government established a legal and judicial system for the province.⁴³¹ In effect the initial plan was to govern the Moro Province according to several different legal

⁴²⁸ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 575.

⁴²⁹ “Legislative Acts enacted by the Legislative Council of the Moro Province, 1903-1906,” Box 216, Wood Papers.

⁴³⁰ War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Philippine Commission, *Acts of the Philippine Commission: Acts Nos. 425-949, inclusive* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), Section 13h, 551.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, Section 13j, 552.

systems. Christian Filipinos on the coast, mostly living in the municipalities, came under the civil and criminal code propagated by the Philippine Commission throughout the Philippines. Cases involving the pagan tribes of the interior and the Moro tribes would be dealt with under individual tribal law. A separate set of provisions would govern cases between tribes or between the Filipinos and the tribes.⁴³²

The Philippine Commission ordered, through a provision in Act No. 787, the collection and codification of Moro laws as a basis for the development of a distinct civil and criminal code for the Moros. Dr. Najjeb M. Saleeby, the provincial superintendent of schools and an Arab familiar with the Moro language, undertook the study and codification of those laws shortly after the creation of the province. While allowing Saleeby to proceed, Wood had already determined by October 1903 that “no native laws worthy of the name” existed.⁴³³ “What is wanted in the way of new laws and procedure,” Wood told Taft, “is not a codification of existing Moro laws, but the putting in force of a simple system of procedure to enforce such simple code of laws as may with advantage, now, be put in force, and this code should bear a general resemblance to the present Philippine code, so that as time goes on it will become one with it.”⁴³⁴ Not surprisingly, when Saleeby completed the project, Wood concluded in his annual report that “nothing has been found worthy of codification or imitation, and little or nothing

⁴³² “Report of the Philippine Commission,” 1904, vol. 11, 9; and “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 584-585.

⁴³³ Leonard Wood to William Taft, 7 October 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

which does not exist in better form wherever humane, decent, and civilized laws are in force.”⁴³⁵ The civil authorities in Manila echoed Wood’s findings.⁴³⁶

Subsequent legislations by the Legislative Council placed the entire province under the general system of laws in effect throughout the Philippines with some minor modifications to suit local conditions.⁴³⁷ The government eventually adopted a judicial system which included two courts of first instance, justice of the peace courts, and municipal courts.⁴³⁸ Although authorization existed for tribal courts to deal with strictly tribal matters, Wood never implemented the tribal courts because he did not trust the *datus* to govern impartially. Nor did he trust them to act as officers of the court. Instead, he relied upon army officers and district governors to serve as local justices of the peace.⁴³⁹ In the course of his judicial reform, Wood nullified traditional Moro law and usurped the authority of the *datus* to govern their people. In short, Wood imposed a strictly military government on the Moros in direct defiance of Act No. 787.

Financing the Civil Government

As he had in Cuba, Wood enjoyed great discretion in how he spent the revenues collected by the civil government of the Moro Province. As long as projected expenses stayed within provincial revenue, and the provincial treasurer could certify as much, Wood could freely pursue the same progressive ends as he had in Cuba. If possible, the

⁴³⁵ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 577.

⁴³⁶ “Report of the Philippine Commission,” 1904, vol. 11, 13.

⁴³⁷ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 59th Cong., 1st sess., H. Docs., vol. 10, pt. 1, 327.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 348.

potential scope of the progressive agenda appeared even more limitless in the Moro Province as, by any measurement, it lagged behind Cuba in every one of the five major administrative policy areas pursued by Wood in his previous command: sanitation and public health, public works, economic development, education, and law and order. In most of these administrative areas, public policy simply did not exist. Or, if it did exist, did not extend beyond the coastal towns. The need and the potential for development appeared immense. Yet, the financial resources did not exist as they had in Cuba.

Scarcity of revenue proved one of the largest prohibiting factors upon Wood and the civil government. For the first fiscal year, the Moro Province lived hand to mouth as it gathered customs revenue and internal taxation for the first time.⁴⁴⁰ During that time Wood kept a tight rein on expenditures as no financial reserve existed and expectations on monthly revenue remained untested. The initial frugality paid off as the government started the next fiscal with a reserve of \$P472,980 in the treasury.⁴⁴¹ For the roughly three fiscal years Wood oversaw the Moro Province, from July 1, 1903 to June 30, 1906, the provincial civil government received \$P1,721,643 in revenue and spent \$P1,642,930, or 95 percent of revenue.⁴⁴² When Tasker Bliss succeeded Wood as civil governor, the treasury of the Moro Province held \$P78,714.⁴⁴³ The amount would have been \$P8,638, if all the liabilities contracted by the province during the 1906 fiscal year, amounting to

⁴⁴⁰ The fiscal year for the War Department started on July 1 and ended on June 31 of the following year. The first fiscal year of Wood's civil governorship was the 1904 fiscal year which lasted from July 1, 1903 to June 31, 1904.

⁴⁴¹ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 359.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*

about 99 percent of revenue, had come due before June 31, 1906.⁴⁴⁴ Governor Bliss felt uncomfortable with the level of spending as compared to revenue and immediately moved to curtail spending and establish a \$P100,000 reserve.⁴⁴⁵

In proportion to revenue, the level of expenditures Wood oversaw in the Moro Province almost matched the level of expenditure by Wood in Cuba. In Cuba he routinely spent more than collected because of an existing reserve in the treasury and the reliability of future customs revenue. In the Moro Province, neither the reserve nor reliable customs revenue existed. The point of discrepancy between Cuba and the Moro Province was not the proportion of revenue expended but the amount of revenue. For the two and a half years Wood oversaw the insular government of Cuba, insular revenue totaled \$44,132,111. Financial resources in the Moro Province amounted to less than 2 percent of what had existed in Cuba. (See Table 7:1)

Table 7:1 Provincial Revenue and Disbursement⁴⁴⁶

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Disbursements</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cash on hand July 1, 1903			0
1904	662,895.05	189,914.55	472,981.50
1905	517,960.62	583,484.35	-65,523.73
1906	540,788.30	869,531.72	-328,743.42
Cash on hand July 1, 1906			78,714.35

The Philippine Commission provided a small amount of funding each year to the general fund of the province. During the three years of Wood's tenure, the Commission

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 360.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 359. All amounts provided in the tables throughout chapter seven are given in the currency of the Philippines.

allocated \$P25,517 for fiscal year 1904, \$P28,053 for fiscal year 1905, and \$P17,861 for fiscal year 1906.⁴⁴⁷ The Commission provided an additional \$P300,000 to the province in fiscal year 1904 but that funding came from the Congressional Relief Fund and had been designated for improvements on the Iligan-Lake Lanao Road. The non-designated funds provided by the Philippine Commission proved insufficient to meet even the basic administrative costs of the provincial government. Wood and the civil government had to depend on customs revenue and internal taxation to fund his progressive agenda.

Customs revenues provided most of the funding for the provincial government. In an attempt to make the province self-sufficient, the Philippine Commission had designated for its financial support the customs revenues from the three principal ports of the province: Jolo, Zamboanga, and Bongao. These three ports, according to estimates by the Philippine Commission, would collect about \$130,000 a year in customs revenues.⁴⁴⁸ By comparison, the military government of Cuba collected \$16,136,523 in customs revenue from sixteen customs houses during the first year of Wood's tenure as governor. During Wood's tenure in the Moro Province, the civil government collected a total of \$P803,882 in customs revenue.⁴⁴⁹ Total customs revenue collected under Wood in Cuba amounted to \$37,568,552, or roughly \$P76,000,000. (See Table 7:2)

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ "Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War," 23 December 1903, 58th Cong, 2d sess, H. Docs., vol. 5, 76.

⁴⁴⁹ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 359.

Table 7:2 Customs Revenue Compared to Total Revenue Collected by the Province⁴⁵⁰

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Customs Total</u>	<u>Revenue Total</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Revenue</u>
1904	222,664.39	337,378.05	65%
1905	262,826.24	489,907.15	54%
1906	318,391.10	522,927.22	61%
Total	803,881.73	1,350,212.42	60%

Wood pursued several initiatives in an attempt to garner more customs revenue for the province. He estimated that three-fifths “of the dutiable articles consumed in the province are imported through the port of Manila and distributed from there to merchants in this province.”⁴⁵¹ Since the articles came through Manila, the importers paid the customs duties due on the articles to the customs house there and not to the ones in the Moro Province. To rectify the situation, Wood sought to bypass Manila and import directly to provincial ports. On March 16, 1905, Wood and the Legislative Council contracted with the China Navigation Company to have at least one of their steamers operating between Hong Kong and Australia stop each way at Zamboanga.⁴⁵² The civil government subsidized the cost for the company by guaranteeing at least \$P1000 for each stop.⁴⁵³ On March 30, 1905, the Legislative Council contracted with the South Philippines Steamship Company to operate the *Borneo*, a ninety-ton steamship, from Zamboanga to various ports in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago at least four times a month. The *Borneo* ensured that goods landed at Zamboanga could

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. Total Revenue figures exclude insular funds provided by the Philippine Commission.

⁴⁵¹ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 580.

⁴⁵² “Legislative Acts enacted by the Legislative Council,” Act No. 125, Box 216, Wood Papers.

⁴⁵³ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 328

reach the other ports of the province. The government paid these costs from the customs revenue. The rise in trade from opening Zamboanga to international shipping increased customs revenue and by 1906 the new revenue more than paid for the expenditure.⁴⁵⁴ During the 1906 fiscal year, the North German Lloyd began operating a steamer between Zamboanga and various Chinese ports. It did so without government subsidies. (See Table 7:3)

Table 7:3 Value of Imports and Exports per Fiscal Year⁴⁵⁵

Fiscal Year	Imports	Exports
1904	696,252.00	317,961.00
1905	746,771.00	385,153.00
1906	-	2,000,000.00

Wood also experimented with opening up customs houses at several other ports within the province. In 1904 he expanded the customs service to include Cotabato and Siassi. He abandoned the ports the next fiscal year because the collections did not exceed operating expense. In fiscal year 1906, he extended the customs service to Jurata and Sitanki but once again operating expense exceeded collections. Even collections at Bongao, one of the principal ports established by the Philippine Commission, failed to exceed operating expenses in 1905 and 1906. Only the primary ports of Zamboanga and Jolo paid for themselves. (See Table 7:4)

⁴⁵⁴ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 377.

⁴⁵⁵ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 334. Provides export and import data for the 1904 and 1905 fiscal years. "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 377. Provides export but not import data for the 1906 fiscal year.

Table 7:4 Customs Revenue Collected at Each Customs House and Expense Entailed⁴⁵⁶

District	Collected 1904	Collected 1905	Expense 1905	Collected 1906	Expense 1906
Zamboanga	77,143.19	109,584.01	17,171.55	178,766.86	16,643.55
Jolo	141,992.77	150,509.68	20,636.19	134,262.39	23,756.90
Bongao	2,406.86	3,088.71	4,172.53	2,913.57	9,496.53
Cotabato	858.12	49.30	476.00	-	-
Siassi	58.48	11.20	450.79	-	-
Jurata	-	-	-	2,228.96	2,671.96
Sitanki	-	-	-	209.32	567.80
Total	222,459.42	263,242.90	42,907.06	318,381.10	53,136.74

Along with the customs revenue, the Philippine Commission designated the proceeds collected from “the internal-revenue tax, the forestry tax, together with the usual municipal and other local forms of taxation” for the support of the province.⁴⁵⁷ Shortly after the organization of the province, Wood and the Legislative Council imposed new internal fees and taxes including: fees for property registration, firearms permits, and shellfishing licenses, industrial and stamp taxes, and an ad valorem tax on land. Municipalities, organized under the provincial government, collected fees associated with the ownership and transfer of cattle, and various local licenses including those on carts, latrines, and fisheries. The provincial civil government collected \$P465,583 in internal taxation for the three fiscal years of Wood’s governorship. (See Table 7:5) The municipal governments collected \$P202,077 through municipal taxation.

⁴⁵⁶ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 335. Provides customs revenue data for fiscal year 1904 and customs revenue and expense data for the 1905 fiscal year. No expense data given for fiscal year 1904. “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 360. Provides customs revenue and expense data for the 1906 fiscal year.

⁴⁵⁷ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 579.

Revenues collected by the municipal governments remained largely in the municipalities. (See Tables 7:6 and 7:7)

Table 7:5 Source of Provincial Revenue for Fiscal Year⁴⁵⁸

Source	1904	1905	1906
Insular Funds	325,517.00	28,053.47	17,861.08
Refunds collected by insular treasurer	0	80,747.24	0
Provincial Revenues	114,713.66	146,333.67	204,536.12
Customs Revenues	222,664.39	262,826.24	318,391.10
Total	662,895.05	517,960.62	540,788.30

Table 7:6 Municipal Revenue for Fiscal Year⁴⁵⁹

District	1904	1905	1906
Zamboanga	-	27,131.11	27,989.84
Cotabato	-	22,131.18	17,010.25
Sulu	-	22,395.50	16,518.00
Lanao	-	14,937.07	29,567.47
Davao	-	10,946.92	13,450.00
Total	-	97,541.78	104,535.56

⁴⁵⁸ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 359.

⁴⁵⁹ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 333. Provides municipal revenue data for fiscal year 1905. "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 359. Provides municipal revenue data for fiscal year 1906. No data given in reports for municipal revenue collected in fiscal year 1904.

Table 7:7 Municipal Revenue and Disbursements⁴⁶⁰

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Disbursements</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cash on hand July 1, 1903			0
Cash on hand July 1, 1904			0
1905	97,541.78	58,048.25	39,493.53
1906	113,137.19	125,455.92	-12,318.73
Cash on hand July 1, 1906			27,174.80

While most of the aforementioned revenue schemes did not affect those living in tribal wards, the civil government imposed a cedula – or head tax – upon all Moros living in the province. Each Moro male between the age of eighteen and fifty-five had to pay one peso to the district government in exchange for a certificate of registration that acted as identification papers for the individuals. The government made the payment of the cedula mandatory and a certificate of registration necessary to transact business with the government or to vote. A military officer or a representative of the civil government could demand to see the certificate of registration at any time following the deadline for compliance. The Spanish had first instituted the cedula but had never been able to force the Moros to pay. Many of the Moros resisted the tax because it “implied a recognition of superior authority” and “a token submission to the government.”⁴⁶¹ Several denounced it on religious grounds as they felt payment acknowledged Christian overlordship. Wood understood the Moro opposition but wanted the money to fund his progressive agenda and thus willingly risked an uprising.

⁴⁶⁰ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 333. Provides data on municipal revenue and disbursements for fiscal year 1905. “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 359. Provides data on municipal revenue and disbursements for fiscal year 1906.

⁴⁶¹ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 347.

As with several other governmental policies, forced compliance with the cedula tax contributed to the military problems in the area.

Economic Development

Wood considered agricultural development the key to increased trade and internal economic growth within the province.⁴⁶² Agricultural development however required access to profitable markets, which the Moro Province simply did not have in 1903. Therefore, Wood had to find or create those markets if he hoped to spur economic activity. On June 14, 1904, he took a large step in that direction with the creation of what became known as the Moro Exchange. Act No. 55 of the Legislative Council appropriated funds from the provincial treasury to build a public market at Zamboanga. Following the completion of the market, the government encouraged Moros and other tribes in the interior to bring their produce to the market where the government then advised the sellers as to the local market price for their goods. The government also provided the seller a place to stay and a secure location to store their goods until they could be sold. According to Wood, these efforts eliminated “the practice so common among the Chinese [merchants] and others of refusing to buy until the native was forced to sell at their price, usually a ruinous one, or carry his produce back to the mountains.”⁴⁶³ The exchange fell under the direct supervision of the district governor and a representative of the district government frequented the exchange to ensure “fair

⁴⁶² “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 350.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 340.

treatment to all concerned.”⁴⁶⁴ Wood reported in 1906 that the exchange had grown “beyond expectation and is transacting a very large amount of business with great satisfaction to the Moros and other non-Christian tribes as well as to the business community of Zamboanga.”⁴⁶⁵ Ultimately, the products flowing into Zamboanga reached an international market when Wood opened the port to international shipping. Hoping to duplicate the success, the government established similar exchanges in the districts of Cotabato and Lanao and, at the time of Wood’s departure, had others planned for Sulu and Davao.⁴⁶⁶

In addition to the Moro Exchange, Wood worked to create a new market for provincial commodities by encouraging the U.S. Army to become a chief buyer of local goods. When Wood assumed command of the military Department of Mindanao, the U.S. Army imported draft, cavalry, and artillery horses, pack animals, and the forage to sustain those animals from the United States. Wood sought to persuade the army to buy local feed supplies rather than incurring the additional shipping charges that raised the cost of the occupation and consumed much of the transportation budget. He set aside a small portion of the military budget each year to conduct experiments to determine the value of native forage for military livestock and to introduce new types of forage into the islands.⁴⁶⁷ He encouraged the army bureaucracy to establish a stock farm in Mindanao to meet the needs of the service and to develop the industries of the island. Although

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1905, 59th Cong., 1st sess., H. Docs., vol. 3, 303.

Wood made the same suggestions in all of his annual reports, the advice fell upon deaf ears while he remained in Mindanao.⁴⁶⁸

From his initial inspection tour, Wood recognized the economic potential of Mindanao, the abundance of natural resources like native timber, and the ability of the region to produce other stable crops that could fuel economic development. He wrote to a supporter in the United States that the “country is healthy; the climate excellent and the land rich and productive. It is difficult to conceive of a better country for the growing of hemp, coconuts, and other tropical products.”⁴⁶⁹ However, as in Cuba, economic development in the region suffered from a scarcity of capital investments. American investors had, up until that time, proven reluctant to invest in the region. Wood blamed the strict laws regarding land ownership, which limited the amount of land individuals and corporations could own. The Philippine Commission and the United States government had enacted these restrictions to prohibit the economic exploitation of the islands by American businesses. Wood considered them extreme and urged the commission to loosen restrictions so that an individual could purchase up to 5,000 acres and corporations up to 20,000 acres.⁴⁷⁰ He further recommended that the homestead allowance for land be increased from 40 acres to 200 acres.⁴⁷¹ Stable crops required lots of land to be profitable and Wood felt the ability to acquire that land would bring in more capital investment.

⁴⁶⁸ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 58th Cong., 3d sess., H. Docs., vol. 3, 273.

⁴⁶⁹ Leonard Wood to D.A. Willey, 29 November 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

⁴⁷⁰ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 356-357.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

To help attract settlers and other investors, the civil government advertised for needed industries and other potential opportunities for enterprising entrepreneurs willing to invest in the province. It established a lending library with information on the Moro Province and the tropics in general. Under Wood's direction, the provincial government even sponsored trips for provincial and district officials to other foreign colonies such as British North Borneo, the Celebes, and the Moluccas.⁴⁷² Wood hoped the trips would bring new ideas about economic development and governance into the province. During his first year in office, Wood sent Captain George T. Langhorne, his aide-de-camp and Provincial Secretary, to Sarawak, Java, and the Federated Malay States to gather data on the political, military, and economic developments of those colonies. Wood made Langhorne's report, as well as all of the other economic data gathered, available to the public.⁴⁷³ Captain John P. Finley, district governor of Zamboanga, opened a commercial museum for "merchants and others seeking investment in the Moro Province, and for the instruction and guidance of natives in gathering jungle produce, searching for minerals, and opening the way for progressive development in various branches of industrial economy."⁴⁷⁴ The efforts soon bore fruit in the District of Davao which, due to the availability of land and the lack of a large Moro population, attracted "a very considerable influx of American and foreign settlers."⁴⁷⁵ Although neither the commission nor the American government had eased land restrictions, these immigrants settled upon public lands, cleared away the jungle, and planted cash crops like coconuts

⁴⁷² "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 330.

⁴⁷³ "Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 1 September 1904, 671-701.

⁴⁷⁴ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 342.

⁴⁷⁵ "Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the Fiscal Year 1905 and Other Stated Periods," 1905, 59th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 10, pt. 1, 85.

and abaca. Wood not only tolerated but actively encouraged these settlers in their violation of Philippine law.

To support agricultural development and to help the natives and new settlers establish local farms, the Moro Province acquired possession of the San Ramon agricultural farm from the insular government in November 1905. Wood planned to maintain the facility as a working farm to train and educate local farmers “in the proper methods of agriculture and illustrates to them the advantages to be gained by the use of improved tools and implements.”⁴⁷⁶ The farm included nurseries that cultivated hemp, cocoanut, cacao, and rubber plants as well as a variety of fruit and other trees. The farm sold the seeds, seedlings, and more mature plants gathered from the nurseries to local planters to assist them in developing their own crops. The proceeds helped to keep the farm self-sufficient and allowed the provincial government to introduce potential new crops to the island.

In addition to liberal land laws, Wood recommended the Commission revise its forestry restrictions and timber rights to allow more harvesting of the valuable native timber. Wood worked with the Secretary of the Interior to simplify the “application of the forestry regulations” in the Moro Province and even accommodated the local forestry representatives with an office in each district government building.⁴⁷⁷ In November 1905 the civil government hired an American forester, a former employee of the U.S. Forest Service and a graduate of the Yale Forest School, to oversee the forestry efforts in

⁴⁷⁶ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 376.

⁴⁷⁷ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 329.

province.⁴⁷⁸ These efforts resulted in an increased amount of timber that could be cut. The government responded by establishing small sawmills and contracting with the natives for lumber. Much of the lumber went to public works projects in the province and to the construction of military encampments.

Public Works

The program of public works Wood pursued in the Moro Province mirrored the one implemented in Cuba but on a smaller scale due to the limited revenue. Once again Wood focused on projects designed to facilitate the civil-military occupation and “the transaction of public business, commerce, and agriculture.”⁴⁷⁹ He placed great emphasis on road construction, municipal improvement projects, and other infrastructure improvements such as harbors and wharfs. The complete lack of almost any existing infrastructure compounded the funding problem because many of the projects involved entirely new construction. In Cuba the military government had at least an existing baseline with which to work and on which to build. Although it often engaged in new construction, the military government of Cuba funded the repair and rehabilitation of existing facilities to serve the needs of the occupation. In the Moro Province few adequate facilities existed prior to the American administration. Those that did exist had fallen into disrepair since the Spanish had evacuated the island following the Spanish American War.

⁴⁷⁸ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 368.

⁴⁷⁹ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 583-584.

The need for new construction at the outset of the civil government placed a heavy burden on the budget at a time when Wood sought to minimize expenditures. In his first civil report, Wood stressed the needs of the province but then cautioned that until revenues improved “road construction must necessarily be very limited and confined to the vicinity of the principal towns” and even the “water systems and extensive municipal public works ... required at Zamboanga, Cottabato, and Iligan ... can only be undertaken gradually.”⁴⁸⁰ By his own admission, the civil government accomplished little in the area of public works during the first year due to the demands in organizing the province, the lack of funding and the need to purchase necessary equipment.⁴⁸¹

Road construction proved particularly challenging as the roadways required constant maintenance to repair the damage done by the tropical climate, inclement weather and the ever encroaching jungle. Wood rejected temporary roads as a waste of money and pushed for permanent ones with accompanying bridges and culverts of masonry construction.⁴⁸² The roads themselves had to be of the Telford macadam type, which required extensive labor and continual upkeep. To meet these demands, Wood adopted the caminero system in which the state employed a man to live along a section of road and to maintain it daily. Wood had seen the caminero system practiced in several of the colonies he visited on the way to the Philippines and he had adopted it to a certain extent in Cuba.⁴⁸³ He considered it “the most effective and cheapest method of

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 584.

⁴⁸³ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 347.

keeping up roads.”⁴⁸⁴ Initial efforts to implement the system in and around Zamboanga proved successful.

Outside the municipalities Wood confined the scope of public works to building a system of wagon roads to connect coastal towns with military encampments in the interior. The most important of these wagon roads included those from Malabang to Camp Vicars and from Iligan to Camp Overton and eventually the Lake Lanao district and Camp Keithley. Wood expended a lot of time and resources on the road from Camp Overton to Camp Keithley. He hoped to eventually turn Camp Keithley into the primary U.S. Army base in the Moro Province and one of the principal bases in the Philippines.⁴⁸⁵ In his first report as military commander of the department, Wood described the location as “one of the most healthful spots in the Philippine Islands, at an elevation of 2,400 feet above the sea, situated on the shores of Lake Lanao, overlooking the oceans, and comparatively near the western shore line of the Philippines; in other words, on the line of ocean traffic from Manila south. Troops can be maintained here in excellent condition and ready for service anywhere that they may be needed.”⁴⁸⁶

Although principally constructed for military usage, Wood diverted civil funds to the project and justified the expenditure as a way to open up the interior of Mindanao to economic development.⁴⁸⁷ He further recommended the construction of a narrow-gauge railroad from Overton to Keithley and applied to the Philippine Commission, the War

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 272.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1906, 59th Cong., 2d sess., H. Docs., vol. 3, 309; and “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 272-273.

Department, and Congress for funding, but, the project never moved beyond the planning stage.

Wood used public works to further economic development of the province by creating job opportunities for the local residents. The civil government hired laborers for the construction and renovation of public buildings, for road construction, and for the various municipal projects. Most of the labor force consisted of unskilled manual laborers and Wood had to look to the ranks of his own occupation force for skilled labor. To increase the economic impact of local projects, Wood purchased as much native material as possible from local suppliers, who contracted with the government to furnish timber, sawed lumber, thatch, crushed stone, and other needed material for the construction of civil projects and military installations. The government then contracted with individual Moros and datos to have the material transported to the job sites.

While the execution of public works projects created employment and other opportunities for the Moro, the completed projects mainly benefited the existing municipalities -usually populated by Christian Filipinos - the civil government, and the U.S. Army. With the exception of interior roads designed primarily to facilitate the military occupation, few public works actually penetrated into the heart of Moro territory. Focused on the municipalities, Wood never adopted rural projects designed to reach the local Moros. In regards to public works, the occupation had a lot of stick and little carrot. (See Tables 7:8 – 7:10)

Table 7:8 Public Works in Zamboanga and Surrounding District for Fiscal Years 1904 to 1906⁴⁸⁸

Reconstruction of the Provincial Building at Zamboanga
 Construction of a new Provincial Building at Zamboanga
 Designed to house all provincial, district, and insular offices as well as a court room
 Reconstruction of the Streets and Roads about Zamboanga
 Construction of a Provincial Jail – “the Calarian Prison” – of concrete and iron
 Repair of Wharves at Zamboanga
 Replacement of wooden pilings and structure with cement and steel construction
 Extension of the wharf at Zamboanga
 Construction and Placement of concrete gutters and curbs in Zamboanga
 Construction of the Moro Exchange
 Construction of an Isolation Corral at Zamboanga
 Construction of two substantial steel girder bridges with concrete abutments in Zamboanga
 Construction of a bridge on the concrete steel method in Zamboanga
 Construction of two wooden bridges Zamboanga
 Road Building in Zamboanga (16 miles)

Table 7:9 Public Works in Jolo and the Surrounding District for Fiscal Years 1904 to 1906⁴⁸⁹

Repair of Wharves at Jolo
 Replacement of wooden pilings and structure with cement and steel construction
 Extension of the existing Wharf at Jolo
 Construction of a new Wharf at Jolo
 Construction of the Asturias and Tullai bridges in Jolo
 Road Building in Jolo
 Improvements on the Jolo-Asturias road
 Construction and installation of street curbs and gutters in town of Jolo

⁴⁸⁸ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 583-584; “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 335-338; and “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 346-347 and 363-364.

⁴⁸⁹ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 583-584; “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 335-338; and “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 346-347 and 363-364.

Table 7:10 Public Works in the Moro Province for Fiscal Years 1904 to 1906⁴⁹⁰

Furnishing and Care for Supplies of All Branches of Government
 Repairs to District and Municipal Buildings at all Principal Towns
 Purchase of Road Building Equipment (traction engine, stone crushers, etc.)
 Construction of School Houses
 At Manicahan, Mati, Davao, Baganga, and Iligan
 Reconstruction of the Suspension Bridge over the Agus River
 Road Building in Davao
 Davao-Beach road completed
 Construction of the Matina bridge at Davao
 Construction of the Santa Cruz telephone line
 Beacons placed on the Rio Grande
 Work on the Iligan-Lake Lanao Road
 Road Construction between Camp Overton and Lake Lanao
 Road Construction between Camp Overton and Iligan
 Partial Construction of five bridges on Overton-Iligan Road
 Partial Construction of four bridges on Overton-Keithley Road
 Construction of a Customs House at Jurata
 Construction of new Barracks for Constabulary at Calaian

Public Education

Wood placed a high value on public education at the primary level and considered it essential to the development of the province. During his three years in Zamboanga, Wood worked with Dr. N.M. Saleeby, the superintendent of schools, to establish a system of public schools under the control of the provincial government. The two faced several obstacles. As in all other policy areas in the province, lack of funds proved the largest hurdle. Wood initially hoped to devote 25 percent of all revenue to the support and extension of public education, however, budgetary restrictions and the needs in other policy areas kept that goal beyond his reach.⁴⁹¹ The small number of municipalities also proved a problem. Outside of the coastal and a few interior towns,

⁴⁹⁰ "Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 1 September 1904, 583-584; "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 335-338; and "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 27 August 1906, 346-347 and 363-364.

⁴⁹¹ "Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 1 September 1904, 581.

most of the population lived scattered as individual families or in small settlements in the interior. The educational model pursued by the occupation government – a centralized schoolhouse and teacher - required a certain degree of urbanization. Under Wood administration, public education extended little beyond the Filipino settlements on the coasts and a few of the larger Moro and native settlements in the interior. Tasker Bliss estimated the population of the province to be 450,000 with a corresponding 30,000 school age children.⁴⁹² Since public school enrollment never exceeded 4,235, most of the Moros and other natives living in the tribal wards remained untouched.

The first year of the civil government witnessed a rapid expansion of public education into the existing municipalities. Wood characterized the provincial schools established during the initial push as “necessarily rather crude affairs, as everything had to be started from the bottom, schoolhouses built or repaired in most places, and children induced to come to school.”⁴⁹³ During that year the civil government established and operated fifty-two public schools in forty-nine separate facilities.⁴⁹⁴ The lack of educational facilities throughout the province proved a problem and the government resorted to using abandoned municipal buildings and privately owned facilities as schools. As time and funding permitted, the civil government slowly began to build independent facilities operated by the province.

To staff the facilities and teach the children, the civil government hired a mixture of American and predominantly Filipino Christian teachers. Teachers from the United

⁴⁹² “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 373.

⁴⁹³ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 582.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

States fell under the civil service laws enacted by the Philippine Commission and required a salary of \$P200 a month. In contrast, native teachers came cheaper at a yearly salary of between \$P180 and \$P600. The high cost of American teachers limited the number the province could employ. The number of American teachers never exceed one-third of the total number of teachers contracted by the province during Wood's tenure. He felt it imperative to train the Filipino teachers in English and to improve their teaching methods.⁴⁹⁵ In 1905 the civil government conducted a normal school to train native teachers in Zamboanga, during January and February, and in Davao in April. Dr. Saleeby organized Saturday teacher's classes and instructed all the American teachers serving outside of Zamboanga "to give their native assistants daily and regular instruction in all branches they are expected to teach."⁴⁹⁶

In Cuba Wood had refused to hire American teachers because he thought it unwise to flood "the Island with American teachers ignorant of the language and customs of the people, and foreign in religion and sentiment" since to do so would lead to charges that "the United States wished to Americanize the children."⁴⁹⁷ He had no such qualms in the Moro Province. In fact, from the outset of his administration, Wood actively sought to use the schools as an Americanizing force to reform the province and the residents therein. He began by making English "the principal study ... wherever it is possible to obtain teachers who have a sufficient knowledge of the language to instruct

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 583.

⁴⁹⁶ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 339.

⁴⁹⁷ "Civil Report of Brigadier General Leonard Wood, USA, Military Governor of Cuba," 5 July 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 1, pt. 1, 17-18.

in it.”⁴⁹⁸ Wood planned for English to become “the main language and the medium of transacting all official and most business affairs in the comparatively near future.”⁴⁹⁹ He rejected Spanish because the natives had never adopted it as the common language. Not surprisingly, he regarded the native dialects as “limited and crude and is not believed to present any features of value or interest other than as a type of savage tongue.”⁵⁰⁰ He considered their preservation “unwise.”⁵⁰¹

In subsequent years, Dr. Saleeby mitigated Wood’s drive to repress the native dialects. During the 1904-1905 school year, Saleeby wrote and the province published two Moro readers in the dialects common to Sulu and Maguindanao. The following year, the civil government furnished the schools serving the Moro population with textbooks printed in Arabic “in order that they may learn to read and write their own tongue.”⁵⁰² Saleeby believed that learning Arabic would not only improve Moro literacy but allow them to pursue their own cultural and literary heritage. It is unclear whether these publications and their use by the civil government represented a change in Wood’s view of the native dialects or whether he simply considered them an expedient along the way to his original goal of English as the common language.

Rather than a continued expansion of the school system after the first year, Wood worked to improve the existing structure. By the end of the 1904-1905 school year, the government saw “encouraging signs of progress, the general evidence of which are uniform and well-adapted course of instruction, the establishment of several

⁴⁹⁸ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 582.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰² “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 346.

additional primary schools, one secondary and one trade school, a marked increase in enrollment, more efficiency in the teaching force, and the construction of several new buildings.”⁵⁰³ Since Wood wanted the system of education under provincial and not municipal control, the construction of new schools allowed the government to rely less on municipal facilities. Zamboanga became the center of the provincial system of public education and Wood located both a secondary school and a manual training school (trade school) there.

It is believed that this type of school [manual training school] should be encouraged to the greatest possible extent. Too many boys are attending school with the idea earning their living by some other means than manual labor. Few of them have any idea of becoming skilled artisans or agriculturalists. The country is exceedingly rich, but undeveloped. Opportunities in agriculture and some of the mechanical arts are very great, whereas in the professions and the clerical branches they are exceedingly limited. Every effort should be made to impress upon the Filipino youth that his greatest opportunity lies in the development of the resources of his country; the policy of public education should be to prepare him to the greatest possible extent for this work.⁵⁰⁴

The manual training school reflected Wood’s conviction that economic growth in the province depended upon agricultural development. Opportunities for native Filipinos and Moros, at least in Wood’s mind, were limited in the American empire. (See Table 7:11)

⁵⁰³ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 338.

⁵⁰⁴ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 346.

Table 7:11 Statistics on Public Education⁵⁰⁵

	1904	1905	1906
Public Schools in Operation	52	-	67
American Teachers	15	27	27
Native Teachers (non-Moro)	50	58	56
Moro Teachers	9	6	11
Total Enrollment	2,114	3,617	4,235
Actual Attendance	1,582	3,100	-
Average Attendance			2,021
Moro Children in Attendance	240	-	570
Bagobos Children in Attendance	-	-	79

Unlike the system adopted in Cuba, public education in the Moro Province did not extend beyond secondary education and, in most cases, not beyond primary education. The only attempt made at higher education in the province was a plan proposed by Wood to build a school to train civil servants and teachers for the province. He planned to bring two to three hundred children between the ages of ten and fourteen, representing all areas of the province, to Zamboanga “for the purpose of putting them at school under first-class supervision and giving them a course of about six years, which will include primary school, manual training, and, for those who show capacity, normal training; the children to be returned to their homes for vacation at regular intervals. If this can be carried out, and it is believed it can, it will give the province a large number of well-trained natives as assistants in the various departments of the government and especially as teachers among their own people.”⁵⁰⁶ Although the civil service academy remained only on paper, Wood believed it viable because the future of the Philippines

⁵⁰⁵ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 581-583; “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 338-339; and “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 345-346 and 373-376.

⁵⁰⁶ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 583.

and the Moro Province lay with the United States and its larger world empire. His system of public education reflected that belief.

Public Health

The policy areas pursued by the civil government least resembled those of Cuba in the area of public health. No civil hospitals or department of charities existed in the province. Nor did Wood attempt to create any. Public health policy consisted of the provincial government purchasing supplies, medicines, and vaccinations which the military hospitals and army doctors then dispensed to the general population. The civil government did not even provide for the establishment of provincial, district, and municipal boards of health until March 29, 1905, almost two years after the creation of the civil administration.⁵⁰⁷ The primary reason for so small an effort ironically stemmed from the knowledge gained in Cuba. The discovery that mosquitoes carried yellow fever brought an end to many of the extensive and expensive sanitation programs previously undertaken by the army. Instead, troops learned to use mosquito bars and to boil water prior to drinking. Wood claimed that these two efforts alone kept the army healthy in the field. The fact that only a few municipalities existed and that the U.S. Army often resided in isolated reservations, even when in the vicinity of a municipality, also helped to minimize the cost.

⁵⁰⁷ "Legislative Acts enacted by the Legislative Council," Act No. 110, Box 216, Wood Papers.

Table 7:12 Expenditures per Appropriation for Fiscal Year 1904 in pesos⁵⁰⁸

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>Amount Expended</u>	<u>Percentage of Provincial Revenue</u>
Government of the Moro Province	62,077.56	18.4
Governor's Office	(5,060.67)	1.5
Secretary's Office	(11,470.85)	3.4
Treasurer's Office	(13,157.74)	3.9
Attorney's Office	(9,446.59)	2.8
Engineer's Office	(11,133.48)	3.3
Superintendent of School's Office	(11,808.23)	3.5
District Governments	45,546.04	13.5
Public Education	45,546.04	13.5
Public Works	21,929.57	6.5
Customs Expenses	54,317.87	16.1
Financial Reserve	107,960.97	32
Total	337,378.05	100

⁵⁰⁸ "Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 1 September 1904, 579-580.

Table 7:13 Expenditures per Appropriation for Fiscal Year 1905 in pesos⁵⁰⁹

Executive Offices (provincial and district governors and secretary)		60,564.01
Treasury		
Office of Provincial Treasurer	13,534.53	
All Offices, District Treasurers	<u>25,657.50</u>	
		39,192.03
Public Works and supplies		
Office of Provincial Engineer	11,819.99	
Construction, Repair, Supplies	<u>249,562.30</u>	
		261,382.29
Judiciary		
Office Attorney Moro Province and Assistant	11,946.56	
Other Expenses	<u>10,827.92</u>	
		22,774.48
Schools		
Office Superintendent	12,302.61	
Salaries, Rents, Supplies, Misc.	<u>102,644.95</u>	
		114,947.56
Health		3,553.70
Guaranties and Subsidies – Steamships		6,993.13
Bates Treaty Subsidies		19,402.00
Collecting Customs		52,409.40
Total		581,218.60

Table 7:14 Expenditures per Appropriation for Fiscal Year 1906 in pesos⁵¹⁰

<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>Amount Expended</u>	<u>Percentage of Provincial Revenue</u>
Administration	59,090.78	11.3
Public Works, Economic Development and Agricultural Development	263,032.39	50.3
Public Education	111,906.43	21.4
Financial Reserve	88,897.62	17
Total	522,927.22	100

⁵⁰⁹ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 22 September 1905, 348.

⁵¹⁰ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 361.

Conclusion

In his governance of the Moro Province, Leonard Wood moved well beyond the role of simply an executor of imperial policy. Emboldened by a weak command structure and empowered by his dual role as civil-military leader, Wood determined and implemented American imperial policy for the province. Shortly after his arrival, he dispelled four years of diplomacy and relative stability by violating the Bates Agreement and marching against the sultan and the datus in a blatant attempt at intimidation. He then advocated the president repeal the agreement he violated and reverse course to allow direct American control of the Moros. In establishing the civil administration, Wood ignored the instructions contained in Act No. 787 of the Philippine Commission and substituted his own policy – guided by a mixture of prejudice and prior experience. He even went so far as to ignore and then violate laws passed by the U.S. Congress regarding public lands and standing orders issued by the War Department regarding the conduct of military operations. Rather than a civil servant implementing imperial policy developed in Washington D.C., Wood dictated imperial policy in the Moro Province free from accountability.

During his tenure in the province, Wood created a functional civil administration, brought a degree of economic development to the region, and extended American control throughout the entire province. He also saddled the new provincial government with an expensive progressive agenda that primarily benefited the few municipalities in existence and ignored the predominately rural population of Moros and pagan tribesmen. Along the way he managed to undermine the stability of datu rule and

embitter most Moros to American rule. His actions created regional problems that still exist and had large implications for imperial defense at the time.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPERIAL DEFENSE IN THE PHILIPPINES

While Wood labored to build a civil government in the Moro Province, he simultaneously dealt with issues of imperial defense as the commanding general of the Department of Mindanao. The two were not unrelated enterprises. The creation of a civil government and the exercise of a civil administration depended upon the ability of that government to impose its will upon the populace and insure their compliance. Wood understood that the Moros would not consent willingly to his version of American rule. He knew, perhaps even hoped, they would resist attempts to undermine their traditional leadership, to change their culture through Americanization, and to force alterations in their religious practices. To enforce compliance to his civil policies, he relied almost exclusively on the U.S. Army as the instrument of law and order outside of the municipalities.

Wood's promotion to Commanding General of the Philippines Division on February 1, 1906, did not significantly alter his basic mission but it did broaden the scope of his work and the contingencies he faced. In the Department of Mindanao, the largest threat to the American empire came from internal resistance to American rule. As head of the Philippines Division, Wood continued to struggle with instances of native resistance but he also had to contend with larger issues of imperial policy in the region and possible military threats from other conventional powers. Since Roosevelt had promised the promotion in 1903, Wood had given serious thought to the military policy

and organization he would pursue in command of the division while he served as a departmental commander. Once in Manila he adapted key elements of the program developed in Mindanao to the larger command.

The Department of Mindanao

Wood came to the Moro Province intent on extending American control and the benefits of progressive rule to the Moros. He expected a certain degree of armed opposition at first but believed the Moros would eventually recognize the futility of resistance and come to accept the blessing of American tutelage. Instead armed opposition continued throughout his entire tenure and the Moros never seemed to learn the lesson Wood strove to teach them. Nor did they accept his progressive vision for their society or their homeland. He responded to their continued opposition by simply repeating the same lesson – the battlefield superiority of the U.S. Army – and pressing the progressive reforms. When queried by superiors about the lack of progress and continued Moro resistance he offered various excuses. What Wood failed to realize was the all encompassing role of religion in the life of the Moro, which meant that almost all political and cultural issues were religious issues.⁵¹¹

Prior commanders in the department had pursued “a policy of conciliation.”⁵¹² They left local government to the datu, quietly suppressed the slave trade while blurring the issue of existing slaves, and responded to attacks upon American soldiers as a matter

⁵¹¹ Robert A. Fulton, *Moroland: The History of Uncle Sam and the Moros, 1899-1920* (Bend, OR: Tumalo Creek Press, 2009), 35. Fulton defined the term as Islamism, “the political role of Islam in everyday life.”

⁵¹² Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 37.

of law enforcement rather than a full-scale military problem. Brigadier General Samuel S. Sumner, whom Wood replaced, understood the inherent dangers involved in tampering with Moro society. In his annual report for 1903, he cautioned against any such an attempt.

If it is contemplated to change the customs and habits of these people and bring them to an intelligent understanding and appreciation of our methods of government, it will be necessary to eradicate about all the customs that have heretofore governed their habits of life. They are essentially different people from us in thought, word, and action, and their religion will be a serious bar to any efforts toward Christian civilization. So long as Mohammedanism prevails Anglo-Saxon civilization will make slow headway.⁵¹³

Sumner understood the centrality of Islam to the Moro world. Wood, who dismissed most of what his predecessors did, considered “all the talk which I have heard ... about Moro laws, fixed customs, strong prejudices, etc. etc., is for the greater part, rubbish.”⁵¹⁴ His dismissal of lessons learned in the previous four years created many of the problems he faced.

Many of his initial problems came from his failure to understand the datu system and the religious underpinnings of leadership in Moro society. In a letter to John St. Loe Strachey, editor of *The Spectator*, Wood dismissed the British reliance on native leadership: “You are quite content to maintain Rajahs and sultans and other species of royalty, but we, with our plain ideas of doing things, find these gentlemen outside of our scheme of Government, and so have to start at this kind of a proposition a little

⁵¹³ “Appendix III,” 30 June 1903, 58th Cong., 2d sess., H. Docs., vol 3, 302.

⁵¹⁴ Leonard Wood to William H. Taft, 7 October 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

differently. Our policy is to develop individualism among these people and little by little, teach them to stand upon their own feet independent of petty chieftains.”⁵¹⁵ Wood failed to appreciate the religious significance these “petty chieftains” had in the Islamic system. Sultans were not simply a form of royalty but claimed direct lineage from the Prophet and, on that basis, received authority and power as head of the state and as a religious figure. Although the average datu lacked the physical lineage to the Prophet, the office itself combined both religious and political authority and allowed the datu to act with immense power.⁵¹⁶ Wood’s public embarrassment of the Rajah Muda and the harsh treatment meted out to other datos had religious implications of which Wood was totally unaware. In seeking to demonstrate American power, he insulted Islam.

In abrogating the Bates Treaty and extending civil government throughout the territory, Wood made it clear that the United States intended to rule the people directly. The establishment of civil districts, municipalities, and tribal wards and the eventual extension of the Philippine legal code to the province challenged the power and authority of the sultans and datos. His attempt to supplant traditional leadership with American appointees inadvertently raised a religious issue and made a clash with the Moros a foregone conclusion. Wood foresaw the conflict but attributed it to a traditional power struggle as the “datos and headmen, who practically exercised the power of life and death over their people, were unwilling to abdicate their powers and become

⁵¹⁵ Leonard Wood to John St. Loe Strachey, 6 January 1904, Box 34-35, Wood Papers.

⁵¹⁶ Fulton, *Moroland*, 33.

subordinate to any superior authority.”⁵¹⁷ He did not realize that, as a non-believer, the Moros did not and could not consider him, or any non-believer, a superior authority.

The progressive policies Wood championed further threatened the religious foundations of Moro society. Many of the policies sought to restructure social institutions, the economic system, and even intertribal and interpersonal relationships. Compounding its attack on the *datus* system, the central government at Zamboanga inflamed Moro resentment by asserting itself as the final arbiter of clan and personal differences. The clearest case in point involved Wood’s heavy-handed attempt to abolish Moro slavery. Propagated on September 24, 1903, Act No. 8 of the Legislative Council, *An Act Defining the Crimes of Slave Holding and Slave Hunting, and Prescribing the Punishment Therefor*, made it illegal to own slaves or to engage in any part of the slave trade – hunting, buying, selling, or recapturing.⁵¹⁸ Those convicted of violating the prohibition could be imprisoned for up to twenty years and received a fine of up to ten thousand pesos.

Slaves in Moro society existed in two categories – those taken in war or by raid and those who had fallen in debt and thus came into a form of economic bondage as a bond slave. Article X of the Bates Agreement had tacitly recognized slavery among the Moros: “Any slave in the archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value.”⁵¹⁹ Although McKinley and Roosevelt both officially repudiated the article – one reason they did not send the agreement to the

⁵¹⁷ “Annual Report of the Philippine Commission,” 1904, vol. 11, 10; and “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 268.

⁵¹⁸ “Legislative Acts enacted by the Legislative Council,” Box 216, Leonard Wood Papers.

⁵¹⁹ Gowing, “Appendix B,” in *Mandate in Moroland*, 348-349.

Senate for ratification – it remained in effect. While the army prior to Wood had moved quietly to suppress slave-taking, it had done little about existing slaves or the practice of bond slavery. Previous military administrations had discussed monetary compensation for the loss of slaves, a point touched on in the Bates Agreement. Wood refused to consider the option.

The abolition law struck at the core of the datu system. The slave trade had long been a staple of Moro economy and slave hunters had once ranged as far as Manila and British Borneo in search of slaves. In a system without hard currency, slaves served for barter and as an indication of a datu's value and worth. Bond slavery reinforced the authority of the datu as it served as a punishment to his followers and a way of retaining loyalty. Wood understood that Islamic law sanctioned slavery but argued that "the Moro must yield to humanity and progress."⁵²⁰ He increased the efforts to end the slave trade and stationed his troops accordingly. While he did not force the emancipation of the slaves, he issued a proclamation guaranteeing their freedom if they chose to leave their masters. The civil administration, by governmental fiat, had inserted itself and the U.S. Army into the very fabric of Moro society.

Wood grossly underestimated the extent of Moro opposition to these policies. In an attempt at enforcement, the Department of Mindanao, under his direction, launched thirty-nine expeditions in fiscal year 1904, twenty in 1905, and eight in 1906. Each of the sixty-seven expeditions served to extend the power of the civil government, to uphold the civil laws of the province, and to demonstrate to the Moros that he United

⁵²⁰ Leonard Wood to William Taft, 7 October 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

States had the power to enforce its policies. Wood characterized the expeditions as “undertaken for the purpose of quelling armed uprisings, bringing to an end continuous disorder destructive to life and property, and for the purpose of preventing slave trade and kindred abuses, contrary to and in open defiance of law. In short, to bring to an end conditions of utter lawlessness, which had existed for a long time.”⁵²¹ He did not recognize that his policies and dictatorial leadership had contributed to the societal chaos and loss of property that he bemoaned.

In the first year as department commander, Wood personally led seven expeditions into the three central areas of Moro settlement and power – the Lake Lanao region, the Rio Grande Valley, and the island of Jolo.⁵²² He led eight expeditions out of the sixty-seven conducted by the department during his three years as commander. In September 1903, shortly after his arrival in the department, Wood led an expedition to Lake Lanao to demonstrate to local datus that the United States had the strength and resources to enter their territory. While in the field, he received word of an uprising on the island of Jolo. In response he shifted operations and launched what became known as the First Sulu Expedition. He returned to Lake Lanao in November but again had to shift operations after only a week to launch the Second Sulu Expedition. In March of 1904, he led troops up the Rio Grande Valley in the First Rio Grande Expedition. In

⁵²¹ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 262. He made similar statements in subsequent annual reports. “Report Department of Mindanao,” 12 April 1906, 59th Cong., 2d sess., H. Docs., vol. 3, 295.

⁵²² In addition to Fulton, three standard works exist on the experience of the U.S. Army with the Moros: Peter Gordon Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland: The American government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920* (Quezon City, P.I.: New Day Publishers, 1983); George William Jornacion, “The Time of the Eagles: United States Army Officers and the Pacification of the Philippine Moros, 1899-1913” (dissertation, University of Maine, 1973); Wayne Wray Thompson, “Governors of the Moro Province: Wood, Bliss, and Pershing in the Southern Philippines, 1903-1913” (dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1975). Jornacion discusses each of the expeditions led by Wood in depth.

April 1904, troops under his command entered the Taraca valley near Lake Lanao to quell resistance in that area. The Second Rio Grande Expedition followed a month later in May of 1904. He led the Third Sulu Expedition in May of 1905. These expeditions gave Wood a first hand knowledge of the terrain, the tactics used by the Moro, and the key players involved in each region. The expeditions did not give him the decisive victory that he felt would bring peace and stability to the province.

The duration of Moro resistance surprised Wood. He expected resistance to end quickly after a clear and decisive demonstration of American power against one or two of the recalcitrant datos. Although American military prowess easily defeated the Moros in open battle and even battered them into submission in their cottas, none of these victories ultimately brought an end to resistance. Resistance sprung anew almost every time the government instituted a major new policy or set of regulations. During his tenure as commander, Wood had to counter armed opposition against the slave law, the collection of internal taxation, the implementation of the cedula tax, and numerous other actions considered provocative by the Moros. Most Moros had no respect for the law imposed upon them by an alien civil government so to them it only existed if the army or the agents of the civil government were present and capable of enforcing it. The defeat of a datu on Jolo meant nothing to a datu living in the Lake Lanao region and very little to another datu living on Jolo. Wood complained to Roosevelt that “whipping them is not a serious proposition, but to stop this slave hunting and acts of piracy, is going to require diligence and a great deal of activity.”⁵²³

⁵²³ Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 10 October 1903, Box 32-33, Wood Papers.

Service in the Philippines placed Wood on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, he agreed with army reformers who considered conventional warfare against another modern power, or the preparation for such warfare, to be the purpose of the army. He felt the most efficient way to prepare for conventional warfare was to assemble large numbers of troops at a post and then drill them to fight as larger military units. Service on the imperial frontier against non-conventional forces distracted from that purpose and posed a danger to army effectiveness because it scattered the troops into small posts throughout the countryside. In his annual report for 1904, Wood complained that the “expeditions against very inferior people, are not of great value in preparing soldiers for the exigencies of actual war with an intelligent, well-equipped, thoroughly instructed enemy.”⁵²⁴ On the other hand, Wood supported the American empire and the projection of American power abroad through colonies like the Philippines. He considered his work in the Moro Province, the Department of Mindanao, and eventually with the Philippines Division to be extremely important. As the commander of military troops at an imperial outpost surrounded by rival conventional powers, Wood had to find a way to strike a balance between the two demands.

Wood eventually settled upon a system that he hoped would allow the army to prepare for conventional war while meeting the immediate demands of imperial service. The solution relied upon a method for troop deployment that allowed the commanding officer to concentrate troops during times of relative peace and to rapidly disperse those

⁵²⁴ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 271.

same troops to meet any contingency that might arise in the department. At the outset of his command, troops in the department remained dispersed as Wood sought to assert American governance and bring compliance with the law. As the Moros grew more accustomed to an American presence and resistance to the slave law dwindled, he began to contract the number of posts and concentrate his command in larger camps. Once assembled in large number, the troops could train and drill in large formations like other conventional armies. When Wood needed to deploy American troops to assert American authority, oppose Moro resistance, enforce the law, or to simply demonstrate the reach and power of the U.S. Army, troops from these large bases could rapidly expand outward to temporarily constructed posts in the troubled area to meet the particular need. After the situation had been resolved and with opposition quelled, the troops could abandon the temporary posts and once again contract into the larger bases. Through this system, Wood hoped to meet the existing demands placed on a frontier army while allowing that army to train and equip itself for conventional warfare.

The system depended upon the existence of several large posts specifically located to cover the major centers of Moro settlement. Wood established permanent brigade and regimental size posts at Zamboanga, Jolo, Parang, Camp Overton, and Camp Keithley. He also maintained smaller but still permanent posts at Camp Vicars, Malabang, and Cotabato.⁵²⁵ Zamboanga served as headquarters for the department and allowed the army to cover the Zamboanga peninsula and the large island of Basilan. The post at Jolo bore responsibility for that island and the entire Sulu archipelago. Camp

⁵²⁵ "Report Department of Mindanao," 12 April 1906, 280-283.

Overton, Camp Vicars, and Camp Keithley provided access and control to the districts around Lake Lanao. Troops at Malabang, and Cotabato covered the Rio Grande Valley. Although many of these posts predated Wood, he worked to increase their size to accommodate more troops and to replace their temporary structures with permanent construction. By 1906 these eight bases allowed the army to maintain significantly large garrisons in the heart of Moro country.

As the centerpiece of his departmental system of imperial defense, Wood planned to construct the largest, permanent army post in the southern Philippines at Camp Keithley. Located on the shores of Lake Lanao at an elevation of 2,400 feet above sea level, Camp Keithley offered a cooler and healthier climate for troops stationed in the tropics. Wood estimated that troops could be maintained there year round “in excellent condition and ready for service anywhere that they may be needed.”⁵²⁶ Although Wood made Camp Keithley a top priority and began to build on a permanent scale, the isolated location and the difficulty of moving supplies over a poorly constructed wagon trail, the only means of getting supplies to the camp, slowed construction significantly. In an attempt to solve the problem, Wood invested significant portions of his budget for public works into improving the road from Camp Overton and requested funding from Congress for the construction of a narrow-gauge railroad to the location. Even with the support of Secretary of War Taft, Wood failed to make his vision for Camp Keithley a reality during his tenure in the Philippines.

⁵²⁶ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 272.

Troop deployments remained constantly in flux throughout Wood tenure. To help alleviate the strain on American troops, Wood turned the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts. Creations of the Philippine Commission and the Philippines Division, the constabulary and the scouts were designed to serve as the first responders to any civil disturbance in the archipelago. Although trained and led by officers detailed from the U.S. Army, the constabulary, then under the command of Colonel James G. Harbord, operated as the chief law enforcement arm of the civil government outside of major municipal areas. Harbord began the organization the Moro corps of the constabulary on September 29, 1903, shortly after Wood's arrival. As the constabulary grew in strength, Wood relied more and more upon it to handle local police matters and even transferred control of the provincial jail from the military to the constabulary.⁵²⁷ In some areas the constabulary garrisoned the posts abandoned by the American troop.⁵²⁸

If the situation proved beyond the ability of the constabulary, then the civil government could call upon the Philippine Scouts. The Scouts were a military organization composed of native Filipinos and led by officers of the U.S. Army detailed especially for that purpose. They served as light infantry and cavalry troops and could live off the land to a large extent. Fifty companies of Philippine Scouts existed in the archipelago but only six companies served in the Department of Mindanao.⁵²⁹ The relatively small number of Scout companies available to Wood meant that, in the Moro Province, the U.S. Army still served as the primary responder if a situation exceeded the

⁵²⁷ "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," 22 September 1905, 331.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁵²⁹ "Report Department of Mindanao," 30 June 1905, 301-302.

capability of the constabulary. The development of more constabulary and scouts units over time meant that Wood could increasingly concentrate American forces and relinquish control of many of the temporary stations to these other units.

The concentration of American troops into larger posts brought additional benefits as well. Wood explained in his first annual report that these enlarged garrisons would make general administration, maintenance, and the instruction of troops more efficient.⁵³⁰ It would also allow commanding officers to detach troops for field service without significantly weakening the garrison. He felt small isolated posts, although essential at times, led to disciplinary problems because not enough troops existed at the post for proper instruction and field training. In addition the smaller posts were more expensive to maintain and unnecessarily duplicated administrative and sanitary services that could be concentrated at the larger garrisons. To meet the training needs of these large garrisons, Wood and his staff worked hard to ensure that most of the larger posts had adequate facilities to conduct large scale drill and for target ranges. The target range at Malabang ranked as the best in the Philippines and one of the best in the entire army.⁵³¹

The department also worked hard to increase the efficiency and prowess of the soldier in the field. Much to the dismay of his men and officers, Wood prescribed a regiment of “daily drills and semiweekly marches under full field equipment.”⁵³² Wood considered training under such conditions essential to conditioning the troops and

⁵³⁰ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 1 July 1904, 270-271.

⁵³¹ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1905, 310.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 313.

familiarizing them with the equipment they would use in time of war. “Mobility is one of the greatest factors, and unless we are counting on always meeting an enemy as unprepared as we are more attention should be paid to the instruction of the soldier in marching and shooting with the full field equipment on.”⁵³³ To help the soldier prepare for conditions in the field, especially in the Philippines, Wood had instructors teach almost all of the men how to swim and insisted that the men be able to swim at least fifty yards in full field equipment if possible.⁵³⁴ By 1906 the department had even begun to conduct systematic bayonet practice with the new Springfield rifle.

In the midst of training for conventional warfare, Wood did not neglect training and improvements designed to better equip troops for service on the imperial frontier. While practice marches and target practice had universal application, Wood also took great pains to have his troops taught the art of mobility in a country without a significant degree of infrastructure. Due to the lack of roads beyond the major municipalities, Wood relied almost exclusively upon pack trains to supply his troops in the field. He worked hard to keep these trains at the peak of efficiency and personally experimented with saddles type, with load design, and with the arrangement of the trains.⁵³⁵ He reminded his superiors that this “important branch of army transportation should be carefully kept up throughout the army at large, and the art of packing retained and thoroughly taught. At present the old pack-masters are rapidly disappearing, and no one is coming up to take their place, and there is danger of serious deterioration in the branch

⁵³³ Ibid., 312.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 313.

⁵³⁵ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1905, 305-306.

of transportation.”⁵³⁶ To assist in the training of his troops and to keep the pack rains at a high state of efficiency, Wood hired several packmasters from the United States and brought them to the department.

Wood provided the troops with additional field training by dispatching over forty reconnaissance patrols throughout Mindanao and the Sulu islands during his command. These reconnaissance patrols were in addition to those that accompanied the military expeditions launched by the department. Each patrol left from a designated point and proceeded by either a trail or general direction to another designated point. Along the way the officer in charge gathered details, data, and illustrations to contribute to the progressive mapping of the island underway at departmental headquarters. The command provided these officers with a template report showing the data to be gathered along the way such as number of streams crossed, trails, villages, and population. The patrols also gathered non-military data on crops, natural resources, economic development, etc. The practice had become standard operating procedure during the Philippine War and Wood put it to good use in Mindanao. In his annual report for 1905, Wood boasted that our “knowledge of the Moro country is now comparatively thorough, and there is no section which is not well covered by information concerning the character of the country, etc.”⁵³⁷

In his final report as departmental commander, Wood boasted of bringing peace to the province. “While it is not expected that all disturbances are at an end in the Department of Mindanao it can be asserted with reasonable confidence that resistance to

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 304.

⁵³⁷ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1905, 300.

the government on a large scale is a thing of the past.”⁵³⁸ Although he expected minor disturbances, Wood claimed that the department had turned a corner. If he truly believed his own report, then he seriously misjudged the level of discontent in the province as Moro resistance continued long after his departure. It is also unclear if Wood understood the extent to which his own policies had created many of the disturbances he lamented. As resistance persisted beyond his initial expectations, he cast the blame completely on the Moros and presented more and more reasons for their defiance. In his report for 1905, Wood blamed resistance not just on the abolition of slavery but to “the actions of fanatical Arab priests, of a class which is a disturbing element throughout the East.”⁵³⁹ Rather than taking Moro religious concerns seriously and adjusting policy accordingly, Wood simply characterized religious opposition as fanatical and proceeded. In his correspondence and reports, Wood often claimed to be just one campaign away from peace, whether it was Datu Ali in 1905 or the “robbers” on Bud Dajo in 1906.⁵⁴⁰ The assault on Bud Dajo revealed the fragility of the peace Wood had imposed and pointed to larger concerns that did not bode well for the department.

On March 4, 1906, the U.S. Army launched an assault against a large group of Moros who had entrenched themselves on Bud Dajo, a volcanic cone rising 2,100 feet near Jolo. These Moros had gathered there in the months following the Third Sulu Expedition in direct defiance of the civil government. They resented American rule and especially the recent application of the cedula tax to their island. Over the course of four

⁵³⁸ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 12 April 1906, 280.

⁵³⁹ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1905, 299.

⁵⁴⁰ Datu Ali led armed opposition to the abolition law on Mindanao. He evaded capture for over a year before he died in a surprise attack led by Captain Frank McCoy on October 22, 1905.

days the army steady advanced along three trails up the mountain to the crest. The Moro defenders – men, women, and children - contested every bit of ground and fought to the bitter end. Figures range between four and six hundred Moros killed in the action. The U.S. Army suffered fifteen enlisted and three constabulary killed. News of the battle caused a brief firestorm in the United States as critics of the administration charged Wood with the intentional slaughter of women and children. Official explanations soon followed from Wood, Taft, and Hugh Scott, then on leave in Washington, D.C. Taft and Scott crafted the administration's response to the charges and the controversy died almost as quickly as it flared up.

Although the bloodiest battle in the Department of Mindanao and one of the bloodiest in the Philippines, Wood and the military establishment considered the battle to be simply the most recent in a long line of actions against hostile Moros. Wood saw nothing discerning about the incident and dismissed those killed there as simply outlaws who “had banded together to prey in common upon the inhabitants of the island, and to resist the authority of the Government.”⁵⁴¹ Secretary of War Taft referred to the incident as “the taking of the robber fastness at Mount Dajo” and compared the battle to the action taken against Datu Ali in the Rio Grande Valley. The battle on Bud Dajo, however, proved to be much more than simply another effort to maintain law and order. In many ways it pointed to flaws within American imperial policy and with the accepted wisdom that had governed the actions in the department since Wood's arrival.

⁵⁴¹ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 12 April 1906, 280.

Bud Dajo clearly demonstrated that the datu system of government had crumbled more than anyone expected and that the Americans had been unable to provide anything to replace it. In previous actions against hostile Moros, a datu or group of datus often led their followers in opposition to American authority. The battle of Bud Dajo stood out because the insurgents gathered there lacked that traditional leadership. The Moros on Bud Dajo had no established datu and in fact had rejected the leadership and authority of their own datus in order to defy the civil government. Many of the insurgents belong to clans governed by the Sultan of Jolo, Datu Jokanein, Datu Kalbi, Maharajah Indinan, and a number of other friendly datus. Prior to the military assault, the civil government had spent months trying to get the people on Bud Dajo to disperse peacefully. Part of that effort involved using the peaceful datus to try and convince the insurgents to return to their homes. The insurgents not only refused to listen to their former chiefs but openly mocked them for their subservience to the Americans. Such open defiance would have been unheard of three years earlier.

The framework of much of the civil government depended upon the institution of the datu and his ability to exercise authority and influence over his people. Datus were the key to the success of the tribal wards and played a substantial role in establishing municipalities in the interior. Wood had expected the datu to be a transitory institution that would pass over time as the municipalities and other governing structures assumed more and more of their authority and power. But, he did not expect it to disintegrate so quickly. Nor were the civil and municipal governments prepared to step in and fill the void. The presence of insurgents, without traditional leadership, on Bud

Dajo was not the progression of governmental evolution that Wood had in mind. Brigadier General Sumner had warned back in 1903 that “to remove their natural leaders [the datu] and leave them without any control would add to, rather than decrease, the already existing anarchy.”⁵⁴² Wood had underestimated the destructive affect American control would have on the native institutions.

Bud Dajo also challenged Wood conviction that the common Moro, free from what he saw as the self-serving dominance of the datu, would welcome the benefits and American rule. Wood reported in 1904:

The lower classes have more confidence in us, but the sultan and the chiefs are obstructive factors in all our efforts for the betterment of the condition of the Moro people. They have no honest desire for American methods of honest administration, when the whole people will be benefited unless there is some consideration in it for them. They are as overbearing toward their people as ever, and do not seem inclined to change their arbitrary methods or aid the people to better themselves. They act as if they though the people were created to be their slaves or for their own aggrandizement. The lower class seem to be peaceable and as law-abiding as they can be under the circumstances.⁵⁴³

Even in 1906, a few months after Bud Dajo, Wood argued that with the “end of the datto system, with all its attendant evils, ... it is believed that in a few years the great bulk of the Moro Province will be living as independent freemen recognizing no head except such as is duly appointed by the government, a condition which is the only practicable one under our system of government and control.”⁵⁴⁴ Bud Dajo demonstrated that the rejection of datu rule did not necessarily mean the peaceful acceptance of American rule

⁵⁴² “Appendix III,” 30 June 1903, 302.

⁵⁴³ “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 1 September 1904, 576.

⁵⁴⁴ “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province,” 27 August 1906, 359.

and its supposed benefits. Since reality differed from his preconceptions, Wood found it easier to classify the insurgents as robbers than to deal with the implications of their insurgency.

The Philippines Division

As the Commanding General of the Philippines Division, Wood commanded roughly one-fifth of the U.S. Army, the largest single command of American troops at the time. The Philippines Division consisted of three separate geographical departments – the Department of Luzon, the Department of the Visayas, and the Department of Mindanao – each overseen by their own commanding officer who reported to division headquarters. Wood bore responsibility for the training, deployment, and the general welfare of the American troops and the Filipino scouts under his command. As the chief military officer in the Philippines, he played a large role in determining military and imperial policy in the region.

At division headquarters Wood confronted the same dilemma he had faced in Mindanao, namely, how to prepare for conventional warfare while meeting the immediate needs of service on the imperial frontier. The consequences of how Wood solved that dilemma were much greater at division level than at the departmental level. As the senior officer in the region, Wood took the lead in preparing for possible military contingencies that might involve the United States throughout the area. During his two years as division commander, Wood witnessed a lot of change in the region with the division of China by the major power and the rise of Japan following the Russo-

Japanese War. Action against China had already become a distinct possibility when a Chinese boycott of American goods in the fall of 1905 had led to increased tensions between the two countries. Wood, working in close conjunction with President Roosevelt, had even readied one regiment for deployment. Another crisis, this time with Japan, arose in 1907 when the San Francisco School Board provoked a diplomatic crisis with the segregation of Japanese children from their schools. The diplomatic crisis soon blossomed into full-fledged war scare as rumors abounded in the Philippines and even Hawaii about a possible Japanese attack. Although diplomacy eventually resolved both of these situations, they drove home to Wood the gravity of his responsibility as commanding general to protect the Philippines and to prepare for possible military action in Asia.

Wood took several measures in preparation for a possible attack upon the Philippines. He pushed heavily for the engineer corps to finish the progressive mapping of the island as quickly as possible so that potential landing beaches and invasion routes into the interior might be identified and a defensive plan adopted. To spur that endeavor along, he coordinated the efforts of the engineers with the Military Intelligence Division. He also asked that the four members of the General Staff on duty in the division be relieved of all routine duty and instead assigned to work on plans for the defense of the archipelago. He requested the War Department establish an official fortification board for the archipelago. In the interim, while he awaited official action, Wood created his own fortification board and charged it with “making all preliminary reconnaissances and surveys, and submitting recommendations concerning the fortifications at such points as

it may be determine to fortify in these islands.”⁵⁴⁵ The board began work on a report for the landward defenses of Manila, Cavite, and Subig Bay. When the War Department created an official fortification board with General Orders No. 255, on December 30, 1907, the unofficial board had already served for over a year and a half. Under his direction the construction of coastal artillery advanced on Grande Island and Corregidor Island. In September 1907 the first company of seacoast artillery arrived and took their position on Grande Island. Wood requested two more companies of sea coast artillery to man the guns already being mounted and two more companies of engineers to accelerate further construction.⁵⁴⁶

While preparing for a possible attack by a conventional force, Wood also had to deal with a lingering insurrection by Pulajanes on the island of Samar in the Department of the Visayas. The outbreak began under Wood’s predecessor on July 21, 1904. The civil authorities quickly dispatched the constabulary to deal with the disturbance but the situation soon outstripped the resources and the ability of the civil government. Even the infusion of Philippine Scouts failed to end Pulajane attacks on coastal towns or to break their control of the interior. On June 22, 1906, the governor general made formal application for the use of U.S. troops to restore order. In consultation with the civil governor of Samar, the military divided the hostile territory into seven districts and assigned an officer with a sufficient number of troops to each district. Each officer received orders “to push the campaign against them [the hostiles] vigorously.”⁵⁴⁷ The

⁵⁴⁵ “Report Philippines Division,” 1 July 1906, 59th Cong., 2nd Sess., H. Docs, vol. 3, 245.

⁵⁴⁶ “Report Philippines Division,” 20 February 1908, 60th Cong., 2nd Sess., H. Docs, vol. 3, 202 and 200.

⁵⁴⁷ “Report Philippines Division,” 1 July 1906, 210-211.

command then coordinated the movement of all the troops “with the object of keeping the enemy moving, preventing his gathering at any time in large numbers; destroying his supplies and means of subsistence in the mountains and forcing him into the valleys and inhabited parts, where he could be more easily proceeded against by other troops, the constabulary, and volunteers.”⁵⁴⁸ The effort to restore peace took over a year and engaged about 4,000 troops, scouts, and constabulary.⁵⁴⁹ The army handled a simultaneous outbreak on Leyte in the same way.⁵⁵⁰

As a former civil governor, Wood recognized the larger implications of what other officers regarded as simply a military operation.

These disturbances, as military matters, are of little significance, but they are very vital to the welfare of the islands, in that they disturb the economic life of the people and thereby prevent the investment of capital and the extension of industry, and give rise to serious doubts as to the possibility of establishing any large measure of local self-government at present.⁵⁵¹

According to Taft the outbreaks jeopardized the forthcoming election of a popular assembly designed to function alongside the Philippine Commission “as the legislature of the Christian Filipino provinces.”⁵⁵² Wood moved quickly to end the insurrection and thus insure the continued civil development of the islands. He assured Taft that the restoration of peace was only a matter of time.

⁵⁴⁸ “Report Philippines Division,” 30 June 1907, 60th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Docs, vol. 3, 265-266.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 265-266.

⁵⁵¹ “Report Philippines Division,” 1 July 1906, 211.

⁵⁵² “Report of the Secretary of War,” 12 December 1906, 59th Cong., 2d sess., H. Docs., vol. 1, 78.

To assist in the economic development of the islands, Wood continued to urge the army and the War Department to purchase local materials and to hire local labor whenever possible. Within areas of his discretion, Wood purchased native products including forage for animals, lumber for construction projects, and wood for fuel. By 1908 the War Department gave way and, under the authority of the Secretary of War, Wood authorized “the use of native materials in all instances where they could be used economically.”⁵⁵³ The authorization led to the development of a coal mine on Bataan, the manufacture of khaki clothing in Manila, and the hiring of native teamsters.

To enable the division to prepare for a conventional enemy while meeting the needs of imperial service, Wood adopted the same program of troop concentration and expansion that he had perfected in Mindanao. Eventually Wood hoped to establish permanent posts throughout the division and he instructed departmental commanders to report on which posts to make permanent and which to regard as temporary.⁵⁵⁴ After determining the location of these posts, he planned to proceed with the installation of modern water and sewage systems and with the construction of permanent facilities, including a type of barrack “adapted to climatic conditions, and architecturally creditable.”⁵⁵⁵ Despite his best efforts, continued disturbances in the Department of the Visayas limited what he could do in that command and the lack of Congressional funding curtailed his planned improvements. Undaunted, Wood still manage to consolidate many of the troops into centralized posts.

⁵⁵³ “Report Philippines Division,” 20 February 1908, 198.

⁵⁵⁴ “Report Philippines Division,” 1 July 1906, 209.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 223 and 244.

Ironically, opposition to the concentration of troops into large garrisons came from Brigadier General Tasker H. Bliss, who had replaced Wood as commanding general and civil governor in the Department of Mindanao. In his first annual report submitted only a couple of months after replacing Wood, Bliss argued “that our concentration of the troops and their withdrawal from the constant observation of the natives result in an actual temptation for ... outbreaks.”⁵⁵⁶ He recommended the large garrisons be broken up into small detachments and “be so widely distributed throughout the Moro country as to enforce a continued respect for law, with the probability that there would never be occasion for military operations at all. Armies have before been used in this way, resulting in a civilizing and peace-producing effect, and it could be so done here.”⁵⁵⁷ Bliss maintained his opposition to Wood’s policy throughout his tenure in Mindanao. Although he could not completely overrule the policy, he resisted as much as possible.

Bliss also broke with Wood’s insistence on using the U.S. Army as the chief arm of law enforcement in the Moro Province. He used his position as civil governor to declare overt instances of Moro opposition a civil offense and thus subject to the civil authorities. In doing so, he removed these instances from the military sphere and thus out of the jurisdiction of Wood as commander of the Philippines Division. As a civil matter, law enforcement fell largely to the constabulary which Bliss directed without needing the approval of Wood. Since he reported to the civil authorities in Manila,

⁵⁵⁶ “Report Department of Mindanao,” 30 June 1906, 314.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

whose oversight was as lax as when Wood commanded the department, Bliss enjoyed wide discretion in handling these events.

At the division level, Wood planned to turn the Philippines into the best school in the army for training troops for conventional and imperial service. As he had in Mindanao, Wood emphasized drill, marksmanship, swimming, and physical fitness. He earned the ire of his troops and the vocal objections of his subordinate commanders by insisting on extended marches in full field gear. In response to their complaints, Wood stressed the need for mobility and urged them to find interesting ways to engage the troops by incorporating a field problem to be solved with the equipment they carried.⁵⁵⁸ In an attempt to foster an active and creative interest in physical fitness and even field work, Wood sponsored a division wide field meet in February 1907. In addition to the normal competitive events one would expect, officers and men “were encouraged to present modifications of the pack and method of carrying it, to present devices for using the equipment as an aid in crossing streams, etc. In short, the whole spirit of the meet was in the line of military improvement.”⁵⁵⁹

Wood credited the general health of his troops and the low death rate in the division to the intense training. He reported to the War Department that it had “been repeatedly remarked that troops leaving the Philippine Islands present a far better appearance than on their arrival. There is nothing whatever in the medical reports to indicate that any bad effects have resulted from practice marches or from the present

⁵⁵⁸ “Report Philippines Division,” 30 June 1907, 239.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

system of instruction.”⁵⁶⁰ In response to the carping from his junior officers, he urged the army to retire officers who were either too old for the physical regime or simply did not take an active interest in the physical development of their command.

To maintain a high degree of military proficiency in his command, Wood worked hard to ensure his troops received the latest equipment and instruction available. In light of developments in the Russo-Japanese War, Wood requested machine guns so that he could develop rapid fire squads and incorporate those into existing tactics. He eagerly adopted the new 1903 Springfield and pressed the War Department to send training material and instructors so the troops could learn bayonet drills. He even recommended the development of hand grenades. To better equip his troops for service in the Philippines, he urged the adoption of a .45-caliber revolver, a significant increase in stopping power over the standard .38-caliber. He also recommended the issuing of automatic shotguns to assist the troops in brush fighting and the creation of a service bolo to help in the cutting of trails. In an effort to maintain a high degree of readiness and mobility, Wood secured over one thousand replacement mounts for his cavalry and enough pack mules to bring his pack trains to full strength.⁵⁶¹

Wood also took an active interest in the Philippine Scouts under his command. He coordinated with the civil authorities to station the scouts where the civil government felt they would do the most good. Whenever possible, he consolidated scout troops into larger posts where they could receive the same benefits of training and instruction as American troops. To make training easier and to eliminate tribal conflict, Wood

⁵⁶⁰ “Report Philippines Division,” 20 February 1908, 199.

⁵⁶¹ “Report Philippines Division,” 20 February 1908, 195-196.

reorganized scout battalions on a tribal basis as of January 1, 1907. He encouraged officers to learn the dialect of his company to make training and discipline easier. Wood recommended that scouts be given parity with American troops in regard to rewards and retirement. He even recommended the construction of a retirement facility for the scouts in the island. He urged the War Department to add an additional fifty scout companies, including two companies trained as engineers and one as a signal company.

Conclusion

As military commander of the Department of Mindanao, Wood failed to end Moro resistance to American rule and to bring them peaceably into the American empire. His reliance almost exclusively upon the force of American arms and his inability to understand the religious implications of the policies he championed contributed directly to that failure. Although he derided the martial ability of the Moros, opposition from rebellious datus and their followers outlasted Wood's tenure as departmental commander. Operations against these hostile datus consumed both men and resources and disrupted Wood's plan for the civil and military administration of the region.

As head of the Philippines Division, Wood proved an apt administrator and eager to address larger issues of imperial defense. Under his direction, the U.S. Army made significant progress toward preparing a plan for the defense of the archipelago from external threats. He also attempted to strike a balance between the demands imposed by imperial service and the need to prepare for a possible conflict with another

conventional power. His decision to concentrate troops into larger garrisons where they could train for conventional warfare while equipping them for rapid dispersal to meet imperial needs was not perfect but it did strive to answer the dilemma facing the U.S. Army. When Wood relinquished command of the Philippines Division on February 20, 1908, his service for the past two years had earned him promotion to command of the Department of the East and eventually appointment as Chief of Staff.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Leonard Wood served as the primary agent of American imperial rule from 1898 to 1908. As one of the first imperial proconsuls, he left an undeniable stamp upon imperial policy and upon the role of the U.S. Army in colonial administration. His service in Cuba began in 1898 with the liberation of the island from Spain and ended in 1902 when the military government he led transferred sovereignty to the newly created Republic of Cuba. In 1903 he assumed command of the Moro Province of the Philippines where he served until his promotion to commanding general of the Philippines Division in 1906. In both of these commands, Wood presided over a civil-military administration, which not only implemented but developed and shaped imperial policy.

In Cuba, first as a departmental commander and then as military governor, Wood crafted and implemented a progressive agenda designed to rehabilitate the island after decades of Spanish misrule and revolutionary upheaval. He focused consistently on five major policy areas: sanitation and public health, public works, economic development, education, and law and order. Although Wood's progressive imperialism contradicted McKinley's minimalist approach to the occupation, Wood aggressively lobbied for his policies and eventually attained the administration's endorsement with his elevation to the military governorship. In the process he overcame – sometimes ruthlessly – the opposition of his commanding officer and his fellow departmental commanders.

As the Military Governor of Cuba, Wood worked closely with Secretary of War Root to address high level policy issues such as the structure of the Cuban state, creating and then accomplishing the benchmarks for Cuban independence, and determining the nature of future relations between the United States and the Cuban Republic. Although Root allowed no deviation from administrative objectives on these issues, he granted Wood great freedom on strictly insular issues and in colonial administration. In these areas Wood continued to pursue his progressive imperialism and to expand these programs on the insular level.

As civil governor and military commander of the Moro Province, Wood implemented the same progressive imperialism that he had in Cuba. However, in the Philippines he faced armed resistance from the Moros who regarded much of the progressive agenda as a violation of their Islamic faith. Undeterred, Wood used the military might of the U.S. Army to enforce compliance and break the resistance. In the process, he destroyed much of the Moro social order without providing a replacement. The progressive agenda, which Wood felt had succeeded in Cuba, did not work as well in the Moro Province.

As an imperial proconsul, Wood had a lot of influence in determining and implementing American policy in the colonial possessions he governed. His influence came from two factors common to all proconsuls. First, the proconsul functioned as the onsite representative of the imperial administration and thus determined to a large degree how a policy objective was to be implemented in the field. The ability to determine implementation of policy often determines the outcome of the policy. Second, the

imperial proconsul, as the representative in the field, had the ability to shape the reality of any situation presented to Washington.

Wood's performance in the Moro Province proves an excellent case in point. The administration's objective was to create a civil administration for the Moro Province. It assigned Wood the task of implementing that administration. Wood made the decision to pursue that objective by abrogating the Bates Agreement and attempting to undermine the traditional authority of the datus in favor of an appointed civil government. He chose not to govern through traditional leadership or to continue the policies of his predecessors. His decision on how to implement the objective, not the objective itself, determined the outcome of the policy and then influenced the development of subsequent policy. He made a similar decision in his direct attack on Moro slavery and his enforcement of the cedula tax. In each case he could have chosen to pursue his ultimate objectives through less confrontational means. Instead Wood chose an approach designed to provoke conflict. His reports to the Philippine Commission and to his superiors in Washington presented a reality in stark contrast to the situation in the province. According to Wood, Moro opposition resulted, not from American policy, but from hostile datus bent on exploiting their people, a corrupt sultan, radical imams, and bandits on Bud Dajo.

Wood's reports on Cuba show a similar willingness to impose his own prejudices upon a situation and a tendency to confuse his wishes with reality. During the Cuban elections and the subsequent discussion over the Cuban constitution, Wood continually claimed the support of a conservative majority. When municipal elections

repudiated candidates he favored and elected men that opposed his policies, he dismissed the results with an appeal to the conservative majority who did support him. Although a conservative faction existed in Cuban politics, at no point did it command majority support among the populace in the electoral process. Wood simply speculated that the faction represented a non-voting conservative majority and cited their support to justify his own policies and actions to the administration.

Secretary Root demonstrated the effective counterbalance to Wood's egotism and ambition – an informed and determined superior. On matters he considered a priority to the administration, Root kept a tight reign on Wood and held the line on exactly what the administration wanted. When Wood wanted to stall the elections for the constitutional convention because the conservative majority had not been elected in the municipal elections, Root forced him to proceed. When Wood wanted to forestall independence because the conservative majority supported his continual rule as governor, Root forced him to proceed. During Cuban deliberations over the Platt Amendment and the nature of relations between the two countries, Root made it clear that he would determine not only the policy but the implementation. Stuck between the Cubans and Root, Wood argued several times that the administration should concede to Cuban demands or modify certain points. In some cases Wood actually exceeded his authority and made concessions. Root, however, knew what he wanted the policy to achieve and he held Wood to the task. Wood lacked that sort of supervision in the Moro Province.

Since imperial proconsuls have a large influence over policy and are responsible for its implementation, it is not surprising that a proconsul would want a greater voice in determining policy. Such a voice required a degree of political influence and an ability to leverage that influence into policy decisions. Wood's started his imperial career in the city of Santiago as the most junior officer of the occupational command structure in Cuba. Yet, within eighteen months, he assumed command of the entire island and his progressive imperialism became the accepted policy in Cuba. Important political connections and an ability to publicize his efforts had as much to do with his remarkable rise as did the agenda he touted. Progressives in the United States had an invested interest in Wood's success and helped to advance his career. Without their active and vocal support, Wood would have remained the progressive governor of Santiago.

The progressive occupation of Cuba and the Moro Province also revealed much about the nature of progressivism. Two of the prominent themes in the progressive program pursued by Wood were a willingness to allow government involvement in all areas of life and the concentration of power within a centralized government. Wood adopted individual elements of the progressive agenda to respond to a number of factors but these two themes remained constant throughout the entire agenda. He was an authoritarian who believed a centralized government holding absolute authority could more intelligently and efficiently govern a territory than power dispersed through a federal system (Cuba) or exercised through native leaders (Moro Province). Good government, according to Wood, was honest, effective, and efficient. It was not necessarily responsive to the people or reflective of their social and political values.

Wood's governance clearly demonstrated the darker side of his progressivism. According to Wood, progressivism meant progress, a willingness to move forward and advance as a people, a society, and a government. In Wood's view the major problems he faced was how to deal with people who rejected progressivism and thus seemed to reject progress. Since Wood believed all rational people would embrace progress, those that did not must either be irrational, childlike, or evil. Leaders who opposed his policies in Cuba and the Moro Province did so because they wished to exploit the people. He often characterized the people themselves, especially those who did not recognize the benefits of his rule, as children in need of a patriarchal government to take care of them. According to Wood, these people needed a firm hand to punish the evil and to discipline and teach the children a lesson. His reports and correspondence are replete with such references.

The progressive program adopted by Wood also had its limitations. The model he developed in Cuba depended heavily upon the existence of strong and centralized municipal governments and the availability of financial resources to cover the cost of the progressive reforms. Local governments acted as training grounds for progressivism and thus the incubators of good government. The municipalities themselves served as the foundation for the centralized authority and the focal point of the progressive reforms. The program worked well in Cuba, which had an abundance of both municipalities and revenue. When Wood transferred the model to the Moro Province, it failed. The province had little more than a dozen municipalities and a chronic shortage of funds. Most of the municipalities existed in areas controlled by the

Christian Filipinos and thus a progressive program that naturally targeted the municipalities had little impact upon the Moros who lived predominately in rural areas. Wood never developed a progressive program for the rural areas.

The United States has often been accused of going forth to recreate the world in its own image. In his ten years as imperial proconsul, Wood never attempted to recreate his homeland in the territories he governed. Instead, he attempted to remake those areas into his own progressive vision for the United States. His colonial administration revealed much about that vision and about what he considered the heart of progressivism. It also highlighted the dangers inherent in the exercise of unchecked authority. For good and bad, the American empire in 1908 bore Wood's personal stamp.

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APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL TABLES FOR CHAPTER VI

Table A:1 Amount Collected at each Customs House⁵⁶²

Customs House	Year Ending Dec. 31, 1900	Year Ending Dec. 31, 1901	Year Ending May 20, 1902	Total
Baracoa	27,707.81	25,081.47	8,760.71	61,549.99
Batabano	3,139.92	2,049.56	654.02	5,843.50
Caibarien	201,598.53	228,537.73	79,651.22	509,787.48
Cardenas	301,463.73	332,326.67	111,666.13	745,456.53
Cienfuegos	1,168,473.54	1,406,015.97	451,411.30	3,025,900.81
Gibara	237,716.81	346,651.92	72,472.89	656,841.62
Guantanamo	127,543.87	146,514.00	40,718.78	314,776.65
Habana	12,068,399.05	10,877,984.78	4,148,294.89	27,094,678.72
Jucaro			54,154.73	54,154.73
Manzanillo	175,741.05	277,351.71	90,587.51	543,680.27
Matanzas	456,923.30	499,059.98	194,125.46	1,150,108.74
Nuevitas	180,363.69	209,800.25	73,549.28	463,713.22
Sagua la Grande	204,617.53	174,747.16	41,247.18	420,611.87
Santa Cruz del Sur	4,547.38	7,149.70	992.72	12,689.80
Santiago	951,914.82	1,085,794.08	395,748.86	2,433,457.76
Trinidad	22,128.00	18,603.68	7,409.19	48,140.87
Tunas de Zaza	4,244.25	19,948.18	2,967.06	27,159.49
Total	16,136,523.28	15,657,616.84	5,774,411.93	37,568,552.05

⁵⁶² "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, Aide-De-Camp," 1 January 1901, Exhibit V, 258; "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy, 1901," Exhibit S; and "Report of Lieutenant Frank R. McCoy," 8 December 1902, Exhibit F.

Table A:2 Works Executed in the Province of Havana by the Department of Public Works
January 1, 1899 to May 19, 1902⁵⁶³

<u>Statement of the Work</u>	<u>Extent of Work</u>
Buildings Repaired	Repairs
Jail at San Antonio de los Banos	
Building "Monte de Piedad"	
Building "School of Painting"	
Treasury Building	
Gen. Intervention of Treasury	
Public Works Building Cerro 440B	
University Building	
Building occupied by Principal Treasury Administration	
Section occupied by Departments of Treasury Building	
Post Office of Bejucal	
Building at Anton Recio, No. 86	
Building at Cardenas, No. 40	
Building at Someruelos, No. 27	
Houses Paula, Nos. 69 to 77	
Room for General Archives in the Fuerza Barracks	
Madera Barracks	
House at Maximo Gomez No. 3 in Sancti Spiritus	
Building, Cuba, No. 1	
Building, Cuba, No. 40	
Hut for Workmen along road to Bejucal	
Hut for Workmen along road to San Cristobal	
Water Closet in Building in Botanical Garden of the University	New Construction
School of Arts and Trades	New Construction
Building Academy of Sciences	Reconstruction
Repair of Existing Roads	26.6 K
Cotorro to Santa maria del Rosario	2.2 K
Havana to San Cristobal	4 K
Havana to Bejucal	7 K
Havana to Managua	6.4 K
Havana to Guines (kms. 20 to 21)	2 K
Havana to Guines (kms. 25 to 27)	1.5 K
Punta Bravas to Cangrejas	3.5 K
Arroyo Apolo to Managua	
Construction of New Roads	73.7 K
Rinco to San Antonio de los Banos*	13.5 K
Vento to Insane Asylum*	1.8 K
Managua to Batabano*	4 K
Cuatro Caminos to La Canoa*	Lengthening
Camp Columbia to Vedado	.48 K
Bejucal to tomb of General Maceo	1.52 K
San Antonio de las Vegas to Duran	5
Havana to San Cristobal	3.1 K
Batabano to the Surgidero	4.2 K

⁵⁶³ "Report of the Secretary of Public Works for the Period from July 1, 1901 to May 20, 1902," 30 November 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 6, pt. 2, 5-14. * denotes project uncompleted at the time of transfer.

Table A:2 Continued

<u>Statement of the Work</u>	<u>Extent of Work</u>
Cuatro Caminos to La Canoa	3.5 K
Luyano to La Gallega	9.6 K
Havana to San Cristobal*	17.8 K
Guanabacoa to Cojimar	4.5 K
Havana to Guines	2 K
Mariano to La Playa	
Maceo and Carmen streets in Surgidero of Batabano	
Preservation of Existing Roads	262.1 K
Havana to San Cristobal	30K
Havana to Bejucal	26K
Arroyo Apolo to Managua	14K
Havana to Guines	48K
El Luyano to La Gallega	14K
General Road Preservation	130.1K
Repair of Existing Bridges	
Almendares (on Managua Road)	
Two Bridges on San Cristobal Road	
Construction of Guanabo Bridge (on Guanabo Road)	New Construction
Construction of New Steel Bridges	73.15 meters
Canongo Bridge	
Bridge on Culebra Creek	
San Nicolas Bridge	
Guanabacoa Bridge*	
Cristina Bridge*	
Verde Bridge on San Cristobal Road*	
Manaqua Bridge	
Construction of Wood Bridge	36 meters
Guanabo Bridge (on Titotivo Road)	
Stables and Corral at 440B Cerro	New Construction
Plaza Santiago de las Vegas (Stone Wall 109 meters)	New Construction
General Warehouse and Shops in Cerro	Improvements

Table A:3 Summary of Work Executed under the Direction and Supervision of the Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, Since the Military Occupation in 1898, Harbor Works of the Port of Havana⁵⁶⁴

Statement of the Work

Acquisition of Two Tugs (Clio and Natalie)
 Acquisition of a water-boat, steam drill, and two rowboats
 Construction and repair of wharves, bulkheads, etc.
 Dredging in the harbors of Havana and Matanzas
 Removal of wrecks
 Cleaning and maintenance of harbor front
 Cleaning of Moro and Cabana fortresses
 Construction of pontoon bridge over Chorrera River
 Construction of plaster model of Havana harbor
 Removal of refuse out to sea
 Relocation of the disinfecting plant of the Marine Hospital
 Construction of a building for the disinfecting plant
 Tidal observations and compilation of a tidal table for the harbor

Total Expenditures in Harbor Works: \$356,060.12

Table A:4 Summary of Work Executed under the Direction and Supervision of the Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, Since the Military Occupation in 1898, Department of Surveys⁵⁶⁵

Statement of the Work

Survey of Fortifications in and around Havana
 Temporary Fortifications erected by Spanish
 Sea Coast Batteries
 Permanent Fortifications
 Land Defenses
 Topographical Survey of the vicinity of Havana
 Survey of the Department (Island of Cuba)
 Departmental Surveys
 Photographs to Accompany Survey

⁵⁶⁴ "Report of Major H.F. Hodges, Corps of Engineers, Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, for the Period of January 1, 1902 to May 20, 1902," 1 August 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 6, pt 1, 19-20.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 21-24.

Table A:5 Summary of Work Undertaken by the Engineer Department, City of Havana, and of the Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, in Havana, from January 1, 1899 to May 19, 1902⁵⁶⁶

Statement of the Work

State and Government – Hospitals and Charities

Purchase and Installation of Furniture and Office Material for Cuban National Library
 Repairs to Compostela Street barracks for Orphan Asylum
 Repairs to Widow's Home
 Repairs to Quintade Sta. Venia
 Repairs to Reina battery for use by inmates of San Jose Asylum
 Installation at SanJose Asylum (Reina battery) of part of cooking and boiling apparatus
 Installation of electric lights and emergency closets at San Jose Asylum
 Renovation of the Beneficencia
 Construction of operating room and installing plumbing at Reina Mercedes Hospital
 Installation of electric light plant at Reina Mercedes Hospital
 Paving with cement tiles the wooden floor of small-pox ward at Las Animas Hospital
 Repair to ambulances
 Replacement of crematory closets with dry closets for Reform School for Girls at Aldecoa
 Repairs and additions at San Lazaro Hospital
 Renovation and installation of plumbing and laundry in Aldecoa Hospital
 Repairs to building at Sagua la Grande, owned by Procural Hospital

State and Government – Jails

Repairs to infirmary of Presidio
 Conversion of Cabana into a Presidio
 Renovation and repairs to Recojidas Prison
 Repairs to hospital Militar for use as carcel
 Construction of bunks at Fort Atares
 Acquisition of materials needed for cleaning and whitewashing walls of Carcel
 Renewing gas pipe and fixtures at Presidio and Presidio Hospital
 Fort Vivac – addition for use as court room
 Marde Castle – for repairs and additions to fit it for use as a prison
 Laying cement walks at the Presidio Hospital

State and Government – Public Buildings

Renovation of general public buildings
 Renovation and repairs to Department of Havana Headquarters
 Renovation and repairs to office of Military Governor of Havana and Lt. Governor's Palace
 Renovation and repair to offices of the Chief Engineer
 Renovation and repairs to Custom House
 Renovation and repairs to Cuartel de la Fuerza for sanitation and quartering troops
 Renovation and repairs to Cuartel de la Fuerza for storage of archives of Cuba
 Purchase and installation of electric Lighting Plant at La Fuerza
 Installation of wiring at La Fuerza and Palace of Governor General Segundo Cabo
 Installation of wiring at house of Captain of the Port
 Conversion of Dragonas Barracks into correctional court
 Renovation and repair of old Post Office
 Repairs to Belasecain Barracks for Medical Department
 Plants for Governor-General's Palace
 Repairs to Governor-General's summer residence

⁵⁶⁶ “Report of Lieutenant W.J. Barden, Corps of Engineers, Late Chief Engineer, City of Havana for the Period ending May 20, 1902,” 9 August 1902, 57th Cong, 2d Sess, H. Docs, Supplementary Material, Department of Cuba, vol. 5, pt. 1, Tables following p. 52.

Table A:5 Continued

Statement of the Work

Repairs to Audencia and Carcel
 Construction of passenger landing
 Moving of two barrack buildings to Quarantine station and equipping of same
 Demolition of Monserrate street houses, Nos. 1 to 14
 Repair and paint fence enclosing Quinta de los Melinos
 Enclosing sheds located in the moat of La Fuerza
 Construction of portable shelving and purchase and erecting awnings at Auditor's office
 Repairs to first floor of Hospital Militar to fit it for use of tenant
 Repair of floors of the Post Office of Havana
 Alterations to military stable or use as vaccination station
 Renovation, sanitation, and repairs to general public buildings
 Renovation of Castillo de la Punta as office for the Commander of the Rural Guard
 Renovation at Havana Post Office
 Installation of shelving at La Fuerza for use of National Library and Museum
 Removal of toilet room and boiler shed from sea wall outside of Maestranza building
 Installation of closet fixtures in basement of Maestranza building
 Preparation of plans for renovation and repair of state buildings
 Repair of Cuartel de la Fuerza to provide storage archives for island of Cuba
 Furnishing criminal chamber of the Supreme Court

State and Government – Cuerpo do Artlleria

Improvements to Cabana Fortress for occupancy by the Cuerpo de Artlleria

Public Instruction – University and State School

Erection of two studios at the Havana School of Painting and Sculpture
 Repairs to "General Wood" Laboratory, University of Havana

Public Instruction – Public Buildings

Renovation of Quartermaster's store room No. 6 for three laboratories
 Repairs to top floor of Havana Institute
 Additions to School of Painting and Sculpture
 Repairs to roofs of University of Havana laboratories
 Conversion of Piroteenia Militar into a University

Finance – Customs Service

Construction of Custom House platform

Agriculture, Industry and Commerce – Expositions

Construction of relief map of Morro and Cabana

Public Works – Construction and Repairs

Survey of Fortifications
 Operation of dredging plant, care and repair of wharves
 Cleaning harbor front and removal of refuse to sea
 Dredging for United Railways of Havana
 Dredging for Almacenes de Deposito de la Habana
 Dredging for Empresa de Almacenes Hacendados
 Boring for Havana Electric Railway Co.
 Dredging site of dry dock of Krajewski-Pesant Co
 Dredging at Belot in the Ensenada de Marimelena for Krajewski-Pesant Co.
 Dredging for R. Truffin and Co.
 Dredging Slaughter-house creek
 Repairs to Luz wharf
 Repairs to dredge "Comercio"

Table A:5 Continued

Statement of the Work

Improvements of Cortina de Valdes
 Improvements to La Fuerza – moat restoration
 Advertising, printing specifications, forms, etc.
 Purchase of implements and supplies for the Isle of Pines
 Construction of a new pontoon bridge across the Almendares river
 Construction of new bridge over Agua Dulce Creek on Concha road
 Repair of retaining wall at Battery 5 in Vedado
 Repair of the Paula water supply pier
 Repairs to tug “Catalina”
 Repairs to 5 iron dump scows
 Dredging in Matanzas harbor
 Repair to Cantarranas bridge
 Survey of the Department
 Dredging for Ladislao Diaz y Hno
 Construction of band stand at La Punta park
 Municipalities – Instruction
 Repairs to Jesus de Monte school
 Repairs to school, 75 7th street Vedado
 Repairs to Estevez street school
 Preparation of plans for Santiago school
 Remodeling second floor of Hospital Militar for school purposes
 Alterations to cuartel at Guines for school purposes
 Repairs school building at Guines
 Alteration to cuartel of Santiago de las Vegas for school purposes
 Construction of three room school building at La Salud
 Construction of five school houses at La Guira de la Melena
 Construction of two 3 room and one 2 room school building at Guanajay
 Alterations to the Orphan Asylum at Cienfuegos to be used as a public school
 Construction of frame school building at Calabazar and Marianao
 Conversion of cuartel at Cardenas into a school building
 Construction of frame school building at Bolondron, Jaguey Grande and Agramonte
 Fitting the Casa de Mendigos, Beneficencia, for school building
 Construction of one 8 room school house at Sagua la Grande
 Repair to school building at Mariel
 Municipalities – Sanitation
 Street Cleaning
 Operation of street cleaning repair shops
 Operation of City Engineer Department repair shop
 Operation of Stable No. 1 and Fosos shops
 Operation of city Stable No. 2 and No. 3
 Street sprinkling
 Transportation
 Collection of Refuse
 Disposal of refuse by removal to sea
 Disposal of refuse by cremation
 Preservation, care, and security of parks
 Street cleaning for Regla
 Sanitary cleaning and repairs to streets and roads for Guanabacoa
 Grading and cleaning lots around Old City Wall

Table A:5 Continued

Statement of the Work

Extension of sewer on Tacon street
 Purchase of 3 sprinkling wagons
 Repair of tug "Narciso Deulofeu"
 Construction of sea wall at La Punta and extending same
 Repair of streets in Havana and Regla
 Construction and operation of stone crushing plant and quarry for Vento
 Survey for establishment of street grades
 Asphalt block pavement for C. G. Mendoza
 Asphalt block pavement for North American Trust Co.
 Laying asphalt block pavement at Aguiar and Amargura streets
 Asphalt block pavement in vicinity of Custom House and Governor's General Place
 Asphalt block pavement in vicinity of Supreme Court building
 Repairs to streets and changes of grades necessitated by the street railroad work
 Brick paving through gateways to general wharves of Havana
 Cross sectioning and profiling of streets
 Operation of Sewer Department
 Repairs to sewer at Reina Mercedes Hospital
 Removal of night soil
 Construction and operation of Electrozone plant
 Operation of Water Department
 Maintenance of Palatino Pumping Station
 Maintenance of Palatino and Zanja Real
 Installation of water supply to Quemados, Camp Columbia and Principe
 Purchase and installation of 5-ton scale at Cerro Pumping Station
 Purchase and installation of 2 new boilers at Cerro Pumping Station
 Improvement of Albear canal
 Improvement of Almendares River and Aqueduct at Vento
 Connection of water supply to Rela and Luyano
 Connection of water main to Aldecoa Hospital and City Farm
 Connection of water main to Military Hospital and Mercedes Hospital
 Connection of water supply to Casa Blanca, Morro and Cabano
 Construction of fences at Vento and Palatino
 Laying of water pipe on Zequeira street
 Installation of water pipe at Tamarindo Station
 Installation of public fountain at Casa Blanca
 Installation and removal of water meters for Havana Electric Railway Co.
 Water Department work for Havana Electric Railway Co.
 Repairs to urinals at Olavarrieta School
 Installation of water pipe at Tacon Market
 Installation of 4 inch water mains on 13th street Vedado
 Installation of water pipe for Havana Brewery
 Laying pipe line at Auditor and Falgueras streets
 Replacing wood floors with tiles and enlarging porch, Tacon 3
 Repairs to ambulances Nos. 2 and 8
 Renovation and sanitation of buildings (general)
 Razing commissary buildings at La Punta
 Experiments in paving
 Improvements in the Prado
 Construction of Pilar street

Table A:5 Continued

Statement of the Work

- Construction of a shed over well at Caivarío
- Moving disinfecting plant and installation at Machina wharf
- Connection of water supply at Arroyo Naranjo
- Construction of road parallel to Celzeda de Cerro
- Improvement of grounds occupied by Los Fosos
- Municipalities – Hospitals and Charities
 - Construction of stables at House of Succor, Amistad 78
 - Repairs to Hospital de Rigiene
 - Repairs to 24 House of Succor
 - Reconstruction of House of Succor at Casa Blanca
 - Repairs at Municipal Hospital No.
 - Repairs to ambulance House of Succor, 2nd district
 - Fitting part of Municipal Hospital No. 1 for tuberculosis patients
- Municipalities – Miscellaneous
- Municipalities – Administration
- Municipalities – Public Buildings
 - Repairs to Intendencia Militar (police headquarters)
 - Renovation and repairs to Paula street barracks for destitute widows and police station
 - Repairs to Municipal Vivae
 - Installation of iron closets at Vivae
 - Renovation and repairs of Governor-General's Palace (for Ayuntamiento)
 - Repairs to police station No. 4
 - Repairs to Colon Market
 - Repairs to Tacon Market
 - Repairs to pavement of Tacon Market
 - Urgent work at Tacon Market
 - Repairs to Estevez street police station
 - Repairs to Cuartel de Bomberos
 - Repairs to construction of stalls, Cuartel de Bomberos
 - Repairs to beef slaughter house and removal of swine slaughter house to same
 - Repairs to ceiling of Mayor's office
 - Repairs to skylight, police department buildings
 - Work at Dog Pound
 - Repairs to lightening rods at Maestranza
 - Work at 3d Police station
 - Painting general office at Colon Market
 - Work at 11th Police station
 - General repair and superintendence of Municipal buildings
 - Municipal Architect's Department
- Military Department – Barracks and Quarters
 - Renovation and repairs to Batteries 3, 4, and 5
 - Renovation and repairs to Rena and Santa Clara batteries
 - Renovation and repairs to Maestranza de Artilleria
 - Renovation and repairs to La Punta
 - Renovation of Morro and Cabana
 - Repairs to powder magazines, Santa Barbara and San Telmo
 - Renovation and repairs to Batteries 1, 2, and Velasco
 - Renovation and repairs to Castillo del Principe
 - Renovation and repairs to Dragones barracks (for quarters for troops)

Table A:5 Continued

Statement of the Work

Renovation and repairs to Belascoain barracks (for quarters for troops)
Construction of military stable
Repairs to Morro Castle for reception of prisoners
Addition to band barracks at Santa Clara battery
Military Department – Administration
Military Department – Miscellaneous

Table A:6 Expenditures according to Policy Areas Undertaken by the Engineer Department, City of Havana, and of the Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, in Havana, from January 1, 1899 to May 19, 1902⁵⁶⁷

<u>Assistance Provided to Policy Areas</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>
State and Government	
Central Office	337.00
Hospitals and Charities	136,839.00
Jails	81,120.00
Public Buildings	417,542.00
Cuerpo de Artilleria	75.00
Public Instruction	
University and State Schools	6,274.86
Public Buildings	74,467.24
Finance	
Customs Service	576.54
Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce	
Exposition	1,714.48
Public Works	
Construction and Repairs	436,509.73
Municipalities	
Instruction	189,228.20
Sanitation	5,186,705.73
Hospitals and Charities	6,492.50
Miscellaneous	4,439.80
Administration	219,529.93
Public Buildings	193,935.08
Military Department	
Barracks and Quarters	68,685.20
Miscellaneous	110.55
Administration	3,438.60
Total	7,028,021.44

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

Table A:7 Works Executed in the Province of Matanzas by the Department of Public Works
January 1, 1899 to May 19, 1902⁵⁶⁸

<u>Statement of the Work</u>	<u>Extent of Work</u>
Construction of New Roads Matanzas to Canasi	8 km, 2 bridges
Repair of Existing Roads Matanzas to Cidra	3 km
Construction of New Bridges Conclusion Creek	60 m steel
Repair of Existing Bridges Bridge San Luis over San Juan River	Repair – wood
Buoyage port of Cardenas	
Dredging port of Cardenas	Removal 146,148 cubic meters of sand and mud*
Lighthouse Punta Maya in Matanzas	Repairs
State wharf in Matanzas (including warehouse and railway)	New Construction
Market in Matanzas	New Construction
Flooded lands in El Roque	Studies Conducted
Municipalities, hygiene, street cleaning and drainage	Routine Service

Table A:8 Summary of Work Undertaken by the District Engineer, District of Matanzas, and of
the Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, in the Vicinity of Matanzas,
Since the Military Occupation in 1898⁵⁶⁹

<u>Statement of the Work</u>
Preparation of a military sketch map of the province
Repair of the Fire Department building in Matanzas
Construction of road from Trinidad to Casilda (3.5 miles)
Construction of the drainage ditch at Cienfuegos
Sanitation at San Jose de los Ramos
Construction of two bridges at San Jose de los Ramos
Extension of water supply system in Bolondron
Construction of a temporary water supply in Trinidad
Survey of Matanzas harbor
Sanitation and street repair in Matanzas
Sanitation, street cleaning and repair in garrisoned towns in the area
Plans developed and contract made for deep-water pier at Matanzas
Construction of a sea-wall in the San Juan River
Street cleaning, repair, and sanitation of the City of Matanzas

⁵⁶⁸ “Report of the Secretary of Public Works,” 30 November 1902, 5-14. * denotes project uncompleted at the time of transfer.

⁵⁶⁹ “Report of Major Hodges,” 1 August 1902, 27-28.

Table A:9 Works Executed in the Province of Santiago by the Department of Public Works
January 1, 1899 to May 19, 1902⁵⁷⁰

<u>Statement of the Work</u>	<u>Extent of Work</u>
Construction of New Roads	
Boniato to El Cristo	9.05 km*
Santiago de Cuba to San Luis	
Caney Road	
Repairs to Existing Roads	
Manzanillo to Bayamo	6.34 km - light wood bridge
Bayamo to Baire	4.55 km - light wood bridges
Santiago and Caney to Seville	2.5 km
Construction of New Bridges	
Mao Bridge (Boniato to El Cristo)	13.2 m – steel
Aguacate Bridge (Boniato to El Cristo)	18.5 m – steel
Paso de la Virgen Bridge	32 m – steel*
El Deposito Bridge (Guantanamo to Palenque)	26 m – wood
Ulloa and Naranjo Bridges	
Purgatorio Bridge	
San Juan Bridge	
Repairs to Existing Bridges	
La Bomba Bridge (Guantanamo to Palenque)	26 m – wood
Palmarejo Bridge (Guantanamo to Palenque)	11.5 m - wood
Caimanera Wharf in Guantanamo	Repairs
Gibara Wharf	New Construction
Dredging Port of Santiago de Cuba	Transferred to Military
Sewerage – City of Santiago de Cuba	Transferred to Military
School House in Veguitas	Transferred to Military
Gutters in City of Santiago de Cuba	Transferred to Military
Lodging for laborers, Manzanillo School	Repairs
School House in El Cobre	Transferred to Military
Court of First Instance of Manzanillo	Repairs
School House at Songo	Transferred to Military
Lodging for laborers, Mayari School	Transferred to Military
Model School House of Santiago de Cuba	Transferred to Military
Streets in Holguin	Transferred to Military

⁵⁷⁰ “Report of the Secretary of Public Works,” 30 November 1902, 5-14. * denotes project uncompleted at the time of transfer.

Table A:10 Summary of Work Undertaken by the District Engineers in the Province of Santiago, and of the Chief Engineer, Department of Cuba, in the Vicinity of Santiago, Since the Military Occupation in 1898⁵⁷¹

Statement of the Work

Improvements to water supply at Santiago
 Construction of a lighthouse at Guantanamo
 Repair of the lighthouse at Morro Castle, Santiago
 Contracts for sewage and water system
 Contracts for extension of Pier No. 51 by 150 feet
 Repair of Santiago aqueduct
 Installation of a pumping plant
 Construction of a water supply system for Guantanamo (including a dam on Guaso River)
 Contract for construction of a wharf at Nispero Bay
 Installation of a dredge at Santiago
 Filling along bay front
 Renovation of the Santiago jail
 Studies undertaken for a new water system of Santiago
 Installation of a water supply system at Morro Castle
 Installation of a water supply system for Palma Soriano
 Road construction and repair in Santiago for sanitation purposes (90% of roads improved)
 Preparation of a map of the City of Santiago
 Construction of New Roads
 Road from Santiago to San Luis
 El Caney Road*
 Road from Santiago to Cobre (12 miles)
 Road from San Luis to Dos Caminos
 Construction of Santiago Schoolhouse
 Construction and repair of streets and sidewalks in San Luis
 Construction and repair of streets and sidewalks in Palma Soriano
 Construction and repair of streets and sidewalks in Dos Caminos
 Repair and remodeling of the Castle of Seboruco in Baracoa for use of barracks
 Conversion of Spanish barracks into stables
 Draining of two large lagoons in Baracoa for sanitation purposes
 Construction of a government wharf
 Construction of stairs from wharf to custom house
 Street cleaning and sanitation in Baracoa
 Repair and drainage improvements to Manzanillo-Bayamo Road
 Repair and improvements to Manzanillo-Campechuela Road
 Repair and improvements to Bayamo-Baire Road
 Construction of four bridges on the Bayamo road
 Construction of two bridges on the Cauto road
 Construction of four bridges on the Campechuela road
 Construction of one bridge on the Yara road
 Repair and fitting buildings for schoolhouses
 Construction and repair of roads near Bayamo
 Repair and reconstruction of streets in Holguin
 Street cleaning and sanitation in Holguin and Gibara
 Construction of sewers for Holguin Barracks and jail
 Improvement of two public parks in Holguin

⁵⁷¹ "Report of Major Hodges," 1 August 1902, 31-40.

Table A:10 Continued

Statement of the Work

Improvements to water supply at Holguin and Puerto Padre
 Improvement to water supply at Gibara failed
 Improvements to cemeteries t Holguin, Puerto Padre, and Las Tunas
 Repairs to hospitals at Holguin, Puerto Padre, and Gibara
 Repairs to jail at Holguin
 Reconstruction of school houses at various points
 Construction and/or restoration of 79 miles of telephone lines
 Repairs to turnpike between from Holguin to Aguas Claras (6 miles)
 Improvement of country roads
 Construction of 47 new bridges around Holguin (mostly of timber construction)
 Repairs to Holguin barracks and hospitals

Table A:11 Source and Value of Cuban Imports during American Occupation⁵⁷²

Article Imported	United States	%	Other Countries	%	Total
Animal / Animal Products	11,146,526	28	29,218,217	72	40,364,743
Foodstuffs	40,656,444	54	34,577,006	46	75,233,450
Liquors and Beverages	1,902,096	18	8,531,901	82	10,433,997
Cotton, silk, vegetable fibers wool, etc	3,458,212	10	30,278,566	90	33,736,778
Metals / Metal manufactures	14,777,502	71	5,988,188	29	20,765,690
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, paints, etc.	2,281,297	46	2,723,053	54	5,004,350
Clay, earth, & manufactures	719,348	46	869,562	54	1,588,910
Marble and stone	178,842	40	274,898	60	453,740
Glass & glassware	676,309	37	1,163,148	63	1,839,457
Paper & manufactures	1,076,391	29	2,636,136	71	3,712,527
Wood & manufactures	5,364,453	82	1,168,323	18	6,532,776
Oils	2,118,134	92	205,614	8	2,323,748
Misc.	13,434,756	57	10,012,213	43	23,446,969
Total	97,790,310	43	127,646,825	57	225,437,135

⁵⁷² "Report of the Secretary of War," 1 December 1902, 279.

Table A:12 Destinations and Value of Cuban Exports during American Occupation⁵⁷³

<u>Article Imported</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Other Countries</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tobacco & manufactures	45,400,671	55	37,596,444	45	82,997,115
Sugar & molasses	77,648,819	100	50,822	0	77,669,641
Wood, unmanufactured	1,752,451	58	1,266,516	42	3,018,967
Iron & manganese ore	2,587,715	97	70,608	3	2,658,323
Fruits and nuts	2,547,392	100	3,828		2,551,220
All other articles	5,479,092	47	6,204,709	53	11,683,801
Total	135,416,140	75	45,192,927	25	180,609,67

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 281.

Table A:13 Expenditure per Appropriation in Cuba during American Occupation⁵⁷⁴

Appropriation	1900	1901	To May 20, 1902	Total
Administration		1,139,911.67	632,102.78	1,772,014.45
Agriculture	207,963.83	172,519.36	38,244.79	418,727.98
Barracks and Quarters	946,854.77	360,709.97	124,234.33	1,431,799.07
Bills of Lading and Transportation	175,685.00	105,014.99	45,000.00	325,699.99
Captains of Ports	64,582.67	72,127.87	29,653.31	166,363.85
Customs Houses	1,016,374.23	975,732.75	384,039.91	2,376,146.89
Charities and Hospitals	1,757,697.08	1,589,459.13	547,337.66	3,894,493.87
Census	118,088.91			118,088.91
Elections	81,273.94	69,565.38	123,195.86	274,035.18
Expositions	19,729.85	103,536.07	12,659.76	135,925.68
Finance	285,870.25	318,130.61	141,047.36	745,048.22
Jails	490,651.48	511,232.39	219,791.03	1,221,674.90
Justice	701,288.01	991,656.61	404,608.50	2,097,553.12
Light Houses	120,586.97	284,938.98	71,916.62	477,442.57
Miscellaneous	7,885.82	6,328.97	2,092.83	16,307.62
Municipalities	58,896.06	1,486.00	20,000.00	80,382.06
Police	988,077.61	367,614.89	2,921.60	1,358,614.10
Postal Service	571,070.07	440,901.00	176,705.88	1,188,676.95
Public Buildings	191,974.58	913,123.07	602,493.27	1,707,590.92
Public Instruction				
Normal State Schools and University	507,647.43	898,068.97	352,030.81	1,757,747.21
Municipal Schools	2,685,905.17	3,038,943.80	1,134,023.96	6,858,872.93
Repairs and Supplies	815,907.71	274,470.85	199,142.86	1,289,521.42
Public Works	1,895,256.07	1,692,754.41	740,252.14	4,328,262.62
Quarantine Service	275,228.56	209,797.90	62,015.35	547,041.81
Immigration Station			19,558.72	19,558.72
Cuerpo de Artilleria		24,590.81	24,930.67	49,521.48
Rural Guard	1,789,824.98	929,111.28	356,168.68	3,075,104.94
Sanitation	3,018,903.50	2,787,093.16	1,035,808.40	6,841,805.06
State and Government	267,496.43	399,240.53	102,558.77	769,295.73
Settlement Warrants Issued	90.66	375.69	17,114.82	17,581.17
Total	19,060,811.64	18,678,437.11	7,621,650.67	45,360,899.42

⁵⁷⁴ "Report of Frank M'Coy," 1 January 1901, Exhibit W, 259-260; "Report of Frank McCoy, 1901," 30 January 1902, Exhibit T; and "Report of Frank McCoy," 8 December 1902, Exhibit H.

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