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“The Right Sort of White Men”: General Leonard Wood and the U. S. Army in the Southern Philippines, 1898-1906

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“The Right Sort of White Men”: General Leonard Wood and the U. S. Army in the
Southern Philippines, 1898-1906

Omar Hassan Dphrepaulezz
University of Connecticut, 2013

This dissertation examines an encounter with the Muslim world within the context of U.S. overseas expansion from 1898 to 1906 and the transformation of white masculinity in the United States from the 1870s to the 1920s. In 1906, in the southernmost portion of the Philippines, the U.S. military encountered grassroots militant resistance. Over one thousand indigenous Muslim Moros on the island of Jolo, in the Sulu archipelago, occupied a dormant volcanic crater and decided to oppose American occupation. This meant defying their political leaders, who accommodated the Americans. These men and women, fighting in the defense of Islamic cultural and political autonomy, produced the spiritual, intellectual, and ideological justification for anti-imperial resistance. In this dissertation, I examine how underlying cultural assumptions and categories simplified definitions of race and gender so that American military officials could justify the implementation of U.S. policy as they saw fit in the Southern Philippines. I argue that U.S. military officials had wide latitude in designing the military campaigns and conduct they believed were justified in order to implement and enact imperialistic policy. Occupying military forces set the template through their campaigns and strategies, whether effective or not, that became the historical experience that shaped U.S. foreign policy. For these reasons, I focus on how social constructions of race, gender, a U.S. ideology of imperialism and expansion, and lived experience with

Native Americans, all shaped how U.S. military officials formed ideas about who the “Moros” were, how to deal with them, and how to construct them as a savage “other” as extra-continental expansion continued throughout the twentieth century.

“The Right Sort of White Men”: General Leonard Wood and the U. S. Army in the
Southern Philippines, 1898-1906

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APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

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Introduction

On March 5, 1906, the United States Army attacked a band of Filipino Muslims who had taken refuge on Bud Dajo, a volcanic summit on Sulu Island in the Sulu archipelago of the southern Philippines. The operation culminated in the massacre of approximately seven hundred to one thousand men, women, and children. It fed outrage among anti-imperialists in the United States appalled at the carnage of empire building.¹ The angry reaction surprised Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Southern Philippines. Prior to the assault on Bud Dajo, Wood and his staff appear to have concluded that the gathering on the summit was an opportunity to demonstrate U.S. military dominance and political authority in the region. In its aftermath Wood and his staff viewed the event as an extremely effective counterinsurgent operation, which had met all its stated objectives. It also exonerated an approach to dealing with the indigenous Muslim population that Wood had advocated since his arrival as Governor General of the southern Philippines, which was renamed the Moro Provinces by the Philippines Commission. Wood and his staff hoped that with the eradication of this symbol of anti-colonial defiance they could launch a civilizing mission. U.S. policy-makers decided that the Moros were a savage people for whom “warfare was their religion and like a national sport” and who were incapable of self-rule. Vice-Presidential Candidate Theodore Roosevelt declared that allowing self-rule for Filipinos would be like “granting self-government to an Apache reservation under some local chief.”²

¹ Charles Byler, “Pacifying the Moros: American Military Government in the Southern Philippines, 1899-1913,” *Military Review* 85 (2005): 41-45.

² Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, A Biography, Volume I* (New York: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1931), 406; Herman Hagedorn, ed., *Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 60; Peter Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920* (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1977), 156; Robert A. Fulton, *Moroland: The History of Uncle Sam and the Moros, 1899-1920* (Bend, Oregon: Tumalo Creek Press, 2009), 163, 166.

This colonial policy rested on the premise that Muslim Filipinos remained outside the orbit of civilization and in need of racial uplift by the United States. The process of racial uplift often required the destruction of so-called barbarians. Leonard Wood particularly believed that such “savages” understood only the language of violence. As one army marching song phrased it: “Civilize them with a Krag.” Colonial administrators needed to quash political and military opposition and enlist ruling Muslim elites in support of U.S. goals in order to establish order in the region. Once order was established policy-makers could begin the civilizing project in earnest.³

This dissertation examines this encounter with the Muslim world within the context of U.S. overseas expansion from 1898 to 1906 and the transformation of white masculinity, which occurred in the United States from the 1870’s to the 1920’s.⁴ In 1906, in the southernmost portion of the Philippines, the U.S. military encountered grass-roots militant resistance. Over one thousand indigenous Muslims on the island of Jolo, in the Sulu archipelago, occupied a dormant volcanic crater and decided to oppose this imperialist project, which meant defying their political leaders, who accommodated the Americans. These *mujahiduun*, and *mujahidatt*, fighting in the defense of Islamic cultural and political autonomy, produced the spiritual, intellectual, and ideological justification

³ Brian McAlister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 27. The U.S. Army adopted the Krag-Jorgenson rifle in 1893. It was a smokeless, bolt-action, repeating, .30 caliber rifle. John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 67-70; W. K. Che Man, *Muslim Separatism: The Moros of Southern Philippines and the Malays of Southern Thailand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 49; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume II*, 43.

⁴ Gail Bederman *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 15,17.

for anti-imperial resistance.⁵ The massacre at Bud Dajo has not been examined by historians within the context of shifting ideas about race and gender in the United States.

This dissertation seeks to rectify this omission by examining the pacification of the Muslims in the southern Philippines as a distinctly different phase from the counterinsurgency fought in the north from 1898 to 1902 against westernized *Illustrados*.⁶ My study of this event also concentrates on the process of race-making in American history and its linkage with shifting gender formation. Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood were not only principal actors in this process of destruction of Tausug Moros' polity but also very close friends and proponents of a new brand of white masculinity for a new century and a vigorous overseas American empire. They saw this expansionist project a new frontier for white men to test his mettle against savage and barbarous races. Men like them conflated Islam with savagery and pigeonholed Muslim Filipinos as a particularly uncivilized race of people. Once armed with this certainty of "Moro character," U.S. Army officials embarked on a campaign to eradicate Muslims' political and cultural authority.

The U.S. imperialist response to the Moros exhibited the contradiction at the heart of modernity. During the nineteenth century the nation-state emerged as the primary mode of political society in the Western world. Classical liberalism and free-market capitalism spread as the primary modes of political and economic life. The official ideology of classical liberalism, especially regarding individual rights, was problematic in

⁵ *Mujahiduun* means "the ones who struggle in the cause of Allah" and denotes the male gender. *Mujahidatt* means the same for female gender.

⁶ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 61-62. The *Illustrados* were the elite class of Filipinos who grew up in households where Spanish was a second language. They were educated, primarily male, and produced the intellectual basis for a Filipino nationalism. Jose Rizal was foremost amongst them as a potent nationalist symbol of a Philippines nation.

a system predicated upon racial hierarchies and the de facto marginalization of specific groups as “out groups.” As historian Chandan Reddy points out, “The nation-state’s claim to provide freedom from violence depends on its systematic deployment of violence against peoples perceived as non-normative and irrational.”⁷ In order to provide an environment that broadened access to economic mobility for whites, classes of non-white others had to be established, policed, and reified in public discourse. American historical actors constructed racial and gendered categories and used them to “other” entire populations. This placed them outside of the hegemonic community of white American citizens, denied them the basics rights of citizenship, which contradicted the ideological basis of the liberal nation state.⁸

Violence carried out against non-whites was a central feature of 19th century American political life. The liberal nation-state, which emerged via continental westward expansion, was erected upon the bodies of enslaved African-Americans and communities of indigenous people. The late 19th century transition to global empire as a result of the Spanish-American War was not ideologically seamless, but it occurred within an ideological continuity of violent territorial expansion.

The Philippine Islands fell into possession by the United States through the 1899 Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American War. The United States acquired the islands, along with Cuba, Guam, and Puerto Rico, for the paltry sum of twenty million dollars. The United States fought a bloody insurgency against a Filipino nationalist movement in the north from 1898 to 1902. United States policymakers used claims of

⁷ Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the U.S. State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 18-20.

⁸ Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* 3rd Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2007), 201-03.

economic benefits for all Americans as rationale for expansion into the Pacific. The myth of “free land” and yeoman farmer, firmly established within the cultural psyche of America, suggested the presence of infinite frontiers upon which white men could tame the wilderness into civilization while preserving individual liberty, both economic and political. They connected national security to continued economic growth, which they argued preserved the unique American character and society.⁹

The United States occupied the southern islands, which did not participate in the insurgency, with the hope that the Moros of that region would cooperate in the acquisition of this newest addition to the American empire. Islam had been the dominant religion in the south, where Muslims controlled thirty percent of the landmass of the islands, despite numbering about ten percent of the population of the Philippines. The largest of the Muslim ethnic groups in the south was the Maguindanaons, who made up about seventy-five percent of the population of the island of Mindanao, the second largest Philippine island. The second largest of the Muslim ethnic groups, and noted as the fiercest and most effective of fighters by the Spanish and the Americans, was the Tausug. The Tausug lived in the Sulu archipelago and were the dominant ethnic group of that region.¹⁰ The Tausug and Maguindanaons had a solid tradition of resistance to foreign dominance and vigorously opposed U.S. hegemony from the moment Americans landed on their shores.

Malay missionaries brought Islamic religion and civilization to the Philippines from nearby Islamic societies in Southeast Asia in the twelfth century C.E. These

⁹ Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), 189-94; Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 320, 347; Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 222-23.

¹⁰ Caesar Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Diliman, 1999), 5, 23, 69.

missionaries were orientated toward Sufism, the mystical tradition within Islam. They tolerated the indigenous cultural, and often spiritual, institutions and practices in the communities they encountered. They lived within these indigenous communities. They intermarried with the local population and adapted much of the political structures of the people to whom they were proselytizing.¹¹ Although U.S. officials claimed that the Moros possessed only a basic understanding of Islam, they had a solid intellectual tradition of Islamic scholarship, which produced versions of the *sharia* filtered through their cultures and histories.

When the Americans landed in the southern Philippines and began their colonial relationship with the Muslims of the Philippines they readily adapted the moniker the Spanish had given the Muslims, Moros. Also, much as Americans had done with Native Americans, they unconsciously conflated all Muslim ethnicities into an abstract “Moro race,” especially when it suited military and colonial expediency.

Methodology

In this dissertation, I examine how “underlying cultural assumptions and categories” simplified definitions of race and gender so that American military officials

¹¹ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 46-55. The Shafi school of Islamic jurisprudence is found in use in East Africa, Yemen, Palestine, and Southeast Asia. It is the third of the four schools of law founded in the Islamic legal tradition. Sufi’s mystics, in the Islamic tradition, exported Islam to the region. Once in Southeast Asia, it adapted to many of the existing indigenous religious traditions, making it rather unique and specific to each region. By destroying the indigenous political structures, United States policymakers weakened the efficacy of this localized Islamic tradition as a discourse within which to articulate a basis for opposition. In the late twentieth century and contemporary times, the Islamic groups that have risen to the forefront of the “Moro” struggle for autonomy and independence have generally been articulating internationalist Pan-Islamic based revivalist movements. The most recent and lethal example of this would be the Abu Sayyaf movement founded by a veteran of the Afghan wars who trained in Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic political theory in Saudi Arabia.

could justify the implementation of U.S. policy as they saw fit.¹² This study further argues that U.S. military officials had wide latitude in designing the military campaigns and conduct they believed were justified in order to implement the more general U.S. policy of imperialism. In doing so, occupying military forces set the template through their campaigns and strategies, whether effective or not, that became the historical experience that shaped U.S. foreign policy. For these reasons I will especially focus on how social constructions of race, gender, a U.S. ideology of imperialism and expansion, and lived experience with Native Americans all shaped how U.S. military officials formed ideas about who the “Moros” were, how to deal with them as a group, and, more specifically, how the United States should operate in dealings with them as the savage “other” as extra-continental expansion would continue throughout the twentieth century.

I also note the complexities of constructions of race among builders of U.S. empire and its close relationship to gender and, in the case of the Muslims in the Philippines, religion. Prior discussions of race have centralized phenotypical construction and given short shrift to the roles that culture and religion have played in racializing subordinated communities. In other words, how did policymakers demarcate the boundaries of the other besides the recognition and emphasis of phenotypical characteristics like skin color, hair texture? It is my contention that other factors were employed in these constructions, and in my study I highlight the role that religion and culture, as well as gender, played in the construct of the racial other in the southern Philippines.¹³

¹² Frank Costigliola and Thomas G. Paterson, “Defining and Doing the History of United States Foreign Relations: A Primer,” in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12.

¹³ Mathew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and*

U. S. officials shaped attitudes toward Muslim Filipinos within the context of white supremacist ideology commonly accepted in this era. Notions of race, which were part of this ideology, conflated images of savagery with racial inferiority and regarded the Moros as irrevocably primitive. I argue that race, as a concept and category, varies across time and space, and that marginalized groups themselves catalyze reconstructions of hierarchical racial categories. Race also shifts according to a variety of factors attributed to the people generally defined as an inferior “Other.” In the Philippines from 1898 to 1906, officials categorized Moros on the basis of their religious and cultural differences, as well as the lack of clear binaries of gender.¹⁴

The first goal of this dissertation is to suggest that ideas of race represented attitudes and beliefs about the differences between Moros and American military officials based on religion in an effort to demonize and subordinate them. In this way Islam, wrongly understood in a racial context rather than as an ideology and faith practice, shaped how U.S. officials defined the intrinsic elements of a “Moro character.” U.S. officials adapted the ethnic identifier of Moro from the Spanish who had assigned it to Muslims based on generalizations of all Muslims as “Moors,” like their earlier adversaries whom they had ejected from Spain not long before they occupied the Philippines. It did not become a generally accepted self- identifier by Muslims in the Philippines until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁵

Abroad, 1876-1917 (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); 154-5. : Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 206-07; Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Anchor Books, 2012), 6, 205, 227.

¹⁴ Siobhan B. Somerville, *Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2000), 23-24; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 25, 140; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 20-21. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefanic, *Critical race Theory: An Introduction* (New York University Press, 2001), 7-9, 22; Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2007), 17, 35.

¹⁵ Edward M. Kuder, “The Moros in the Philippines,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 4.2 (1945): 119-26.

Islam provided the intellectual and spiritual context for Moros' resistance to U.S. rule. A strong tradition of militant jihad emerged from several centuries of struggle between the Spanish and the Tausug.¹⁶ This knowledge and understanding of Islam motivated many of them to declare jihad, or "*fisabil*" as Moros called it, against American soldiers. Jihad became common when Americans attempted to usurp Islamic political and cultural institutions. By grounding resistance to U.S. occupation in Moro Islamic ideology, they resisted attempts by Americans to define and control them. Individual Moros, even those with only a rudimentary understanding of Islam, understood the primacy of Islamic governance in the *sharia* and the proscriptions against living under the rule of non-believers. Hundreds of years of resistance to Spanish imperialism had created a culture of jihad.¹⁷ To Moros the spectacle of armed U.S. soldiers criss-crossing Mindanao with no regard for the sovereignty of the locals provoked violent reactions. It was not misinterpreted or misunderstood. Having engaged the Spanish in armed struggle to maintain autonomy, and armed with an ideological context of Islam, Moros once again responded with force in an attempt to stop this invasion of their lands.

Moros came together on Bud Dajo because of changing political circumstances that resulted from the American occupation and a shifting social environment. While many Tausug datus made accommodations with American authorities, many ordinary Tausug refused to abide by them.¹⁸ Wood's offensives made them landless and the ebb and flow of marriage, death, and births, had been interrupted by the relentless

¹⁶ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 73-74, 121-40.

¹⁷ Renato Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War, 1899-1913: Implications on Muslim Mindanao, the Philippines" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2005), 120-21; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 380-82.

¹⁸ Datus are semi-autonomous rulers of bands of Tausug. They recognized the authority of the Sultan based upon his purported lineal connection the Prophet Muhammad.

counterinsurgency activities of the U.S. Army. Out of this cauldron of violence and destruction the tradition of militant jihad revived. Landless Tausug families and their sympathizers, created a community on the summit where they formulated grass roots resistance. Traditional political leadership within the Tausug community did not direct this resistance. It emerged from the experience of displacement and to fill a power vacuum left by datu who had accommodated with the Americans.¹⁹

I characterize this event as a massacre, borrowing my definition of massacre from Leeanna Keith's *The Colfax Massacre*. Keith argues that given the number of fatalities and the one-sided nature of the confrontation between blacks and whites in Colfax, Louisiana in 1873, the term massacre is appropriate. In addition Keith points out the historical tendency to label such events as "riots" in an attempt to characterize Reconstruction-era blacks as prone to rioting. Similar characterizations of one-sided confrontations with Native Americans, such as the Wounded Knee massacre, are repackaged in the white supremacist press of the day as "battles" in order to characterize the victims as aggressive savages. Massacres in the American West, and the Philippines, functioned as a justification for the civilizing mission as well as a method of imperial conquest. I concur with Keith and cite the same imbalance of power between U.S. Army and Bud Dajo protagonists in 1906 as justification for defining this event as a massacre.²⁰

The historical record of U. S. involvement in the southern Philippines illustrates the American civilizing mission in the country at large. This imperial project rested upon the desire to drag barbarians and savages into the light of progress and forcefully bestow

¹⁹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 255-57; Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 171.

²⁰ Leeanna Keith, *The Colfax Massacre: The Untold Story of Black Power, White Terror, and the Death of Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), xii-xv; Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 288, 293-95.

upon them the twin gifts of free-market capitalism and liberal democracy. The “empire of liberty” promised by Thomas Jefferson began with the dubious and contentious mission to deal with the “Indian problem,” and came to include the “Negro problem,” the “Philippine problem,” the “Moro problem,” and, in contemporary times, the “problem of Islamic extremism.” The common denominator of all these problems has been their self-inflicted nature as one of many consequences of aggressive United States economic and territorial expansion. It is no coincidence that these missionary impulses and drives to remake the savage Other coincided with regions that held some resource desired by Americans, or were deemed strategic for the preservation and expansion of American hegemony. By the end of the nineteenth century, economic expansion and anxiety over the loss of mythic free land provided the condition for a metamorphosis in the nature of this discourse and the nature of U.S. empire.²¹

Late nineteenth-century expansion was built upon the intellectual foundation of several men who wrote extensively and provided the spiritual, economic, and strategic rationale for the “new empire” built during the twilight of continental expansion. Josiah Strong, Brooke Adams, Alfred Mahan, and Frederick Jackson Turner were men who provided this intellectual rationale. Josiah Strong articulated a spiritual and racial foundation for the manner in which officials would administer non-whites outside of the continental U.S. Like Turner, Strong believed that the closing of the frontier presented a spiritual and cultural crisis for the white male in the United States, but argued that Anglo-

²¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1920); LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 61, 63-65.

Saxon expansion characterized by Protestant missionary activity was the solution to the crisis.²²

This transition and reconfiguration in the cultural and political discourse of the United States did not signify a radical shift. It was simply a metamorphosis of nineteenth-century continental expansion into an overseas, extra-continental project. From its colonial origins the nature of U.S. expansion had been racial warfare, expelling or exterminating one “race” of people to make room for another. The language of imperial expansion was nestled within an ideology of political egalitarianism for white men and moral, spiritual, and economic uplift for indigenous peoples. The twinning of these discourses created a moral imperative for whites and a language of essentialism to describe indigenous people. The logic was that if God had ordained the “overspreading of the continent with the Anglo-Saxon race” and the bringing of Christian civilization to lesser peoples, then Anglo-Saxons had an implied duty to remake peoples being disenfranchised or removed. Consequently, American imperialist whites articulated an all-encompassing methodology of imperialism that justified acts that resulted in cultural genocide.²³ It was never enough to appropriate resources and land because the language and ideology of U.S. empire also called for the remaking of subordinate populations into pale replicas of white Americans. U.S. imperial ideology demanded cultural, spiritual, economic, and intellectual hegemony over its victims.²⁴

²² LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 62, 72-79; Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Anchor Books, 2012), 207-11.

²³ Steven Leonard Jacobs, *Lemkin on Genocide* (Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2012), 40-42. Raphael Lemkin defined genocide as crime against humanity after World War II. He included cultural genocide as one of the eight dimensions of the crime. Cultural genocide as defined by Lemkin is to “obliterate every reminder of former cultural patterns.” Examples he gave were the compulsory use of the occupiers’ language, the banning or marginalizing of religious practices, and the banning of cultural practices integral to the efficacy of cultural identity.

²⁴ LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 72-74; Gregory Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and*

Despite this evolving discourse of a new empire outside of the continental United States, army officers and policymakers returned to familiar frames of reference for dealing with new populations. They used the experience of dispossessing the Native Americans to form strategies to pacify the Moros, and the racial constructions of Indians and African Americans to craft them both distinct and Other. Officials characterized Filipino Muslims in a manner that defined them as a savage people much like the Native Americans. The U.S. had dispossessed Native Americans within the context of this prevalent discourse while they implemented a combination of armed force and legal machinations in order to abrogate and break treaties when it suited the political, cultural, and social agenda of the hegemonic community of whites. As already noted, when Theodore Roosevelt accepted the vice-presidential nomination, he declared that allowing self-rule for Filipinos would be like “granting self-government to an Apache reservation under some local chief.” In likening the Filipinos to the Native Americans, Roosevelt deployed a powerful parallel that constructed an entire community as savages in order to justify the treatment of these people as “wards” of the federal government.²⁵ Officers not only established a precedent of irregular combat against the Moros; they introduced similar patterns of paternalistic control from the U.S. western plains into the southern Philippines. The same racial attitudes that provided ideological justification for the eradication of Native Americans influenced the rationalization for the massacre at Bud Dajo in 1906.²⁶

Continental Conquest (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 155-56.

²⁵ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 205; Peter G. Gowing, “*Moros and Indians*”: *Commonalities of Purpose, Policy, and Practice in American Government of Two Hostile Subject Peoples* (Marawi City, Philippines: Dansalan Research Center of Dansalan College, 1977), 14, 15; Thomas McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 90.

²⁶ War Department Annual Reports, Reports of the Chief, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Fourth Annual report

This is not to argue that American officials merely transferred racial constructions of Native Americans to Muslim Filipinos. The process of race-making was a complex, contingent exercise, especially dependent upon the circumstances and necessities of the mission faced by the U.S. military in that moment.²⁷ While the experience in the American West gave officials the language, and sometimes the inspiration, for description of the Moros and justification of policies, they made clear distinctions between the two. In fact, American officials were often thoughtfully selective regarding the tactics they used in the pacification of the Moros. Leonard Wood, however, conducted his counterinsurgency actions against the Moros based upon a flawed, and somewhat invented, narrative of his success against the Apache in the Arizona territories. Wood's behavior in this period was something of a departure from what had been a fairly nuanced, albeit racist, construction of Moro racial character by most American officials.

It is not a matter of whether or not U.S. policymakers conceived of Moros like Native American populations or rather constructed a new and novel racial identity for them.²⁸ Rather, policymakers equipped with a toolbox of ready-made racial characteristics borrowed from them in order to categorize Moros, and indeed all Filipinos. By the late nineteenth century scientific racism had expanded beyond the binary of white and non-white and created a plethora of categories of race in order to explain phenotypical variations in humanity, and rank them upon a subjective scale predicated upon white Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy.²⁹

of the Philippines Commission, Appendix VI, Washington Printing Office, 1904.

²⁷ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 4, 19, 127.

²⁸ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 5.

²⁹ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 17, 21, 29-31.

Scientific classification, scientific management, and technological innovation seemed to offer solutions for late nineteenth-century societal problems. Society was driven by innovations in science and technology and medicine. The growth of scientific management spread the dubious idea that through technology, social, political, and racial problems could be solved. This widely embraced notion combined with teleological ideas about human development provided an ideological and functional context for an American imperialism that denied the basic rights of humanity to these “wards” even as they insisted on their importance for white citizens.³⁰

In addition, this study will illuminate the nature of occupation, colonialism, and cultural conscription of colonial subjects as inherently destructive and potentially murderous. The period this study covers is a preliminary phase to a mission of civilization in which people like Theodore Roosevelt, David Prescott Barrows, Najeeb Saleeby, and Leonard Wood felt compelled to engage. These men were not homicidal monsters; in fact, they saw themselves as acting in a benevolent fashion. Furthermore, despite their admiration of the efficiency of the British system, they believed Americans had more altruistic motivations. The mechanics of conquest, however, contradicted the benevolent language of American exceptionalism and empire. Civilization required destruction for its targeted population. Stripped of the rhetorics of benevolence and paternalism, faced with resistance, conquest assumed its naked character of extreme measures and violent coercion to achieve its goals. Men like David Prescott Barrows, Wood, Reverend Charles Brent, and Robert Bullard supported acts of extreme violence, which culminated in the massacre at Bud Dajo.

³⁰ Merrill E. Gates, “Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians,” in Francis Paul Prucha ed. *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings of the “Friends of the Indian, 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 46-47.

Even those individuals who constructed Philippine policy with an orientation toward service and beneficence exhibited a degree of cold-blooded paternalism marked by a casual disregard for the destruction of Moro societies and peoples. Barrows, one the most vivid examples, was enthusiastically supportive of harsh measures taken against Moros and Christian Filipinos who resisted. His reaction to the massacre at Samar was indignation that military tactics were being questioned at all. In his zeal for the transformation of lesser peoples he was willing to tolerate genocidal policies. His opinions regarding the Moros were much more severe because he saw them as ranking lower in the hierarchy of civilized peoples than the Christian insurrectos.³¹ As much as Barrows verbalized a commitment to the improvement of Filipino society and has been portrayed as such within the historiography, he was an eager participant and urged others on in the exploitation of lands. Furthermore, his ambition to establish schools was part of a larger imperial project that in the south amounted to cultural imperialism and the utter destruction of Moro culture and religiosity. His insistence that Filipinos be taught English and learn American history, rather than that of the Philippines, was part of his grander vision of eradicating an autonomous Filipino cultural identity.³²

David Prescott Barrows had extensive experience studying American indigenous peoples for the purpose of imperial domination and cultural genocide and saw the

³¹ David Prescott Barrows to Governor General William Howard Taft, 29 March 1903, Papers of David Prescott Barrows, Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley; Kenton J. Clymer, “Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man’s Burden in the Philippines,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 45.4 (1976): 495-517, 509. In September of 1901 the U.S. Army engaged in the massacre of thousands of Filipinos on the island of Samar during the Philippines-American Insurgency. The American public outrage was such that congressional hearings were called and several officers were court martialed. For anti-imperialists the massacre was a symbol of the evils of overseas expansion.

³² David Prescott Barrows to Governor General William Howard Taft, 29 March 1903, Papers of David Prescott Barrows; Lecture Notes, University of Chicago, 2 July 1896, Lecture II: Darwin and the Theory of Natural Selection, “Americanizing the Philippines,” Papers of David Prescott Barrows; Clymer, “Humanitarian Imperialism,” 510.

mission of civilization for the Moros as similar to what had been done with Native Americans. Letters written by him demonstrate a consistent point of view on this matter up until 1902. Although he would eventually conclude that a reservation system would not work for Filipinos in light of its ineffectiveness with Native American communities. Barrows maintained a certain consistency in his outlook on dealing with “dependent peoples.” His use of the phrase marked his alliance with paternalistic liberal elements within the U.S. who understood Native Americans in this way and enfolded the “new wards” that came from the Spanish-American War.³³

Army officials decided that autonomy would not be an option for Moros until their indigenous culture and religion could be eliminated and replaced with “American” institutions so as to remake them into brown-skinned, racially inferior versions of white Americans. Army officials accordingly justified extreme measures that resulted in a campaign of cultural genocide.³⁴ The U.S. engaged in the destruction of entire communities accompanied by large losses of life, both civilian and combatant. Wood exemplified the United States’ approach toward Filipino Muslims and patterns of interaction with them that persisted throughout the U.S. imperial era. The same racial attitudes that provided ideological justification for attempted eradication of Native

³³ David Prescott Barrows to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, 18 January 1902, Papers of David Prescott Barrows; David Prescott Barrows to William A. Jones, 20 January 1902, Papers of David Prescott Barrows; David Prescott Barrows to Dean C. Worcester, 7 April 1902, Papers of David Prescott Barrows. Barrows confided in Worcester that the methods used to contain and “civilize” the Native Americans would not work with the “wild tribes” of the Philippines. ; Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (New York: The Conference, 1908).

³⁴ Francis Paul Prucha, ed. *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 260-71. Richard Henry Pratt was a U.S. Army officer who advocated a radical program of re-education of Native Americans, which involved total immersing in the ways of whites and destruction of Native American customs including language, religion, and dress. Pratt founded the infamous Carlisle School for Indians and coined the phrase “kill the Indian to save the man.”

American communities influenced the rationalization of the massacre at Bud Dajo in 1906.

Existing side-by-side and often intermingled with this racist ideology was the newer intellectual and social ideology of Progressivism. Officers such as Wood, Pershing and Bullard perceived their role and their duties in the southern Philippines within this ideological context, which included a duty to design an improved, forward-thinking society. These “progressives in uniform” within the ranks of the officer corps and political administrators did not hold to a monolithic political and social discourse. These individuals determined to engage and improve perceived lower races from inferior civilizations for their own betterment. This ideal worked out along varying degrees of the ideological spectrum, but was nonetheless consistent in the actions, if not always the rhetoric, of these men. Wood and his fellow officers, while conscious of the changing role of the United States in the global community of empires, embraced a particular vision of empire, which differed from that of their European counterparts. U.S. empire was predicated upon an eventual goal of self-governance and a conviction that “Americanness” was a universal goal all people could reach given the right tutelage.³⁵

U.S. Army officers in the Philippines viewed Christian Filipinos superior to supposedly wild tribes and Moros, because they believed Christians exhibited some trappings of Western civilization due to direct Spanish rule. On the other hand, colonial officials constructed Moros as incapable of even rudimentary participation in running their political affairs due to the absence of the influence of Western Christendom. These

³⁵ Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 67-68. ;Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive: General Leonard Wood* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978), 201, 208; Anne L. Foster, “Models for Governing: Opium and Colonial Policies in Southeast Asia, 1898-1910 “ in Julian Go & Anne L. Foster, ed. *The American Colonial State in the Philippines, Global Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University press, 2003), 92.

characterizations of Moros presented the illustration of a community unable to govern itself properly, responsive only to brutal force, and in need of the direct tutelage by the United States. Wood favored policy that adapted a civilizing mission to remedy this dilemma, beginning with reducing opposition to colonial rule. At no time did Wood consider the possibility of indigenous autonomy among Moros.³⁶

The band of Moros that would gather atop Bud Dajo in an order to establish their autonomy acted within their understanding of the Islamic faith.³⁷ They avoided living under the dominion of non-believers, which they understood to be prohibited under Islam, and attempted to recapture political control of the community through jihad. The destruction of slavery, demanding of the *cedula*, and general contempt displayed by army officials toward Moros seemed part of a concerted effort to subjugate Muslim people who for centuries had successfully kept such domination at bay.³⁸ Given this growing perception among the Moros of Sulu, the appearance of the sultan to acquiesce to demands of the United States destroyed his legitimacy among many Moros. Furthermore, the behavior of those political elites who collaborated and conspired with U.S. forces to kill and subjugate other Moros, especially the common ones, further inflamed the masses and destroyed the credibility of the traditional Moro political leadership.³⁹ Abandoned by

³⁶ Personal Diary of Leonard Wood, 27 June 1903, 15 August 1903, 30 November 1904, Papers of Leonard Wood, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; United States Department of War, Office of the Secretary, *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1907*, volume 1 of 4; Tasker Bliss, "Reports of the Provincial Governors," 381; Donna Amoroso, "Inheriting the 'Moro Problem': Muslim Authority and Colonial Rule in British Malaya and the Philippines," in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, ed. Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 118.

³⁷ Renato Oliveros, *Islam in the Moro-American War, 1896-1916: The Philippines* (Germany: Saarbrücken, 2010), 71-74. The Muslims of the region referred to martial jihad as *fisibilli*, an abbreviated version of the Quranic principle of *jihad fisibilliah*, which translates to "struggle for the sake of Allah." According to Oliveros, jurimentados would charge their adversaries, yelling "*fisibilli*" and "*maksabili!*"

³⁸ The *cedula* was the poll tax U.S. colonial officials demanded of the Moros. It was a holdover from Spanish colonial administration. The Spanish only required Christians to pay it.

³⁹ Ahmad Ibn Naqib Al-Misri, trans. Nuh Ha Mim Keller, *Reliance of the Traveler: The Classic Manual of*

their political elite, unprotected from the violence and depredations of U.S. Army, they banded together in this grass-roots effort to resist the destruction of their society and way of life. They dressed in their finest apparel and, with less than three hundred rifles among them, prepared to face death with the hope of paradise, rather than acknowledge any measure of cultural supremacy to their enemies.⁴⁰

The Tausug Moro women who fought the U.S. Army on Dajo battled to defend their homes and their families. Despite the American press portrayal of Tausug women as victims, Tausug society interpreted women's roles as more fluid and malleable than their American counterparts. The negotiations between the United States and the Sultan were heavily influenced by the constant presence and guidance of the Sultan's mother, Sultana Pangyan Inchi Jamela. Such obvious exercise of power was not limited to the elite in Tausug society. In fact the many years of jihad against the Spanish established an active role of militant struggle for Moro women.⁴¹

In his capacity as military commander of the southern Philippines, Wood helped to craft policy in the region in an effort to civilize the Moros. Wood's aggressive campaign toward Moros sprang from his desire to establish Western cultural values and institutions and to prove himself worthy of the posting he had received as a close friend of the president. Wood and his officers were convinced that the only way to stabilize the region and civilize the people was to make them into dependents of the U.S. so they

Islamic Sacred Law (Beltsville, MD, 1999), 602-03. The *jizya* is the tax exacted from non-Muslims living under the rule of Muslim political authority in lieu of the *zakaat*, which is the poor tax that every Muslim must pay to the central political authority.

⁴⁰ Joseph W. Duncan, *Report of Engagement with the Moro Enemy on Bud-Dajo, Island of Jolo, March 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1906. Colonel J.W. Duncan, 6th Infantry., Commanding*, 1906, RG 395, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Renato T. Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War (1899-1913): Implications on Mindanao, the Philippines" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2005), 137, 151, 155.

⁴¹ Jolo Appendix, B, Conference, July 24, 1899, Papers of John Coulter Bates, USAMHI, Carlisle, PA; Fulton, *Moroland*, 45; Ruth Perry Moore, "Women and Warriors: Defending Islam in the Southern Philippines" (PhD diss., University of California – San Diego, 1981), 179, 181.

could culturally remake Moros into brown-skinned imitations of white Americans. In the imagination of U.S. policymakers this was a benevolent act for which Moros should be thankful. Their “ungrateful,” rebellious response symbolized the Moros’ supposed inability to appreciate the gift of civilization that was being bestowed upon them. Martial opposition characterized as “savagery” fed the assertion that they were not ready for self-governance. The racial construction of Moros as savages normalized this authoritarian approach to colonial rule and justified a policy of cultural genocide. Bud Dajo, as brutal as it was, represented an obstacle to forward progress that Wood felt obligated to remove so that U.S. authorities could embark upon a civilizing mission of their new “wards.” Wood, like most officers in the southern Philippines, filtered his perceptions of Moros through previous views and judgments formulated from experiences with Native Americans. Yet as historian Paul Kramer points out, Wood and others still managed to construct a particular and unique Moro racial identity, one that differed from that of the Christian Filipino rebels in the northern islands. Ironically, U.S. military and political officials often judged each violent encounter as necessary lessons meant to teach “savage” races the fine art of civilization. However, despite their “rational” assessments, Bud Dajo would be the first of several instances of mass killings of Moros justified by missionary impulses and the imperatives of the civilizing mission.⁴²

This work addresses several fields of inquiry. It adds to the historiography of the Philippine insurrection, including the American “Moro Wars,” and Islam in Southeast Asia and the Philippines. In addition, this work contributes to the historiography of race and gender in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States. Lastly, it supplements discussion of the transition from the “Old Army” to the twentieth-century

⁴² Fulton, *Moroland*, 172-75, 177-79; Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 4-5, 19.

army that would see action in the First World War. The dissertation also speaks to the historiographical treatment of Leonard Wood, John Pershing, Dean Worcester, and Theodore Roosevelt, as well as less-researched figures, such as Robert Bullard, Hugh L. Scott and David Prescott Barrows.

The historiography of the Philippine insurrection, the conflict that extended from 1898 to approximately 1902 when President Theodore Roosevelt declared victory, is robust. This body of scholarship set within a rich historiography a relationship of dependency and neo-imperial arrangement, which has been invaluable to any discussion of U.S. empire. However, in historians' examinations of the relationship between the Philippines and the United States, especially during the "imperial era," the Muslims of the south are generally footnotes to the larger narrative. Because the signing of the Bates agreement in 1899 was geared toward avoiding a Muslim-Christian alliance in the insurgency against the United States Army, historians and policymakers have pinpointed the nationalist insurgency in the north as the main theater of resistance to U.S. imperial rule and colonial administration. The historical record, however, reveals the South as the locus of primary resistance to U.S. political and cultural hegemony, a battle that continues to this day.

Cesar Majul was the first, and to date the only, Filipino Muslim to document the history of the Moros of the Philippines with the intention of providing a voice to a people he felt had been marginalized from Philippine national society. In 1973, Majul wrote *Muslims in the Philippines*, which focuses primarily on the history of Islam in the Mindanao and Sulu regions with sufficient coverage of the colonial period of U.S. administration. In addition, he produced scholarship related to the Islamic practices of the

Moros. His work enlarges the base of knowledge on the history of Islam in the Philippines and the individual histories of various ethnicities in Sulu and Mindanao. While Majul's writings do not directly and consistently address the history of the American occupation, they provide an important contextualization of the martial struggle undertaken by bands of Moros determined to resist the imperial domination of the United States. Majul's work has been germane to my research in that it provided a rare examination of Moro political and religious institutions, including a unique version of sharia.⁴³

Though there is a rich body of work by military historians, Paul Kramer's *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines, 1898-1920*, written in 2006, provided the theoretical basis for my own work and vastly broadened the historiographical scope on this topic. Kramer argues that a novel racial construction of Filipinos resulted through interactions between American whites and Filipinos during occupation. Unlike previous historians, he minimizes the role the legacy of North American racism toward African-Americans and Native Americans played in the racial constructions of Filipinos. Kramer argues that Filipinos shaped U.S. empire as much as the U.S. shaped Filipino society. Because of his primary focus on the Tagalogs and the formation of pre-1898 intellectual elites, his work does not contain a great deal of information on the South. Nonetheless, Kramer discusses the post-insurgency role of Christians who took up "the white man's burden" to impose Western cultural norms upon the non-Christian population. This legacy of U.S. occupation was characteristic of the influence of the *Ilustrados'* intellectual production.⁴⁴

⁴³ Caesar Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1999).

⁴⁴ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 227, 378-83.

Kramer's work contributes a great deal to the historiography because he emphasizes the agency of Filipinos in the formation of U.S.-Filipino relations. The most exciting portions of his text discuss the *Illustrados* and their role in creating a Filipino national identity. This carefully negotiated constructed identity led to a rapid embrace of U.S. rule accompanied by the taking up of the "white man's burden" in its administrative role with the Moros and "wild tribes" after independence. My project will go beyond Kramer's by extending this analysis to the southern Philippines and bringing the Bud Dajo massacre from the margins to the center of the historiographical discussion.⁴⁵

Prior to Kramer's seminal text Michael Salman's *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines*, discussed the role that the institution of slavery played, especially the rhetoric of anti-slavery, in the formation of a Filipino national identity. Written in 2001 Salman argues that the debate helped to cement the hegemony of U.S. colonial rule by placing Filipino nationalists on the defensive about slavery. This also put the Moros and other non-Christians at the center of the debate over which group had the "right to rule." Christian Filipino nationalists claimed they were best suited to embark upon the civilizing mission of non-Christian minorities within the Philippine Islands. Despite actively challenging the precepts of white supremacist imperial logic, they implicitly reinforced it by arguing privilege based on Western acculturation. Salman's argument gibes with Paul Kramer's later assertions that Filipino nationalists took on the "white man's burden" as the transition from direct rule to neo-colonialism evolved from the early twentieth century to

⁴⁵ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 383.

the post-World War II period. But, like other works in the historiography, it relegates the Moros to the margins of the historiography.⁴⁶

In 2008, Julian Go wrote *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico During U.S. Colonialism*. This text is a comparative examination of the Philippines and Puerto Rico's political elites with a specific focus on the "cultural dimensions of American colonialism." Go argues that the general thrust of the American colonial project in these regions focused on the "transformation" of political elites into the cultural equivalent of their imperial masters, the Americans. This makeover fostered and nurtured a particular political culture and elite class within the respective societies.⁴⁷ Go's work has been useful to this study in that he identifies, along with Salman and Kramer, the central role that U.S. cultural imperialism held in the American/Philippines relationship.

Moroland: The History of Uncle Sam and the Moros, 1899-1920, written in 2009 by Robert Fulton, is to date the most comprehensive narrative history of the United States campaign to eradicate Moro political and cultural autonomy in the early years of U.S. involvement. Fulton painstakingly traces the relationship between the Moros and the United States from the Bates agreement to 1920. Unlike most previous historians, he alludes to the grass-roots resistance that led to the establishment of the settlement on Bud Dajo. My project expands upon this by emphasizing the extent to which ordinary Moros stepped outside of the guidance of traditional Islamic leadership to oppose the Americans at Bud Dajo. In addition, I highlight the role that religion played in the opposition to

⁴⁶ Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 20-21.

⁴⁷ Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico During U.S. Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

American occupation, and I examine the gendered and racial constructions of the Moros by U.S. officials.⁴⁸

The historiography of the intersections of gender, sexuality, and race in the United States has provided a historical context for United States expansion in the period I am examining, and it has also provided ideological context for the massacres in settler colonies. Although I use arguments from Anthony Rotundo's 1993 *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the American Revolution to the Modern Era*, my primary theoretical foundation is Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. This text, written in 1996, identifies the years from 1880 to 1917 as extremely active for the renegotiation of white masculinity in the United States. Like Rotundo, Bederman defines gender as a "historical and ideological process," not as an inherent essence. Yet unlike Rotundo and other historians of gender, Bederman argues against a "crisis of masculinity" in this period. Rather, she maintains that masculinity was in flux, as it always is.⁴⁹

Kristin Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*, written in 1998, claims that a renegotiation of male and female gender roles in the late nineteenth century helped to push the nation into war by fostering a desire for martial challenges, especially among upper-class and middle-class white men. Again differing from Bederman's argument, she describes this as a "crisis of masculinity." Hoganson's work was helpful in providing me

⁴⁸ Robert A. Fulton, *Moroland: The History of Uncle Sam and the Moros, 1899-1920* (Bend, Oregon: Tumalo Creek Press, 2007).

⁴⁹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 18. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 228-35.

with a vivid illustrative record of male angst and masculine assertiveness in the lead-up to the Spanish-American War.⁵⁰ Sarah Watts, in *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire*, from 2003, uses Theodore Roosevelt as a lens through which to analyze a “new vision of manhood,” which encompassed “rational” and “primitive” behavior. Roosevelt, according to Watts, embodied through his own personal struggle with masculinity a national transformation of the concept. His racial fantasies rested upon an eternal struggle between the races in which Anglo-Saxon whites needed to be vigilant against softness and “over-civilization” lest they be engulfed by the lower races. Both Hoganson and Watts provided a historical context for the transformation of masculinity that Bederman argues for. Although their vision of this transformation is darker and more of “crisis” than Bederman suggests, taken together they all suggest that the masculinity project was central to the expansionist policies of the period.

Several other texts within the historiography of gender in this period highlight the shifting definitions of femininity as well, which helped me to place the killings of “women and children” within an ideological context and provide a comparison to the shifting ideal of white masculinity. Shawn Michelle Smith’s *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture*, published in 1999, studies the “convergence of scientific and commercial photography in the transformation of middle-class identities in the nineteenth century.”⁵¹ Smith argues that photography tried to pinpoint “interiority” of human subjects and that this process was integral to the production of a “racialized middle-class identity” during the nineteenth century. These photographic archives, according to Smith, “generated and maintained essentialized discourse of interior

⁵⁰ Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 214, 220.

⁵¹ Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives: Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 3-4.

character” and established social hierarchies by reading facial types.⁵² Louise Michelle Newman’s *White Women’s Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*, from 1999, argues that feminism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was not an egalitarian movement. During this period, white women activists had a “heightened racial consciousness as civilized women, contributing to and reinforcing dominant religious, scientific, and cultural ideologies that attributed to them unique moral and political roles.” She chronicles and analyzes the creation of feminist ideology within the context of the racial debates of the time as well as in relation to the “nation’s civilizing mission”⁵³ Laura Ann Wexler’s 2000 *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (2000) deals with “the cult of domesticity” in late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century America and its role as a “crucial framework for American imperialism” in that time period. In particular, Wexler examines the use of images of domesticity and how the “male gaze” was used to place peoples into specific categories. My research has identified the role of the male gaze as central to the construction of non-white women as a foil against a particular version of femininity attributed to civilized white women.⁵⁴

My study also contributes to the larger historiography of the U.S. military’s transition from the “Old Army” to the modern twentieth-century army. The ideology of officers in power significantly shaped the conduct of the military in this period. Therefore, my study will examine to what degree the cultural beliefs of military officials and their experiences in the Philippines influenced the development of this transition to a

⁵² Smith, *American Archives*, 4.

⁵³ Louise Michelle Newman, *White Women’s Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 7, 181.

⁵⁴ Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 23-24, 59, 89-90.

professional army. Throughout his life, Wood remained consistent in his efforts to reform the army and radically alter American Defense Policy. The biographies of General Leonard Wood, Colonel Robert Bullard, and Lieutenant Frank Ross McCoy reveal how these men belonged to a group of officers whose imperialist ideology contributed to a military makeover in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These men presided over the destructive transformation of Muslim cultural and political life in the southern Philippines from 1898 to 1907.⁵⁵ This example illustrates the birth of an ideological army instrumental in the implementation of new U.S. imperialist policies.

With some exceptions, the historiography of U.S. relations with the Philippines and the insurrection has gaps in relation to a serious analytical examination of the occupation and pacification of the south. Most scholarly examinations of U.S. policy in the Philippines relegate the South to the margins of the narrative. Those who have dealt with the South generally have not placed enough focus upon the people outside of the elite ruling class, nor have they examined the role that gender, race, and religion played in the formation of policy. This dissertation helps rectify this by examining archival material related to those individuals' responsible administration and pacification of the southern Philippines. Furthermore, my project considers the construction of race among the builders of U.S. empire. Some scholars have generally accepted definitions of race based on phenotypical construction and have given short shrift to the role that culture and religion played in defining subordinated communities as a racial other.

This work is composed of four chapters, which are arranged both chronologically and thematically. Chapter one provides the historical context for U.S. expansion into the

⁵⁵ Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive: General Leonard Wood* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), xvi.

Pacific and the eventual acquisition of the Philippines. An analysis of the relationship between Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood provides a framework for understanding how transformations of gender and increasing racial tensions in the United States influenced foreign policy in the Philippines. Chapter two discusses the initial contact between Filipino Muslims and the United States military as soldiers attempted to occupy the region and design a program of administration. This chapter analyzes the changes in American ideas about the region as the civilizing mission is imported from the Americas into the Southern Philippines. I argue that U.S. policy-makers use the lived experience of Native American interactions, and the political imperatives of the moment, to craft their policy. Chapter three discusses the beginning of the tenure of Leonard Wood as Governor-General of the region and his decision to aggressively erode Muslim polity with the goal of military pacification and cultural transformation of Moro society. Chapter four focuses on the Bud Dajo massacre and places the Moros at the center of the narrative. The role of Moro women on the battlefield provides a crucial moment when gender, race, culture, and ideology intersect to reveal the hard lessons of a U.S. foreign policy of occupation – one that the Moros refused to accept.

Chapter One: Re-inventing American Masculinity: Leonard Wood, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Transformation of American Empire

After meeting Leonard Wood in June 1897, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt enthused to a friend: “I have developed at Washington a playmate who fairly walked me off my legs.”⁵⁶ Wood and Roosevelt became a frequent pair in the years surrounding the Spanish-American War. They established a routine of companionship that centered on robust physical activity and long intimate discussions concerning the nation’s destiny. They spent many hours together hiking, fencing, and even kicking a football with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the junior Republican senator from Massachusetts. Their fencing matches could be quite violent. They used sticks in place of blades and sometimes caused one another injuries. Roosevelt literally gushed over Wood’s physical prowess. He described him as “a man of extraordinary physical strength and endurance.” The journalist Jacob Riis, a mutual admirer of both men, said, “I liked to see them together because they were men of the same strong type.”⁵⁷ Leonard Wood descended from an old Yankee family that traced its genealogy back to the first English settlements in North America. Theodore Roosevelt had a similar pedigree and quite an impressive genealogy of wealth and power accrued by a family that descended from Dutch settlers of New York around the same period that Wood’s forbears settled New England. These two men formed a homo-social bond that in many ways

⁵⁶ Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive: General Leonard* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 26.

⁵⁷ Jacob Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Citizen* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1904), 172.

encompassed and shaped the social and political transformations of the early twentieth century.⁵⁸

Roosevelt and Wood's comradeship personified the hopes of a generation of upper-class white men who felt threatened by change. Their anxiety centered on a perceived change in their status as strong patriarchs throughout economic depressions, Indian wars, and heightened violence against African Americans and other non-whites. A massive railroad strike in 1877 punctuated by the use of state, local, and federal troops to put it down characterized the violence and instability of late nineteenth-century America. Although events of the 1870's brought to the fore an ideological shift in white masculinity, the process of transformation sprang from earlier constructions of white male identity in the United States. In the early part of the nineteenth century, upper-class white male identity was linked to a sense of responsibility to the community. By the end of the nineteenth century, male competition had come to be emphasized over cooperative relationships between men. Wood and Roosevelt exhibited a mix of these ideas. They maintained healthy competition in their own relationship, but cooperation among men of their class remained crucial for the success of the nation. Together they helped usher into the national consciousness a transformed white supremacist masculinity, which suited the physical expansion of United States military and economic power both within and outside of the North American continent.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Watts, *Rough Rider*, 162; Frank Costigliola, "'Unceasing Pressure for Penetration': Gender, Pathology, and Emotion in George Kennan's Formation of the Cold War," in *The Journal of American History* 83.4 (1997): 1316-18.

⁵⁹ David Omar Stowell, *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 75-6, 142; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 3-5, 224-26; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 183-85, 215.

The Wood family's Puritan roots put them on the side of the Union during the Civil War, which interrupted the ambition of Leonard's father, Charles Wood, to become a doctor. Setting out to earn a medical degree as a young man, Wood failed to complete medical school and opted for homeopathic instruction in Pennsylvania. Despite this failure, when the Civil War began, he was drafted into the Union Army and served as a medical officer in Louisiana. Shortly thereafter he contracted malaria and returned home severely ill. For the remainder of his life he struggled with the aftereffects of this affliction. The Wood family had to seek out climates that did not exacerbate his condition. They eventually settled on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Although he was able to earn a living and support his family, Charles Wood became a "taciturn" and angry man because of his health problems, perceived inadequacies and shortcomings, and inability to significantly advance his medical career.⁶⁰ He placed high hopes in young Leonard that he would complete medical school and pursue a career in medicine.

Leonard's father chose an academic regimen for his son typical of the white upper middle class of the late nineteenth century. When Leonard was a boy, Charles Wood hired young schoolteacher Jessie Haskell away from the local school to tutor him. Ms. Haskell felt overwhelmed by the rigors of being a schoolteacher in an unfamiliar environment and welcomed the opportunity to work for the Woods. Her employment allowed her to escape the pressures of teaching full-time in a new environment, so unlike her home in Boston. Jesse Haskell instructed Leonard in Latin, French, mathematics, religion, and philosophy. When he reached his teens, he enrolled at the Pierce Academy in Middleborough, Massachusetts, and excelled academically. While at Pierce Academy

⁶⁰ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 8-9; Wood to Haskell, 12 February 1885 and 29 May 1885, Papers of Leonard Wood, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

an intense Wood remained fairly aloof from his classmates. He exhibited signs of aggressiveness and competition and excelled in sports. He completed his studies and aspired to a military career, despite his father's ambitions for him in medicine.⁶¹

Leonard's military aspirations were temporarily thwarted when his father passed away in 1880. Rather than seek a place at West Point or Annapolis, Leonard felt duty bound to obey his father's wishes and entered medical school at Harvard College, as his father had wanted. He graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1883 and began an internship at Boston City Hospital. During his time there he earned a reputation for being rebellious and stretching the rules. He showed signs of the arrogance and extreme self-confidence that later became hallmarks of his personality, colonial administration, and quest for public office. Wood committed many acts of disobedience and exhibited defiance of hospital regulations. He often ignored direct requests to follow the rules. He openly and repeatedly fraternized with nurses, and ultimately the program no longer tolerated him. Boston City Hospital summarily dismissed Wood in September 1884 for performing surgeries without permission. He harvested skin from one child for another child's open wound without permission from the medical staff. As a result of his dismissal, Wood's prospects of a medical career looked quite dismal. His negative reputation dogged him, making it impossible for him to get another appointment at any other hospital. It was at this low point that Wood decided to join the army.⁶²

This proved a turnaround. Wood's enlistment in the United States Army led to a successful military career and enduring political legacy. Wood reinvigorated his medical

⁶¹ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 18; Wood to Haskell, 12 November 1885, Papers of Leonard Wood.

⁶² Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 2-5; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 24-25; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 13-15; Diary of Leonard Wood, 3 July 1885, Papers of Leonard Wood.

career via the process of extra-continental expansion about to take place. He would embody a new zeitgeist of white male supremacy. In particular, his participation in the mythologized “capture” of the infamous Chiricahua Apache warrior Geronimo provided the foundation of his heroic identity as a reinvigorated white man for the twentieth century. Wood rode a wave of national reinvention of white supremacy almost all the way to the White House. Along the way he made contact and found favor with the most powerful men in American empire-building. Through these contacts Wood rapidly ascended the ranks of the United States Army and eventually perpetrated the massacre on Bud Dajo in 1906.⁶³

Leonard Wood’s army career began in the American Southwest, where one of the last free bands of Native Americans, the Chiricahua Apache, desperately struggled to maintain their autonomy in the face of rapidly expanding white settlement. The Chiricahua were a branch of the Apache who traditionally lived in the Southeastern Arizona highlands, Northern Sonora, and Chihuahua, Mexico. Geronimo was not a political leader of the Chiricahua, but rather a shaman and respected warrior. Decades of war and indiscriminate violence from the Spanish, Mexicans, and finally the United States took a terrible toll upon the Chiricahua. By the time they encountered the 4th cavalry and Leonard Wood, they were a beleaguered and exhausted community.⁶⁴

In 1885 Leonard Wood received his appointment as acting assistant surgeon, a civilian position, in the 4th Cavalry with a salary of one hundred dollars per month. Wood boarded a train from New York City to his first posting at Fort Huachuca in Arizona Territory. He arrived at Fort Huachuca on July 4, 1885, very anxious to get out

⁶³ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 38-39, 275-81.

⁶⁴ Joseph C. Jastrzembskiy, *The Apache Wars: The Final Resistance* (New York: Chelsea House, 2006), 13, 17; Odie B. Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 7-9, 16-21.

into the field. On his second day in Arizona he volunteered to go out on a combat mission. Wood relished the field duty and quickly rose through the ranks to become chief aide to Captain Henry Lawton. The lines between medical officer, civilian worker, and soldier were inevitably blurred on the battlefield in the Arizona Territory. In Wood's case, because he always wanted to be in the thick of the action, he went on patrols against the Apaches on a regular basis. He gained a well-earned reputation for dependability and enthusiasm in the field and in his duties as assistant surgeon. He also persevered to become the best rider in the outfit and was willing to spend eighteen hours a day in the saddle.⁶⁵

General George R. Crook commanded troops at Fort Huachuca when Wood arrived. Crook had fought Geronimo before, earned his mutual respect, and persuaded Geronimo and the Chiricahua to enter the nearby San Carlos reservation in May 1885. One year later, however, Geronimo and a band of Chiricahua fled the San Carlos reservation and began raiding throughout the Arizona Territory. Geronimo and his followers left the reservation and took up arms after several grievances went unanswered by Crook and the reservation authorities. The government reservation was extremely overcrowded. The farming equipment they were given was completely inadequate, and corrupt Indian Agents conspired to profit off their presence and keep them impoverished. These grievances made reservation conditions unlivable. Once Geronimo escaped the reservation, he and his warriors embarked upon a violent campaign throughout the territory, as they robbed, killed, and captured white settlers. Despite his best efforts, including the use of Apache scouts, Crook failed to capture Geronimo. President Grover

⁶⁵ Leonard Wood to Jake Wood, 30 June 1885, 6 July 1885; Diary of Leonard Wood, 4 May 1886, 27 August 1886, Papers of Leonard Wood.

Cleveland then dispatched General Nelson Miles to the territory to put an end to Geronimo's resistance and get the Chiricahua Apache back under U.S. government control.⁶⁶

By the time General Miles arrived and took command of the 4th Cavalry, Wood had been posted to Fort Huachuca for over one year. Miles came to Fort Huachuca with the attitude that Crook had been too lenient with the Apache. He judged reliance upon indigenous scouts a faulty strategy, believing they could not be trusted. He also decided that the Apache understood only the language of force and urged the expulsion of the entire community from the Arizona Territory. Miles used regular Army troops, instead of the combination of indigenous scouts and regular troops that Crook had deployed. Miles liked Wood from the moment they met and immediately picked him for Captain Henry Lawton's unit, which was selected by Miles to capture Geronimo. In his interview with Miles, Wood claimed, "the right sort of white men could eventually break these Indians and compel them to surrender."⁶⁷ Wood was obviously referring to himself. What he meant was that a white man who possessed the endurance, stamina, and persistence of an Apache could outmatch him in the field. Wood believed these traits to be intrinsic to the Apache as a race, yet white men could develop and surpass them, if they dedicated themselves to perfecting their physical endurance. Such thinking reflected the ideology of white supremacy, which became the dominant worldview in the latter portion of the

⁶⁶ McCallum, *Rough Rider*, 18-19, 23, 25; Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 5; Faulk, *Geronimo Campaign*, 42-46.

⁶⁷ Lane, *Chasing Geronimo*, 25; Geronimo's flight coincided with the Ghost Dance phenomenon, which was spreading throughout Native American communities. The Ghost Dance was a Pan-Indian spiritual movement led a prophet who preached a return to the traditional ways of each community in tandem with the performance of a particular dance. Although it did not specifically advocate armed struggle, armed conflicts arose as U.S. officials attempted to squelch the movement.

nineteenth century. It also impressed Miles, who immediately included Wood in the unit assigned to capture Geronimo.⁶⁸

Wood sympathized with Miles' sentiments that Indians responded only to force and believed that the Chiricahua Apache needed to be expelled in total from the Arizona Territory. Like Wood, Miles had not gone to West Point, yet he had risen up through the ranks through his performance in the Civil War and the post-Civil War and subsequent Indian Wars. Just as Wood's later critics attributed his rise through the ranks to favoritism, Miles endured whispered innuendoes because of familial connections, having married the niece of General William T. Sherman and his brother, Senator John Sherman, which significantly helped his military and political career.⁶⁹ General Miles soon became a mentor and patron to Wood. Miles admired Wood's physical strength and rugged masculinity and described Wood as a "splendid type of American manhood, a fair haired blue eyed young man of great intelligence, sterling manly qualities, and resolute spirit and as fine a specimen of physical strength and endurance as could easily be found."⁷⁰ They took up a regular practice of holding boxing sessions. These brutal matches often ended with both parties injured. Miles' friendship with Wood provided him introductions into elite political circles, which further enhanced Wood's career.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Joseph Hamblen Sears, *The Career of Leonard Wood* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1920), 32; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 36, 228-29.

⁶⁹ Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 48-49. Despite the innuendo, Miles actually provided the Shermans with a valuable ally in their ambitions to project their political power into late nineteenth-century national politics.

⁷⁰ Diary of Leonard Wood, 4 May 1886, 27 August 1886, Papers of Leonard Wood; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 106-07; Sears, *Career of Leonard Wood*, 32.

⁷¹ Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 185-97. Preston, *Sword of the Spirit*, 206. In the post-Civil War United States, the increase of leisure and recreation time generated a "sporting boom." Middle- and upper-class white men became conscious of physical fitness, and much attention was paid to sporting activities and physical strength. Pugilism made a big comeback in this time period, despite the fact that it cut across class lines; it was particularly important to elite whites that they develop physical muscularity. "Muscular Christianity" was a term that arose to describe the new Anglo-Saxon man for the twentieth century. Pugilism and sports such as

Lawton's unit began tracking Geronimo in what turned out to be fruitless frustrating treks throughout the territory and into Mexico without ever making contact with or sighting Geronimo and his band. Geronimo perfected "hit and run" guerilla tactics and frustrated U.S. Army attempts to capture and contain the Chiricahua Apache. In the many months he had spent pursuing Geronimo, Wood endured a severe spider bite, which nearly killed him, and engaged in deadly skirmishes with various other bands of Chiricahua. While Wood's unit trekked throughout the Southwest in search of Geronimo, Geronimo eventually surrendered to Lt. Charles Gatewood in late August of 1886.⁷²

On September 7, 1886, Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood approached the end of his harrowing journey through the Arizona Territory and Old Mexico in search of Geronimo. After Geronimo's surrender, Wood and Troop B escorted the Chiricahua back to Fort Huachuca for eventual expulsion into a malaria-infested detention camp in Florida. In the final days of their journey back to Fort Huachuca, a young Chiricahua woman gave birth. Doctor Leonard Wood observed and recorded the event with detached indifference and never even mentioned the sex of the newborn child in his detailed diary. He recorded: "Yesterday, while on the march a young Indian girl gave birth to a child. The command halted perhaps for an hour for this purpose and then took up the march, the girl carrying her young baby. She looked pretty pale, but otherwise seemed to pay little attention to the incident." Wood observed her stoic delivery with no apparent emotion of his own. He gazed upon the event with a kind of cold admiration that was utterly dehumanizing. His detached observation and literal record of the event placed the woman into the socially constructed category of savage, outside of the civilized parameters of

football were meant to express Anglo-Saxon male strength and imbue participants with skills and ethos of a white warrior society.

⁷² Diary of Leonard Wood, 8-9 September 1886.

white female gender. For Wood she unnaturally contradicted the binaries of male and female, and thus provided evidence of the barbarity of her “race.” The very next day, the U.S. exiled this anonymous Chiricahua woman to Fort Marion, Florida. Perhaps neither she nor her child survived the ordeal.⁷³

Wood’s observations of Apache women also included remarks about how they breast-fed their “young” in plain view of men. Wood showed no discomfort as he watched these women in the midst of acts that were considered private, intimate moments if carried out by white women. Wood replicated an American pattern of denying the Native American women authentic sexuality and reifying her as “a depersonalized object” without the power to define her personal boundaries. Her health, even her mortality, was of as little consequence to her as was her modesty. His written observations of the Chiricahua were a mix of admiration for their abilities to survive in a harsh environment and blatant disgust.⁷⁴ Wood’s cursory treatment of the young Apache woman giving birth, and his willingness to admit he had witnessed such an act, reflected contemporary ideas about Native American women. They were presented as simultaneously savage and unnaturally superior to white women in their endurance. For men like Wood, this difference proved the barbarism of their race. His friend Roosevelt agreed and held a deep contempt for the Native Americans as a “race” but admired their “bravery, cunning, and ferocity.”⁷⁵

⁷³ Watts, *Rough Rider*, 230-32; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 4-6; Diary of Leonard Wood, 7 September 1886, Papers of Leonard Wood.

⁷⁴ Rayna Green, “The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture,” *The Massachusetts Review* 16.4 (1975): 703, 711, 713.; Diary of Leonard Wood, 3 August 1886, Papers of Leonard Wood.

⁷⁵ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 48-53, 57, 77, 83.

Wood's description of the event resembled similar descriptions of enslaved African American women giving birth in the cotton fields, as well as Wood's later description of the woman warriors he faced on the Bud Dajo summit. These acts, which generally had been in the private realm of women, were recounted in a detached manner in order to typecast non-white women as "other" and subject to very different rules of etiquette for white men. While white men emphasized their duty to protect white women, they violated the private spaces of non-white women as they invaded and occupied the spaces these women inhabited. White men placed them outside of the protection of white patriarchy. Throughout the American experience of continental expansion, Native American women were always seen in relation to white men. Such white men dehumanized all non-white women, especially Native American women, and portrayed them as potentially dangerous if they were not supporting white men's imperial projects.⁷⁶

In the last years of the nineteenth century, characterizations of Native Americans as repositories of lost masculine attributes proliferated, even as various Native American nations engaged in armed struggle to preserve their autonomy. In addition to the hyper-masculinization of Native Americans, whites assigned them primal, bestial qualities deemed necessary for the survival and advancement of the white Anglo-Saxon race.

⁷⁶ Jennifer Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle Over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54.1 (1997), 169-71; Hebert Welsh, *The Apache Prisoners at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887), 13-15, 19; Gregory H. Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 236-37; Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Images in the Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 59, 89-90, 200. Wexler discusses how the "male gaze" is used to place people into specific categories. In her text she deals mostly with photographic depictions of Native Americans and U.S. sailors in domesticated settings on ships, but she also discusses Mary Chestnut's written observations of plantation life in the antebellum period. I argue that the written record of observations functioned in a similar manner as photographs and illustrations.

Native Americans were harassed, killed, and concentrated into reservations, yet simultaneously nostalgically commodified as one component of the passing of an era. Americans acknowledged a necessity to tame wild spaces, yet still felt a loss as the central government brought the West under political control. The Nez Perce were defeated in 1877, and Chief Joseph assumed iconoclastic status with his photos commodified as the legacy of a lost era of American civilization. The Lakota were defeated in the 1880's, and Sitting Bull became an attraction at the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show.⁷⁷ Arizona Territory newspapers described Geronimo and the Chiricahua as able to “run like a deer, drop down on all fours, and live on snakes, ants or any creeping thing.” Comparisons were made between white soldiers and Native American warriors: “Our soldiers must have ham and eggs. . . . [The Native American warrior] can lope off in a dog trot for one hundred miles without sleeping.” Even as Native Americans were removed from territory whites inhabited they were held up as mirrors to the inadequacies of white soldiers.⁷⁸

Characteristics that had been grafted onto Native Americans—such as warlike, physically hardy, and eager for carnage—were touted by men like Theodore Roosevelt as virtues the white man also had to possess in order to maintain racial dominance. As white masculinity underwent this transformation, these “savage characteristics” were reinvigorated in public discourse as necessary attributes for white men; the designated progenitors of the continuation of American empire. Americans feared these attributes

⁷⁷ Elliot West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 312-14; Paul L. Hedren, *Great Sioux War Orders of Battle: How the United States Army Waged War on the Northern Plains, 1876-1877* (Norman: The Arthur Clarke Company, 2011), 163-70; Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 62-3; Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 223-24.

⁷⁸ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 32-33.

were vanishing from the character of white men. Roosevelt and others spoke of these “barbarian virtues” as being necessary for the civilized white man to be successful in the perpetual struggle for racial dominance. The passing of the frontier created a sense of unease that its loss had removed from society a proving ground for white men. Theodore Roosevelt’s attempt to recapture that spirit by remaking himself into a frontiersman universalized the mythology of the white man’s struggle against savagery in the American West.⁷⁹

American continental expansion had been contextualized within the political and cultural production of the “frontier.” American expansion, being a gendered process, had been an indicator of white Anglo-Saxon racial progress. Roosevelt argued that the unique racial character of white English-speaking peoples made them particularly suited for the conquest of North America and called the American West “predestined to be the inheritance” of the American white race for generations. Wood, as a soldier and doctor with the 4th cavalry, embraced Indian removal as a teleological necessity for the settling of the continent. Wood looked forward to “a good deal of active service” and an “immense time” prior to his participation in the removal of the Chiricahua. Like many whites, he embraced the idea of the frontier as testing ground for white men. As for Native Americans, he observed Apache life and culture and concluded, “nothing could be more primitive.” The idea of the frontier permeated notions of national identity, as well as academic and cultural production. The frontier occupied a central ideological presence in American life. It had been alternately presented as a location for the testing of

⁷⁹ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 36, 228-32. The embrace of the “primitive” and a fascination with Native Americans was common among men toward the end of the nineteenth century. Men’s clubs and lodges often adapted the rituals and outward manifestation of things associated with the primitive, especially Native Americans. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 171-73.

individual mettle, a theater of a racial struggle for survival and dominance, a safety valve for the survival of democratic society, and a place of potential threat to civilized mores.⁸⁰

Despite their personal failure to capture Geronimo, Miles and Wood rewrote history and removed Gatewood's central role from the narrative. Miles, Wood, and Lawton credited the surrender and United States custody of Geronimo to their "take no prisoners" style of campaigning against the Chiricahua. Captain Lawton specifically singled out Wood for praise when he cited the unit for the "capture" of Geronimo. Lawton cited Wood's "courage, energy, and loyal support" as key reasons for the successful capture of Geronimo, despite the fact that Geronimo had surrendered to Gatewood hundreds of miles from where Wood was that day. Thus began the creation of a myth around Wood, Miles, and Lawton that rested upon the problematic belief that "savages" respond only to violent, coercive control. For men like Roosevelt, Wood, and other imperialists, this myth discredited the use of negotiation, nuance, and tactically applied cultural sensitivity in counterinsurgency.⁸¹

Wood received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his part in the capture of Geronimo. Later characterizations of the event, particularly when he sought public office, placed him at the center of the campaign. Biographer John Holme described Wood as "one of the best Indian fighters the country ever produced." In 1920 Holme tied the success of the campaign to Wood's formula of "following the Indians night and day, no matter how rough the country, and to never give them any rest until they were killed or captured," as if Wood were solely responsible for the capture of Geronimo. This event

⁸⁰ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 49, 74; Amy Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2-5, 12, 91; Reginald Horsemann, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 6.

⁸¹ Lane, *Chasing Geronimo*, 72; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 57-60, 87, 104-05.

opened many doors for Wood, which he fully exploited. Leonard Wood became a central character in the saga of Geronimo's surrender and the final defeat of the Chiricahua Apache in the Arizona Territory.⁸²

Wood's army career grew out of the eradication of a marginalized people, who had been placed within a teleological narrative of progress and judged unworthy of rights or recognition as full-fledged members of the human race. Wood cultivated the dogmatic point of view that stern control and violent retribution were necessary to earn the respect of the Native Americans and effectively manage them. Wood placed himself, as did others, within an ideological tradition of enabling the transition of Native Americans from backward savages to a semi-civilized state under the tutelage of paternalistic whites. This ideology dictated that natives occupied a lower rung on the ladder of evolutionary civilizational development. Furthermore, this ideology encompassed the notions that Indians, being a "warlike people," invariably interpreted "kindness or patience as weakness" or, worse, cowardice. These notions were held by many in tandem with a desire to usher the Native Americans through this "transformation to civilization" or else force them to face extermination and exploitation by rapacious white settlers and an uncaring political structure. This axiom of using force against a savage people, who might mistake using a similar standard of behavior with them as one might with a white army for weakness, eventually resurfaced during Wood's tenure as Governor General of the southern Philippines. The nineteenth-century mythology of the frontier was steeped in this kind of rhetoric: e.g., "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." As whites expanded westward and faced pushback from indigenous peoples, they often took matters into hand

⁸² Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 77; John Gunnelaiger Holme, *The Life of Leonard Wood* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1920), 16.

and committed massacres such as the “Sand Creek Massacre” of 1864. The indiscriminate slaughter of entire communities was likewise predicated upon the notion that “savages” understood only the language of force. It was no coincidence that this slaughter often came after wholesale land grabs by whites, and was followed by the concentration of the survivors on reservations.⁸³

Wood’s life and career as an army officer illustrated how dangerous the consequences of the creation of the new white male supremacy were for thousands of people. Through the career of this one army officer, who enjoyed the privileges of whiteness and access to the proper political connections, thousands of people would lose their lives, homes, and freedom. Wood did not do this alone. Indeed, an entrenched political establishment and national community supported him. These two constituencies sought out a national identity, which reinvigorated existing beliefs about racial, gendered, and civilizational supremacy.⁸⁴

From the end of the American Civil War until the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States Army engaged in a continual campaign of military operations against Native Americans as white Americans consolidated their acquisition of an intra-continental empire. Territorial expansion had been the fulcrum upon which United States foreign and domestic policy pivoted since well before the establishment of the American

⁸³ Sheryl L. Smith, *The View from the Officers’ Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), 98-99, 109; Gowing, “Moros and Indians,” 1; Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 228-29, 237-39.

⁸⁴ Mathew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 204-10; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 23, 25-26, 49-50; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 110; Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 73, 79, 82-84; Fulton, *Moroland*, 210, 251, 299. Thousands of Moros lost their lives and homes during Wood’s tenure as governor general of the southern Philippines. The body count on Bud Dajo alone was estimated to be between six hundred and one thousand dead. In the three Sulu expeditions conducted by Wood during his tenure, it is estimated that at least several hundred Moros lost their lives. Killing was often indiscriminate, including the massacre of a wedding party, which was verified by George Langhorne.

republic. The lands of the indigenous people were settled by whites whom Theodore Roosevelt said were entitled to it “by right of conquest and of armed possession.” In the second half of the nineteenth century the process became especially intense. The end of the Civil War precipitated a period of increased migration of whites westward. As this movement accelerated, so did the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the demise of Native American autonomy. Wood actively imbibed the Jacksonian democratic vision of a continent settled by whites, which, as it materialized, witnessed the defeat of the last of the indigenous peoples. Wood’s participation helped create a new myth of white supremacist racial triumphalism, which incorporated old tropes of gender and race, a mythical vision he shared with many whites of the elite and middle classes. He and Roosevelt marched through history side by side and reinvigorated patriarchal white supremacy during a significant ideological reification. As the myth proliferated, a transformed ideology of white male supremacy coalesced in the minds of many Americans.⁸⁵

Wood’s relationship with Theodore Roosevelt, like his previous one with Miles, catapulted his military career forward. Roosevelt was directly responsible for Wood’s two most important career advances: his appointment as colonel of the Rough Riders and his promotion to brigadier general over several hundred other qualified candidates. Roosevelt expressed gushing admiration for Wood’s physical appearance and his experiences “Indian-fighting.” He said Wood was “one of the two or three white men

⁸⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West, Volume III* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1907), 1; Harry L. Wilson, “Old Hickory’s Democracy,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 9.4 (1985): 103, 107-08, 110-15, 120-22; Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 192-93; Diary of Leonard Wood, 7 September 1886, Papers of Leonard Wood; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 25-26; George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution* (New York: Free Press, 1968), 114, 121-22.

who could stand fatigue and hardship as well as an Apache.” He praised Wood as “by nature a soldier, a man of extraordinary physical strength and endurance,” who could withstand “intolerable fatigue, intolerable thirst, and never satisfied hunger.”⁸⁶

In Roosevelt Wood acquired a valuable political patron, and Wood always claimed they never exchanged a cross word, nor ever had a quarrel. Despite this claim, Wood admitted he envied the social status and opportunities that Roosevelt enjoyed because of his family’s great wealth. He envied Roosevelt’s opportunities to travel and his purely academic pursuits.⁸⁷ Besides sharing an affinity for American empire they also shared a preoccupation with physical activity and the pursuit of a “strenuous life.” Wood prided himself on his physical prowess as well as his physical discipline, much like Roosevelt, while Roosevelt admired Wood’s austere personality and way of life. The two engaged in “violent exercise” such as swordfights with staffs and brutal boxing matches. They often drew blood and caused serious injuries like concussions, much as Wood had with Miles. They also hiked together, trying with all their might to run one another into the ground on backbreaking jaunts in the hills. They partook in this aggressive, competitive behavior as a way of defining a new masculinity for a new American empire.⁸⁸

Wood and Roosevelt belonged to the generation the Civil War veterans left behind. As the Civil War generation grew old, it was up to a new generation of men like Wood and Roosevelt to prove their worth and sustain the progress, health, and wealth of

⁸⁶ Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider*, 162.

⁸⁷ Gary Gerstle, “Theodore Roosevelt and the Divided Character of American Nationalism,” *The Journal of American History* 86.3 (1999): 1283; Holme, *The Life of Leonard Wood*, 38; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, 72-88.

⁸⁸ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 20, 27; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 136-40; Evan Thomas, *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Hearst, Lodge and the Rush to Empire, 1898* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 2010), 195.

the American empire. Wood, Roosevelt, and Henry Cabot Lodge all came of age listening to the war stories of that generation. They idealized the martyrs of that conflict as well as the living veterans and figures like the widow of Robert Gould Shaw, whose husband had died leading African American soldiers in battle. Roosevelt especially felt internalized pressure to live up to the status of these mythologized men. He felt a deep shame due to the fact that his father had paid a replacement to fight in the Civil War and was not tested in the fire of combat as Roosevelt so vociferously preached in his political and personal life.⁸⁹ Both Wood and Roosevelt remained constantly aware that they had not “proven” themselves on the field of combat, despite Wood’s bogus Medal of Honor. These two men grew up in the shadow of men who had fought to the death to preserve the union. They were part of a cohort of white upper middle class men whose desire to prove themselves grew exponentially as the recessions of the latter portion of the nineteenth century shook the ideological foundations of their identity as patriarchs.

At the end of the Civil War the Army of the Republic shrank from over one million men to thirty thousand in a very short period. After Reconstruction this number decreased even further. In 1885, the United States Army comprised less than twenty-five thousand men. Most of the officers had been in the same rank for over a decade and a half. Many staff officers, as well as enlisted men and newly minted lieutenants, complained that the staff officers were poorly trained, out of shape, and lacking in

⁸⁹ Thomas, *The War Lovers*, 18-25. Josephine Shaw Lowell, the sister of the Civil War hero and abolitionist Robert Gould Shaw, was a constant fixture in the social circles that Roosevelt and Cabot Lodge grew up in. She was idolized as a living reminder of the sacrifices made by the men of the Civil War generation. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 138-39; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 8; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 20-25, 29. After the Civil War, male participation in the political system reached a peak. Gender, even more than race, was the factor for exclusion from the electorate, as property ownership was eliminated in most states as a criterion. Men made the argument that their service in the war had shaped a strong male character, and veterans of the war doubted that their sons possessed the “character to govern the nation.” Women were construed as embodying the common good, yet ironically this was one of many justifications for female disenfranchisement.

professionalism. The army's primary duties were on the frontier, acting as a "frontier constabulary," quelling indigenous insurgencies and concentrating them into reservations.⁹⁰

During this process of de-mobilization and the transition to a primarily industrialized society, competition for jobs increased as immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe came in great numbers to meet the increasing demand for labor. The arrival of these disparate non-Anglo-Saxon Europeans challenged the myth of a homogenous white race and highlighted the multi-ethnic character of the republic itself. Despite legal status as "whites" entitled to the rights of citizenry as other white Americans, many white Americans, like Roosevelt's friend Frederic Remington, questioned their racial robustness and ability to assimilate into the American white community. Roosevelt attributed the unique racial characteristics of the "American race" to the fact that they had "in their veins less aboriginal American blood" than the other European-descended communities in the Americas. The influx of so many people whose "whiteness" was questionable caused a frantic struggle on the part of Anglo-Americans to defend the boundaries of privilege for "authentic" whites. Anti-immigrant sentiment and a stringent policing of the boundaries of whiteness characterized this struggle. Despite this ambiguity of whiteness, ethnic whites eventually assimilated into a homogenous conglomerate of "Americans" that claimed privilege based on phenotype. White Americans drew the boundary, however, between and white and non-white through acts of extreme racial violence and the policing of sexuality.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Edward M. Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 3-4; Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 8, 215-16, 230-31.

⁹¹ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 62, 67-72; Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the*

Mass lynchings, murder, and other atrocities openly committed against African Americans, Chinese, and other non-whites drew and hardened these boundaries. As Northern Republican whites, like the Woods and the Roosevelts, abandoned Reconstruction efforts in the South, African Americans challenged the narrative of white supremacy by carving out a small middle class and semblance of economic independence. White Americans responded violently with legal and extralegal methods to preserve white privilege. African Americans were violently expelled from power in states all over the South and lost the right to vote for almost a century. White terrorism, which produced the greatest number of lynchings and mass killings of blacks in the nation's history, drew a stark line between white and non-white. While the majority of the victims of lynchings were men, black women were also lynched. Mobs lynched black women under the cover of rhetoric, which placed them in the category of non-human and removed the protection of their gender from the extreme ritualistic violence of the lynch mob. As Wood's career went from army doctor to colonial administrator and architect of United States foreign policy, he upheld this ideology of race and civilization, which justified such carnage.⁹²

While Wood's family were anti-slavery Yankees, and Leonard himself abhorred mob violence against African Americans, his public persona played an important role in

Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 274; Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 19, 150, 201-03, 228, 238; Roosevelt, *Wining of the West*, 26-27; Naoko Shibusawa "The Lavender Scare and Empire: Rethinking Cold War Anti-Gay Politics," *Diplomatic History* Volume 36, No. 4, September 2012, 726-27.

⁹² Evelyn Simien, *Gender and Lynching: The Politics of Memory* (New York: Palgrave Publishing, 2012), 3-5, 17. Although the majority of lynching victims were male, mob violence targeted African American women in a similarly brutal fashion. Mob violence against African American women and men symbolically and literally placed them outside the boundaries of white citizenship and privileges it carried. Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 167.

the redefining of white masculinity.⁹³ New laws to control the lives and movements of African Americans, Chinese, and immigrants reinforced a racialized hierarchy. This hierarchy determined who deserved privileges associated with full American citizenship. The Chinese Exclusion Act severely restricted entry of Chinese into the United States, barred them from citizenship and stripped Chinese-Americans of recognition as members of the national community. Other legal means, which were best expressed by the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling, put non-whites outside of the protection of law and into permanent status as non-citizens.⁹⁴

In the late nineteenth century, the intelligentsia, academia, and popular culture widely accepted and articulated the idea that each racial community occupied a place on a racial and evolutionary hierarchy. Middle and upper-class education of white men included academic and scientific works that validated this race ideology. Men like Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt learned this material in primary, secondary, and university education. The intellectual treatment of race classified humanity within fixed boundaries and categories. Brutal mob violence, which accomplished de facto segregation in the American South, enforced and reinforced those boundaries. Economic relationships and complex systems of oppression throughout European societies and their imperial territories accomplished the same task. In 1853, Arthur Comte de Gobineau published *The Inequality of the Races*, which claimed that all races outside of the white race had failed to achieve the pinnacle of human evolution as whites had done. American

⁹³ Watts, *Rough Rider*, 227-28. While in command of the Central Department of the U.S. Army in the summer of 1919, Wood intervened in the Omaha race riots and saved the lives of many African-Americans.

⁹⁴ Thomas, *The War Lovers*, 58, 62, 66-67; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 343. *Plessy v. Ferguson* was a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that enshrined in law the legal segregation of African Americans from whites under the “separate but equal” rationale. For the next fifty-six years this ruling was the bedrock for the Jim Crow laws in the American South, as well as racially segregated facilities throughout the United States.

anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan's text *Ancient Civilizations*, published in 1877 and widely read, also argued for hardened boundaries and categories of race, placing whites firmly at the top of a racial hierarchy. By the late nineteenth century, this had emerged as a consensus across the social and political spectrum of the United States and the Western world. White supremacy was legitimized through science, political theory, and philosophy during the nineteenth century. Anthropologists, like Morgan, provided scientific arguments for Anglo-Saxon intellectual and cultural superiority. Scientific racism took for granted that the white race(s) reigned over all others. In its mildest application, adherents of this race ideology articulated a "white man's burden" to civilize the lower races. In its most extreme interpretation, it called for the extermination of lower races, especially if they proved problematic and difficult to subdue or civilize.⁹⁵

The Europeans spent the latter nineteenth century putting into practice these principles of racial classification as they built vast empires in the lands of non-whites, often devouring the remains of former Asian, African, and Islamic empires. Prior to U.S. troops destroying Moro communities, Europeans killed entire communities of Africans and Asians who stood in the way of their imperial aims. In Southwest Africa, Germany employed the principles of scientific racism to justify the first planned genocide of the modern era as they nearly wiped out the Nama and Herero peoples in Namibia. As they committed this act of genocide, they catalogued and classified Africans to bolster their arguments for white supremacy. In Southeast Asia the French occupied modern-day

⁹⁵ Timothy H. Parsons, *The Rule of Empires: Those Who Built Them, Those Who Endured Them, and Why They Always Fail* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 14, 300-01, 323; "The Centennial: The Matter of Classification," *New York Times*, March 4, 1876; "What This Exposition Means," *Buffalo Evening News*, March 13, 1901; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Exposition, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 27, 31, 64-5; Rudyard Kipling, *A Selection of His Stories and Poems* (New York: Doubleday, 1956); Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 38-47, 67, 72-87, 91; Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964).

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, also citing the inferiority of the peoples and a plan to uplift and civilize the inhabitants of the region. In India the British appropriated an existing caste system as a tool of colonial and imperial control, while simultaneously using it to bolster the existing racial order throughout their empire in Africa, the Caribbean, and even Ireland. The acceptance and application of scientific racism was widespread in Western civilization and crossed political, economic, and often ethnic lines.⁹⁶

As this race ideology reached its pinnacle, the process of white racial conquest of North America entered its final stage, and historian Frederick Jackson Turner elaborated on the “closing of the frontier.” Social commentators lamented the dangerous passing of a significant milestone in a teleological vision of American history. Turner identified this passing of the frontier as a seminal event in United States history at the Colombian Exposition in 1892. He argued that the very basis of American democracy had been access to “free land” and that the existence of the frontier had defined American democracy. He positioned the frontier as central to any understanding of American cultural, political, and social development. Furthermore, Turner placed the frontier at the very heart of the formation of a uniquely American character. Turner argued that with no more land to take, the American character of the republic faced peril since it depended upon land ownership, preferably by Anglo-Saxon men who worked the soil. Roosevelt’s *The Winning of the West*, written in 1896, placed the Anglo-Saxon race of “rough settlers” at the center of a “great epic of wilderness conquest.” Turner and Roosevelt’s

⁹⁶ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York: Vantage Books, 1998), 100; Adam Hochschild, *Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 281-82; *Genocide and the Second Reich*, directed by David Olusoga, (2005, London: BBC); Parsons, *The Rule of Empires*, 14, 171, 176-78.

frontier was isolated in place and time and served as a demarcation between the savage and the civilized. Turner gave his presentation against the backdrop of thirty years of economic uncertainty, increased automation leading to a prevalence of white collar jobs for men, and women becoming more politically active. It was a call to arms for American policymakers to redefine the nature of American democracy and white masculine identity.⁹⁷

During this period the American republic underwent strategic and political transformations that shaped a new worldview for a generation of men and women who supported new extra-continental expansion. This aggressive expansion began with the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and eventually culminated with the United States becoming a global power eclipsing all the European empires in influence and projection of power, if not territory. The renegotiations of gender within American society coincided with this period of expansion and general application of race ideology.

Nineteenth-century white upper middle class males understood and enacted their roles as men within a vision of white masculinity based on gentility, but industrialization and the increase of white-collar jobs for white middle-class men created a sense of anxiety among this cohort. The demand for positions as clerks and middle management increased, thereby bolstering the ranks of white middle-class men. Leisure time and consumption became a part of the life of this emerging middle class. The anxiety among men in this class sprang from a narrative that stated that the growth of sedentary work

⁹⁷ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 55; Henry Cabot Lodge, "Our Blundering Foreign Policy," *Forum*, March 1895; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 36-37, 141; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 183; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1920), 63-65; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West, Volume Four: Louisiana and the Northwest, 1791-1807* (London: Dodo Press, 2007), 1-4.

feminized white men. In addition, women, particularly middle-class white women, made increasing demands for political participation and social authority.⁹⁸

The reinvigoration of white masculinity that occurred in the 1890's and the early twentieth century borrowed myths about nineteenth-century expansion to critique the perceived softening of white men. White masculinity underwent a change whereby traits associated with a cooperative, communal, gentile white male were replaced by traits associated with a more competitive, aggressive male. The white male body, as in muscular physicality and aesthetic, was punctuated in print and popular culture as the human ideal. Leonard Wood, a man who paid a great deal of attention to his physical fitness, embodied an ideal of white masculinity that appealed to many people, but luckily for him captured the attention of very powerful men. The years from 1880 to 1917 were very active for the formation of white middle-class masculine identity. In this period gender roles were defined within the context of a civilizational construct, which linked race and gender.⁹⁹

It was also during this period that the presentation of specific characteristics pigeonholed white women into a gender-specific racial category. The formation of gender identity for white men depended upon the reification of specific feminine characteristics. This feminine identity deemed women important to the preservation and advancement of civilization, yet deliberately placed them outside of existing power structures. Men likened politics to war and claimed that women, as the repositories of goodness and humanizers of children, lacked the character to wage it effectively. Theodore Roosevelt

⁹⁸ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 11-13; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 3-4, 30-34; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 222-26.

⁹⁹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 5; Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 153. ; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 2,5; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood* , 31, 92, 136, 177.

expressed the sentiments of white men of this class when he described his wife as “so pure and holy that it seems almost profanation to touch her.”¹⁰⁰ Women were expected to exclude themselves from the centers of power in order to protect themselves from its degrading effects. They were also cast as de-sexualized beings who engaged in the act of intercourse to bear children for the race rather than to satisfy human sexual urges, which only men were allowed to possess. Men, however, also held women up as a threat to the strength of male children. Contemporary figures complained women raised “over civilized flat-chested cigarette smokers with shaky nerves and doubtful vitality.”¹⁰¹ White women received the blame for the “feminization” of males in the United States, and their conduct dictated the honor of the white men deemed their caretakers. White people linked white manhood directly to civilization and linked the protection of white women to white manhood. As white masculinity transformed, it defined white femininity and universalized gender behaviors for women as well.¹⁰²

American race ideology formed in tandem with gender ideology via the violent demarcation of racial boundaries. As Leonard Wood participated in the removal of the Chiricahua Apache from the Southwest, American soldiers massacred the last “free band” of Lakota at Wounded Knee, and the 1890’s produced a peak in the number of lynchings of African Americans. Over one thousand African-American men were lynched in this ten-year period, with 1892 being the peak year at 230.¹⁰³ The practice of lynching reasserted the political and social supremacy of the white male, at a time when white men

¹⁰⁰ Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 1979), 125;

¹⁰¹ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 252.

¹⁰² Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 22-23, 130; Watts, *Rough Rider*, 82-83, 93-98; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 11, 41.

¹⁰³ Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 112; Nell Irvin Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African-American History and Its Meanings, 1619 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 180.

felt intense unease about the feminization of white men and the loss of white privilege. As white men reasserted their dominance, they excluded African Americans from the history of the struggle between the states. Instead, they recast them as characters in an “Old South” where African Americans had been better off in bondage: “Civilization positioned African American men as the anti-thesis of both the white man and civilization itself.” White Americans reinvented African Americans in the persona of “coon” and “mammy.” This reinvention of the African American accomplished several goals for white Americans. It created a present where African Americans were not angry about having been brutalized via chattel slavery, and white people were not guilty of their exploitation. It also created gender-specific prototypes for African Americans that did not threaten white male privilege. The “mammy” figure in particular illustrated for whites a “public representation of white benevolence” that would reform and uplift African Americans, while simultaneously casting whites in the role of supremacy. African Americans who attempted to step outside these gender norms faced violent consequences. Brutalization of African American women by mobs of white men starkly drew the line between white women and non-white women, who were placed outside of the gender norm.¹⁰⁴

The intimate friendship of Roosevelt and Wood was a coupling of the “same strong type” of men during the United States’ rapid expansion into global empire accompanied by a simultaneous transformation of white masculinity. While white supremacy had always bookended the expansion across the continent, a new variation of the narrative of race and gender was needed to explain American hegemony imposed

¹⁰⁴ Micki McElya, *Clinging to Mammy: The Faithful Slave in Twentieth Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 12-13, 16, 40, 143; Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 202-04; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 49.

outside of the continent. The manifestation of Wood's identity as an "Indian fighter" suited the narrative being created about the west, which explained United States aggressive expansion into the Pacific and Caribbean as it was remade as a global empire. Roosevelt's public persona provided the American public with a living illustration of the new white man, and Wood provided Roosevelt with the prototype for the same. Both of these men also reinforced rapidly spreading ideas about white feminine identity as the foil against the non-white woman who was placed outside of the protection of the white patriarchy. Non-white women in the United States were de-personalized through the violence of the racist mob and the male gaze of the foot soldiers of empire like Leonard Wood. During the Spanish-American War's insurgencies in the Philippines, Filipino women were subjected to such de-personalization.¹⁰⁵

After Wood completed his assignment at Fort Huachuca in 1890, General Miles ordered him to report for duty at the Presidio in San Francisco. At the Presidio, Wood maintained his relationship with Miles as subordinate and protégé. Because the post surgeon was an alcoholic who avoided dealing with patients, Wood kept to a very busy schedule as the post surgeon. He earned a reputation as a capable and dedicated doctor and competent soldier. Wood also continued to dedicate himself to physical fitness. Though he lacked social charm, he made the acquaintance of his future wife, Louise Condit-Smith.¹⁰⁶

Wood met Louise, the daughter of a deceased army colonel, while she was on vacation in the Bay Area with her uncle, Supreme Court Justice Stephen Field. Wood admired Louise and found he "enjoyed life at the hotel very much" once he had met her.

¹⁰⁵ Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 158, 172.

¹⁰⁶ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 123-29.

They lunched, rode, and took walks together “virtually every day” after they met. Eventually, Judge Field sent for Wood and grilled him regarding his intentions toward his “favorite niece,” and Wood passed muster. They married in Washington, D.C., on November 18, 1890. The Woods then returned to the Presidio, where they resided for the next five years.¹⁰⁷

Wood returned to Washington in 1895 at the start of the expansionist enthusiasm that spread among much of the capital’s political elite. Wood enthusiastically entered the ranks of the “imperialists” headed by Roosevelt, Lodge, John Hay, Brook and Henry Adams, and Alfred Mahan, among others. The new President McKinley’s chronically ill wife often required the attention of the young Doctor Wood. Wood functioned in the capacity of counselor and comforter to Mrs. McKinley as well as doctor. This provided him with direct access to the First Family and earned the affection of the new president. Once again, General Miles acted as patron to Wood and introduced him to everyone he needed to know to enhance his political portfolio. One of the men was a young officer named Frank McCoy, who became a dedicated aide and mentee. It was during this period that he also met young Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁰⁸

Theodore Roosevelt, and Leonard Wood couched their argument for American extra-continental expansion within the intellectual production of men like Josiah Strong who were popularly read during the latter portion of the nineteenth century. Josiah Strong expanded upon a racial argument and justification for global imperial activity. Strong urged the transformation of societies of inferior races through the exportation of American civilization. If these inferior races would not cooperate with this civilizing

¹⁰⁷ Diary of Leonard Wood, 20 July 1889, 16 August 1889, Papers of Leonard Wood.

¹⁰⁸ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 13, 20; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 136-38.

project, Strong advocated an “Anglo-Saxon conquest” of the uncivilized spaces. In 1885 Strong published *Our Country*, which articulated his vision for a Christianized world with white Americans cast in the role of the “chosen people” destined to go forth on a mission of mercy to civilize lower races and bring them Christian civilization. Strong linked this mission of spiritual fulfillment with commercial expansion with classic Protestant notion of commerce to follow the word of Christ. Strong advocated this expansion as peaceful alternative to violent race war. The two dominant ideologies of the day, scientific racism and social Darwinism, rested on the assumption of an inevitable struggle for racial supremacy. Strong believed commercial and missionary expansion would soften the subjugation of lower races by transforming their savage natures. The embrace of commerce would bring them under the cultural and intellectual hegemony of the white race. Policymakers believed this would engender within them admiration combined with recognition of their place below the white race.¹⁰⁹

Alfred Mahan provided the strategic rationale, and blueprint, for the expansion of naval power, especially into the Pacific. Mahan argued that sea power determined the global pre-eminence of any nation.¹¹⁰ Mahan also believed that “the Church is a greater fact than any state and that Christianity is more than any political creed.” For Mahan religion, specifically Anglo-American Protestantism, held a central role in the greatness of the American nation. He believed in the exportation of those spiritual ideals as part of the imperial mission for the twentieth century United States and rejected arguments from

¹⁰⁹ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 17, 54, 97, 164, 205; LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 72-79; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 55; Henry Cabot Lodge, “Our Blundering Foreign Policy,” *Forum*, March 1895; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 36-37, 141; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 183; Turner, *The Frontier*, 63-65.

¹¹⁰ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 17, 54, 97, 164, 205; Alfred Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History: 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1890), 1, 14, 416.

anti-imperialists that the United States was unprepared “for the duty of governing dependencies.”¹¹¹

Roosevelt was a strong proponent of the views of Turner and Mahan and he inculcated Wood with his enthusiasm for extra-continental empire building. In the time they spent together on long walks, Wood and Roosevelt would discuss the troubles brewing in Cuba, and they actively campaigned for United States intervention. Roosevelt later stated that they “both felt very strongly that such a war would be righteous as it would be advantageous to the honor and interests of the nation.” On deployment to Cuba, Wood wrote, “Hard it is to believe that this is the commencement of a new policy and that this is the first great expedition our country has sent overseas and marks the commencement of a new era in our relations with the world.”¹¹² Wood looked forward to war with Spain as a means of liberating Cuban from Spanish imperial tyranny. Later he carried out U.S. imperial policy in Cuba with the intention of racial uplift of a people he felt lacked the sophistication for genuine independence. Roosevelt and Lodge both burned to get the United States into war against Spain. These three men fed off one another in a deadly triumvirate, each urging the other and the country along the path to war. President McKinley was reluctant to send Americans to war off the continent, having experienced the carnage of war at Antietam, one of the deadliest battles of the Civil War. Despite his reluctance, however, he committed to war to advance the economic interests of the nation, as he perceived them, and simultaneously bring the

¹¹¹ Alfred Mahan to Edward R. Rawson, 29 September 1899 in Robert Seager II and Doris D. Maguire ed., *Letters and Papers of Alfred Thayer Mahan, Volume II, 1890-1901* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1975), 661.

¹¹² Roosevelt to Wood, 11 January 1898, Papers of Leonard Wood; Wood to Louise Condit, 15 June 1898, Papers of Leonard Wood; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1902), 13.

benefits of American civilization to “backward” peoples.¹¹³ When the United States eventually declared war on April 10, 1898, Roosevelt resigned from his post as assistant secretary of Navy so he could actively lobby for an assignment in the Army, which would guarantee him action. Wood was still assigned as assistant surgeon and medical officer to Mrs. McKinley, who depended upon his ministrations. Despite this, he also lobbied to get sent into combat. Wood burned with an ambition to achieve political power and felt combat in this period of expansion guaranteed that. Their combined ceaseless efforts to fight led to the creation of the “Rough Riders.”¹¹⁴

The Rough Riders were a unit of cavalry made up from varied types of white men from different regions, classes, and vocations. Roosevelt had intended them to be just that: a sampling of the best the white American race had to offer. They were formed as the governor of Arizona pleaded for the opportunity to host cavalry regiments composed of “frontiersmen possessing special qualifications as horsemen and marksmen.” Wood and Roosevelt were happy to oblige the governor, and with the support and patronage of other western politicians, they were able to gain the appropriations of funds enough for three regiments of volunteer mounted cavalry.¹¹⁵ Although President McKinley offered Roosevelt command of the regiment, Roosevelt prudently recognized that a seasoned officer should lead the unit. He agreed to come on with the rank of lieutenant colonel and insisted that the command go to Leonard Wood as commanding officer with the rank of

¹¹³ Thomas, *The War Lovers*, 228-29; Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), 91, 390-94. President McKinley was reluctant to commit to war until Senator Proctor from Vermont had briefed him once he had returned from a fact-finding mission to Cuba with grisly details of the Spanish conduct in the war. McKinley also faced incredible pressure from U.S. businessmen who wanted stability in the Caribbean and access to Latin American and Asian markets. McKinley was in fact one of the last of the Civil War generation and had actually experienced the horrors of war. It was a great irony that the press, and Roosevelt, emasculated him in public and in private, accusing him of cowardice and un-masculine softness.

¹¹⁴ Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, 7-11.

¹¹⁵ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 145.

colonel. Wood later described Roosevelt as “one of the most subordinate subordinates I ever had.” Roosevelt attested to Wood’s character when he declared that Wood possessed “the qualities of entire manliness with entire uprightness and cleanliness of character.” Roosevelt felt Wood was endowed with the essential traits of manhood required for command of such an elite, prestigious unit. Wood insisted that recruiters should not accept any man “whose stomach was larger than his chest.” Roosevelt wanted to put on public display what he believed to be the best of white American masculinity. He selected cowboys from the west, bluebloods, from the east and Southern gentlemen.¹¹⁶

Once in Cuba, the Rough Riders were assigned to take San Juan Hill and a series of fortified summits manned by well dug-in Spanish infantry. The taking of San Juan Hill entered the mythology of the war in a way that profoundly affected the political fortunes of both men. The Rough Riders may likely have faced disaster had it not been for the African American 9th and 10th Infantries that provided them with covering fire, as well as the African American cavalry that charged the hill with them. Although he described the 10th as having “followed their leaders with splendid courage” and without a “single straggler among them,” Roosevelt’s version of events also suggested that African American soldiers hesitated and had to be threatened with violence in order to get them to perform as white soldiers. Roosevelt asserted such claims despite the fact the 9th and 10th Cavalries had fought Native American insurgencies all over the American West prior to their deployment to Cuba. In keeping with the overall theme of exalting the biological and physical supremacy of the white American race, they were not included in

¹¹⁶ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 148; Watts, *Rough Rider*, 151,162; Woolman, “Fighting Islam’s Fierce Warriors,” 40; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume II*, 65; Holme, *The Life of Leonard Wood*, 40, 228.

the narrative, nor were they allowed to participate in the celebratory reenactments of the battle for the press.¹¹⁷

The Colored 9th and 10th Cavalries reached the summit of Kettle Hill alongside the 1st Volunteer Regiment of the Rough Riders. John J. (“Black Jack”) Pershing, who had earned a Silver Star for his efforts in capturing San Juan, led the 10th. According to witnesses, the black units performed their duties quite well. Despite his immediate reports of their admirable performance and skills as soldiers, Roosevelt later characterized their performance as not being on par with that of the white soldiers. In a series of articles published in *Scribner’s* magazine, Roosevelt praised the physical and martial abilities of African American soldiers, yet insisted they could perform only if properly guided by white officers. Roosevelt believed that the forced migration of Africans into the Americas was “a racial and national catastrophe,” since he thought they could never truly be assimilated into American society. For Roosevelt, African American soldiers’ battlefield successes threatened white supremacist reclamation of male authority, unless it was placed within the context of a master-slave subordinated relationship.¹¹⁸

After hostilities in Cuba ceased, President McKinley appointed Wood governor of Santiago. Wood approached his task with his usual humorless and unyielding approach. His autocratic management style became a well-known characteristic of his colonial administration. He correctly believed “his rule was the rule of a Pasha” whose authority was “absolute to life and death” if he chose to wield it. Never one for self-doubt or compromise, and completely convinced of his righteousness, Wood aggressively

¹¹⁷ Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 45, 74-75.

¹¹⁸ Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 94-96; Roosevelt to Winegar Tourgee, 8 November 1901, in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, Volume III*, ed. Elting E. Morison (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 190-91.

enforced his particular method of rule in the areas under his control. He launched a program of massive garbage collection enforced by surveys and inspections of homes and neighborhoods to ensure compliance. Wood then turned to food distribution and mass conscription to feed the population and clean up the city. He also successfully turned many former insurgents into a “rural guard,” which he used to stamp out any further resistance and police the local community. Wood would later replicate this practice in the southern Philippines with the Moro Constabulary. He was extremely autocratic, yet an effective administrator. Despite his rigidity, he succeeded in cleaning up Santiago, Cuba, wiping out “banditry,” and became a model for colonial administration of the new imperial possessions of the United States. He left Cuba with a reputation later celebrated as an administrator who “taught Cuba how to rule itself.”¹¹⁹

The occupation of Cuba by the U.S. Army faced sporadic violent resistance from Cuban revolutionaries. U.S. officials, however, treated any opposition as banditry and stamped it out violently. U.S. authorities successfully exploited phenotypical and class distinctions in Cuba, grafting the American binary of “Negro” and white onto Cuban politics. This effectively squelched any real unified resistance to United States occupation. During Wood’s tenure as governor he granted authority to Cubans who opposed independence and had not participated in the insurrection against the Spanish. These men supported Wood’s program of Americanization of the new territories and were completely “obsequious and cooperative” with U.S. authority.¹²⁰ The United States facilitated the creation of an elite class of white Cubans who grew enriched in an

¹¹⁹ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 57, 67, 111; Holme, *The Life of Leonard Wood*, 38; Wood to Louise, 21 July 1898, 8 August 1898, Papers of Leonard Wood; Leonard Wood, “Santiago Since the Surrender,” *Scribner’s*, May 25, 1899, 515-16, 520-21.

¹²⁰ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 66-67; Wood to McKinley, 27 November 1898, Papers of Leonard Wood.

economic relationship predicated upon the underdevelopment of the island and the subordination of the masses into a serf-like status within an agrarian society. Cuba became a client state of the United States for the next fifty-plus years. Among other tactics, United States officials recast the Maceo brothers as racially ambivalent characters, more white than black, in order to explain their apparent military genius. Similar to how Roosevelt excluded black soldiers from the myth of San Juan Hill, they removed Afro-Cubans from the narrative of success of a “multi-colored” revolutionary coalition. Unlike the Philippines, Cuba’s transition to U.S. imperial possession did not require the United States to crush counterinsurgency.¹²¹

At the conclusion of the Spanish American War on December 10, 1898, the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris. The Spanish ceded the territories of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines to the United States in exchange for a lump sum of twenty million dollars. Reflecting the racial assumptions of the era, indigenous populations were not consulted despite, in the cases of Cuba and the Philippines, having spent many years fighting bloody insurgencies against Spanish occupation. These newly acquired territories created a problem for nativists and others who feared the inclusion of those whom they considered racial inferiors.¹²²

¹²¹ Luis Perez, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), 29, 31, 51, 95; Alene Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 3-6, 12, 194, 225; Alene Helg, “Black Men, Racial Stereotyping and Violence in the U.S. South and Cuba at the Turn of the Century,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42.3 (2000): 576-604; Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 3, 4, 7, 198, 200; Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 4-5, 28-31. The Maceo Brothers, Antonio and Jose, were Afro-Cuban generals in the Cuban revolutionary army.

¹²² Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 268-69; Eric Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism & U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 17, 19, 25.

After the war, Wood continued to expand his résumé as an expansionist and became further ensconced within the inner circle of imperialists in Washington, D.C. His relationship with Assistant Secretary Roosevelt paid off when he returned to the capital with Roosevelt as president. President McKinley had succumbed to wounds from an assassin in the spring of 1901, and Roosevelt, who had been made vice president in 1900, became the president of the United States. Wood and Roosevelt continued their close relationship after he became president. Roosevelt carried his vigor for expansion into the White House, determined to realize his dreams of American empire and re-invigoration of white male supremacy.¹²³

Wood's friendship with Roosevelt was the meeting of like muscular minds and bodies, which became the genesis of racial and gendered myths that invigorated American imperial white supremacy and expanded beyond the geographical boundaries of the continent. The patronage of Nelson Miles and Theodore Roosevelt provided Wood access and opportunities to carry out the imperatives of American empire, thus causing the death and destruction of thousands of Moros in the southern Philippines. Their participation in the violent process of overseas expansion in Cuba and then in the Philippines provided a template for white masculinity in the age of extra-continental American empire.¹²⁴ Robust competition between men, embrace of "barbarian" virtues, and control of the definition of gender identities of women were the characteristics exhibited by these men and touted from the bully pulpit of Roosevelt's presidency. The myth of Leonard Wood as Indian fighter descended from Puritan stock provided capital

¹²³ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume I*, 401-4; Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 117-18; Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 200-01.

¹²⁴ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 223-26; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 214; Fulton, *Moroland*, 210, 251, 299.

for the greater narrative of race and gender accompanying and propelling the United States into the community of global empires. The two of sought to rescue white men from a crisis of identity and hardened both gender and color lines in the United States for several generations.

Chapter Two: To “Uplift, Civilize, and Christianize”: The Paradox of the American Civilizing Mission in the Southern Philippines

A popular account of McKinley’s Philippines policy states that in 1899, while addressing a delegation of Methodist Christian ministers, the President presented his evangelical vision of civilizational uplift of the people of the Philippines. Embedded within his rhetoric was his public rationale for the continued possession and occupation of the islands. McKinley claimed he sought bipartisan guidance from the House and Senate and received no good advice from anyone there. It was not until he sank to his knees in Christian prayer for many nights in succession that inspiration came to him. God afforded him the certitude that it was the duty of Americans to “educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died.” McKinley, like many imperialists, couched his occupation and usurpation of Filipino self-determination within a discourse of paternalistic racism. McKinley’s divinely inspired foreign policy decision was also pragmatic and politically astute. In a time of heightened patriotic fervor and popular support for America’s expansion into the Pacific and the Caribbean, he calculated the political costs of granting the Philippines independence and decided to hold onto the islands.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Susan K. Harris, *God’s Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 14; President William McKinley, “Remarks to the Methodist Delegation,” in *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*, ed. Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Roskamm Shalom (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 22-23. General James Rusling, “Interview with President William McKinley,” *The Christian Advocate* 22 January 1903, 17. Some historians have since disputed the accuracy of General Rusling’s recollection although it does accurately convey the language of evangelical imperialism, which justified expansion.

The acquisition of these new territories represented a new frontier for many Americans who craved opportunities to carry out their civilizing mission. Many expansionists sincerely believed that “civilizing” the savage would mutually benefit both missionaries and the millions of souls they meant to save. The U.S. expansionist project of the late nineteenth century infused moral certainty with a renewed sense of national purpose. Expansionists fiercely asserted the moral dimensions of American empire, especially as anti-expansionists attempted to monopolize the moral high ground in the debate of empire. Imperialist architects and soldiers were determined to introduce the nation’s “new wards” to American civilization. Proponents of American empire defined civilization as white Anglo-Saxon Christian Protestantism, free-market capitalism, and the inculcation of distinctly American cultural notions of race, gender, and teleological historicism. This moral certitude also provided cover for what anti-imperialists claimed were baser motives for occupation. The Philippines provided the coveted naval bases that would help secure access to the Asian markets. Imperialists vociferously insisted these self-interested motives provided as much benefit to the Filipinos as they did for Americans. The moral certitude of President McKinley, and these proponents of the new U.S. empire, would have severe consequences for all the inhabitants of the Philippines.¹²⁶

At the end the of the nineteenth century, the United States was like most Western societies in that it guaranteed a certain degree of freedom from violence for white citizens, contingent upon continued violence against non-normative peoples portrayed as irrational. Despite the often asserted values of individual freedoms, self-determination,

¹²⁶ Harris, *God’s Arbiters*, 6, 19, 47; Gregg Jones, *Honor in the Dust: Theodore Roosevelt, War in the Philippines, and the Rise and Fall of America’s Imperial Dream* (New York: New American Library, 2012), 10-11, 94-5, 300; Stuart Creighton Miller “*Benevolent Assimilation*”: *The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 17-20.

and the opportunity to transcend one's humble beginnings, the U.S. historical experience for the "other" was often brutal and exploitative and resulted in the extermination of large indigenous communities that stood in the path of U.S. economic and territorial expansion.¹²⁷ Interwoven into the economic imperatives of the nation was the ideology of race, which placed groups outside of the protection of the law and traditions of the nation. Free white male American citizens benefited materially and psychologically from state violence carried out against Native Americans, as the latter were removed from their lands. The same was true of violence against African Americans, Chinese Americans, immigrants, and other groups placed outside of the paradigm of whiteness. Close to two hundred years of aggressive marginalization of Native Americans, African Americans, and others had created a solid tradition of bifurcated notions of citizenship. White citizenship differed from that of non-whites, who were often the target of state, and non-state, sanctioned violence. This was woven into a narrative of freedom, democracy, and free-market capitalism, which were part of a teleological discourse of progress.

The United States took possession of the former territories of the Spanish Empire with the historical and cultural baggage of this white supremacist ideology fused with a free-market system predicated upon the marginalization of certain populations. Once in possession of the islands, the U.S. adopted a policy of political stewardship of the Filipinos by placing them under direct United States rule. Anthropologists, professional educators, and other members of academic and intellectual communities studied the people of the islands in an effort to categorize them. They then designed a colonial policy

¹²⁷ Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the U.S. State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 18-20; H.W. Brands, *American Colossus: The Triumph of Capitalism, 1865-1900* (New York: Anchor Books, 2010), 169, 197; Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 89-91.

suitable for the “natives”’ supposed stage of civilization and their racial temperament. During this same period, the military also made assessments of Moro character and society with the goals of pacification and control of the populace. Both military and academic communities came to similar conclusions about “Moro character.” As white American men classified the Moros into a specific category, their commitment to Islam came to be the distinguishing factor that set them as a race apart.¹²⁸

Soon after Americans arrived in the Philippines, they embarked on a campaign of military pacification. From the beginning of armed conflict, the violent imposition of imperial rule was justified in terms of a civilizing mission—the bringing of republican, Protestant-Christian, American values to those who lacked them. Nineteenth-century U.S. identity was grounded in a racial, spiritual, and cultural amalgam of white Protestantism. Many white Americans also possessed profound beliefs in the superiority of United States political and social institutions and a conviction that they held a divine mandate to help other countries to follow the American example. These beliefs somewhat contradicted the predominant race ideology, which deemed the targets of U.S. missionary zeal beyond the reach of the apex of white racial superiority. The term “mission” implied that assimilation was possible, but at the same time, the colonial project was legitimized

¹²⁸ David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 58-60; Rodney J. Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism: The Philippine Career of Dean C. Worcester* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1991), 10, 153,163; Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 22-5. Polygeny, the “American school” of anthropology, was widely accepted in academia as an explanation for the racial hierarchy of humanity. Polygeny proponents argued for the evolution of many different species of humanity to varying degrees of development, thus legitimizing the permanent intrinsic inferiority of non-whites to whites.

by racist depictions of Filipinos, which called into question the likelihood of a successful outcome.¹²⁹

Americans eventually insisted on less autonomy for the Moros than the Spanish had allowed, and considered the Moros less capable of assimilating American values than the Christian Filipinos. Unlike the Spanish, U.S. authorities were also unwilling to accept a mere token acknowledgement of U.S. sovereignty from the Moros. While military officials used fairly arbitrary and prejudiced assessments of Moros as the basis for their decisions, academics produced the intellectual rationale for their violent pacification. As the historian Joan Scott has noted: “The paradox of the civilizing mission . . . was that the stated goal was to civilize those who finally could not be civilized.” Despite stated goals of uplift for marginalized people, Americans faced a paradox. The ethos of white supremacy and scientific racism seemed to place the racial “other” biologically beyond the reach of uplift.¹³⁰

Prior to large-scale resistance of Moros against American rule, Christian Filipinos violently opposed U.S. attempts to invalidate their struggle for independence from the Spanish. Commodore Dewey’s stunning naval success against the Spanish Navy on May 1, 1898 enabled him to demand the immediate surrender of Manila by Spanish forces. At the time, over two thousand soldiers of the insurgent army surrounded the city. Prior to Dewey’s victory, U.S. policymakers, including President McKinley, expressed

¹²⁹ Harris, *God’s Arbiters*, 5-7; Joan Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 41, 46-47, 61; Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 67, 69, 77, 79. This ideology differed slightly from European racial imperialism, the difference being that Americans resolved the issue of empire by constructing the pretext of independence for client states. While the ideology of race was fairly universal in the States, enthusiasm for empire was not. Formal colonization never took hold in these areas; instead, a kind of neo-colonialism was created that the European nations would copy when they granted former colonies independence in the twentieth century.

¹³⁰ Harris, *God’s Arbiters*, 5-7; Scott, *The Politics of the Veil*, 41, 46-7, 61; Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny*, 89-90.

ambivalence about occupying the islands. President McKinley kept his options open, however, and occupied the islands, when the opportunity presented itself through Dewey's victory. Dewey subsequently decided to direct expedition commander Major General Merritt to reduce the power of the Spanish and give "order and security to the islands while in U.S. possession." By the end of June, over 10,000 U.S. soldiers surrounded Manila and were poised to take possession of the islands.¹³¹

Filipino *insurrectos* resisted McKinley's decision to incorporate the Philippines into the new U.S. empire. When Americans attempted to implement the terms of the Treaty of Paris and physically occupy the country, Christian Filipinos launched organized violent opposition. Emil Aguinaldo emerged as the commander of the Filipino Army as well as the president of the Republic. Aguinaldo was a member of the Filipino upper class who had joined the resistance and took advantage of his class and authority to raise a faction loyal to him. He was a nationalist and ilustrado who used personal charisma to create loyalty and violence to remove challengers and usurpers of his authority.¹³²

American soldiers called Filipinos "niggers and goo-goos" and treated them with contempt almost from the moment they arrived on the islands.¹³³ Racial attitudes cultivated in the states, and the official position that U.S. military forces would thwart Filipino independence, turned a tenuous situation volatile with constant violent encounters between Filipinos and U.S. soldiers. Americans soon became embroiled in a bloody asymmetrical war with Filipino guerillas determined to legitimize their declaration of independence by military force. Shooting broke out between Filipinos and

¹³¹ Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1, 7-10.

¹³² *Ibid*, 5, 13.

¹³³ Jones, *Honor in the Dust*, 97-98, 115.

American soldiers on February 4, 1899. On February 5, American soldiers advanced aggressively and effectively across a sixteen-mile front, sweeping the Filipino forces before them. It was the bloodiest single day of the war, with two hundred thirty-eight American casualties and over one thousand Filipinos killed. The resulting insurgency, which lasted until 1902, was brutally bloody, marked by U.S. atrocities, and gave an entirely new meaning to the popular “water cure” health regimen.¹³⁴

Aguinaldo and his men disbanded and fought a fierce guerilla war against U. S. soldiers as soon as it became apparent that they could not win a conventional war against U.S. forces. U.S. soldiers became frustrated with fighting elusive foes who laid traps, assassinated collaborators, ambushed patrols, and melted back into the civilian population. U.S. forces soon resorted to extreme and brutal tactics in their fight against the *insurrectos*. Torture, re-concentration of civilian populations, free-fire zones, and even rape and murder became commonplace toward Filipinos. By the time General John Coulter Bates was dispatched to the Sulu archipelago to negotiate a treaty with the sultan, the northern insurgency was in full effect.¹³⁵

Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood were of a like mind regarding United States administration of the islands and the nation’s responsibility to tutor its inhabitants in the ways of civilization. Roosevelt and Wood discussed the situation in the Philippines, and the Moros in particular. The race question was of great concern to Roosevelt. In his text *The Winning of the West*, Roosevelt argued that the Anglo-Saxon

¹³⁴ Jones, *Honor in the Dust*, 112; Kristen Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 133-34; Paul Kramer, “The Water Cure: Debating Torture and Counterinsurgency a Century Ago,” *New Yorker*, February 25, 2008. The “water cure” was a type of torture made infamous by its use by U.S. soldiers on Filipino insurgents to obtain information. The term was an ironic play on words, as it had been borrowed from a popular hydrotherapy at the turn of the century. It became a symbol to anti-imperialists of what empire building was doing to the detriment of U.S. values and beliefs.

¹³⁵ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency*, 16; Jones, *Honor in the Dust*, 112, 115, 146-47.

race alone possessed the racial characteristics necessary to create a democratic society. He wrote that lesser races needed the proper maturation, and Anglo-Saxon tutelage, in order to acquire them.¹³⁶ Wood and Roosevelt both decided that the Moros were a savage people for whom “warfare was their religion and like a national sport” and who were incapable of self-rule. Wood asked to be posted in the Philippines, and Roosevelt responded that “nothing would be better” to tame those “tagal bandits” and “Chinese half-breeds,” whom he compared to Apaches. Roosevelt expressed concerns publically that other European powers might occupy or dominate the Philippines if the United States did not act quickly. In the four years that the U.S. Army had been in Mindanao and Sulu, the Moros had earned a reputation as fierce, exotic warriors. Men like Roosevelt and Wood welcomed this opportunity to be tested against savagery and barbarianism. It fit in with Roosevelt’s racial fantasies of conquest and emergence from battle having proved the racial superiority and vigor of the white man. In his worldview, the stronger races would inevitably dominate non-white, inferior races. For Roosevelt this was the natural order of things.¹³⁷

While Wood and Roosevelt were putting together the Rough Riders, McKinley sent General John Coulter Bates to the island of Jolo with orders to reach accommodation with Sultan Jamal Kiram. Dean C. Worcester, one of the architects of the eventual agreement, pushed for it based on his belief that the Moros and the “wild tribes” were not, and had never been, part of the Philippine nation envisioned by the insurrectos.

¹³⁶ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West, Volume I*, 15-20, 35-38.

¹³⁷ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency*, 27; Peter Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920* (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1977); Donald Smyth, “Pershing and the Mount Bagsak Campaign of 1913,” *Philippines Studies* 12 (1964), 3-31; Robert A. Fulton, *Moroland: The History of Uncle Sam and the Moros, 1899-1920* (Bend, Oregon: Tumalo Creek Press, 2009), 163, 166; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Volume II*, 406; Harris, *God’s Arbiters*, 17, 71; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 14, 15; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 171, 173, 178, 189-91.

Despite possessing access to this assessment, the Americans behaved as if the sultan were the sovereign ruler of the Moros of the Sulu archipelago.¹³⁸

The insurrection in the north necessitated the need to avoid open, organized opposition in the south. Military officials were concerned that U.S. forces would be spread thin if the Moros rose up en masse and violently opposed occupation. Given these circumstances, the U.S. government was satisfied with a simple recognition of U.S. sovereignty by the sultan of Sulu and was willing to overlook slavery in the south. General Elwell Stephen Otis, the Military Governor of the Philippines from 1898 to 1900, and other U.S. army officers worried that Moros would collaborate with the Filipino nationalists in their insurgency and create a southern front for an already beleaguered army battling a growing insurgency. U.S. officials assumed Spain occupied and controlled the southernmost portions of the Philippine Islands, including the Sulu archipelago. This turned out to be completely false. In fact, Spain grossly exaggerated the extent to which they exercised power and influence in the south. Bates' instructions were to meet with the sultan, get him to "recognize United States sovereignty," and insure that the Moros would not join the Christian Filipinos' campaign to rid the island of United States occupation.¹³⁹

Sultan Kiram held political legitimacy through his purported ancestral connection to the Prophet Muhammad. The datus of Sulu recognized Sultan Kiram as the Khalifa, despite the fact that his ability to force their compliance was not at all absolute. In fact, he

¹³⁸ Peter Gowing, "Moros and Indians," 7; Byler, "Pacifying the Moros," 39-40; Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, 148-9. This seemed to follow a similar pattern from two hundred years of treaties with Native Americans. Americans had a long history of signing treaties and agreements with individuals within a nation who lacked the authority to speak for all the members. Often figureheads were sought out to enter into agreements unpopular with legitimate leadership in order to lend a legitimate veneer to the appropriation of Native American lands.

¹³⁹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 42-47.

was able to gain compliance only through diplomacy and his own powers of persuasion, a fact he hid from General Bates when he signed the Bates agreement. The people of the archipelago self-identified as the Tausug, which, when translated, meant “people of the current.” The Tausugs were the most independent of the Moros and had very little political affiliation with the Moros on Mindanao. Sulu had a fairly homogeneous geographical population of at least ninety percent Muslim, and the Tausug were the largest and most powerful of the many ethnic groups in the Sulu archipelago. They earned a reputation, first with the Spanish and then with the Americans, as the most tenacious fighters among the many Moro ethnicities.¹⁴⁰

The datus headed many autonomous communities that recognized the sultan’s lineal authority from the earliest Muslims of the archipelago, who claimed descendancy from the Prophet Muhammad himself. The powers of the sultan required economic tribute and defense of his office and person. This contrasted with the Maguindanaons of Mindanao, who were bound by ethnicity but lacked a central authoritative figure. Although there were some who held the title of sultan, there was no caliph—or God’s political representative on earth. The U.S. Army never signed an agreement like Bates’ with the Maguindanao Moros and thus began hostile operations against them as early as 1900. It was during these hostilities that the Moros earned their reputation with the U.S. military as recalcitrant, fierce, even suicidal warriors.¹⁴¹

On August 12, 1898, Sultana Pangyan Inchi Jamela, “the Sultan’s extremely powerful Mother,” invited General John Coulter Bates to dine in her quarters. During the negotiations over the Bates agreement, she had the sultan’s aides, Hajji Butu, Habib

¹⁴⁰ Fulton, *Moroland*, 30; Thomas Keifer, *Tausug of the Philippines* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1972), 37-38, 58-60.

¹⁴¹ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 56, 385.

Mura, and Datu Calbi, present a letter to General Bates signaling that she was taking control of the negotiations. The sultana was the second wife of former sultan Jamal ul Azam and mother of the current sultan, Jamal Kiram. She exercised great power and influence behind the scenes. She was responsible for maneuvering her son, Sultan Kiram, into power. General Bates recognized and respected her as an important figure he could use to influence the terms of the agreement.¹⁴²

The sultan spent most of his time in Singapore, where he had extensive trade relationships, and lived the life of wealthy cosmopolitan elite. He had made hajj several times and also had contacts within the Ottoman Empire. He was well aware of the colonial arrangements that other Muslim elites like himself had made in Dutch territories and the British-controlled Malay region. Muslim rulers and political elites throughout Southeast Asia entered into subordinated arrangements with European powers that offered protection of their class, raw materials, land, and strategic access to their colonial masters. The sultan foresaw the eventual ouster of Spanish imperial power in the region and had been shopping among the imperial European powers for an imperial protector. The British, the target of much of his lobbying efforts, took a wait-and-see attitude to discover what the United States planned for the region. The sultan was unsympathetic to the Filipino nationalists and feared the prospect of Philippine independence. During the many years of hostile relations between the Spanish and the Moros, the Spanish used Catholic Filipinos as foot soldiers against the Moros, while the Moros raided Catholic Filipino areas for slaves and other resources. The sultan understood that political domination by the Filipino ilustrados was religiously and politically untenable.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Fulton, *Moroland*, 45, 53.

¹⁴³ Amoroso, "Inheriting the 'Moro Problem,'" 131-32. Fulton, *Moroland*, 43, 46, 52, Majul, *Muslims in*

From the very beginning, General Bates tried to set a particular tone for Moro-U.S. relations in Sulu by insisting that troops respect locals and Islamic customs. Despite his insistence that the United States flag fly over the ship above the sultan's banner, Bates demonstrated appropriate deference to the sultan, his retinue, and his family. One of the most contentious issues for Bates was slavery. Bates intentionally treated the topic with circumspection and ambiguity, precisely because he correctly perceived it to be a potentially intractable issue fraught with potential for conflict. Trying to resolve it could have killed any chance for an agreement with the sultan and his datus.¹⁴⁴

The Bates agreement of August 20, 1899 was the result of his efforts and became controversial for several reasons. First, it came to be viewed by military officials as an impediment to control of the population and the remaking of the "savage Moros" and their institutions. Second, there were competing interpretations of key passages in the text. The sultan claimed he had been led to believe Moros retained their sovereignty in their new imperial relationship with the United States. Furthermore, he certainly gave this impression to his datus and the Tausug masses, who after years of resistance against Christian rule would never have accepted American political and cultural domination. Third, because the Spanish had misled the Americans into believing that the Moro areas were subdued and under Spanish control, Americans assumed Moros were just exchanging one imperial power for another. The sultan had limited power among his followers and certainly did not have the means to enforce his political will absolutely. His

the Philippines, 364-65, 389-90.

¹⁴⁴ Fulton, *Moroland*, 69.

inability to control his datus became one of the primary complaints of Governor General Leonard Wood when he arrived in the south.¹⁴⁵

Sultan Kiram and his mother were keen to preserve the kind of limited autonomy they had enjoyed under the Spanish. The Tausug had signed a treaty with the Spanish on July 22, 1878, ending centuries of Spanish incursions and set in place an understanding between the two parties. The agreement was ambiguous about the autonomy of the Moros. There was also the open accusation by later administrators that Charles Schuck, the American interpreter, intentionally misled and misinterpreted the different versions of the agreement.¹⁴⁶ The agreement provided monetary compensation for the sultan and his entourage. The agreement did not prohibit slavery and in fact promised not to interfere with the religion of the Moros. The agreement was intentionally ambiguous in order to give breathing room to the Americans as they fought in the north. Bates's primary goal was to come to an understanding, so he left the more prickly items, such as slavery, for others to hammer out.¹⁴⁷

Moros were exoticized in U.S. popular culture with the 1902 release of the play *The Sultan of Sulu*, written by George Ade, a popular playwright and political satirist. Ade made a name for himself by gently mocking what he perceived as the conceit and arrogance of contemporary society. He was not an anti-expansionist, but he believed "just the idea of Americans trying to transform the Filipinos into Asiatic carbon copies of American democrats was almost too absurd for words." Ade wrote a series of articles mocking the civilizing mission of the Americans, using the fictional rural Tagalog family

¹⁴⁵ Gowing, "Moros and Indians," 7; Byler, "Pacifying the Moros," 39-40.

¹⁴⁶ Jolo Appendix, B, Conference, July 24, 1899, Bates Papers.

¹⁴⁷ Bates to Sultan Jamal Kiram, 6 August 1899, Bates Papers; General Otis to Bates, 16 August 1899, Bates Papers.

the “Kakyaks.” He visited Manila in 1900 and became intrigued by the agreement with Sultan Kiram. Ade found the circumstances of the agreement with the sultan, who practiced the “twin relics of barbarism,” slavery and polygamy, a particular source of irony, and it planted the seeds for the successful satire in his mind. When he returned, he put pen to paper and wrote *The Sultan of Sulu: A Satire in Two Acts*. The play opened to huge crowds in Chicago on March 11, 1902. It was a comedy of errors and miscommunications between a fictional delegation of Americans and the sultan. Ade mocked the conceit of benevolent assimilationists while also introducing the Moros to a popular American audience. Even President Roosevelt and William Howard Taft brought their families to see the show, which was performed before one hundred ninety-two standing-room-only audiences on Broadway. Ade’s successful show ran during a period when the atrocities on Samar and the controversy over occupation were in full effect throughout the nation. Even as people enjoyed the satiric nature of the show, the public thirsted for more information about these unfamiliar lands so far from the continental United States. Despite this, U.S. policymakers and other Americans had only a very vague picture of the Moros and initially lumped them in with the “wild tribes” as disparate groups of non-Christian Filipinos.¹⁴⁸

The Muslims of the Philippines, however, defined themselves very differently from how Americans saw them. Likewise, the Moros saw the Americans and their presence in a very different light than the Americans did themselves. Moros eventually viewed the Americans as yet another group of non-Muslim invaders intent on the destruction of their communities, their culture, and their religion. Moros expected a

¹⁴⁸ George Ade, *The Sultan of Sulu: A Satire in Two Acts* (New York: R. H. Russell, 1903), 11, 13-16; Fulton, *Moroland*, 142-45.

similar autonomous arrangement they had achieved with the Spanish through hundreds of years of struggle. They did not anticipate the intrusive physical presence of the U.S. Army in the midst of their communities. Nor did they expect dictatorial colonial officials' attempts to regulate the internal affairs of their communities. Armed with a rich historical tradition of jihad as resistance against Christian aggression, Moros resorted to *jihad fisibillilah* with great enthusiasm yet limited effectiveness.¹⁴⁹

The Muslims of the southern Philippines were ethnically distinct from the Christian Filipinos in the north. When the Spanish had arrived in the Philippines three hundred years earlier, they had encountered these Islamic communities throughout the northern portion of the islands. The Spanish labeled them "Moros" because of Spain's experience with the Muslims of North Africa who had occupied the Iberian Peninsula for several centuries.¹⁵⁰ Along with this moniker, Spanish also incorporated the Muslims of the islands into their historical narrative of the struggle between Islam and Christendom. David Barrows quoted a sixteenth-century Spanish priest who noted that the hostility of the Spanish toward the indigenous people was so intense that "those who have received this foul law" (i.e., Islam) persist in it, and there is "great difficulty in making them abandon it, for they are better treated by the preachers of Mohammad than they have been by the preachers of Christ."¹⁵¹ The Spanish quickly subdued the non-Muslim, and nominally Muslim, populations and then engaged in violent campaigns of conquest in order to destroy Islamic political power and convert Muslims to Catholicism. The

¹⁴⁹ Caesar Majull, *Muslims in the Philippines*, (Diliman, Quezon City, 1999), 121, 346, 385-390. : Renato Oliveros, *Islam in the Moro-American War, (1898-1916), the Philippines* (Saarbrueken, Germany: Lambert Academic Press, 2010), 78-85.

¹⁵⁰ Charles Truxillo, *Crusaders in the Far East: The Moro Wars in the Philippines in the Context of the Ibero-Islamic World War* (Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing, 2012), 84, 86, 99.

¹⁵¹ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 40, 89-90.; Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, 104-06.

Spanish contextualized aggressive expansion within a historical past of “holy war” to convert the “heathen” indigenous peoples to Catholicism. It took many years of warfare to push the Muslims southward into Mindanao and Sulu. Inhabitants of the northern Philippine Islands were integrated into the Spanish imperial system, and Spain then converted the people by force and through the destruction of their indigenous culture and religion. The result was the Christianization of the indigenous people in the north and the transformation of their society.¹⁵²

Although U.S. officials claimed that the Moros possessed only a crude understanding of Islam, they did in fact have a solid intellectual tradition of Islamic scholarship and martial tradition of jihad. They produced versions of the *sharia* filtered through the cultures and histories of the various Moro communities. A strong tradition of militant jihad emerged from several centuries of struggle between the Spanish and the Moros. The “Moro Wars,” as the Spanish called them, were a series of attempts by Spain to incorporate the area into the rest of the Philippines and proselytize Catholicism as they had done in the north.¹⁵³ This knowledge and understanding of Islam fortified and motivated many of them to declare jihad against American soldiers. Armed resistance became much more common when Americans attempted to usurp Islamic political autonomy and especially when they attempted to force them to pay the *cedula*. By grounding resistance to U.S. occupation in Moro Islamic ideology, they resisted attempts by Americans to define and control them. Individual Moros, even those with only a rudimentary understanding of their religion, understood the primacy of Islamic

¹⁵² Edward Kuder, “The Moros in the Philippines,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 4 (1945): 119; Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, 164-69; Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, 104-06; Charles Truxillo, *Crusaders in the Far East: The Moro Wars in the Philippines in the Context of the Ibero-Islamic World War* (Fremont, California: Jain Publishing, 2012), 82-86, 99-104.

¹⁵³ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 73-74, 121-140.

governance in the *sharia* and the proscriptions against living under the rule of non-believers. In addition, defense of the institution of the caliphate was understood to be the duty of every Muslim. Four hundred years of resistance to Spanish imperialism had created a culture of jihad. The caliphate existed within the Islamic vision of political life to ensure the practice of religion, protect the survival of the “umma,” and preserve the ability of the individual Muslim to practice his faith.¹⁵⁴

One of the cultural and economic bases for Moro society in Sulu and Mindanao was the institution of slavery. Slavery and slave raiding had been central to Moro economic society throughout its long history. Moros raided coastal regions of the Philippines and throughout Southeast Asia for captives, who became essential sources of labor within the Moro economy. They were used as rowers and haulers and often brought needed skills such as the ability to translate into the community. There was a distinction within Moro society between slaves who were debt bondage and those who had been acquired through raiding and trade with other Moro bands. Captives were known as *Bisaya*, which in Moro dialects meant “foreigner.” Slaves in the Moro community did have the opportunity for upward social mobility. Through their accomplishments they, and their descendants, could ascend to positions of influence. Datu Piang of Mindanao, who became a successful and infamous collaborator with U.S. forces, was the son of a Chinese merchant and a slave-concubine of a powerful datu. By the 1870’s, due to political pressures and setbacks for most Moro communities, slave raiding had decreased, and most captives came from central Philippine hill peoples.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Renato Oliveros, “Islam in the Moro-American War, 1899-1913: Implications on Muslim Mindanao, the Philippines” (PhD diss., Temple University, 2005), 120-21; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 380-82.

¹⁵⁵ Fulton, *Moroland*, 39-40, 185-86.

Slavery became one of most frequently deployed pretexts and justifications for armed intervention within Moro communities and the establishment of American hegemony. Anti-slavery ideology played a “hegemonic role” in the consolidation of American imperial power in the Philippines. Americans used it to position Moros as savage and abusive people. Men like Dean C. Worcester intentionally ignored the difference between chattel slavery, which had existed in the American South, with multiple gradations of servitude within the many Moro communities. Like many other Americans with various political agendas, he collapsed every system of servitude into “absolute categories, independent of any social context.”¹⁵⁶ Americans conflated slavery among the Moros with the institution that had existed in the southern United States and did not place it into the context of continuous struggle against Spanish and Filipino Christians, of which slavery was a prime feature for Moros.

The anti-imperialist Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan made slavery an issue during the campaign by accusing the McKinley administration of tolerating its practice in the southern Philippines. He specifically cited the Bates agreement in an October 4, 1900, campaign speech. Bryan claimed the “Sulu treaty recognized slavery” and cheapened the sacrifices made by Union soldiers to eradicate the practice in the States. Seventy-one-year-old veteran abolitionist Edward Atkinson wrote an incendiary pamphlet condemning the agreement. Atkinson linked slavery, polygamy, and Islam in the southern Philippines. He declared the agreement with the sultan “hypocritical and unconstitutional” and called for the “undisputed terms of the treaty” to

¹⁵⁶ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, 171-74; Dean C. Worcester, *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippines Islands* (Manila: 1913), 32, 68-70, 76; Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies Over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 117-20.

be “disavowed.” Republicans responded defensively, arguing there was no such “treaty,” and the “agreement” with the sultan was a “temporary” measure meant to prevent hostilities in the south while the army was pacifying resistance in Luzon and Visayas. Furthermore, Congressman C. H. Grosvenor, a Republican from Ohio, stated that U.S. policymakers intended to eradicate the practice as soon as possible. After the 1900 election, President McKinley openly declared his intention to do so.¹⁵⁷

Moros’ resistance to U.S. attempts to ban slavery were grounded in their conviction that it was sanctioned by Islam. Rhetorical opposition to slavery, however, established American cultural supremacy and provided the proof policymakers believed they needed to justify subjugation of the Moros. It was within this context of hundreds of years of jihad against Spanish imperialism, declining economic and political influence, and a tradition of political autonomy that Moros confronted United States occupation of the southern Philippines. Through the Bates agreement, Sultan Kiram expected the same type of autonomous relationship he had enjoyed with the Spanish. Individual Moros certainly never agreed to be ruled over by the Americans. When U.S. Army officials attempted to enforce American policies and laws, Moros reacted with violent resistance, just as they had always done against the Spanish.

U.S. anthropologists, biologists, and adherents of scientific racism were both allies and architects of an American white supremacist empire. David P. Barrows, Dean Worcester, Najeeb Saleeby, and many others reinforced ideas of white supremacy by

¹⁵⁷ Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, 20-21, 37, 47-49; Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, 171-74; “America and Sulu Slaves: Congressman Grovenor Answers the Attacks on President Mckinley,” *New York Times* October 7, 1900. ;Ibn Al-Misri trans. Nuh Ha Miim Keller, *Reliance of the Traveler: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law* (Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, 1991), 458. Slavery is sanctioned in the majority of the schools of Islamic Law, particularly within the context of armed struggle. It is viewed as the alternative to killing captives and often functions as a mode of commerce and social integration of former enemies. Emancipation is encouraged as expiation for sins and following the prophetic example.

using scientific inquiry, specifically cataloguing, in order to legitimize and naturalize racial inferiority of Moros, and indeed all Filipinos. American academics of the social and life sciences disseminated and legitimized an evolutionary vision of humanity combined with a pyramided hierarchy of races with whites firmly established at the peak. Academics had the prerequisite cultural and intellectual foundation in place, which practically dictated how the many groups of Filipinos would be placed. While scientific categories emerged during occupation, academic tools such as Morgan's hierarchy and American anthropologist Barrows' categorization of Native Americans enabled proper placement of these groups in order to create a coherent narrative, which fit with a larger framework of white racial superiority.¹⁵⁸

Barrows had extensive experience studying American indigenous peoples and saw the mission of civilization for the Moros as similar to what had been done with the former. Wood and other policymakers used Barrows' studies to devise methods of control of the indigenous peoples and to devise means of moving them forward along an imagined teleological path to civilization. Barrows depicted Filipinos as a hodgepodge of disparate dependent communities that the U.S. had a moral duty to save from the consequences of their own barbarity.¹⁵⁹

Before Barrows visited the island, his assessments of the non-Christian Filipinos included policy recommendations similar to Washington's policy toward Native

¹⁵⁸ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, 18, 27-28; Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 24-25; Julian B. Carter, *Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 50. : Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Islands: A Record of Personal Observation and Experience with a Short Summary of the More Important Facts in the History of the Archipelago* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 362-387. In his role as respected scientist and academic Worcester upheld the ideology of white supremacy when he argued some "races" some were more advanced than others. He used the "wild peoples" of the Philippines as empirical evidence to illustrate the under-developed state of some "races."

¹⁵⁹ David Prescott Barrows to Dean C. Worcester, 7 April 1902, Barrows Papers.

Americans. American policymakers had created reservations to contain Native American populations and specialized bureaus to execute policies designed for the purpose of social control. By the end of the nineteenth century U.S. policy towards Native Americans had shifted to one of assimilation, which included an aggressive “civilizing”. Barrows visited these reservations and examined U.S. legislation regarding Native Americans in his effort to craft effective policies for the non-Christian populations. Eventually, he decided upon an amalgamation between the Christianized and the “wild tribes” to further the American civilization project. Upon his arrival, he focused on the use of American built and organized schools to prepare the Filipinos for self-government, while he developed a bureau to begin the “civilizing” of the so-called “wild tribes and Mohammadans.” He believed they needed separate legislation in order to administer laws and “advance their welfare.” Barrows, an enthusiastic supporter of U.S. occupation, also supported the counterinsurgency. Barrows understood it would take violence and coercion to force Filipinos, especially the non-Christians, to accept U.S. political control and cultural destruction/indoctrination. He believed most Filipinos were active insurrectos or supporters of the insurgents and deemed the Moros a savage, violent, barbarous people.¹⁶⁰

Barrows fortified his ideas through the creation of a popular representation of the Moro *juramentado*. He integrated these images into the process of identification and categorization of the Moros. *Juramentado* was the term given by the Spanish to a Moro

¹⁶⁰ David P. Barrows to Professor Frederick Starr, 16 August 1900, Barrows Papers; Barrows to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, 15 January 1902, Barrows Papers; Barrows to Dean C. Worcester, 7 April 1902, Barrows Papers; Barrows to Starr, 14 November 1900, Barrows Papers; Barrows to Charles Lummis, 15 January 1902, Barrows Papers; Barrows to Aunt Julia, 30 November 1900, Barrows Papers. Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians*, 317-27. The 1887 Dawes and 1898 Curtis Acts, which were accompanied by the kidnapping of Native American children to be re-educated in “Indian Schools,” were part of a shift in Indian policy and greater civilizing project.

who attacked occupiers with the intention of preemptively killing as many of them as possible. The Spanish coined the phrase, and the Americans accepted it along with the implications it carried. *Juramentados* fought with no expectation of survival and believed that paradise awaited them after death for their act of self-sacrifice. They referred to themselves as *Sabils*, a derivative of the Quranic phrase *jihad fisibillilah*, which meant “struggle in the way of Allah.” The Spanish, then the Americans, rendered their actions as fanatical, irrational, and cruel and attached this characterization to their appellation *juramentado*. Barrows wrote of them and described their stealth attacks as treacherous and proof of their savage barbarity and “outrageous fanaticism.” Barrows linked *juramentado* activity to the level of religiosity of individual Moros instead of seeing their militancy as a response to U.S. encroachment upon their lands and society. Barrow focused on the tenacity and commitment of the *juramentados* and dismissed their motivations and grievances. In this way the *juramentado* became symbolic of Islamic fanaticism and barbarity, rather than a potent and often desperate method of resistance against the well-equipped American soldiers.¹⁶¹

Another major academic contributor to support of American imperialism in the Philippines was Dean C. Worcester. As a dominant member of the Philippines (Schurman) Commission appointed by President McKinley in 1899, Worcester crafted his scholarship to justify U.S. imperialism. Worcester’s principle expertise was in zoology, botany, and ethnology, which he studied and taught at the University of Michigan. McKinley and then Roosevelt relied upon his supposed scientific expertise and knowledge of the Filipinos to contextualize colonial policy. Worcester served on the

¹⁶¹ Barrows to the Secretary of the Interior, 14 March 1903, Barrows Papers; Fulton, *Moroland*, 27-28; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 419-26.

Philippine Commission until 1901 and afterward was Secretary of the Interior for the Insular Government of the Philippines until 1913. Worcester exemplified “Americanism” in the Philippines. He believed deeply in the “universality of American values,” and his academic training had been under ethnologists who classified humanity according to various sub-species. Like Wood, Roosevelt, and Barrows, he saw all inhabitants of the islands as racially inferior barbarians. Like them, he enthusiastically supported military operations against Filipinos and called the counterinsurgency “a most humane war.” Worcester utilized the ideas of Lewis Henry Morgan, the well-known ethnologist and author of *Ancient Society*, and categorized the disparate ethnicities of the Philippines into specific stages of human development.¹⁶²

He also participated in the disenfranchisement of the Filipinos by linking his altruistic missions of uplift with economic investment in the natural resources of the islands. During his tenure at the Bureau of Science, he gave high priority to the discovery, acquisition, and exploitation of the natural resources of the islands. He also aided in the writing of a Forestry Act for the Philippines, which he presented and championed in front of the commission. Worcester then used former soldiers as front men to invest in these resources. He advocated as well for the separation of the areas with rich resource wealth from the Philippine nation proper. He consistently argued that the populations in these areas, with “wild tribes” and Moros, required the perpetual protection of United States government. He argued that Christian *illustrados* could not be trusted to care for these dependents properly and would in fact oppress them and thereby thwart the civilizing efforts of altruistic Americans like himself. He cloaked his avarice

¹⁶² Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, 5, 10-11, 47-48; “Dean C. Worcester Speaks: Defends Philippines Operations in an Address at Chicago,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1899.

and aggressive investment in the language of protection and benevolence. Worcester became quite wealthy investing in rubber plantations and land ownership, and he was one of the few men on the Philippines Commission who intended to remain on the islands as a permanent resident.¹⁶³

American academics defined Moros within an epistemology that rendered them impotent and silent. The questions asked were decided upon by those who supported the imperial mission, or at least fully embraced the ideology of race produced and disseminated by hegemonic whites. White supremacists defined who the Moros were and set the agenda for any discussion of their political status and their future as wards of the U.S. government. They also defined what scientific knowledge was relevant and who was entitled to assist in its production. This institutionalized edifice of white supremacy succeeded in part because of the dearth of scholars willing to recognize the value of the histories of the peoples whom they were “othering.” For most scholars of the Philippines in the American academy, the silence, or cursory treatment, regarding any deep intellectual exploration of Moros was conspicuous. These Islamic peoples became footnotes, for the most part, in the historical narrative being created for the Philippines. The Tausug, Maguindanaon, Samal, Maranaw, and myriad of Muslim ethnicities were lumped together as “Moros” in the lexicon of the chauvinistic Spanish.¹⁶⁴

Najeeb Saleeby, an army officer and scholar of Tausug and Maguindanaon civilization, attempted to present a sympathetic portrait of “Moro culture,” yet also used the language of white racial dominance when he defined, discussed, and even defended the Moros. Saleeby was a naturalized U.S. citizen who had immigrated from Syria.

¹⁶³ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, 118-23.

¹⁶⁴ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 346, 409.

Although an Arab Christian, he shared the same racial and civilizational ideologies as native-born American imperialists. He claimed that he could “read and write the Moro language with greater facility and accuracy than the Moros themselves” because of his “superior education in Arabic.” His assessments of Moro Islamic society located them within what Morgan would have referred to as the “upper stages of barbarism” in his hierarchy of civilizational models. Saleeby impressed Barrows with his insinuation into the sultan’s inner circle and access to the *tarsillas* of the royal family. Saleeby’s translations of Sulu and Maguindanaon historical and religious texts were not necessarily read by men like Wood, Roosevelt, and McKinley with the intention of gaining a deep and nuanced understanding of Moro culture and history. Yet they still relied upon the intellectual production of men like Worcester, Barrows, and Saleeby to understand and ultimately define who the Moros were.¹⁶⁵

These scholars received recognition from policymakers as men possessed of the expertise to define who the Moros were. They became recognized “experts” on the Moro race and the Philippines in general. The proponents of American empire required a veneer of expertise that provided useful intelligence and simultaneously upheld the hegemonic framework of white racial dominance. Americans excluded the Moros’ definitions of themselves, their communities, their histories, and their religion from their assessments of them. Though Saleeby explored the histories of the Moros, he assessed these histories through the lens of American cultural hegemony and white supremacy. Saleeby cited three flaws in Spanish administration of the Moro regions: their intolerance toward Islam, their failure to occupy the region physically, and their failure to use the

¹⁶⁵ Saleeby to Will A. Reed, 20 May 1902, Barrows Papers; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 146-48.

existing hierarchies of power within Moro Islamic society to indirectly rule the populace. He described the Moros as “tenacious in battle” while showing “obstinate passive resistance in peace.” He openly exhibited sympathy for their plight and admiration of their martial spirit and warrior culture. Like most white men of this era, he admired the “primitive” he found embedded in Moro Islamic society, much as Wood and Roosevelt admired Native American martial culture. Despite differences of opinions among them, these men all agreed upon the inferiority of the Moros to white American civilization.¹⁶⁶

In February 1901, President McKinley promoted Wood to the coveted rank of brigadier general after his service in Cuba. Wood’s promotion over five hundred and nine qualified candidates stirred resentment among older veterans, anti-imperialists, and even many imperialists who supported McKinley’s policies. It also made Wood a target of ridicule. The *New York Evening Post* editorialized, “No other service in the world would reward an army doctor with the rank of Brigadier General because of military duties comprising in all eight weeks in command of a volunteer regiment.”¹⁶⁷ When Roosevelt declared the end of the war against Filipino nationalists in 1902, the United States Army had been in the southern Philippines for four years. In those four years, the army had attempted to establish a physical presence and map the region. The U.S. Army completely administered the south, unlike the north, where civilian rule was instituted after the insurrection ended. Several military governors attempted to quell opposition to United States occupation, with limited success. Roosevelt decided Wood was the kind of assertive, imaginative, and aggressive officer needed to administer the territories and bring United States policy to the region. In 1903, Roosevelt selected Wood over several

¹⁶⁶ Saleeby, “The Moro Problem,” 5, 7-8, 10.

¹⁶⁷ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 115-17.

other candidates to become governor of the southern Philippines, henceforth known as the Moro Provinces.¹⁶⁸

Governor General Wood was also like many of his contemporaries among the military and foreign policy establishment in that he saw the United States as entering into a new role as a global empire. Wood believed that the U.S. needed to embrace that role and telegraph its power onto the world scene. Prior to his deployment to the Philippines, Wood had visited the colonial outposts of the Dutch and the British in Southeast Asia to gain insight into colonial rule. Wood was especially impressed with the administration of the Dutch; particularly their use of indigenous Christian converts as scouts and constabularies to police the population. Later he saw this as a distinct possibility in the Mindanao area, as he proposed using Christians, who had been sent to the area as convicts and hated the Moros, as candidates for a similar form of colonial control. He wrote in his diary, "I believe that there is much we can learn to advantage from these British Officers." Wood clearly admired the efficiency and expertise of control he observed in European colonial administrations throughout Southeast Asia. Wood's secretary of the Moro Provinces, Captain George Langhorne, took a similar tour in 1904 during which he collected British colonial literature on the Malay regions. Langhorne, who would become an important figure in the Bud Dajo episode, later claimed: "They were of much use in the associations I had with the Filipinos." American officers came to the Moro Provinces with a combined legacy of territorial warfare, race ideology, and

¹⁶⁸ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency*, 27; Smyth, "Pershing and the Mount Bagsak Campaign," 30-31; Fulton, *Moroland*, 163, 166; Jones, *Honor in the Dust*, 229, 243-44, 331-32. The Northern Insurgency was extremely controversial because of the brutal tactics employed by the U.S. Army. The Samar Massacre in particular horrified the American public and led to Congressional hearings on the Army's conduct in the war. President Roosevelt declared victory in the midst of the hearings, thus removing some of the sting of the rather graphic testimony of torture, summary executions, and massacres of civilians in the Samar province.

what they believed were many different examples of colonial administration to draw from.¹⁶⁹

Wood dove enthusiastically into his duties as the new Governor General. Much as he had been in his previous posts, Wood was quite happy to be once again be in the field, challenged by a tough assignment and facing a fierce, intractable opponent. Wood relished the discipline of army life and the challenges of combat and saw the Philippines assignment as a means of reinvigorating the army. He wrote to President Roosevelt that the Philippines were “the best school for troops in the army.” He cited pre-Philippines high desertion rates in the service and attributed them to monotony and a lack of goal-oriented activity. To Wood, a peacetime army was “like asking a man to take a log of wood across the road, lay it down, pick it up and bring it back, and keep this up all day.” He was happy to have eight hundred to twelve hundred men in the field per day in Mindanao “practically all the time.” Furthermore, he recommended keeping U.S. soldiers in the field for five-year rotations during which they could benefit from the training opportunities that combat with the Moros provided.¹⁷⁰

In the four years that the army had been in Mindanao and Sulu, the Moros had earned a reputation as fierce, exotic warriors. Men like Roosevelt and Wood welcomed this opportunity to be tested against men whom they placed in the categories of savage or barbarian. It fit in with their racial fantasies of strength via conquest and emergence from battle having proved the racial superiority and vigor of the white man. Roosevelt believed that war was “normal on the border between civilization and barbarism” and that “only

¹⁶⁹ Personal diary entries, 27 June 1903, 15 August 1903, 30 November 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood; United States Department of War, Office of the Secretary, Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1907, Volume 1 of 4; Bliss, “Reports of the Provincial Governors.”

¹⁷⁰ Leonard Wood to President Theodore Roosevelt, February 25, 1900, Papers of Leonard Wood.

the warlike power of a civilized people can give peace to the world.”¹⁷¹ The Moro Provinces also gave Wood, and other army officers, a readymade testing ground for the modern twentieth-century army they were keen to develop. Such views were the bedrock upon which General Wood would fashion an aggressive campaign later on in his career to reform the United States Army into a professional citizen army to rival the professional imperial armies of Europe.¹⁷²

These officers were conscious of the changing role of the United States in the global community of empires and yearned to be part of the great enterprise of the carving up and acquisition of “unused lands.” Unlike European imperialists, however, they adapted a particular vision of American empire that was predicated upon a sooner-rather-than-later goal of self-governance for their “wards.” Wood and his contemporaries held an absolute conviction that Americanness was a universal goal that all people could reach given the right tutelage.¹⁷³

This conviction created a paradox for them, however, because they were also steeped in the ideology of Anglo-Saxon ethnocentrism. Wood, armed and fortified with this ideological agenda, plunged into his duties with determination. He believed he could force Moros to accept the benevolent guidance of U.S. authorities, abandon practices U.S. authorities found objectionable, and live under American political authority. His resolve was tempered by the conviction that Moros responded only to military force,

¹⁷¹ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: The Century Co., 1911), 31,34, 37; Allan Punzalan Isaac, *American Tropics: Articulating Filipino America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 48.

¹⁷² Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency*, 27; Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, #; Smyth, “Pershing and the Mount Bagsak Campaign,” 30-31; Fulton, *Moroland*, 163, 166; Brian McAlister Linn, “The Long Twilight of the Frontier Army,” *Western Historical Quarterly* Volume. 27, (1996): 154, 167. General James Franklin Bell was chief of staff from 1906 to 1910; he echoed these same sentiments.

¹⁷³ Diary of Leonard Wood, 27, June, 1903, 15, August, 1903, 30, November, 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

which formed the thrust of his policy as governor. Wood abhorred weakness and lack of self-discipline, traits he claimed the Moros possessed, and condemned them for it. He insisted in private and public that the Moros just needed a tough lesson administered, and compliance would immediately follow. Wood declared, "These Moros will have to be eventually soundly thrashed" in order to train them to behave in a politically responsible manner; for Wood this meant acquiescence to U.S. authority. Wood embarked upon a campaign of force designed to eradicate martial challenges to U.S. authority and provide a "show of force." Most likely these campaigns were also designed to demonstrate his own military prowess and prove him worthy of the rapid ascension through the ranks that his political contacts had ensured.¹⁷⁴

Despite his aggressive approach to governing the Moro Provinces, Wood wanted to understand the Moros, if only in order to craft effective methods of control. With this in mind, Wood sought out a specialist. In 1904, he appointed Saleeby Agent for Moro Affairs. Saleeby informed Wood that the "Christian Filipinos had already been civilized by Spain," and that the Moros had "not yet attained the proper degree of civilization or the proper stages of culture that modern institutions require." He criticized the Spanish, whom he claimed neglected to share the benefits of Western civilization with the Moros during their imperial tenure.¹⁷⁵

Saleeby thought highly of Moro political institutions and wanted to preserve them for use as tools of colonial control. The Syrian-born expert described Islam as the civilizing element of their society that kept them on the peripheries of civilization, distinguishing them from savages of the hunter-gatherer type. He described the individual

¹⁷⁴ Wood to President Roosevelt, 25 February 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 216; Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 118, 121, 124-26, 130.

¹⁷⁵ Saleeby, "The Moro Problem," 5, 7-8, 10.

Moro as “a faithful and devoted worshipper of Allah ta’ Ala” who “had laws, an organized government, an alphabet, and a system of government.” Saleeby also said that if Moro judges were to “study American laws,” this would facilitate social reform and the improvement of Moro society, leading to a “more thrifty and intelligent” Moro society.¹⁷⁶

Despite Saleeby’s attempts to introduce a measure of complexity into racial constructions of Moros, Wood rejected his aide’s arguments. Saleeby believed the Moro political position of datu was the key to controlling the Moro population and that the U.S. should use the office as a means of indirect political control. This apparent radical break with Wood and the U.S. Army’s tactics evidenced more a debate over the process of cultural destruction rather than any serious sensitivity to Moro customs and institutions.¹⁷⁷ The paradox of the civilizing mission bedeviled these men and led to policies that were erratic and, in the long run, ineffective.

General Wood merged varied interpretations of this ideology of civilization into an aggressive policy of forcible transformation of the Moros. Wood had emerged from this new class of American men—Progressives—who argued for a universalization of American values. While not all progressives were imperialists, most imperialists were progressives. The language and tactics used by officers and policymakers demonstrated that they shifted between interpretations, adopting the one that suited political and strategic goals of the moment. Wood’s approach to pacification reflected the same principles articulated by Barrows and Worcester and the same paternalistic racism articulated by Najeeby, despite the differences they had with one another. Wood used

¹⁷⁶ Saleeby, “The Moro Problem,” 7, 30; Najeeb Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion and the Island of Mindanao*, rev. ed. (1905; Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1976), 47-49. ; Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 146-47.

¹⁷⁷ Saleeby, “The Moro Problem,” 14-16, 25. By 1913 Saleeby had become very critical of the methods of control used by United States authorities.

these academic representations of the Moros to reinforce existing beliefs about race, civilization, gender, and even religion. By engaging resistant Moros with extreme violence while simultaneously intimidating and bribing the political elite, he eventually severely weakened the political and cultural autonomy of Tausug and the Maguindanaon Moros.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Saleeby, "The Moro Problem," 20.

**Chapter Three: “Moros of a Very Bad Type”: General Pershing, General Wood,
and the Abrogation of the Bates Agreement¹⁷⁹**

Chaplain Doherty made an address to the men in the evening. The Chaplain’s address was a short one. He seemed to be filled with the crusading spirit and spoke of the troops being in service in a land of infidels where it had been impossible for the Word of God to be preached in times past. His words seemed to convey the idea that a wholesome disciplining of these people would be approved by him.¹⁸⁰

Wood had come to the southern Philippines with an approach to pacification that hinged upon zero tolerance for practices he deemed impediments to effective governance. His approach and his character further cemented the universal application of a “get tough” policy, which had already begun to evolve among army personnel. This attitude persisted until after the massacre at Bud Dajo had occurred and Wood had departed the island. Moros’ embrace of Islam added another layer of complexity to the construction of them as warlike savages. It created a fear that, unlike the Christian Filipinos, the Muslim Moros would block the progress of Americans; therefore, this justified the utter destruction of their culture, political autonomy, and physical presence if necessary. Americans adopted a similar policy in the North to deal with a bloody insurgency by Christian Filipinos whose westernized credentials as *illustrados* dictated that this

¹⁷⁹ “Report of Major General J. C. Bates, U.S.V. of an Expedition to Northern Mindanao, P.I., March 20 to April 2, 1900,” in *Report of the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands on Civil Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900).

¹⁸⁰ Diary of Leonard Wood, 3 April 1904, Papers of Leonard Wood.

approach would be temporary. In the southern Philippines, Americans pursued this policy as a permanent modus operandi for dealing with the Muslim population. These men, who executed the initial phases of pacification of the Moros, left behind a record that defined Moros as an intrinsically belligerent and savage race. The destruction of indigenous Islamic culture in order to westernize the Moros became the ultimate objective of the U.S. Army.¹⁸¹

During the period from the signing of the Bates agreement in 1898 to its abrogation in 1904, the U.S. Army sought to destroy the political and cultural authority of Islam throughout Mindanao and Sulu. Exploration and mapping of the region became part of the occupation effort, and it required U.S. Army personnel and other colonial representatives to be able to move about freely. To Moros, however, the sight of armed disbelievers traipsing about in Mindanao, ostensibly mapping the region in preparation for the disenfranchisement of the populace, provoked violent responses.

It was provocative in the eyes of the Moros quite simply because it was not misinterpreted or misunderstood. Having endured several centuries of incursions by the Spanish, and armed with an ideological context of Islam, Moros responded with force in an attempt to stop this invasion of their lands. These responses consisted of direct violent confrontations with the Americans and imprinted an understanding of “Moro character” upon those soldiers responsible for the pacification of the region.¹⁸² U.S. soldiers readily adopted a discourse of racial inferiority and backwardness of the Moros. They resorted to

¹⁸¹ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina press, 2006), 42, 67-68, 99. Illustrados insisted they were as civilized as any European and made a clear distinction between themselves and the Moros and “wild tribes.” In fact after the insurgency against the Americans for years they base a portion of their argument for independence upon their ability to best “uplift” the Moros, Igorots, and other “wild tribes.”

¹⁸² Peter Gowing *Mandate in Moroland*, 23; Donald Smyth, “Pershing and the Mount Bagsak Campaign of 1913,” *Philippines Studies* 12 (1964): 30-31.

the existing United States methodology of race war and territorial conquest in order to subdue the Moro communities. In the opinion of these men, Moros became a recalcitrant and incorrigible race that understood only the language of force. This point of view existed to varying degrees among these men, from Pershing, who wanted to pacify and transform Moros with as little force as possible, to Leonard Wood, who would not tolerate the slightest reproach or challenge to U.S. authority. In fact, Wood actively sought out violent confrontation in order to deliver a “clear-cut lesson” that he believed would break the insurgent spirit of all the Moros.¹⁸³ This period of growing hostilities between the Moros and army personnel eventually culminated in the slaughter at Bud Dajo.

While the Bates agreement stood as the guiding principle of U.S. administration of the Sulu region, Mindanao emerged as the primary site of army operations to pacify resistance to U.S. authority. General Samuel S. Sumner explicitly pointed out, “In Mindanao we have no treaty obligations.” Sumner saw this discrepancy as an opportunity to aggressively pacify the inhabitants and occupy the region.¹⁸⁴ During this period, military officials began to articulate a specific interpretation of the “Moros.”¹⁸⁵ The experience of continental American expansion had been predicated upon a similar narrative of appropriating “unused” lands from a racially inferior foe. Those who made initial contact with the Moros of Mindanao readily transferred that narrative to this new foe as they embarked upon their assigned mission of pacification. While this construction of racial identity was influenced by centuries of race war waged against Native

¹⁸³ Fulton, *Moroland*, 175; Leonard Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 20 September 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

¹⁸⁴ Annual Reports of the Department of War, 1904, Samuel S. Sumner, Appendix III, in *Report of the Department of Mindanao*, June 30, 1903.

¹⁸⁵ Edward M. Kuder, “The Moros in the Philippines,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 4.2 (1945): 119-26.

Americans in order to acquire their land and resources, it also drew upon growing contempt for Filipino Islamic culture and institutions. Sumner declared his intention to “eradicate the customs” of Muslim society that had become “a bar to any efforts toward Christian Anglo-Saxon civilization.” The U.S. categorized those Moros with “an intelligent understanding and appreciation of U.S. methods of government” as the good Moros. That differential became the yardstick officials used to categorize Moros as either cooperative partners or recalcitrant belligerents.¹⁸⁶

From 1898 to 1902, the priorities of the U.S. Army were pacification of the insurgency in the north and reconnaissance and exploration of the south. Interactions between Moros and the U.S. Army from 1898 to 1900, although limited, were increasingly marked by contempt on the part of army personnel and mounting resentment on the part of the Moro population. Initially, Moros tolerated these incursions into their lands as U.S. officials mapped the region, cataloged its natural resources, and assessed the potential degrees of cooperation or resistance from the inhabitants. Some soldiers returning from duty in the region advocated the “extermination of the Moros as the only viable solution to dealing with them.”¹⁸⁷ By late 1901, military officials, as well as rank and file soldiers, believed they needed to adapt more aggressive methods to force Moro compliance with U.S. directives declared via the mechanisms of the Philippines Commission and ad hoc pronouncements of military governors. Centuries of prior experience subjugating Native Americans on the North American continent supported the

¹⁸⁶ Sumner, *Report of the Department of Mindanao*, Appendix III.

¹⁸⁷ “Extermination the Only Remedy. Start a New Race,” *Mindanao Herald*, December 26, 1903.

maxim that savages understand only force and that “savagery and civilization cannot exist side by side.”¹⁸⁸

The progressive intellectual movement that developed in the States was fueled by racist ideology. Officers like Wood and Colonel Robert Bullard placed their role and their duties in the southern Philippines within this ideological context, which articulated their desire to be architects of an improved and forward-thinking society. The common theme among them was the intention to engage perceived lower races from inferior civilizations in order to improve their lives and raise them up from barbarity. Despite their claims of benevolence and commitment to the betterment of these “dependent peoples,” however, their acculturation within the contemporary ethos of white supremacy shaped their actions and attitudes in a manner that became lethal to the Moros.¹⁸⁹

The first site of concentrated army operations against the Moros in 1902 was the Lake Lanao region of Mindanao. Lake Lanao had earned a reputation of being full of hostile Moros who would brook no political domination by either the Spanish or the new imperial power. The Moros of the Lake region were ethnically *Maranaos*. U.S. Army reports described them as aggressive fighters who would not easily submit to U.S. authority. General Sumner viewed them as being “determined to resist our presence in the country” and labeled them “savages” with “no idea of law and order as we understand it.” Captain Robert Hamilton of the 23rd Infantry, who served under Captain John J. Pershing at Lake Lanao, described them as a “frenzied fighting machine, far more cruel and

¹⁸⁸ Robert Bullard, “Road Building among the Moros,” *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1903; Fulton, *Moroland*, 169.

¹⁸⁹ Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 54. ;David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York: American Book Company, 1905), 295; Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 114, 148; Wood to William Howard Taft, September 5, 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

bloodthirsty then [sic] our Apache Indians.”¹⁹⁰ Attempts by army officials to survey, map, or traverse the area often met violent resistance from the Maranaos. Colonel Bullard recounted the efforts of the U.S. Army to build a road around Lake Lanao in the spring of 1902. He deemed the Maranaos “ignorant” and “savage,” eons away from “civilization.” Furthermore, he declared that “as savages the Moros stand in the way of our destiny and we cannot permit that,” and so Moros had to be dragged, kicking and screaming, if necessary into white Anglo-Saxon civilization.¹⁹¹

In September of 1901, Captain Pershing was dispatched to the Lake Lanao region in order to pacify these incendiary communities, isolate resistant authority figures among the Maranaos, and put an end to any opposition. Pershing was a Missourian who had graduated near the top of his class at West Point. He became essential to the efforts to pacify the Maranaos. His intelligence and initiative, combined with a sincere desire to avoid the outright slaughter of the inhabitants, initially made for a relatively placid tenure in Mindanao. On July 1, 1901, he received his own command at Camp Vicars, Mindanao, and was afforded considerable autonomy and latitude in dealing with the Lake population. While in command at Vicars, he was meticulous in his attempts to cultivate contacts with Datus willing to accept a nominal U.S. presence in the Lake Lanao region while dealing harshly with those communities who resisted United States troops. Pershing believed that through “fair and just treatment” of the Moros he could eventually persuade them of the good intentions of Americans.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Sumner, *Report of the Department of Mindanao*, Appendix III.

¹⁹¹ Bullard, “Road Building among the Moros,” 821.

¹⁹² Fulton, *Moroland*, 101; Annual Reports of the War Department, Captain John J. Pershing, Camp Vicars, Mindanao, PI, May 15, 1903, Papers of John J. Pershing, Library of Congress.

Pershing thought that the Moros would tolerate U.S. occupation if they were treated with fairness and given the opportunity to experience life under U.S. rule. In mid-May 1903, he believed that most Maranaos wanted the U.S. to occupy their lands and would grow in appreciation of the improvements that a U.S. presence and tutelage would bring. Pershing prided himself in having “benevolent intentions toward the Moros” and was convinced that armed efforts to destroy their cottas and occupy their lands were necessary to improve their lives in the long run. He took steps to learn the different ethnicities in the area and commanded his troops to refrain from disrespecting their customs and religion. Yet like Sumner he demanded that all datus among the Moros declare their “friendship” with the Americans. If they did not, Pershing would engage them decisively and destroy them and their communities. Like General Sumner, he also declared them savages, albeit simple and barbarous ones. Pershing did not believe the Moros were a threat as long as the United States met opposition with “brute force” and left intact their Islamic and cultural traditions, including slavery, which Pershing inaccurately likened to the vassalage of medieval Europe.¹⁹³ Pershing avoided conflict except when the Moros stole from, attacked, or killed U.S. personnel. Pershing considered these serious provocations, which necessitated the engagement of the Maranaos in combat and with great effectiveness most of the time. Despite his efforts he engaged in combat, and killed, many Moros in Mindanao during his tenure.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Pershing, Camp Vicars, Mindanao, PI, May 15, 1903, Papers of John J. Pershing. Although slavery in Moro societies was probably less brutal, racist, and nakedly exploitative than slavery in the American South, it was not a vassalage system like that which had existed in medieval Europe. For example, female slaves were sexually available to their masters, unless they were married, and slaves were bought and sold at will.

¹⁹⁴ Fulton, *Moroland*, 124, 127; Pershing to General Davis, August 28, 1902, Papers of John J. Pershing.

By contrast, Pershing's commander, General Samuel Sumner, adopted a less conciliatory approach, which relied on violence and the threat of violence as the most effective modes of communication with the Moros. His manner of opening a dialogue with the sultan of Baclod involved sending him a letter "notifying him that he had to be a friend or suffer the consequences." The sultan responded by a letter in which he committed to "declare war at once, as we wish to retain the religion of Muhammad." He told Sumner to "cease sending us letters" and began an insurgency against U.S. forces.¹⁹⁵ Moro leaders who resisted U.S. occupation correctly interpreted U.S. Army actions as being meant to delegitimize Muslim political autonomy and eventually destroy Islamic culture and political power. Pershing himself in time destroyed the Baclod cottas in a series of attacks. Pershing's destructive efficiency pleased Sumner, who had believed that the Maranaos' fortifications were the most "impregnable" of the Lanao cottas. Sumner deemed such demonstrations of strength and willingness to use violence as the most effective methods for subduing the Moros, as did most commanders who came after him. The subtext to any interactions with the Moros was that they were savages who would respond only to force.¹⁹⁶

During Pershing's fight against the sultan of Baclod, his campaign to pacify the Lake Lanao Maranaos began to take on a messianic meaning for the Muslim population. Pershing immediately conflated this phenomenon with the Ghost Dance phenomenon of the Plains Indians whom he had fought in the continental United States more than a decade earlier.¹⁹⁷ Pershing's forces outnumbered the Moros by more than five to one, but

¹⁹⁵ Fulton, *Moroland*, 133; Telegram from Sumner to Davis, 11 October 1902, Papers of John J. Pershing.

¹⁹⁶ Samuel S. Sumner, Annual Reports of the Department of War, 1904, "Occupation of Lake Lanao," Appendix III, 298-300.

¹⁹⁷ Donald Smythe, *Guerilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing* (Charles Scribner's Sons: New

with only two hundred rifles the Moros still inflicted heavy losses on the Americans. Three to four hundred Moros were martyred, and an account quickly spread that four angels had appeared at the site of the battle to carry the bodies of the Mujahiduun into the heavens. The following day a brilliant rainbow appeared, whereupon Moro Imams interpreted the entire event as Allah being pleased with those Mujahiduun who had died for the preservation of Islam. The Moros contextualized these battles within the eschatological narrative of the martyrdom of the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad on the fields of Karbala thirteen hundred years prior. Similarly, Pershing's own experiences of the pacification of Native Americans led him to fear a firestorm that needed to be extinguished before it spread throughout the Moro population. Sumner granted him the authority to act independently at Camp Vicars and arranged to sit down with datu to work out an agreement that would avoid a protracted religious war with the Moros.¹⁹⁸

Like many of the soldiers and officers Pershing made explicit comparisons between the Maranaos and Native Americans. These comparisons cited the U.S. imperial experience of the conquest of North America as a point of reference for dealing with the Moros. Pershing saw a parallel with Native Americans in the lack of central political authority among the Moros and the difficulties in pacification. Similar to how many officials viewed the loose confederacies of Native Americans, Pershing regarded the autonomous bands of Moros as an indication of their lack of political sophistication. Given the existence of so many autonomous communities, he discouraged the developing

York, 1973), 21-23; George MacAdam, "The Life of General Pershing," *The World's Work* 37 (1919): 451, 458.

¹⁹⁸ Report of 1st Lieutenant Clarence Deems, Jr., Intelligence Officer, May 16, 1902, Papers of John J. Pershing Papers; Fulton, *Moroland*, 114-17. Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, was killed along with his army and most of his family on the plains of Karbala during the ninth century in what is now Iraq. This event is the birth of the Shiite sect within Islam and is seen by Sunni and Shia alike as an atrocity committed upon the progeny of the Prophet.

mindsets of Taft, Roosevelt, and later Wood that all it would take would be one “clear-cut” lesson to get them all in line. Pershing pictured the Moros as disparate communities with varying agendas and united only by distaste for the presence of U.S. soldiers. While he believed in the use of violence as an effective tool to gain the compliance and respect of the Moros, he placed more value on patient diplomacy and a tempered respect of Moro culture and authority. In time, Pershing anticipated that the Moros could be civilized and integrated into a national community of Filipinos, Muslim and Christian.¹⁹⁹

During Pershing’s tenure as commander of Camp Vicars, the media, especially the *Chicago Tribune*, mythologized him as the tamer of the Filipino frontier, likening him to the Indian fighters of the nineteenth century. Pershing employed frontier methods, such as taking local leaders hostage in retaliation for insurgent activity. After defeating the Moros of Baclod, he declared the area pacified and the Moros of the region ready to receive the occupation and assistance of the U.S. Army. Pershing’s perceived successes at Lake Lanao provided fodder for the construction of an image of an effective soldier, a patriot, and a fine specimen of white manhood in an era of anxiety over white male potency. Indeed, the *Tribune* declared the Moros “not the formidable adversaries American Indians were” after Pershing “administered some salutary lessons.” His violent suppression of Moro political and cultural autonomy became the exemplary model for those army officers who came after him.²⁰⁰ Pershing’s successes helped to cement extreme force, combined with paternalistic engagement, as the proper formula for dealing

¹⁹⁹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 132; Telegram from Sumner to Davis, 11 October 1902, Papers of John J. Pershing Papers.

²⁰⁰ “Moro Sultan Is a Hostage: Mindanao Chief Arrested for Refusing to Give up Men Who Attacked Americans,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 25, 1902; “Capture Sultan in the Philippines,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1903; “Why the Moros Respect America,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 22, 1903; “The Over-Rated Moros,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 24, 1903; George MacAdam, “The Life of General Pershing: His Adventures in the Philippines, Where He Pacified the Moros of Mindanao—Promotion to Brigadier General—His Marriage, and Return to the Philippines,” *The World’s Work*, December 1913.

with the Moros. Army officers accepted this as conventional wisdom, despite Pershing's preference for diplomacy and use of violence only as a last resort.²⁰¹

Colonel Bullard, who served under General Davis in Mindanao during Pershing's early campaigns, was a prime example of an officer who emphasized Pershing's martial successes over his propensity for diplomacy. Like many officers assigned to Mindanao and Sulu, Bullard had served in the counter-insurgencies in the Philippines and against Native Americans in North America. He was also an active and enthusiastic participant in the campaign to subdue the Maranaos. Bullard was born and raised in Alabama, deeply grounded in white supremacist philosophy and the culture of racism that permeated post-reconstruction Southern life. His primary military experiences had been commanding African American troops during the Spanish-American War. Afterward, he compiled a report titled "The Negro Volunteer: Some Characteristics." This report reflected his racial philosophy, which he tried to apply to the Moros. Bullard claimed that while African American troops had "the lightest hearts and best humor," they lacked the attention span needed to be able to hold grudges or remain angry. African American soldiers, in his estimation, lacked the capacity to manage their financial affairs properly; they were spendthrifts, needing the supervision of white officers if they were to attain any kind of financial stability, and prone to violence and theft toward one another. Bullard insisted that African American soldiers needed a firm hand since they had no notion of honor, and that the experience of slavery and plantation life not only made them well suited for the army, but made Southern white elites like Bullard most suited to command them. The

²⁰¹ "Moros Remain Unfriendly: Several Chiefs Reject American Overtures—A Crisis in the Situation Expected," *New York Times*, September 7, 1902; "Moros Crushing Defeat by Pershing's Column: One Hundred Macius Killed or Wounded and Forty Forts Destroyed—Two Americans Wounded," *New York Times*, October 5, 1902.

prescribed paternalistic management of African American troops presaged what he would later prescribe for the Moros.²⁰²

Bullard became an enthusiastic supporter of Wood's get-tough approach in the beginning. He interpreted it as a vindication of his prescribed method for dealing with the Moros. General Wood appointed him governor of the Lake Lanao region in 1903. In the southern Philippines, Bullard believed building roads and infrastructure important for pacification and the good of the Moros. Bullard declared them a people for whom "thievery and aggression" were prime characteristics and considered them arrogant, amoral, and completely bereft of any understanding of the "public good." Bullard further stated they possessed a "hornet like temper" and an "incoherence" of communities with a plethora of datus, indicative of a chaotic decentralization. For him, nothing less would do than producing a blank slate upon which to reconstruct Moros as a civilized people.²⁰³

In addition to his racial judgments, Bullard condemned the Moros' cultural practices and social institutions. He especially despised the practice of slavery within Moro society and believed Americans had a responsibility, as a morally and racially superior people, to force its abolition in the Philippines. In keeping with his deep belief in the racial superiority of whites, he saw abolition as a relatively simple task for white men to accomplish, given the backward state of the Moros and their apparent racial inferiority. Bullard felt that the racial superiority of the whites was so apparent to the Moros that, if given the directive to abolish the institution by U.S. authorities, they would comply. He claimed that he personally had witnessed "the word of white military authority

²⁰² Robert Bullard, "The Negro Volunteer: Some Characteristics," Papers of Robert Bullard, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²⁰³ Robert Bullard, "Road Building among the Moros," Papers of Robert Bullard; Robert Bullard, "Among the Savage Moros," *The Metropolitan Magazine*, June 1906.

extinguishing the right of a Datu to his slave.” In other words, if only U.S. authorities would decree an end to slavery, it would cease to exist in the Philippine Islands. Bullard believed strongly that the racial superiority of whites was absolutely obvious to so-called lower races like the Moros.²⁰⁴

The common theme among men like Bullard was the firm belief that what was good for U.S. interests was likewise good for the Moros. This paternalist and universalistic thinking reflected the Progressive rationale of these men, despite their destructive and often contemptible behavior toward the Moros. This particular understanding and framing of the expansion project in philosophical terms also permeated the discourse and thinking of colonial administrators, including military personnel tasked with carrying out the expansion project in the southern Philippines.

Despite assurances that the sultan of Sulu felt he had received via the Bates agreement, the political autonomy of Moros in the archipelago stood in jeopardy from the moment U.S. Army officers arrived to administer the region. Even before the insurgency in the northern portions of the island had ceased, army personnel and policymakers explored ways of reinterpreting the Bates agreement in order to rule unfettered. The attempts to reinterpret Bates echoed the American agenda to embark upon a civilizing mission of the Moros of the region.

The 1903 Annual Department of War Report helped shape the justification for a reinterpretation of the agreement by colonial officials. The reports described military pacification of the Muslim population with references to a supposedly intrinsic savage character. In the Lake Lanao district of Mindanao, the “wild Moros” were described as almost pacified with the exception of a few whose “predatory habits” remained a concern

²⁰⁴ Bullard, “Road Building among the Moros,” Papers of Robert Bullard.

to military officials. The “predatory habits” included subsistence farming, supplemented by slave trading and piracy. These characterizations of Moros suggested a community unable to govern itself properly, responsive only to brutal force, and in need of the tutelage of the United States. These reports pronounced Moros’ fate with one sentence: “The Moro does not understand popular government and does not desire it, and he is not likely to until he is changed by education and the introduction of civilized life into his neighborhood.” This was advice that Wood and other officers took to heart. The overall message declared that Moros could not be autonomous because they lacked the level of political sophistication needed for self-government.²⁰⁵

The U.S. government’s evolving position came to resemble that of Spanish colonial officials who had also attempted to construct an effective mode of colonial administration. Reverend Father Pio Pi, Superior of the Jesuit Order and subject of Imperial Spain, completed a manuscript on the Moros that was included in the 1903 Department of War Annual Report. Pi described the Moros as “haughty, independent, dominating, and treacherous” and as “most obstinate in passive aggression.” He characterized them as an “obstacle” to the establishment of civilization because of these intrinsic racial characteristics. Father Pi advocated for the removal of the Moros so that civilization could advance. He also advocated the immigration of more Christian Filipinos to the region to ethnically cleanse the territory because he claimed they were more intelligent and “more docile” than the Moros. He advised that Moros be concentrated in small areas if they were to “exist at all.” The tone of his report suggested that a campaign of either extreme containment or extermination would be the only possible strategy for dealing with the Moros. Pi’s letter circulated among those

²⁰⁵ Annual Reports of the Department of War, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Department of Mindanao, 1903.

individuals responsible for implementing U.S. rule in the region. American colonial officials even adopted the term “Moros” as an official ethnic designation for Muslim Filipinos. At the time, the Moros identified with whatever specific ethnic collective they came out of. American officials were profoundly influenced by the Spanish colonial discourse, which had placed Moros outside of the realm of civilization. It was no coincidence that Wood’s actions and written opinions of the Moros reflected these extreme sentiments as well.²⁰⁶

On August 6, 1903, Wood took command as governor general of the southern Philippines in a rather hostile domestic political environment in which charges of favoritism dogged his public image.²⁰⁷ This charged political atmosphere influenced Wood’s desire to prove his worth as a combat officer. He harbored an enthusiasm for confrontation with the Moros in the hope of providing a “clear cut lesson to subdue them once and for all.” Criticism from the domestic front put pressure on Wood to prove his mettle on the battlefield, so that he consistently sought out conflict with the Moros.²⁰⁸ Wood wanted to continue the heroic campaigns of Pershing as depicted in the domestic media. Wood, however, differed from Pershing in his disdain for the sensitivities or the culture of the Moros. Instead, he flagrantly advertised his contempt for their religion and culture.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Annual Reports of the Department of War, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Department of Mindanao, 1903. This report was circulated among all the members of the Congress. It is reasonable to assume that throughout the military field grade officers such as Wood read it. The term “Moro” becomes a universal identifier during U.S. rule as a type of Moro nationalism develops much like Pan-Indian identity developed out of the experience of disenfranchisement and conquest in the Americas.

²⁰⁷ Under Act No. 787 of the Philippine Commission of July 1903, it became the Moro Provinces.

²⁰⁸ Fulton, *Moroland*, 163, 166, 247.

²⁰⁹ Diary of Leonard Wood, 23 August 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood; Wood to Roosevelt, 20 September 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

By the time Wood was appointed military governor of the region, many army officers were ripe for confrontation with the Moros. When he arrived in Mindanao he judged the previous administration to have been ineffective and resolved to shake things up. Particularly annoyed by what he perceived as coddling of the Moros. Moros' open embrace of slavery, polygamy, and concubinage, along with their supposed arrogant individualism, all reinforced Wood's belief that they were a savage and immoral people. Wood charged the previous officer of Sulu, Colonel George W. Wallace, as "weak, lacking decision of character, and unaware of what was going on around him." Wallace's orientation toward "reformation" rather than a hard-line stance against Moro recalcitrance offended Wood's sense of mission.²¹⁰ A successful military campaign in this region could justify his rapid ascent through the ranks and subsequent appointment as governor of the Moro Provinces over so many other senior officers.

Determined to have his men "move about freely whenever we please, and be ready for trouble if necessary," Wood engaged in provocations in order to demonstrate the U.S. primacy in the Moro Provinces. Moros reacted to these incursions with violent resistance. Nonetheless, Wood ultimately blamed Moro resistance on the "weakness" of Colonel Wallace's administration, which he believed had encouraged the false hope in the Moro population that U.S. forces could be expelled from Sulu.²¹¹ Wood continued Pershing's efforts to "tame" the Lake Lanao region with the enthusiastic support of officers like Bullard, who declared that as a result of Wood's 1904 campaign "Moros for the first time understand that the United States stands for authority, order, and government." Despite his grudging recognition of Pershing's "successes," Wood

²¹⁰ War Department Annual Reports, 1904, Report of Headquarters, Department of Mindanao, July 1, 1904.

²¹¹ Diary of Leonard Wood, 22-23 August 1903, 18 November 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

continued to criticize any “coddling” of the Moros or any minimal recognition of Moro culture, institutions, or political autonomy. Wood sent the message that the Americans were there and intended to stay—perhaps even to bring in settlers and make unused lands flourish with Anglo-Saxon Christian productivity.²¹²

Wood and other policymakers in the United States saw “pioneering” as part of this new phase of American expansion. In 1902, General George W. Davis and Senator John Tyler Morgan, a segregationist democrat from Alabama, urged for a settling of the Philippines, including Mindanao, with “surplus” African Americans in order to address the “negro problem” in the United States as well as transform the tropical terrain of the Philippines into commodity-producing properties. Despite his conclusions that generally “blacks are lazy, thriftless, and unreliable,” Davis believed that African Americans brought a measure of order to an otherwise disordered and wild country. Although this and other schemes for settlements never brought the flood of settlers these proponents desired, General Wood nonetheless concurred with such settlement notions and proposed bringing in Christian Filipinos, Japanese, and Europeans to develop the land in Mindanao and create a Western-style economic base and system of land ownership. Wood envisaged such settlement activity as a vanguard that would “bring civilization to the region,” much as was done in North America.²¹³

While proposed colonies of non-Moros seemed a potential remedy for Mindanao, in Sulu American officials identified claimed traditional Moro leadership as the greatest impediment to the American civilizing project among the Moros. Incensed by the misplaced confidence of U.S. officials in the sultan’s ability to control the Tausug Moros,

²¹² Telegram from Bullard to Captain Langhorne, 4 April 1904, Bullard Papers.

²¹³ George W. Davis to Adna R. Chaffee, 5, May, 1902, George W. Davis Papers, USAMHI, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Gowing, “Moros and Indians,” 6; Georges, *Revolt in Mindanao*, 65-66.

Wood immediately joined a chorus of disapproval of the sultan. According to Wood, recognition of the sultan's political legitimacy severely impeded U.S. goals. Wood objected to autonomy in any form and eventually dismissed the Bates agreement regardless of political consequences. The War Department's annual report of 1903 concurred with Wood when it described the sultan as "a gambler and intriguer with not a spark of courage or patriotic and paternal interest in his people." Governor Hugh Scott, of the Sulu province, referred to him as an "ignorant, but cunning, unprincipled savage."²¹⁴

Even before Wood met the sultan, he referred to him as "degenerate, dishonest, tricky, dissipated, and absolutely devoid of principle." He further described him as licentious, conniving, self-serving, and unwilling to carry out U.S. directives. Wood wrote to President Roosevelt that the sultan was "a tricky little Oriental with half a dozen wives and no children, a state of affairs I am sure you would disapprove of." The sultan's sexual profligacy appeared to Wood to be a sign of racial and moral degeneracy. Wood knew that Roosevelt agreed with his judgment about the Sultan. Many early twentieth-century Progressives held the view that manliness included physical strength and hardiness as well as sexual restraint. Sexual licentiousness was believed to be immoral and led to "race suicide." These Progressives believed that indulgence in excessive sexual activity weakened and effeminized men, which ultimately threatened the survival of the white race. Wood emphasized the sexual degeneracy among the leadership as proof of biological decline and racial mortality. Therefore, with Moros deemed unable to govern properly and devoid of any political legitimacy, colonial officials used this logic to destroy their political autonomy. Wood implemented harsh measures combined with acts

²¹⁴ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 215; Watts, *Rough Rider*, 151,162; Woolman, "Fighting Islam's Fierce Warriors," 40; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 65.

of benevolence and kindness in order to define Moros as a race in need of paternalistic guidance.²¹⁵

On October 30, 1903, General Wood strongly recommended an abrogation of the Bates agreement. Wood described the Bates agreement as “foolish in every way, although doubtless well intended,” and claimed it was an “impediment to good government.” He insisted “force seems to be the only method of reaching” the Moros and of convincing them to abide U.S. authority.²¹⁶ Like many of his contemporaries, Wood believed that to give Moros political autonomy amounted to a “conciliatory” approach, which would be seen as cowardly and weak and encourage rebellion. Wood stated in his diary, “We are going to have trouble with these people unless we teach them we propose to move about freely whenever we please.” He then set off on a cross-region journey through Sulu to provoke an armed response so that he could demonstrate the power and resolve of colonial authority.²¹⁷

In August 1903, Wood visited Datu Panglima Hassan, a powerful leader in the Sulu archipelago, second only to the sultan. Wood hoped to intimidate Panglima Hassan and the Tausug Moros into cooperating with U.S. authorities. Wood and his army arrived in Hassan’s territory and attempted to impress his authority while he noisily arrested suspected horse thieves in plain view of the entire community. He then demanded that

²¹⁵ Watts, *Rough Rider*, 151,162; Woolman, “Fighting Islam’s Fierce Warriors,” 40; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 65; Michael Pearlman, “Leonard Wood, William Muldoon, and the Medical Profession: Public Health and Universal Military Training,” *The New England Quarterly* 52.3 (1979): 329, 335-37, 344. Wood was an adherent of an approach to medicine called “Christian pathology,” which taught that over-indulgence, moral laxity, and civilization itself were the causes of illness and disease, especially neurasthenia. Wood, and one of his contemporaries, William Muldoon, tried to convince policymakers that universal military service would address many health problems among young white men and act as a mode of social engineering by removing propensities toward vice and immoral impulses.

²¹⁶Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 37.

²¹⁷ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 45; Diary of Leonard Wood, 3 August 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

Hassan order his men to stage a demonstration of their fighting abilities. Afterward, Wood fired his cannon and mountain guns into the hills to one-up the Moros. Unimpressed, one of the datos challenged Wood to a competition between their best men. Wood's refusal seemed cowardly to the Moros and fortified their belief that the Americans hid behind numbers and superior weaponry. Wood's arrogance, naked contempt, and miscalculation of his actions toward the Moros deepened feelings of hostility and mistrust by a population already perturbed by U.S. occupation. Panglima Hassan responded by organizing rebellious Tausug Moros as a force to be reckoned with. The final straw for Hassan was Wood's decision to abolish slavery in the Moro Provinces.²¹⁸

The attempt to abolish slavery and terminate the Agama, the Islamic code of laws used by the datos, in favor of a "Western system of jurisprudence" written and dictated by colonial authorities incensed Hassan still further. Prior to Wood's arrival, various colonial authorities had either ignored or debated the issue of slavery in connection with territorial expansion. Anti-imperialists against the acquisition of the Philippines used the issue of slavery to their advantage when they embarrassed Republicans with the hypocrisy of their behavior, given their championing of the anti-slavery cause during the Civil War.²¹⁹

Wood objected to slavery on principle, saw no social value to the Moro version of it, and was committed to taking robust actions against those who continued the practice after its official abolition in 1903. One of the hallmarks of U.S. operations ordered by Wood was the hunt for slaves and their "liberation" from Moros, be they datos or

²¹⁸ Frank McCoy to Frank Carpenter, 2 December 1903, Papers of Frank Ross McCoy, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

²¹⁹ Otis to John C. Bates, 20 March 1900, Bates Papers.

commoners. Wood believed these efforts were integral to eradicating “evil practices” and “bringing order” to the region, and he vigorously pursued them. Wood would not abide slavery in the Moro Provinces or anywhere in the Philippines and in fact regarded slavery as further proof of the barbarous nature of Moro society, as did many among his staff and supporters in Washington. Hassan rallied others to resist this directive. Moros interpreted Wood’s attempts to destroy slavery as an attack on Islam, as the practice remained a cornerstone of the political and cultural society of Moros as sanctioned within the Moros’ version of the Sharia. In an attempt to preserve Islamic authority and resist subjugation by non-Muslims, Hassan waged a war to preserve his political legitimacy and the sanctity of Islamic law. Wood and others reinforced the “barbarous” nature of Moro society when they strenuously objected to the practice of slavery in the Philippines.²²⁰

Wood’s determination to collect the *cedula*, the head tax the Spanish had required only of Christian Filipinos, seemed even more provocative than his anti-slavery campaign. Moro commoners, as well as many datus, saw it as form of *jizya*, the head tax Muslim political authorities traditionally collected from conquered non-Muslim subjects in lieu of the poor tax, which was required by Sharia of all Muslims. The collection of the *jizya* represented a social arrangement that provided a certain measure of freedom of religion and coexistence for non-Muslims. Collection of the *cedula* set off alarm bells based on the cultural institutions of Islamic polity, which suggested that the United States had conquered the Moros. The decree against slavery, demand of the *cedula*, and general contempt displayed by army officials toward Moros signified a process of subjugation of

²²⁰ “Gen. Wood’s Mission: To Wipe out Slavery and Polygamy in the Philippines,” *Washington Evening Post*, March 6, 1903; Diary of Leonard Wood, November 30, 1903, October 16, 1903; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 16-17; Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 47, 48; Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, 44-46.

Muslim people. For centuries, Filipino Muslims had successfully kept such domination at bay despite the decline of their political and economic conditions in Southeast Asia.²²¹

The Tausug Moros consistently grew suspicious of U.S. influence in their region, so when the sultan acquiesced to U.S. demands for a paltry sum, he destroyed his legitimacy among many Moros. In addition, the collaboration of datu who conspired with U.S. forces to kill and subjugate other Moros, especially commoners, further inflamed the masses and wrecked the credibility of traditional political leadership.²²² The consequences of this loss of confidence in the leadership contributed to a state of confusion among Moros, who expected their leadership to organize resistance against the encroachment of disbelievers. Astounded by the extent to which the leadership had acquiesced to U.S. demands upon the people, the Moros eventually took matters into their hands, establishing an autonomous community on Bud Dajo. The grass-roots resistance developed within the precepts of the Sharia based on the principle that Moros cannot submit to non-Muslims.²²³

During the transitory period from Wood's arrival to the abrogation of the Bates agreement, Moros, especially the Tausug, viewed Wood as a brutal and cowardly man determined to humiliate and defeat them. Wood believed he had successfully and forcefully demonstrated the power and resolve of the U.S. government to the savage Moros. He thought that this aggressive display would force Moros, like Native Americans before them, to recognize their own cultural inferiority.²²⁴

²²¹ Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 120-21; "Statement of Sawajaan to Major Scott," June 12, 1905, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²²² Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89-91.

²²³ Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 119-21.

²²⁴ Fulton, *Moroland*, 183-85.

In August of 1903, Wood appointed Colonel Hugh L. Scott governor of the Sulu archipelago. In Wood's judgment, Scott's participation in the pacification of Native American communities qualified him as a key figure in the campaign against Muslim Filipinos. Scott had served in South Dakota, arriving there just days after the Little Big Horn Battle. Scott witnessed the "Ghost Dance" phenomenon at Fort Sill, which caused so much unrest among the Native Americans. Scott and other officers introduced similar patterns of paternalistic control from the U.S. western plains into the southern Philippines. Despite their shared military experience in North America, Scott often disagreed with Wood's approach toward Moros. During his tours in the western United States, Scott eventually developed a respect for the abilities and the humanity of Native Americans. Scott had employed native scouts and attempted to master many Native American dialects. In his tenure as governor of Sulu, he tried to avoid direct and sustained conflict with the Moros. Scott believed unnecessary conflict produced only a growing insurgency.²²⁵ On November 11, 1903 Wood, ordered Scott to pursue and eliminate Panglima Hassan in what was later referred to as the 2nd Sulu Expedition.²²⁶

Wood wanted to get rid of Hassan as a symbol of resistance among common Tausug Moros. He described his campaign through Sulu from November 1903 to 1904 as "a pleasant march into Sulu." Instead, the ferocity and destructive consequences of the campaign represented an orgy of violence. The result of Wood's march produced many of the homeless and disaffected Tausug who later congregated on Bud Dajo in defiance of U.S. authority. Even Colonel Bullard, never shy to kill Moros, confessed to a "liberal use of ammunition before entering any structure." As a result, many "women and

²²⁵ *War Department Annual Reports, 1903: Fourth Annual Report of the Philippines Commission* (Washington, D.C.: Washington Printing Office, 1904), 504-505; Fulton, *Moroland*, 163-4.

²²⁶ McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 212.

children” died. After the 2nd Sulu Expedition, Bullard, disturbed by the extent of death and destruction, made a resolution in his diary to “pay more attention to the care of my soul,” a clear indication of his discomfort with the carnage he had wreaked upon the Moros of Sulu.²²⁷

Not all datu and Moro political leaders resisted U.S. efforts to occupy the Moro Provinces. Sultan Jamal Kiram enthusiastically collaborated with U.S. Army and provided personnel for hunting down Panglima Hassan. The sultan tried to make the best of his precarious political situation. He remained under pressure from colonial officials to maintain a semblance of order among people over whom he had no real control; at the same time, he faced hostility from Moros who had taken up arms against the U.S. occupation and declared collaborators to be unbelievers. His slaves escaped to datu who took a stand against the U.S. in the name of Islam and the defense of the Moros. The sultan ultimately decided to eagerly embrace U.S. authority in order to preserve some semblance of his title, authority, and wealth. On March 3, 1904, Panglima Hassan charged a squad of rifle-bearing U.S. soldiers with his parang raised and died in a hail of gunfire. Heroic ballads immortalized Panglima Hassan as a testament to the strength and courage of the Moros.²²⁸

Wood refused to entertain the notion that he had made a mistake. He remained committed to the theory that the death of Panglima Hassan provided the “clear-cut lesson” he sought. Wood’s stubbornness compounded his cultural orientation toward a Progressive political and social agenda for the United States Army as well as for the

²²⁷ Diary of Leonard Wood, 28 August 1903, 11-13 November 1903; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 217; Fulton, *Moroland*, 210; Diary of Robert Bullard, 1 January 1904, Bullard Papers.

²²⁸ “Letter from Sultan Jamal Kiram to Colonel Hugh Scott,” Papers of Hugh Scott, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

people of the Philippines.²²⁹ A disciple of Emory Upton, a military reformer who had gathered an intellectual following among young officers during the late nineteenth century, Wood looked to European imperial armies, especially the Prussian tradition, for models of reform and reorganization. These models fit in with the early twentieth-century Progressive atmosphere and embraced the managerial reforms of that movement.²³⁰

These ideas reinforced the conviction that the Moros needed to be reconstructed in a manner consistent with American notions of civilization. Wood's statements regarding the construction and execution of policy in the Moro Provinces reflected this American ideology. As Wood stated, "We would much rather have them govern Sulu than not, but that they must govern it properly"²³¹ This declaration illustrated the underpinning ideology of U.S. imperialism: societies that wish to govern themselves must do so in a fashion compatible with "American" values. The insistence upon an American manner of governance combined with a missionary impulse to remake Moro society even if it required the application of force to get Moros to accept the tutelage and "order" envisioned by army officials.²³²

Although U.S. military officials and imperialists appeared to view all Filipinos as an inferior "other" within the power structure, complexities developed around the issue of religion. These officers viewed Christian Filipinos as superior to the "wild tribes" and the Moros because they apparently had internalized values about civilization via their relationship with Spanish colonial governments over several hundred years. In the eyes of

²²⁹ J. Garry Clifford, *The Citizen Soldiers: The Plattsburg Training Camp Movement, 1913-1920* (Louisville: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 49, 126.

²³⁰ Lane, *Armed Progressive*, 114.

²³¹ Diary of Leonard Wood, 21 March 1904, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²³² William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), 8, 13-15.

policymakers, this experience made them more susceptible to a transformative U.S. paternalism. Moros, however, lacked the capacity for even the most rudimentary political participation, since they had not benefited from the civilizing influence of Western Christendom. Democratic ideals such as self-determination disappeared from the landscape as American officials attempted to inculcate their new wards with an obedience to white supremacy. Wood's actions reflected these policy recommendations and resolved to reduce opposition to colonial rule. At no time did Wood consider the possibility of indigenous autonomy for the Moros.²³³

In this context, Wood described his particular goals for the southern Philippines to Taft in December 1903. Wood explained that the sultan, as principle signer of the Bates agreement, did not have the will or the ability to make his subjects follow it, and so the document "stood in the way of good government in that it recognizes the authority of a class of men who we have found to be corrupt, licentious, and cruel." This specific reference to the sultan and blanket condemnation of all the datus provided evidence that Moros lacked the capacity to govern themselves. He presented this letter in a meeting with William Howard Taft in Manila in the form of a formal list of recommendations for the abrogation of the Bates agreement.²³⁴

At the beginning of 1904, Wood unilaterally abrogated the Bates agreement and took direct political control of the region. Despite his meager experience with the Moros, the general stated that "force seems to be the only method of reaching" the Moros and

²³³ Diary of Leonard Wood, 27 June 1903, 15 August 1903, 30 November 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood; Amoroso, "Inheriting the 'Moro Problem,'" 118.

²³⁴ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Vol. 2*, 13; "Report to General Wood as to Abrogation of the Bates Treaty," War Department, Annual Reports, 1903; Fulton, *Moroland*, 205

convincing them to abide U.S. authority.²³⁵ Wood believed that allowing the Moros any political autonomy or recognition of the legitimacy of their cultural or religious practices amounted to “conciliatory” behavior that encouraged rebellion because it would be interpreted by Moros as cowardice and weakness. He furthermore informed the sultan of his decision to abrogate the treaty, vowing to “do away with slavery and lawlessness.”²³⁶

Even though Wood and other officers disliked the sultan, they often used him to control the Tausug people. Upon abrogation, Wood suspended the sultan’s payments despite his cooperation in the hunting down and killing of Panglima Hassan. Sultan Kiram protested the loss of his salary, in particular citing his cooperation in fighting his own subject on behalf of the U.S. Army.²³⁷

When the sultan eventually had his stipend restored and officials reinstated his powerless title, he ingratiatingly called America “a Mother with milk” because of the richness of the nation and President Theodore Roosevelt the “father to the Moro people.”²³⁸ The sultan and other Moro elites supported suppression of the Tausug resistance and enriched themselves through collaboration with U.S. occupiers. Despite the sultan’s acquiescence, resistance to U.S. occupation intensified as growing bands of Moros ignored the traditional hierarchy of their political leadership.

After the defeat of Hassan, Wood turned his attention back to Mindanao and declared that “the prompt crushing of Hassan’s rebellion has left . . . [a] deep impression on the people,” with “Datu Ali the only group openly hostile in all of the Moro

²³⁵ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 37; Annual Reports of the War Department, 1903, 81.

²³⁶ Diary of Leonard Wood, 21 March 1904, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²³⁷ Sultan Jamal Kiram to General Wood, 4 March 1904, Papers of Hugh Scott, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²³⁸ Sultan Jamal Kiram to General Wright, 2 March 1904, Papers of Hugh Scott.

Provinces.”²³⁹ In March 1904, Wood again ordered operations against Datu Ali, a popular, leader who faced challenges from his ambitious father-in-law, Datu Piang. Moros who supported Ali and participated in the insurrection against U.S. troops were especially rankled by Wood’s campaign to eradicate slavery. Because slavery was sanctioned within the Moros’ Sharia and was an important component of their politics and culture, they interpreted Wood’s attempts as trying to destroy their way of life and attack Islam itself.²⁴⁰ Like Pershing, Wood sought out datos who cooperated with the U.S. imperial project and acted as imperial proxies at the behest of U.S. authorities. This cooptation of traditional leaders continued to be a feature of his administration, and the administrations of others after him, despite his condemnatory remarks regarding the Moros’ leadership abilities.

Datu Piang, not born of royal lineage, had usurped the power of others power to attain his status and authority. The son of a Chinese trader and a concubine of the politically powerful Datu Utu, he ingratiated himself with Utu through a mix of loyalty and treachery. Ultimately, he displaced Utu and rose to a position of power among the Maguindanaons.²⁴¹ Intent on solidifying his legitimacy, Piang married his daughter to Ali, knowing his offspring would have a familial link to political legitimacy. U.S. forces favored him over other potential elites because of his pliancy and enthusiasm for U.S. occupation. Piang embraced the occupation because it increased his personal power.²⁴² Piang’s son-in-law, Datu Ali, interpreted U.S. Army actions as precursors to the destruction of Muslim political, spiritual, and cultural autonomy. Datu Ali avoided

²³⁹ Diary of Leonard Wood, 16 May 1904, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁴⁰ Oliveros, “Islam in the Moro-American War,” 129-31.

²⁴¹ McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 91-97.

²⁴² Fulton, *Moroland*, 77.

conflict until U.S. forces openly supported Piang against him in their efforts to “limit further extension of the growing influence of Datu Ali.” It was at this point that Datu Ali declared that the “U.S. forces must be opposed or they would force the Moros to convert to Christianity.”²⁴³

As General Wood prepared to engage the Maguindanaon Moros, he understood his role to be that of a benevolent disciplinarian. Wood thought that he had taken on a spiritual quest to mete out punishment to the recalcitrant and unruly Moros. Wood commented enthusiastically on a sermon given by Chaplain Doherty that linked the religious duty articulated by the chaplain to the “wholesale disciplining” that he intended to bring upon “these people.” Wood also praised efforts by Bishop Charles H. Brent to disseminate translations of the Bible to the Moros in the Mindanao region during the campaign to kill Datu Ali. Wood saw himself in the role of missionary as well as soldier.

²⁴⁴ Wood had an opportunity to negotiate surrender with Ali, but instead followed the advice of one of his junior officers, Captain George Langhorne: “From our own experience with Indians and the English and Dutch in their various colonies it would seem better to get entirely rid of a disturbing element like Ali. Every concession to an Asiatic is a mistake. It is only when they beg for mercy that they should get, not more than they beg for, if anything less.”²⁴⁵

Unlike Datu Ali, Datu Piang always took advantage of colonial arrangements to gain specific political and economic benefits. Piang cooperated with the Americans much like he had with the Spanish. Extremely pragmatic and politically shrewd, he knew which

²⁴³ Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 49.

²⁴⁴ Diary of Leonard Wood, 7 March 1904, 3 April 1904, 15 May 1904, 31 October 1904, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁴⁵ Langhorne to Wood, 23 August 1905, Papers of Leonard Wood.

way the political winds blew. He worked his relationship with the Spanish to preserve his political power and autonomy while he profited from a codependent relationship. By the time the U.S. forces came to Mindanao, he was the richest and most powerful datu in the region.²⁴⁶ Datu Piang allied with the Americans and hand-delivered his rebellious son-in-law so that they could execute him. This act ended the longest sustained rebellion against their rule from 1903 to 1905. Eventually, Datu Ali was killed at his home in October of 1905 with the collusion and assistance of his father-in-law Datu Piang. In return, Piang received extensive land holdings and U.S. labor contracts for which he provided Moro labor and pocketed the money for himself. Wood believed this arrangement marked the end of Muslim opposition in the Cotabato Valley. It also convinced him of the rightness of his approach.²⁴⁷

Many elites openly collaborated and dismissed the interests of common Moros for their own enrichment. Piang, one of the more successful collaborators, also enthusiastically embraced U.S. cultural and institutional values. He made sure that his children received Western educations and went on to become one of the prominent political figures in Philippine national politics. The sultan, too, followed this pattern, much to the dismay of datus like Panglima Hassan. This open collaboration and abandonment of the people caused great disillusionment among many Moros. This disillusionment became key to the establishment of the community on Bud Dajo, which would come together mostly outside of the traditional structures of Muslim polity.

²⁴⁶ McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 92.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 94-97; Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 49.

Leaders emerged from the vacuum created by the collaborating elite who had abandoned jihad and pushed aside the common people in their rush for the spoils of occupation.²⁴⁸

In May 1905, General Wood pursued the survivors of Panglima Hassan's band, many of whom had taken refuge on Bud Dajo. Colonel Scott, ambivalent about Wood's enthusiastic desire to provoke violent responses from the people of Sulu, ultimately blamed the entire Dajo affair on the previous years of campaigning against the Moro community. Scott disliked the sultan, yet endorsed the destruction of Hassan's cotta, which he called "an object lesson" for the Moro population. The violent campaign undertaken by Wood set the stage for the massacre at Bud Dajo. Many of the survivors of this campaign coalesced around Datu Pala and others who inhabited and defended Bud Dajo. At a grass-roots level they resisted the United States' sweeping dismissal of their community as backward, incapable, and savage. These Moros sought refuge at Bud Dajo for two reasons: first, for fear of U.S. forces, and second, to live and sustain themselves independent from colonial rule. Wood's march through Sulu the previous year had rendered most of the inhabitants of Bud Dajo homeless.²⁴⁹ The destruction of their homes, loss of loved ones, and U.S. demand for payment of the *cedula* hardened their resolve to resist U.S. hegemony.

The operations in the Lake Lanao region of Mindanao set the pattern for future relations between the U.S. Army and Filipino Muslims. It reinforced the prevalent attitudes among army personnel that Moros were vicious savages incapable of civilized behavior and responsive only to extreme force. Army officials disregarded the Bates agreement as an impediment to their goals, which dictated a radical transformation of

²⁴⁸ Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 137-39, 147, 157.

²⁴⁹ Scott to Wood, Annual Report of the District of Sulu from July 1, 1905, to June 30, 1906, Papers of Hugh Scott; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 228.

Moro society. Pershing's "successful" pacification of the Lake Lanao Maranaos provided a model of conquest and reinforced the belief that, like the Native Americans, these "savages" responded only to force. Colonel Robert Bullard reflected on his service in the Philippines and wrote, "The west is being grafted upon the east; American government and ways are passing to oriental savages." He asserted that most Moros desired the guidance and tutelage of the United States colonial administration, even if they occasionally had to be reminded of their racial inferiority by means of martial conquest. Bullard made a stark comparison between Moros and "simple plantation negroes" when he boasted of his ability to understand Moros from his experience on the plantations with recently emancipated African American agricultural laborers.²⁵⁰

Wood and his men continued to face opposition from the Moros. He declared that these "hostilities that can only result in their destruction." While most Moros remained labeled as backward savages, *datus* who collaborated and understood the nature of the relationship between capital, labor, and property ownership were construed as intelligent and forward-thinking "friendly Moros." Many U.S. officials believed these Moros would help them enforce the civilizing mission. The hostilities, which characterized the interaction between the army and Mindanao Moros during Wood's tenure, had their roots in four previous years of military operations against Moros under Captain Pershing. U.S. Army officials, determined to map the region and catalogue its natural resources, forced Moro acquiescence to U.S. authority.

These ideological justifications provided the political and economic rationales necessary to abrogate the Bates agreement. Additionally, these rationales suggested a need to embark upon a cultural crusade of sorts to remake the Moros. The argument was

²⁵⁰ Robert Bullard, "Preparing the Moros for Government," *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1906.

also made that other European powers could take control of the islands if the U.S. did not take aggressive measures to control the population. The economic rationale was similar to that which drove most expansion during this period: the need for markets for manufactured goods from the States and the possibility of acquiring raw materials to fuel U.S. economic growth.²⁵¹ Wood's reports spoke of the potential in the Moro Provinces for the growing of hemp and the success of the "Moro exchange," which he linked to his efforts at creating order in the area. Wood also encouraged emigration to the area in order to build up an economic base of yeoman farmers who owned land and contributed to the principle of free-market capitalism in a global economy.²⁵² Furthermore, abrogation was consistent with the relationship with Native Americans and the tradition of breaking treaties whenever it suited the policy needs of the United States. Together, these ideas provided the underlying rationale and justifications for abrogation of the Bates agreement.

Since Moros practiced "savage" behavior, U.S. officials easily justified the abrogation of the Bates agreement. Army officials leaned on economic motivations for the dissolution of Bates, but their deep distaste for Moro culture made the rationalizations appear logical and coherent. The Americans relied on the time-honored tradition of dispossessing the indigenous people of the North American continent. The campaigns of

²⁵¹ American businessmen wanted to enter into the "China market," which they believed would provide an antidote to the depressions of the late nineteenth century. The Philippines would have provided a location for coal stations to fuel this Pacific commerce. Also, Mindanao was believed to contain untapped natural resources and possible land for Anglo-American settlement. Neither ever really materialized during U.S. administration of the islands.

²⁵² Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, Vol. 2*, 49, 50. The Moro Exchange was an open air market set-up by Wood when he arrived in the Southern Philippines. Its purpose was to regulate trade between Moro farmers and those who came to purchase their goods. It was located in Zamboanga, Mindanao. ; Patricio Abinales, *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 53. The Southern Philippines had been part of "an indigenous trading network" attached to the Southeast Asian community, especially the Malay states. After European and American colonialism, these networks were dismantled, and in fact U.S. authorities would arrest and prosecute Muslims who attempted to engage in trade outside of the parameters of the colonial orbit.

Lake Lanao, the killing of Panglima Hassan, and the death of Datu Ali did not put an end to Muslim opposition as Wood had predicted. Individual Moros engaged in violence against occupiers and collaborators via the use of *Juramenados* and bands of Moros who resolved to rob, pillage, and harass U.S. forces and collaborators. The followers of prominent Datus who made political accommodations to the U.S. eventually banded together, broke from collaborating datus, and created the settlement on Bud Dajo. Colonel Scott described their collective alliance as created for the purpose of “preying in common upon the inhabitants of the island, and resisting the authority of the government,” even as he worried openly that many of the inhabitants would join them in rebellion against U.S. authority. Even after the climatic events on Bud Dajo in March of 1906, Moros attacked a hospital ward in Parang Mindanao, which resulted in the death of one soldier and the wounding of several others.²⁵³

The decision by Wood to abrogate the Bates Agreement must be understood within the context of the contemporary constructs of race, civilization, and economic imperative. Scientific racism dictated the construction of Moros as well as decisions about policy. A teleological construct of human civilization influenced the manner in which policymakers viewed the inability of Moros to govern themselves. U.S. cultural understandings of the proper manner of governance and economic policy influenced the decision to flood Mindanao with settlers. Wood’s vision for the civilizing of the Moros and the proper allocation and use of the natural resources of the region followed the history of dispossession of other indigenous populations. These policies caused Moros to

²⁵³ Wood to the Executive Secretary, Philippines Commission, 16 April 1906, Papers of Hugh Scott; Report of Colonel Duncan, 19th Infantry, RG 395, NARA

resist by violent means. The abrogation of the Bates agreement supported the long-held tradition of creating policies—and then breaking them—for the benefit of U.S. interests.

**Chapter Four: “Strive with Your Lives in the Cause of Allah:” The Defenders at
Bud Dajo²⁵⁴**

“...a bright light came down to that mountain. Seeing this light those wounded arose. One “Budjang,” an unmarried woman said: “oh, I long for, Sarang Bantuk, like our faith to be married here on earth. I will wait for you there in “Tarang Hulku.”²⁵⁵ Though fell down already, her fiancé replied: “I likewise grieve and long for Sarang Tangki, if for instance our fate to be married on this earth would not take place I will just wait for you at the bridge sirat ul mustaqim.”²⁵⁶ After the promise was made between lovers, the wounded men all fell dead. The numbers of Americans and Tausugs who were killed in battle, were like sticks wherein if combined together were enough to make a broom. This is the end of the battle of Bud Dajo between the Tausugs and the Americans.”²⁵⁷

On the morning of March 6, 1906 a marriage ceremony took place on the Bud Dajo summit in the midst of an American artillery barrage. A young Tausug couple, just old enough to marry, stood before witnesses and an Imam to verbally acknowledge the Islamic written contract of marriage. Their marriage contract, or *nikkah*, differed from most in that it included a sworn oath to die together that very day defending the summit. They both promised to “fight in the way of Allah” and leave the earth together as

²⁵⁴ Abdullah Yusuf Ali, trans., *The Holy Qur’an Text, Translation & Commentary* (Brentwood, MD: Amana Corp., 1983), 9:41. This is one of the verses of the Quran, which exhorts the believers to struggle in the way of Allah or “*jihad fisibillillah*.” This can be either a marital or a spiritual struggle.

²⁵⁵ *Budjang* is Tausug for an unmarried girl. Here it is being used to describe a bride. *Sarang Bantuk* refers to the “good figure of the body.” *Tarang Hulku* means “the hereafter.”

²⁵⁶ *Sarang Tangkil* means “one who cares a lot.” The bridge refers to Islamic beliefs about the afterlife in which all must cross a bridge over the hellfire to reach paradise. Sometimes it is called *sirat ul mustaqim*, which means “the straight path.” This comes from the first chapter of the Quran, Al Fatiha, also known as the “seven oft-repeated verses.”

²⁵⁷ Oliveros, “Islam in the Moro-American War,” 11, 162.

martyrs; *as-shaheed*. Knowing death was imminent the couple pledged to wait for one another at the “bridge to the hereafter” and cross the *siratul-mustaqim*, the straight path, together. All this took place amidst the last minute preparations for war with the entire community anticipating imminent death at the hands of the U. S. Army. This couple, as with everyone on the summit, committed themselves to *parang-sabil*, the Tausug word for jihad. They pledged neither to live under the domination of non-Muslims nor to endure punishment in the next life for shrinking away from the obligation of *jihad fisibillilah* because of fear of death.²⁵⁸

This community of Tausug Moros had lived previously in various disparate Tausug communities under the immediate authority of Datus who upheld the political legitimacy of the Sultan. They came together on Dajo because of changing political circumstances that resulted from the American occupation and a shifting social environment. Landless Tausug families and their sympathizers, created a community on the summit where they formulated grass roots resistance. Traditional political leadership within the Tausug community did not direct this resistance. It emerged from the experience of displacement and to fill a power vacuum left by Datus who had accommodated with the Americans. It was a leadership that emerged from the experience of resistance.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Oliveros “Islam in the Moro-American War,” 11, 162; Ali, *The Holy Qur’an*, 1:1-1:7. The phrase “the straight path” is from the opening chapter of the Quran, Surah Al Fatiha, the most often repeated of all the chapters. It is used in this context to describe the expected afterlife for all Muslims, in which they must cross a narrow path over hellfire—and the more sins they have accrued, the narrower the path. It is one of many trials Muslims believe they must face in the afterlife before reaching paradise. The phrase *jihad fisibillilah* comes from the Quran, and it means “struggle in the way of God.” In Tausug society, individual jihadis are referred to as *sabils* or *parang sabil*.

²⁵⁹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 255-7; Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 171.

Although Americans criticized polygyny, concubinage, and Moro family life, these practices created strong familial ties and systematically grounded Moro communities through bonds of kinship and alliances. In the instance of this ceremony on the summit the couple knew they would not have children or consummate the marriage. Their only expectation was death. They believed they would die fighting against those who would stifle and destroy the very basis of what they believed to be Islamic *ummah*. Within the theology of Islam there is no higher goal, nor greater reward, for the believing Muslim. This Tausug couple understood this and like others did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves *fisibillilah*, for the sake of Allah.²⁶⁰

To the Americans, whose goal was to gain the acquiescence of the Tausug, this behavior appeared barbarous and irrational. The significance of the act of marriage during an artillery barrage would have been completely lost upon the attackers. The gender ideology of White masculinity would have interpreted the idea of a man accepting his wife's presence on the battlefield as an emasculating and absurd notion. In the American definition of white male masculinity "women were expected to inspire men in war," not fight alongside them.²⁶¹ The willingness of the Tausug to allow women to fight alongside of men added another layer of complexity to the attitudes of the American attackers against their Tausug protagonists. American military personnel either

²⁶⁰ Ahmad Naqib Al Misri and Nuh Ha Mim Keller, trans., *The Reliance of the Traveler: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law* (Evanston: Sunna Books, 1994), 601-03; Najeeb Mitry Saleeby, "The Principal Sulu Code," in *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (1905; General Books Publication, 2009), 74-75. Marriage within Islamic societies holds great importance for the maintenance of social cohesion and a pillar of communal life. The oral injunction to wed as being "half of one's religion" makes marriage in Islam a very serious matter and primarily for the purposes of building family and establishing kinship systems. The *nikkah* itself generally contained provisions such as dowry amounts for the bride, grounds for divorce, and any other special arrangements. The *fard* (or obligatory) elements of an Islamic marriage are the written contract, or *nikkah*; at least two male adult witnesses; and a dowry for the bride. Consummation is not one of the *fard* of *nikkah*.

²⁶¹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 189.

intentionally misinterpreted and/or did not care how Moros understood gender roles. The “virile expansionism” advocated by President Roosevelt and embraced by American white men was a strictly male project in, which they validated their manhood through combat against savage male foes. The presence of these female warriors threatened to ruin that quest for manhood sought by white men. It also validated American ideas about gender and civilization. The lack of clear and binary gender roles reinforced the argument they were barbarians. The media and U.S. foreign policymakers depicted the event in a manner that satisfied their political agendas. The U.S. Army declared that these cowardly barbarians hid behind weak and vulnerable women and children rather than fight as “men” or surrender in order to save the lives of those they should protect.²⁶²

Unbeknownst to the Americans, the Islamic tradition, which dated back to establishment of the first Muslim community in 7th century Medina, established a precedent for women to engage in armed struggle in order to thwart attacks upon the Muslim ummah. In 625 C.E. at the Battle of Uhud outside Medina a woman named Nasibah bint Ka’b al-Maziniyyah fought alongside the Prophet and saved his life when she fended off with her own sword the flurry of sword strikes meant to slay him. During the “Battle of the Trench” Saffiya, the Prophet Muhammad’s Aunt, fought back attackers who had breached the Muslims’ defensive perimeter at Medina. Saffiya and her female companions dispatched a cavalryman, beheaded him, and tossed the head over the barrier leading the attackers to believe there were male soldiers on the other side. Afterward the enemy cavalry abandoned their attempts to breach the defenses. After Prophet

²⁶² Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 22-29; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 189. Within the United States women had fought in wars. The Civil War in particular involved many women combatants whom performed quite effectively. This fact was either unknown or ignored by these men who were keen to reclaim warfare as the sole realm of men.

Muhammad's death his youngest wife, Aisha Bint Abu Bakr, led an army onto the battlefield in an attempt to install a Khalif of her choosing after Prophet Muhammad's death. The Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima exercised a great deal of political clout in her lifetime and challenged the elder male leadership of the Muslim ummah. She refused to recognize the elected successor to the Prophet after his death. She insisted that her husband Ali was the legitimate heir. Her vocal opposition was so intense that it formed the intellectual and legal basis of the Shia Imamate.²⁶³ These accounts are retold in the various hagiographies of the Prophet and the collections of his oral pronouncements, hadith. They are also part of an oral tradition of transmitting knowledge via extolling the virtues of the Prophet and his companions as the templates for the character of all Moros. Unlike U.S. characterizations of Tausug women as oppressed and subjugated to Tausug male dominance women held status and power, albeit restricted by patriarchal norms, within Tausug warrior culture.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Abu Muhammad Ordoni and Muhammad Saddiq Rahmati, *Fatima the Gracious* (Qum, Islamic Republic of Iran: Anssarian Publications, 1992), 199, 204-12; Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender and Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 42-46, 52-53, 88-91. Leila Ahmed makes a case that as Islam spread in its formative years, the seventh to the ninth centuries; it aligned culturally with the Near East and Eastern Civilizations it engulfed. As this happened women lost a great deal of their autonomy and gender roles hardened. Whereas these had women fought jihad alongside men, established the faith, and attended religious services alongside men, by the development of the four primary schools of sharia women were socially, culturally, and politically marginalized. Ahmed's argument certainly applies to the Ummayyad and Abbasid dynasties, which were the formative Islamic Empires. However, as this study demonstrates Islam and the sharia developed within the historical and cultural context of the regions in encountered. Therefore, gender roles were often quite different from one to another.

²⁶⁴ Marshall G. S. Hodgeson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization, Volume I: The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 190, 191; Thomas M. Kiefer, *The Tausug: Violence and Law in a Philippine Moslem Society* (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1986), 120-21; Ruth Perry Moore, "Women and Warriors: Defending Islam in the Southern Philippines" (PhD diss., University of California – San Diego, 1981), 180-81; Jolo Appendix, B, Conference, July 24, 1899, Bates Papers; Fulton, *Moroland*, 45; Moore, "Women and Warriors," 179, 181. Despite this contrast with the status of white women in 19th United States, Moro women had specific gender roles and identities within their patriarchal societies, which limited their power and access. I am not arguing that egalitarian gender relations existed within Moro society, rather that this particular difference reinforced white men's assessments of the Moros as racially inferior.

The circulation of Orientalist conceptions of Islamic culture in the late nineteenth century created ready narratives about gender, which were universalized to explain all Islamic societies across time and space. Art, literature, and other modes of intellectual and cultural production, positioned Moros as the “other” against a normalized image of white supremacist maleness. This cultural production, coined “Orientalism” by Edward Said, relegated Muslim women to the shadows of Islamic society. Women were framed as objects of sexual desire subjected to the violent perversions of savage men. Despite this white supremacist project to relegate Muslim women to the margins of power in Islamic societies the presence of female Tausug warriors on the field of battle challenged this ideology.²⁶⁵

Most 19th century Americans agreed that the presence of women and children on the battlefield was uncivilized and barbaric. In fact any position of power held by women threatened white male masculinity. Army and media personnel reported “women dressing as men,” Tausug Moros “using women and children as shields,” and “women behaving as men” as deviant, unnatural behaviors in order to discredit them as equals. Corporal James R. Miller reported that he personally witnessed an adult female shoot Lt. Gordon Johnson in the head as U.S. soldiers painstakingly fought their way to the top of the summit. The disclosure of such testimony in the Duncan report attempted to vindicate the actions of General Wood.²⁶⁶ In a time of great anxiety among white American men about their own masculinity and the potential undermining of it by perceived encroachment and aggressiveness of women in the states, the image of fierce female Tausug *Mujahidina* killing Americans as they attempted to breach the Dajo defense was quite unnerving. In

²⁶⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 4.

²⁶⁶ Personal Affidavit of Corporal James R. Miller, 6th Infantry, June 3, 1906, Papers of John R. White, Knight Library Special Collections, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

addition anti-imperialists used these reports to “enlist” Tausug women in the fight against extra-continental expansion, which they felt threatened the racial integrity of the nation. Rather than acknowledge the reality of competent female Tausug warriors, Americans universally chose to cast the women warriors in the role of victims or savages.²⁶⁷

On the evening of March 5th Tausug women and men prepared for the American assault with the knowledge, and acceptance, that death was imminent. What Americans had referred to as “rumors” of an attack became a reality for the Bud Dajo Tausug in the early part of March 1906. The feeling among them was that the Americans were determined to change them and force them from their way of life. In their eyes this was tantamount to forced conversion from Islam. Many of them had experienced firsthand the onslaught of American military might in the preceding year with Wood’s expedition and knew that this would be their last stand. They were fully prepared to face death. Despite the impressive fortifications of Dajo and their fierce determination to resist, they adopted a collective attitude of jihad *fisibillilah* and martyrdom. They vowed to sacrifice themselves, and their families, as *sabils* rather than become apostates, which they believed would be their fate if they agreed to political domination by non-Muslims. They dressed in their finest apparel, as if they were going to pray in the weekly congregational prayer or a holiday celebration. They performed their obligatory prayers and the superogatory prayers and awaited the American assault all the while shouting out *Allah Akbar*, chanting the *wird* of their *tariqa*, and taunting their attackers.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Martin Ling, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Source* (New York: Inner Traditions International, 1983), 181, 186; Lila Abu-Lughod, “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others” *American Anthropologist*; September 2002; 784.

²⁶⁸ Oliveros, “Islam in the Moro-American War,” 11-2, 272-74. This means: “God is the greatest.”

The atmosphere amongst the Tausug, while grim and determined, was also festive. In the Sufi tradition they donned their religious amulets and chanted *wirds*, or prescribed verses and prayers from the Quran or passed down by *Awliya*, or Saints that had originally brought Islam to the Islands.²⁶⁹ They also relied upon Quranic injunction to fortify their resolve to oppose the American occupation. Verses throughout the Quran justified the use of force and the sacrifice of one's life in defense of the lands, lives, property, and political authority of Islam and the Muslims. The interpretations of those verses, along with sayings of the Prophet, were the heart of the production of Sharia among the Moros. The Tausug, like the Maguindanaons, had codified them into text and disseminated those ideals throughout the Tausug community via oral and written traditions along with social conditioning.²⁷⁰ According to this understanding of the injunctions humiliation in the life and the afterlife was the punishment for loss of Islamic sovereignty.²⁷¹

The Tausug prepared to die, and solemnly accepted the imminent destruction of their families, with the intention to avoid providential punishment from Allah. This sacrifice also guaranteed for the believer great reward in the next life. Despite the statements by officials and others that the defenders considered their position impervious

²⁶⁹ Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 45; Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 273. A *wird* is a prescribed set of chants, generally verses from the Quran, that a believer is advised to engage in. The practice is called *dhikr*, or remembrance of Allah. Often groups gather and engage in *dhikr*, using drums and other musical instruments. These are practices of Sufism, or mystical Islam. This was and is the primary mode of Islamic practice in the Philippines and all of Southeast Asia.

²⁷⁰ Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, 45.

²⁷¹ Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, 8:15; "Oh you, who believe, when you meet the marshaled hosts of the disbelievers, turn not your backs to them: whosoever shall turn his back to them on that day, unless he turn aside to fight, or to rally some other troops, shall incur the wrath of Allah. Hell shall be his abode and wretched the journey thither." The textual admonitions of the Quran provided a discourse of resistance, grounded in the Islamic tradition. For instance, the Quran states that one of the worst behaviors for Muslims is cowardice. To abandon the battlefield in time of crisis is a direct reflection of a Muslims lack of character and even faith. This verse is one of the verses, which makes armed defense against attack from obligatory upon all Muslims who are able to fight back. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 45; Keller, *The Reliance of the Traveler*, 601-03.

to the firepower of the Americans, the actions of the defenders indicated this was not the case.

Historians have hitherto obscured the importance of the behavior of the Tausug on the mount those Tausug who were encouraging the U.S. Army to attack them. Those who claimed the Bud Dajo Tausug believed their community was impregnable had a clear agenda wanting the destruction of that community. The Bud Dajo Tausug claims of invulnerability were not foolish or savage conceit. They were a reflection instead of the jihadi commitment to die bravely for the sake of Allah. A lack of examination and understanding of the religion, history, and culture of the Bud Dajo Tausug lent to an interpretation of their actions as one-dimensional, irrational, and savage.²⁷²

General Wood assaulted Bud Dajo in yet another attempt to demonstrate the primacy of U.S. rule in the Moro provinces and in the hope that he would end violent opposition to the occupation. The Bud Dajo community posed an ideological dilemma for Wood and his officers who were convinced of the cultural and racial inferiority of the Moros. Not only did the Bud Dajo Tausug challenge U.S. authority and their ideas about cultural superiority, but they also provided a potential alternative to other Tausug living under U.S. authority. They offered a material alternative for the subjugation of the people and cultural genocide of their community. Wood feared that Tausug resistance, or ideas

²⁷² Hugh Scott to Wood, Annual Report of the District of Sulu from July 1, 1905 to June 30, 1906, Papers of Hugh Scott. George Langhorne related to Scott the testimony of other Tausug who claimed that the Bud Dajo Tausug believed that their position was impregnable. This testimony is suspect given the actions of the Tausug: they were clearly preparing for death, according to the testimony of the army and other Tausug. Najeeb Saleeby, Peter Gowing, Max Boot, and other historians have claimed that the Tausug had a rudimentary understanding of Islam and tended to frame their behavior as simplistic and irrational. My argument, which is in agreement with Renato Oliveros and Caesar Majul, is the Tausug acted based on a comprehensive understanding of their obligation as Muslims adhering to the sharia.

about resistance, would spread throughout the Moro provinces if he did not act decisively to erase this example the Bud Dajo community provided.²⁷³

In the run up to the assault Army officers continued to build upon a growing portrait of the Moro refusals to accept United States rule as evidence of their intransigent savagery that stymied attempts by the U.S. to improve their lot. While the army records describe the Tausug Bud Dajo community as not representative of the wider Moro community, over one thousand of the Tausug had congregated on Bud Dajo at the rebellion's high point. During the assault intelligence reports indicated that Tausug who had not taken to the summit also planned to fight American forces in support of their Muslim brethren.²⁷⁴

The actions of the Bud Dajo Moros reinforced U.S. depictions of their community as backward, incapable savages. The reasons they sought refuge at Bud Dajo were twofold. One was out of fear of the U.S. forces, and the second was to plant crops and cultivate them in peace beyond the authority of colonial rule. Despite claims by U.S. officials that the Tausug Moros lacked a clear understanding of the civilizational concepts of Islam, they in fact acted upon deep religious convictions grounded in the Sharia they understood for centuries.

In addition, the Tausug understood and attempted to uphold the political legitimacy of khalifa. The Sultan, as representative titular head of the Tausug Muslim community was in effect their Khalif, or *Amir al-Mu'mimeen*. This position was crucial to the establishment of Islamic polity and the faithful were required by Sharia to recognize the legitimacy of the Khalifate, whoever it may be, and defend its existence

²⁷³ Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 3 August 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁷⁴ Fulton, *Moroland*, 256-57.

from attack. The political concept of the Khalifate, as most Moros understood it during this period, was so crucial that the absence of an existing Khalif could theoretically place in doubt the status of the community as adherent Muslims. The Moros, Tausug and Maguindanaon, had a long history of jihad against the encroachment of Spanish imperialism and forced conversion. They grounded their resistance within the cultural and historical interpretation of the Sharia, which reflected concepts pervasive throughout the Islamic world. The destruction of their homes, loss of loved ones through U.S. army operations, and finally the demand to pay the *cedula* had hardened their resolve to resist foreign hegemony.²⁷⁵

Approximately three thousand Tausugs were killed by General Wood's expeditions between January 1903 and March 1906. In May 1905, Wood pursued survivors of Panglima Hassan's band when many of them took refuge on Bud Dajo. Relatives and followers of Datu Pala, another leader killed by U.S. forces, joined the inhabitants of Dajo. According to U.S. Army reports, Datu Pala had "run amuck," and killed twenty-six people, including several American soldiers and civilian personnel. As Datu Pala saw it, however, he had attacked U.S. troops in an act of jihad hoping to kill as many of them as possible and inspire others to follow his example. The actions of Pala succeeded in sparking a general uprising against U.S. personnel, which required General Wood to return to Jolo from Mindanao with the 17th Infantry and put down the rebellion. Eventually Wood hunted down and killed Pala, whose death and the ensuing destruction

²⁷⁵ Philippines Commission, Bureau of Insular Affairs, "Letter from the Secretary of War Transmitting an Article on the People of the Philippines" (Washington, D.C.: Washington Printing Office, 1902), 64; Richard Freeland, "Orientalism and the Sharia: American Imperialism in Egypt and the Philippines," *Hamdard Islamicus* 27.3 (2004): 60; Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 119, 137; Hugh Scott to Wood, Annual Report of the District of Sulu from July 1, 1905, to June 30, 1906, Papers of Hugh Scott; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 228.

of the communities that rallied behind his cause created a large population of disaffected and homeless Tausug. Opportunistic Datus who collaborated with U.S. authorities confiscated lands of those who had been in the path of Wood's campaigns. They also forced those Moros they could get their hands on into various states of indenture, despite U.S. Army claims that they were working to abolish slavery in Sulu.²⁷⁶

Bud Dajo first came to the attention of Colonel Hugh Scott, Governor General of Sulu, in early 1905, when Tausug cleared ground on top of the summit and occupied the area. When challenged by Scott and U.S. authorities Tausug explained they settled on Bud Dajo out of fear of American aggression and merely desired to live in peace where they could plant and harvest their crops. They even surrendered ten rifles to Colonel Scott who in turn allowed them to gather crops they had planted at the foot of the summit. Early in 1905 when General Wood returned to Zamboanga, a rumor circulated among Tausug Moros that Wood intended to attack the summit and dislodge the inhabitants. In response, additional Tausug Moros began to gather upon the summit in order to support their relatives and kinsmen.²⁷⁷

Wood, his staff, and some of the Tausug elites worried about the symbol of defiance this refuge represented. Captain James Reeves offered a worst-case analysis to Wood:

“the chiefs and all the people said that these people are on Bud Dajo for no good reason; that they were up there in opposition to and in defiance of the American government; that

²⁷⁶ James H. Reeve to the Secretary of the Moro Provinces, 31 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; Diary of Leonard Wood, 14 November 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood; Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, 49; Memorandum for the Secretary of War, “The Moros of Jolo Island,” Papers of John R. White; Thomas K. McKenna, *Muslims Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89; Peter G. Gowing, *Understanding Islam and Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1998), 164.

²⁷⁷ Annual Report of the District of Sulu, June 30, 1906, Papers of Hugh Scott.

they were going to fight, that the sooner we fought them the better, because they believed a delay would cause more people to join the people on the hill.”²⁷⁸

Reeves further characterized the Tausug on the summit as a rebellious force committed to the organization of the Tausug Moros against U.S. occupation. He reported, “these people made the boast that they were patriots and in a way liberator of the Moro people.” Despite his condescending language Reeves was accurate in his depiction of this community, which had been established precisely to provide an alternative to U.S. subjugation and evolved into a space for armed struggle against U.S. imperialism. U.S. officials eagerly characterized the Dajo people as a small group unrepresentative of the majority of Tausug despite ample evidence that suggested otherwise. Their own intelligence reports suggested Tausug ranks were growing daily. As time passed and more Tausug Moros settled on the summit, a palpable fear engulfed all parties involved. Due to rumors, as well as Wood’s aggressive posture toward the people of Sulu, the Tausug on Bud Dajo feared the army planned to wipe out Tausug not only on the summit but throughout Sulu. The Sultan himself feared that the Tausug Moros on the hill would foment rebellion and further demonstrate his worthlessness to U.S. authorities as a figurehead capable of influencing the population. The U.S. army worried that the Dajo Tausug provided an unhealthy example of defiance that might spread among the population and develop into a full-blown insurgency.²⁷⁹

Much like General Wood, Colonel Scott worried that the U.S. “was on trial before the whole archipelago” in the struggle to achieve military and political supremacy over the Muslim population. Bud Dajo stood outside of imperial control. As such it concerned

²⁷⁸ James H. Reeve to the Secretary of the Moro Provinces, 31 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

military officers worried about the propagandistic effect it could have on other disgruntled Moros forced to live under the rule of Americans. Colonel Scott wrote to Wood that, “the greatest danger” was not so much the raids or depredations but “the attitude of the entire Moro people” that suggested the Moros on Bud Dajo were impervious to U.S. authority. It made the U.S. Army look helpless against this symbolic fortress of their armed resistance.²⁸⁰

Despite his concerns, however, Colonel Scott differed from Wood in his approach toward Tausug Moros. He preferred to avoid open conflict and opposed attempts by Wood to force Moros to pay the *cedula* and completely eradicate slavery.²⁸¹ Scott initially sought compromise with Bud Dajo Tausugs. The Tausug agreed they would not harbor fugitives and would refrain from molesting inhabitants at the foot of the summit. Once the community on the summit became a safe haven for Tausug unhappy with the accommodations their leaders had made with the Americans, it began to attract others on the fringe of Tausug society. They also resumed harboring fugitives wanted by U. S. authorities. Some of these Tausug who moved to the summit were not content to just live autonomously, but began to raid the properties of those Moros deemed collaborators with U.S. Authorities. Tausug increased raids on “friendly Moros” below when they were told that an attack was imminent by U.S. forces in the late fall of 1905. In early February a group of Tausug raided a property owned by the interpreter and American Agent August Schuck and also burned down a shooting range belonging to the U.S. Army. This episode was the final provocation for more aggressive action toward the Bud Dajo community.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Hugh Scott to Wood, Annual Report of the District of Sulu from July 1, 1905, to June 30, 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁸¹ Ibid.; “Statement of Sawajaan to Major Scott,” June 12, 1905, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁸² “The Government of the Moro Province, District of Sulu, Office of the District Governor,” June 30,

On February 17, 1906, Captain Reeves issued warrants of arrest for theft by inhabitants on the summit. Reeves reported to Colonel Scott that the inhabitants of the summit were, “in open defiance of the American authority” and urged immediate action to root them out and remove Dajo as a symbol of defiance. Reeves further asserted that they had, “violated all their promises” to refrain from aggression and theft, “and had placed themselves in a deliberate false attitude before the Moro people.” As U.S. army officers prepared to assault the position they had the support and encouragement from the Sultan and certain Datus who claimed that this was “the last of opposition to American authority,” and that when they were removed, “American authority will be accepted without any more opposition.” In the eyes of these officers on the ground Bud Dajo was to be the last gasp of indigenous resistance to U.S. control of the region. Some Tausug elites were complicit in creating this perception in order to preserve their own status with colonial authorities and convince them that they still held influence within their communities.²⁸³

Superficial efforts were made to persuade the Tausug to come down by sending Datus up to negotiate with them. Governor Scott sent Datu Acku to tell the people to come off the hill where they did not have access to “the same facilities” as others “down below” and “plant coconuts and hemp” for market. Acku, who went among them with a dog he had accepted as a gift from the Americans, was jeered, called an “American,” and was unable to convince the inhabitants to abandon the summit. He returned and informed U.S. authorities that they had, “gone up there to die, and that they would fight.” Adam negotiated with Captain Reeves, to bring the Bud Dajo Tausugs down if General Wood

1906, Papers of Hugh Scott.

²⁸³ James H. Reeves to Langhorne, 1 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

agreed no harm would come to them if they surrendered. Army officers sanctioned these talks while they stalled for time to get troops in place, and hoped that Adam would provide intelligence and betray his fellow Tausug for an adequate sum of money. Instead, when Adam learned that U.S. troops landed on Sulu Island he stated the Americans were “going to cut off my head anyhow” and thus returned to the summit to fight to the death. General Wood made the decision to bring troops over fresh from his campaign through Sulu for the assault. Wood remained eager to deliver the punishing blow that he imagined would teach the Moros a lesson and further augment his military record.²⁸⁴

By March 4, 1906, General Wood made final preparations to attack the summit under the tactical command of Colonel Joseph Duncan in charge of the assault force. Duncan’s plan involved using three columns of infantry assaulting the summit via three trails that led up the summit: the West trail, the East trail, and the South trail. On that day a reconnaissance team attempted to establish a system of communications and locate the trail, or trails, which would link all three together. The mission was completely unsuccessful, as the three outfits became lost in the maze of trails and jungle. Despite this failure Duncan determined to begin the assault the next day.²⁸⁵ The West trail column one consisted of Cavalry Troop F, G, elements of the 4th Cavalry, and one company of the 6th Infantry. Colonel Duncan assigned West trail to Captain Tyree Rivers. On the South trail the attack force was comprised of elements of the 6th Infantry and White’s Moro Constabulary, which totaled two hundred and forty men, including twenty officers. Major Omar Bundy commanded them. It was the most difficult and exposed of the three trails.

²⁸⁴ Fulton, *Moroland*, 273, 274; Reeves to Langhorne, 1 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 3 August 1903, Papers of Leonard Wood.

²⁸⁵ Report of Colonel Duncan, RG94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.; Fulton, *Moroland*, 276.

The East trail personnel consisted of company G of the 6th Infantry, and companies B and D of the 19th Infantry. They amounted to a total force of one hundred and seventy four men including seven officers.

The attack was to be a three-pronged assault supported by a flying column, a sort of rapid deployment force, to serve as support troops and fill in any gaps in the line. In total close to one thousand Americans and their allies would attack the summit, fully equipped with .30 caliber Krag rifles, .45 caliber Springfield rifles, 12 gauge shotguns, and Colt forty-five revolvers. In addition to four mountain guns, the U.S. Army and the Navy introduced three Colt Automatic Machine guns into combat. About seven hundred to one thousand Tausug Moros faced this impressive array of professional soldiers wielding advanced weaponry. They were armed with a total of one hundred to one hundred and fifty rifles, about half as many pistols, and six to eight *lantacas*. Wood and his subordinates expected a quick skirmish that would end in a day or two. The Tausug proved to be a much more difficult foe than any of them envisioned.²⁸⁶

The Moro Constabulary became central to the successful U.S. assault on the summit and their performance in the operation became legend. The constabulary consisted of indigenous troops led by American officers. They included Moros, as well as Christians who were from Mindanao or Visayans. John Roberts White earned a reputation for the constabulary as a light, well-equipped, effective counterinsurgent force, which would take the fight to the enemy. He recorded several military successes in Mindanao despite the skepticism, and sometimes outright hostility, of regular army troops and senior officers. The Constabulary was established as a law enforcement unit to

²⁸⁶ Report of Colonel Duncan, RG94, NARA; Fulton, *Moroland*, 274-77. *Lantacas* are makeshift cannon that fired shards of iron and other debris.

police the inhabitants of the island. John White joined in the hope of being able to take the fight to the enemy and also to command indigenous soldiers. One early setback occurred when the Moros who signed up for the unit took their rifles and equipment and deserted. For regular army skeptics such behavior reinforced their ideas of the Moros as treacherous savages and justified their dismissals of the constabulary as a police force unsuited for combat in the field. White was determined to remove these doubts and get the unit into action in order to demonstrate their loyalty, combat prowess, and courage. White's antidote for the desertion problem was to take his Lieutenant, Leonard Furlong, and wait in the tall grasses along the perimeter of the constabulary camp with shotguns to blast any other constabulary troops who wanted to desert.²⁸⁷ The original vision of the constabulary agreed with President Roosevelt in ending the insurrection by fiat, declaring any further insurgent behavior as brigandage. While officially a police force they were in fact a light infantry force that engaged in heavy combat throughout their career in the Islands. Men like John Roberts argued that the best way to combat unrest among the Moros was to use such indigenous forces. Roosevelt by declaring the war over in the midst of combat forced the Philippines constabulary, in concert with regular Army, to deal with continued hostilities.²⁸⁸

John Roberts White, the commander of the Moro Constabulary, had been born and raised in England. When the Spanish-American War broke out he joined the U.S. Army in 1898 in the hope of combat and adventure. The ideological baggage he carried comprised of a Kiplingesque vision of benevolent uplift energized by confrontation with the savage other. White believed he lived during an age of white civilization actively

²⁸⁷ John R. White, *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippines*, Papers of John R. White.

²⁸⁸ "Memorandum on the Philippine Constabulary," Papers of John R. White.

acknowledging “an obligation that Kipling called the White Man’s Burden,” and he was eager to be a participant in this global mission. He had been adventuresome and idealistic since his youth.²⁸⁹ White called “American altruism” the “marvel of a hardboiled world” and believed America carried out that mission of uplift of lower races, which he believed essential since he had fought in Greece against the Ottomans. In fact, White would characterize his service in the constabulary as “a chance for a Kipling” to find adventure among colorful exotic people while embarked upon a mission of racial and civilizational uplift. His decision to enlist with the constabulary when he left the regular army reflected his commitment to this task he imagined the Americans were undertaking.²⁹⁰

While Bud Dajo’s steep volcanic crater was not considered impregnable by the defenders, many of the constabulary members, and some of the Tausug at the base of the summit, believed it would be extremely difficult to dislodge the inhabitants. Colonel Duncan used White and his Moro constabularies on the 6th to make their way up the steep incline of the South trail to clear trenches manned by Tausug defenders, which had slowed the advance and threatened to stymie U.S. efforts. By use of lethal concentrated rifle fire and fierce hand-to-hand combat the constabularies made steady progress against the Tausug, who were armed mostly with spear, kris, and parang. In fact the greatest impediment next to the fierce Tausug resistance was the U.S. army who trained “friendly fire” on the constabulary twice, mistaking them for the Dajo defenders. Despite these

²⁸⁹ White, *Bullets and Bolos*, Papers of John R. White; John R. White, “With the Philippine Constabulary,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 31, 1913. At the age of seventeen he enlisted in the Greek Foreign Legion to fight the Turks, whom he considered cruel “Orientals.” He joined the Greek legion in a fit of romanticism and youthful exuberance. In his later years he admitted to being selfish in not considering the anguish his youthful exploits caused his mother. White became disillusioned with the Greek cause after his service and seemed disappointed in the constant retreats when he quickly came to understand that the conflict was not as romantic as it had appeared from his home island. From Greece, White traveled to the Yukon the nineties in search of gold before he enlisted to fight in the Spanish-American War in 1898.

²⁹⁰ White, *Bullets and Bolos*, Papers of John R. White; John R. White, “With the Philippine Constabulary,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 31, 1913.

setbacks, by the middle of the day on March 5th, White's men made remarkable progress. They made it more than halfway up the summit and destroyed fortifications along the way. Throughout they were forced to crawl under rifle fire, spears, large rocks, the withering fire of the lantacas, and any other debris the Tausug could hurl at them. Colonel Duncan called in support from the Colt machine guns, which rapidly became a dominant and deadly weapon in the battle.²⁹¹

On the morning of 6 March just after 10:00 am, General Wood finally arrived on the scene of the battle he had initiated. Captains Frank McCoy, George Langhorne, and soon to be Governor Tasker Bliss accompanied Wood. Unhappy with the inability of Duncan's unit to achieve the objective Wood immediately sought to micromanage the assault. He ordered Captain Lawton to aggressively assault the summit up the East Trail. In addition he sent Captain Langhorne ahead with two more Colt Automatic machine guns manned by naval personnel from the *USS Pampanga*. These guns proved extremely lethal against the defenders and turn the tide of battle back to the Americans in a dramatic and decisive manner.²⁹²

March 6th ended without U.S. forces having achieved their objective. The Tausug had pinned down the constabularies. Intelligence was coming in, which indicated the Tausug on the lowlands were planning to attack American forces in support of their brethren on the summit. During the ascent up the summit Adam and a cohort of warriors stopped the American advance by releasing a prepared trap of logs, which rolled down on the Americans.²⁹³ In light of this information, and the difficulties facing the troops on the South Trail, Duncan decided, with Wood's acquiescence, to slow the advance. The

²⁹¹ White, *Bullets and Bolos*, Papers of John R. White.

²⁹² Fulton, *Moroland*, 292-93

²⁹³ Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 272.

Constabulary demonstrated competence and the machine gun established itself as an effective tool in the ensuing fighting. Because of their impressive performance on March 6th. Colonel Duncan called upon the constabulary on March 7th to be the vanguard of the attack on the South trail. Once again at first light they painstakingly made their way up the trail. Once again they performed impressively moving aggressively up the summit and taking the fight to the Tausug. Colonel White ended the day severely wounded, having been shot through his left knee. The constabulary ended the expedition with a casualty rate of over twenty five percent. White's wound was severe enough to cause him to leave the constabulary and later seek a post with a penal colony in the Philippines.²⁹⁴

As the Americans made steady progress up the summit on the seventh the Tausug defenders lay in wait, dressed in their finest clothes and prepared to die. They shouted *maksabil* and *Allahu Akbar* like missiles aimed at the hearts of their attackers. They launched human wave attacks with bolos, parangs, and spears and hurled large rocks against the Americans. As they waited to die they chanted the *wird* of imminent death: *wa hezbanallahi wa nehma wakeel*, and the testimony of faith: *la illaha illallah*.²⁹⁵ Women, some wearing the same garb as their male warrior comrades, armed themselves and continued to defend the dwindling position on the summit. Other women took to the small building, which served as the community Masjid, with their children and old people awaiting their death deep in prayer and *dhikrullah*. Given the experiences of the previous

²⁹⁴ Report of Colonel Duncan, RG94, NARA; "Condensed Statement of Service of John R. White in U.S. Army, Philippines Constabulary, etc.," Papers of John R. White.

²⁹⁵ Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, Surat Al Imran, verse 173; Taqi al Din Hilali et al., *Tafsir Ma'ani Al Quran: Interpretations of the Meanings of the Noble Quran in the English Language* (Riyadh: Darusslam Publishers, 2000). The English translation is "Allah is sufficient for us, and he is the best disposer of affairs." The preceding narrative describes a gathering army coming to destroy a community of "believers"; this is their response to imminent destruction. The *tafsir* of this verse relates to the Battle of Uhud, in which the Prophet was almost killed and the Muslim community almost annihilated. This is universally considered the *dhikr* of jihad and/or impending death. Often Muslims will recite this verse over and over in the face of great tragedy.

year with the American forces they had no wish to be taken as captives and sent back to the collaborating Datus as slaves. The Tausug defenders repeatedly charged the American line with cries of *Allahu Akbar*. Each charge, while lethal to the Americans, was repulsed by their superior firepower. The newly wed Tausug couple fought side by side all the while shouting out poetry of love to one another in anticipation of an afterlife, in which they would pass the tests of faith before entering paradise together.²⁹⁶

By deploying the machine guns on the flanks of the lined up infantry, and directing accurate and persistent rifle fire into the trenches, cottas, and buildings, the Americans quickly dispatched the defenders and their families. U.S. officers described the Moros as “fanatic and feigning death” in order to kill as many Americans as possible. Wood claimed that toward the end of the battle the Tausug Moros intentionally exposed themselves to withering U.S. army fire in order to be killed rather than taken prisoner. In his immediate reaction to the resistance by the Tausug on Dajo Wood wrote, “I was greatly amazed at the number of men opposed to us. There were many more than two hundred, which confirms the information that Moros were going to the top to assist those there in their defense.”²⁹⁷ Toward the end of the battle Captain Langhorne, who had urged Wood to exterminate the inhabitants of Dajo, was sent in with a detachment to burn the remaining structures to the ground. This incinerated survivors and corpses. Seaman Joseph Fritz volunteered to climb into a tree overlooking the Tausug position in order to shoot any wounded crawling about on the ground. On March 7th Adam died charging the American line with a large bolo in one hand and a “baby” under his arm, dying in a lethal

²⁹⁶ Oliveros, “Islam in the Moro-American War,” 162.

²⁹⁷ James H. Reeves to Langhorne, 1 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

volley of rifle fire. The community Masjid was riddled with .30 machine gun fire and then burned to the ground with hundreds of people inside.²⁹⁸

Once the shooting ceased, General Wood gave the order to incinerate all the bodies in place and withdraw immediately, which resulted in an inaccurate count of bodies and weapons. This command irritated Colonel Duncan and created lasting uncertainty as to the actual body count. Numerous reports by the attackers claimed that the Tausug used women and children as “shields, claiming this cowardly tactic accounted for the great loss of life among them. The Colt Automatic Machine guns destroying the Masjid inflicted many deaths of non-combatant women, old people, and children. In addition women willingly participated in the fight against the Americans because jihad would have been obligatory upon the women as well as the men in a situation where the survival of the entire community was at stake.²⁹⁹ Instead of acknowledging the agency of the Tausug women as capable and willing to sacrifice their lives en masse, Americans attributed their deaths to the cowardice and barbarism of the “Moro race.” They also claimed Tausug displayed the “well-known treachery of the uncivilized Mohammedan” feigning death or wounds and then attacking medics attempting to administer aid to them.³⁰⁰ U.S. Army and constabulary forces lost a total of twenty-one killed and seventy-three wounded. Approximately twenty-six Tausug prisoners were taken prisoner, and it is estimated that anywhere from fifty to one hundred Tausug Moros escaped down a fourth

²⁹⁸ Report of Colonel Duncan, RG 94, NARA; White, *Bullets and Bolos*, Papers of John R. White; Fulton, *Moroland*, 291, 293.

²⁹⁹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 294.

³⁰⁰ “Letter from the Secretary of War to the President of the United States, Included in the Duncan Report on the Battle of Bud Dajo,” Papers of John R. White. Secretary Taft echoed Wood’s report that women dressed in “trousers” and behaved as men during the battle.

trail left unguarded. The estimates of dead Moros ranged from seven hundred to as high as one thousand.³⁰¹

Female defenders at Bud Dajo unwittingly challenged U.S. gender ideology as they fought and died alongside the men. Even though Tausug women killed American soldiers Wood was forced to defend his decision to attack women and children. U.S. gender and race ideology worked two ways. It allowed U.S. to view the Tausug as barbaric, but also the American military as unmanly for killing women and children.

After being informed of the victory at Bud Dajo President Roosevelt congratulated Wood on “a brilliant feat of arms” in which it was, the “duty of civilized men to put down savagery and barbarism,” and if the United States was “too weak” to do it some “stronger and manlier power” would step up to the task.³⁰² Even though the army took control of its objective and considered the massacre at Bud Dajo a successful operation. Secretary of War William Howard Taft questioned the “wanton slaughter,” deaths of women and children, and subsequently forced Wood to defend the attack on Bud Dajo.³⁰³

U.S. news organizations portrayed the episode as either a senseless slaughter of innocents or just deserts meted out to savages. Despite the dueling headlines, all the coverage denied any agency to the women involved in the battle. Some charged that U.S. soldiers had killed “defenseless” women and children. The relationship with the Philippines since 1898 had been problematic in the eyes of the public and disturbing to a nation that believed it was participating in a mission to uplift a backward people. The incident at Samar just three years prior had already created fears that this relationship

³⁰¹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 298.

³⁰² Watts, *Rough Rider*, 234.

³⁰³ Taft to Wood, 12 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

with these “new wards” was corrupting white male youth by “turning American soldiers into savages.” This most recent incident at Dajo seemed further evidence to anti-imperialists that the experiment with extra-continental expansion had proved a failure. Much like the perpetrators of the Bud Dajo massacre, however, they also denied any agency on the part of the women and youth who had died there. Rather they assumed the slain had been helpless victims cowering in fear as the soldiers slaughtered them without resistance.³⁰⁴

The domestic press coverage reinforced the idea of women and children as victims, either of U.S. aggression, or of Moro cowardice and irresponsibility. This publicity fed the debate on Capitol Hill in which recriminations were hurled by both imperialists and ant-imperialists. The *New York Times* stated that “women and children were killed as well as fighting men” and compared it to the massacre at Samar, stating, “what hell roaring Jake ordered, but did not dare to do. Wood has exceeded.” Mississippi Democratic House Representative John Sharp Williams’s satiric poem “The Charge of the Wood Brigade” was read on the floor of the Senate and reprinted by the *New York Times*, which ridiculed and shamed the actions of Wood as brutal, cowardly, excessive, and unnecessary. The article denied the accurate reports of women fighting and scoffed at claims that the Tausug used the children as shields.³⁰⁵ The *Dallas Morning News* claimed

³⁰⁴ Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 184-85; Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency*, 26-27; Laura Wexler, *Tender Mercies: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 28-33. Since Dewey’s spectacular success in Manila Bay, the United States had become belligerents in a counterinsurgency against Filipinos fighting for independence. The fighting was characterized by racist violence and the torture of Filipino fighters. General Jacob Smith caused a great scandal in September 1901, when he ordered the complete destruction of communities on the island of Samar, commanding soldiers to “shoot all males over the age of ten.” He followed up by concentrating the majority of the populace and following through on his promise to turn the island into a “howling wilderness.” Congress called for special hearings, and General Smith was court-martialed and retired from the army.

³⁰⁵ “Wood’s Battle Called Murder in Congress,” *New York Times*, March 16, 1906.

the Moros “sacrificed their offspring” by throwing onto American bayonets, used them as shields when they charged, and placed women dressed as men in the front ranks and that the U.S. troops could not be blamed for the carnage.³⁰⁶ Even Colonel Scott, who had opposed the assault, backed up the actions of the Army by telling a reporter that it was “the proper chastisement for a band of outlaws” who defied U.S. authority as well as that of their “chiefs.” Scott furthermore downplayed the role that Islam or “religion” played in the affair by falsely claiming that the U.S. did not interfere with the free practice of Islam among the Moros.³⁰⁷

The press coverage of Dajo used the presence of women and children in battle as a locus of contention over U.S. foreign policy and the proper place of women in society. The newspapers placed women in the same category as children and infantilized them. This cultural assumption solidified a portrait of women as incapable of making coherent, rational decisions on their own. Furthermore, the insistence upon imagining women either as “shields” or as defenseless victims lent validity to domestic ideas about gender, which relegated women to the realm of the household and incapable of exercising independent judgment, especially in the realm of politics and warfare – men’s last exclusive refuge. If the insecurities created by the depressions of the late 19th century eroded middle class white men’s sense of potency and the 1898 wars re-established their virility as warriors, the women of Bud Dajo threatened to intrude into a realm men felt was theirs alone. In fighting fiercely alongside their men, the women of Bud Dajo challenged the gains made by men like Roosevelt, Wood, and the cultural production that

³⁰⁶ “Mount Dajo Fight: Authentic Account of the Battle of the Crater Recently Fought in the Philippines,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 16, 1906.

³⁰⁷ “Filipinos Happy Over Bud Dajo,” *Pawtucket Times*, March 20, 1906.

had re-established white male supremacy by means of territorial expansion and warfare.³⁰⁸

In the U.S. legislature condemnation of the affair generally split along party lines. Anti-imperialists had enough support to generate calls of inquiry into the massacre. Although much of the criticism of the carnage stemmed from partisan opportunism, there was a genuine dislike of the extra-continental empire building. Opposition to empire was strongest among Southern Democrats adamant against including non-whites in the national community. For them Bud Dajo presented an opportunity to embarrass a Republican administration that was intent on extra-continental expansionism, which they believed threatened the racial integrity of the nation. Senator Charles A. Culbertson, a Democrat from Texas, asked for a Senate resolution “directing the secretary of war to send to the senate full copies” of all communications between the U.S. Army in the Moro Provinces and Washington officials related to the Bud Dajo affair. The issue, which animated his response, was whether or not women and children were killed at Bud Dajo. Representative John Sharp Williams denounced the raid in the House and called into question the claims that Moros used women and children as shields. Sharp Williams was specifically referring to the death of non-combatants as well as the initial reported imbalance of 18 U.S. dead to over 800 Moros killed with no prisoners taken. Congressman Grosvenor claimed that the Dajo people were an “utterly lawless, treacherous, bloodthirsty gang, never amenable to law or civilization” and suggested that House members who criticized the operation were staining the honor of the U.S. Army.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 21-25; Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 144-8; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 45, 82-83.

³⁰⁹ “Senator Culbertson Interested in Messages from Roosevelt to Wood,” *New York Times*, March 23,

Clergy and social reformers split in a similar way. It was less vitriolic, however, and characterized by a paternalistic general belief that the United States had a moral obligation to the Filipinos. Social reformer and well-known cleric Dr. Charles H. Pankhurst condemned the operation on Dajo, specifically criticizing Theodore Roosevelt's congratulatory telegram to Wood following the massacre. That telegram was leaked to the *New York Times* despite a censor ordered by General Wood. It was featured with a pointedly sarcastic headline "Women and Children Killed in Moro Battle, President Wires Congratulations to Troops." Pankhurst was critical of the manner in which the United States was dealing with these "pagan" people whom he described as having been mistreated by a Christian nation and therefore likely to turn away from Christianity. Describing the "mowing down of savages and semi-savages" by the U.S. Army, Pankhurst argued that colonial officials had abandoned a true missionary duty to gently assimilate and Christianize the peoples of the Philippines. He added that they were more concerned with the economic benefits of empire, such as the "passage of the Philippine tariff bill."³¹⁰

For Pankhurst the emphasis on the favorable trading arrangements rather than the souls of the Filipinos reflected misplaced priorities of capitalists intent on integrating the islands into the economic orbit of the U.S. General Otis O. Howard, co-founder of Howard University, head of the Freedman's Bureau during Reconstruction, and a veteran of frontier warfare against Native Americans, defended the Bud Dajo action and the retention of the Philippines as a colony. Howard retired from the army in 1891 and was not an active participant in the administration of the newly acquired territories after the

1906; "General Grosvenor Defends Actions of Troops in Killing Moros," *New York Times*, March 20, 1906; Obituary of General Charles H. Grosvenor, *New York Times*, October 31, 1917.

³¹⁰ "Parkhurst Denounces Roosevelt's Telegram," *New York Times*, March 19, 1906.

Spanish-American War. Yet, he supported the imperialist cause and encouraged the evangelization of the newest wards of American empire. General Howard encouraged the copious use of missionary tracts and missionaries to remake Filipinos as compliant pupils of American values. Howard stated: “we cannot do so rash a thing” as granting Filipinos independence, “until we have accomplished...what providence has intended us to do, namely, Christianize them.” Such sentiments were consistent with Howard’s career as a passionately Christian army officer. Throughout his military career he grounded the performance of his duties within paternalistic ideology of uplift. As head of the Freeman’s Bureau Howard ignored Congressional mandate to distribute plantation land to emancipated landless African Americans, believing they were not prepared for land ownership. He did, however, harness the power of the state and private philanthropy, to evangelize the African Americans with the gospel of Christ and the cultural superiority of white America.³¹¹ Although Howard and Pankhurst used different language to define the nature of U.S. conduct in the region, both were firmly committed to the missionary vision of extra-continental expansion, which took responsibility for “savage” peoples who came into the nation’s imperial orbit. They believed it was the U.S. responsibility to engage in uplift and evangelize these populations.³¹²

³¹¹ Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 87, 236-37; Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 19, 22. General Howard began his military career as an open evangelical Christian. He was also a staunch abolitionist. At the end of the Civil War, he was appointed head of the Freedmen’s Bureau. Howard believed that he had fulfilled his mandate as head of the bureau in support of “relief of the destitute, establishment of a free labor system, and recognition of the rights of blacks in the courts and the schools.” A final congressional mandate was to ensure land ownership for blacks. Howard ignored this mandate and in his memoirs stated he was glad he had done so, as he felt they were unprepared for it. He would go on to establish Howard University, a university for blacks, which he ensured was grounded in a mission of evangelization and the uplift of African Americans.

³¹² “General Howard Tells Tract Society They Must Be Christianized,” *New York Times*, March 26, 1906; “Parkhurst Denounces Roosevelt’s Telegram,” *New York Times*, March 19, 1906; McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 230.

Wood vigorously disavowed that he had intended to kill women and children. He stressed that the people on Bud Dajo had been given every opportunity to let the women and children off the mountain. He did this despite the fact that in a private correspondence with Roosevelt he made no apologies for the deaths of the women and children on the summit claiming that “work of this kind,” though “disagreeable” was “unavoidable.” to achieve the greater policy goals of the United States.³¹³ In a telegram to Taft, Wood claimed “Moro women wore trousers and were dressed and armed much like the men and charged with them.” He also claimed that the men used children as human shields as they charged U.S. troops. The Datus and the Sultan backed up these claims during this meeting. Wood staunchly defended the operation in official documents claiming that “no man, woman, or child were wantonly killed in the fight. We have begged Moros again and again to fight as men and keep women and children out of it.” However, he did allow “some women or children were killed or wounded by preliminary shelling at distance.” Wood pressed the Datus as to whether or not he thinks there will be peace now after Bud Dajo. Sultan assured him that “all the bad people were killed” at Bud Dajo and that there would be no more opposition to U.S. authority.³¹⁴

Wood gathered together many of the Tausug elites in order to encourage them to accept the U.S. vision of uplift and improvement and follow their agenda. He encouraged them to tell their people to farm rather than confront the U.S. occupation. He advised them to “have big crops of babies, hemp, rice, and coconuts, and no more fighting.”³¹⁵ Encouraging farming was Wood’s way of civilizing a community he imagined to be just

³¹³ Langhorne to Wood, 10 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

³¹⁴ Wood to William Howard Taft, 13 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; Ide to Taft, 20 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

³¹⁵ “Conversation with Moros on U.S.C.T. Sabah,” 13 April 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

a step above hunter-gatherers. Introducing trade within the imperial orbit of the U.S. represented a further step toward his civilizing goal. After all, farmers are more civilized than hunters and people who engage in trade are less likely to engage in war, or so Wood believed much like his peers who were designing Philippines policy. In later correspondences between Wood and his staff, and in the Philippines Commission reports, officers emphasized the progress made and the great expanses of Muslim land being placed under cultivation, especially the land of the Panglima Hassan, whom Wood's troops had killed in 1904. They appeared to have made a connection between this burst of agricultural activity and the fact that the people appeared to be "so pliable and plastic" and the rash of resistance, which had characterized their relations with the people, had ceased.³¹⁶ Despite the martial opposition of Moros and harsh responses by military authorities, administration of America's first imperial encounter with Moros would be characterized by efforts to civilize the inhabitants and remake them as compliant participants in the imperial state. Wood also encouraged the large scale harvesting of hemp and coconuts. He even desired white settlers to come to the Mindanao region a place he called "white man's country," by insisting that only the introduction of white settlers with "modern agricultural methods" would make the region profitable. For Wood bringing Moros into contact with the global markets would be their salvation, as he believed that trade partners and trading activity made for a peaceable society.³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Hugh Scott to Wood, 22 June 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; Wood to Hugh Scott, 20 July 1906, Papers of Hugh Scott.

³¹⁷ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, Vol. 2, 49; Patricio Abinales, *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 53. The Southern Philippines had been part of "an indigenous trading network" attached to the Southeast Asian community, especially the Malay states. After European and American colonialism, these networks were dismantled, and in fact U.S. authorities would arrest and prosecute Muslims who attempted to engage in trade outside of the parameters of the colonial orbit.

In addition to providing a justification for Bud Dajo to a stateside audience, Wood solicited official approval from the Muslim ruling elites. The gathering of the Datus and the Sultan took place on the American warship *Sabah*. Wood solicited their approval for the operation in the presence an interpreter and a clerk recording the dialogue. They unanimously expressed satisfaction with the outcome. In fact some of them urged Wood to act more expeditiously in the future to suppress the slightest sign of defiance or rebellion and to allow them greater latitude to deal harshly with those deemed disobedient. Hajji Butu, the Sultan's second in command and enthusiastic collaborator, was quite satisfied with the outcome stating "even if the man talks in his sleep about fighting, to hit him on the head right away." Datu Indinan was concerned that the U.S. authorities were interfering by modifying judgments of chiefs for punishments thus usurping their authority. He told Wood that, "the Moros are very ignorant, very stupid, and very bad people, and what they delight in is to have a chief tried for punishing them. If a chief punishes any of his men, they like him to be tried for doing so."³¹⁸ Wood after sitting with these elites wrote in his journal that "the Sultan and native headmen" expressed "satisfaction over extermination of outlaws." Wood believed that he had the support of the ruling elite when he commanded action that upheld U.S. authority in the area.³¹⁹

The Tausug elites were very concerned with losing control of the masses and jeopardizing their capacity as proxies for U.S. colonial authority. Both groups, American officials and Tausug collaborators, found common cause in suppressing the behavior of the Dajo people, as well as any group that refused to respect the colonial arrangement set

³¹⁸ "Conversation with Moros on U.S.C.T. Sabah," 13 April 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

³¹⁹ Wood to Andrews, 10 March 1906 and 11 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

up by U.S. authorities and accepted by Moro elites. Datu Indinan, another enthusiastic supporter of the Bud Dajo operation, asserted that “the people on Dajo were bad people because they would not follow anybody” and therefore should have been exterminated much sooner. As Panglima Haiyudin stated, “a bad class of people was up there, and it was necessary to fight them, otherwise it would have been like a disease.” Clearly they all thought that if Bud Dajo had been left alone, it would have glowed as a beacon for others who opposed U.S. authority. The ruling elites function in the colonial arrangement was to provide a cover of legitimacy to U.S. rule in exchange for material wealth and social status. They reacted with fear and exasperation when grass roots resistance to the U.S. occupation continued to break out, despite their own politically calculated decisions not to resist. Wood had been very exorcized about the example set by the people on Dajo, and the Tausug elites were no less concerned.³²⁰

President Roosevelt’s staunch defense of Wood’s actions as both unavoidable and necessary enabled him to accept the promotion to Commander of the Philippine Division at the end of the month. Wood came out of the episode without official blemishes upon his record and honor. In light of all the negative reaction to the operation Taft cabled Wood with his concerns and by mid-March had called Colonel Hugh Scott, who was on leave in the states, to answer his inquiries as to the extreme nature of the operation. Wood complied by providing the requested documents, supplemented with letters of defense from General Henry Clay Ide, one of the members of the Taft Commission, and a transcript of his meeting with the Datus upon the Sabah.³²¹ On March 28, 1906, he handed the governorship over to General Tasker Bliss and made preparations to return to

³²⁰ Wood to William Howard Taft, 13 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; Ide to Taft, 20 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood; Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, 14 May 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

³²¹ Fulton, *Moroland*, 79, 260.

Manila as Commander of the Philippine Division, his career and reputation intact, yet somewhat tainted by the incident at Bud Dajo. His name would forever be linked with this massacre.³²²

The Tausug Moros died on Bud Dajo believing a great reward awaited them for engaging in the most selfless and praiseworthy act in the Islamic tradition. The Tausug Moros believe that when a mujahid dies one may see him, or her, right before the time of the evening prayer riding a white horse on their way to paradise. On the last day of the siege Adam was among the last of the Tausug left alive as the Americans had completed a semi-encirclement of the community and slowly shredded the remaining warriors and their families to pieces with withering gunfire and artillery. As one cotta after another was destroyed, and one trench after another cleared by American firepower the bodies piled up until they choked trails and filled the trenches three and four deep. In the midst of all these broken and ripped bodies, with the smoke of artillery and machine fire stinging the eyes of attackers and defenders alike, Adam scooped up a small child, tucked it in the crook of his arm, raised his kris above his head and made one last charge at the American rifles arrayed before him. Shouting out “*Allahu Akbar*” he was riddled by the American Krag and died in a mangled pile along with the child. American soldiers who witnessed the act included it in the Duncan report, along with testimony of “women dressed as men and fighting like men” as further proof of the savagery of the Moro, and justification for their slaughter and cultural genocide. The young married couple who pledged to die did so declaring their love for one another and regrets they would not experience the consummation of their union. They died together, according to the *silsilah*, promising to wait for each other in the hereafter. Another warrior, Imam Illih,

³²² McCallum, *Leonard Wood*, 233.

called out to his wife as he died: “Oh my dear, come near me for I am already wounded. Help me: my soul is still within me. My horse is already here smelling me, yet I cannot yet ride him for my soul is still within me.”³²³

The Moros of Bud Dajo took up arms, established an autonomous community, and eventually fought to the death within the religious and cultural context of Islam. They dressed in their finest apparel and donned the mantle of the *parang sabil* with an acceptance of mortal death with the expectation of paradise for themselves and their families. The women, young men, and young girls took up arms alongside the adult male warriors in the desire to protect their loved ones, their community, and obey what they believed to be the commands of Allah. The young woman who killed Lt. Gordon Johnson served as fodder for a narrative, which vindicated the actions of the U.S. Army in killing “defenseless” women.³²⁴ What Americans witnessed and interpreted as Moro indifference for the life and the use of “women and children as shields” was in fact a reflection of the deeply held religious convictions of the Moros that they were obeying the commands of Allah and would receive a reward for their actions.³²⁵

Americans at Bud Dajo imposed gender and racial norms they were developing in the States onto the Moros and judged them well outside the community of civilized races. The marriage at Bud Dajo symbolized a dedication of Tausug men and women to one of the most basic principles of Islam: fighting against oppression. The actions of the Mujahidina on Dajo were grounded in the Islamic tradition and the historical context of Maguindanaon and Tausug armed struggle. For the American men trying to subdue them

³²³ Oliveros, “Islam in the Moro-American War,” 162; “Report on Bud Dajo,” March 6-8, 1906, Papers of John R. White.

³²⁴ Personal Affidavit of Corporal James R. Miller, 6th Infantry, June 3, 1906, Papers of John R. White; Fulton, *Moroland*, 317.

³²⁵ Fulton, *Moroland*, 303-304; Wood to Taft, 13 March 1906, Papers of Leonard Wood.

the appearance of these women on the battlefield challenged narratives of manliness they were desperately trying to disseminate both at home and abroad. Women in the states challenged male hegemony by trying to vote, pushing prohibition, and bringing income into the household. Because they acted aggressively to gain political and social power they threatened gender roles dictated and upheld by a white supremacist patriarchy. By doing so they also earned the label of meddling and emasculating harpies. Tausug women, by standing their ground with their male brethren and fighting to the death on Bud Dajo, were cast as savages acting in a manner unnatural and contrary to gender norms of civilized people. Americans re-interpreted the actions of these women by casting them as helpless victims of their cowardly men and a savage culture. The unfortunate consequence was their death by American guns. Unlike American versions of the battle Tausug folklore and historical memory of the event cast these women as the best of what femininity had to offer: pious, lethal, women warriors dying *fisibillilah* in a confrontation with the forces of disbelief.³²⁶

³²⁶ Fulton, *Moroland*, 304; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 30-31; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 13; Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," Appendix D.

Conclusion

The operation on Bud Dajo was carried out by a generation of men who lived during a dramatically transformational period of United States history. The greatest illustration of that transformation was the extra-continental expansion of the United States and its entry onto the global imperial scene. Concurrent with extra-continental expansion were the renegotiations of white masculinity. The renegotiation of gender roles in this period was heavily dependent upon specific boundaries of white femininity also. The place of women was articulated in popular culture, the academy, and many other venues. As such, non-white women were placed outside of this binary of white man and white woman and placed into a third, genderless category of savage or barbarian, as were many white women who attempted to challenge contemporary roles set out for them. This was not just a top-down construction; it was a renegotiation of gender and race involving all classes of white men, specifically resulting from perceived threats, one of them being the immigration of “hordes” of working-class immigrants whose whiteness was questionable.³²⁷

Intellectual and cultural production of the nineteenth century, in tandem with white supremacist race ideology, was employed to construct a particular “Moro race,” which suited the methods of control exerted by military officials in the Moro Provinces. Explicit judgments about Moros’ readiness for self-rule were measured by various factors, most having to do with their willingness to recognize United States political and cultural authority, as well as Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy. Moros who opposed

³²⁷ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), 180-81, 190, 218; Evan Thomas, *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire*, 1898 (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2010), 144-45; Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1800-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 5, 7, 11.

colonial control and authority were characterized as irrational bandits and undisciplined childish savages, incapable of participation in civil society. Colonial authorities decided that the Moros were eons away from civilization. The institution of slavery, perceived sexual licentiousness, improper use of the land, and a lack of central authority were cited as justifications for a violent paternalistic policy of control, which brooked no challenge to U.S. authority. The U.S. army designed a colonial policy that placed the Moros in the category of “hostile minority culture.”³²⁸

The legacy of violence left by the United States during its occupation of the Southern Philippines goes well beyond the massacre at Bud Dajo in 1906. This was just one of many instances of extreme measures being taken in order to attempt to pacify the Muslim population and force compliance with U.S. directives.³²⁹ The massacre at Bud Dajo is a prism through which to examine how race and gender were formed in such a way as to reify U.S. hierarchies of race, maintain racial and gendered boundaries, and advance political and economic agendas for expansion.

Massacres and other racial atrocities have functioned throughout United States history as moments of definition. They continue to in our contemporary times: the siege of Fallujah and accompanying killings of scores of Iraqi civilians in “free fire zones,” the gang rape of Abeer Qasim Hamza and killing of her entire family, the mass murder of twenty-four civilians by Marine Sergeant Frank Wuterich and his fellow marines, and most recently the mass murder of seventeen civilians, including nine children, by Staff

³²⁸ Philip Kennedy, “Education for Self-Government: The American Attitude in the Philippines, 1898-1908,” *Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12.2 (1968): 1-64; Amoroso, “Inheriting the ‘Moro Problem,’” 121.

³²⁹ Patricio N. Abinales, *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Manila: Ateneo De Manila University Press, 2000), 29; Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 311. Another massacre of Tausug Moros took place in 1913 at Bud Bagsak while John Pershing was governor. This pattern of uprisings continued to the 1968 insurgency, which began after the Jabidah massacre.

Sergeant Robert Bales in Afghanistan. In all of these contemporary examples of cross-gender violence and infanticide the rhetoric of discernment continues to focus upon what the war is doing to “our young men.” The brutal gang rape and mass murder in Mahmudiyah resulted in one life sentence and sentences with eligibility for parole in less than ten years. Sergeant Wuterich will serve no time, and already Staff Sergeant Bales is being prepped for a vigorous defense that he suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Murder, rape, and other types of cross-gender violence defined, and continue to define, which bodies matter and who is a savage or a barbarian.³³⁰

The Moros who resisted the United States Army and the traditional leadership were animated by their particular understanding of the principles of Islam and recognized that traditional leadership was no longer standing by those principles. Moreover, contrary to popular notions of Islamic society even today, Tausug women exercised a great deal of political and cultural authority within their societies, to the extent that women were active warriors in the struggle against United States occupation. The destruction of many of their homes and the deaths of kinsmen at the hands of the U.S. army convinced them that the datu and the sultan were unwilling or unable to protect them. The demand for payment of the *cedula* to U.S. forces demonstrated to them that they were becoming a conquered people, much like the dhimmi status and jizya payment levied upon non-Muslims under the dominion of Muslims. To further exacerbate the relationship, the insistence by Wood that cultural, social, and economic arrangement associated with Islam be dismantled convinced many, like Datu Ali, that the United States was intent on

³³⁰ “Toxic Legacy of U.S. Assault on Fallujah Worst than Hiroshima,” *The Independent*, 24 July 2010; “Five Days in Fallujah,” *The Atlantic*, July/August 2004; “Ex-Soldier Gets Life Sentence for Iraq Murders,” *New York Times*, 21 May 2009; “U.S. Marine Frank Wuterich Faces Three Months in Prison for Role in Haditha Massacre,” *The Telegraph*, 23 January 2012; “Soldier Formally Charged in Afghanistan Killings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 23 May 2012.

destroying the religion itself. Given that, the Muslims of Sulu of course resorted to jihad to defend their religion, their culture, their way of life, and their political autonomy.³³¹

This band of Moros attempted to establish autonomy, wanted to avoid living under the dominion of non-believers, which was understood to be a prohibited act in Islam, and attempted to recapture political control of their society by *jihad fisibilillah*. They acted within their understanding of the Islamic faith. Abandoned by their political elite, unprotected from the violence and depredations of the U.S., they banded together in this grass-roots effort to resist the destruction of their society and way of life. They dressed in their finest apparel and, with less than three hundred rifles among them, prepared to face death with the hope of paradise.

³³¹ Oliveros, "Islam in the Moro-American War," 45; Statement of Sawajaan to Major Scott, 12 June 1905, Papers of Leonard Wood.

Appendix

Archival Materials

The Library of Congress holds the papers of the major figures involved in the pacification campaigns against the Moros as well as the dissemination of the ideological justification for those efforts. General Leonard Wood's papers contain army reports regarding the massacre at Bud Dajo, his personal diary, and correspondences that provide insight into his own motivations and ideological orientation. In tandem with his aggressive attitude toward Moros, he held deep convictions about the place of races within a hierarchy of civilization. A thorough examination of these papers will illustrate the mentality of the "armed progressives" who were the primary protagonists during the pacification of the Moros in the southern Philippines.

The papers of General John Pershing hold his personal diary, correspondences, after-action reports, and his impressions of the Moros. Pershing was also quite aggressive in his counters to martial opposition by the Moros. Unlike Wood, however, he relied on his knowledge and understanding of Islam and Muslim culture in the hope that he could manipulate them into accommodation of the gradual encroachment upon their lands, sovereignty, and society. Pershing's administration became a model for colonial officials charged with administrating the south.³³²

Colonel Robert Bullard's papers offer insight into the colonial mentality and the Progressive orientation of officers involved in these campaigns. He was a Southern officer whose primary experience had been commanding African American soldiers. Bullard considered his childhood exposure to "plantation Negroes" as a relevant

³³² Donald Smythe, *Guerilla Warrior: The Early Life of Leonard Wood* (New York: Scribner, 1973). ; Donald Smythe, *Pershing: General of the Armies* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1986).

experience he could implement during the pacification of Moros. Like Wood and Pershing, he imagined his role as crucial to the larger benevolent mission of the United States. Bullard's cultural conditioning influenced his seemingly clear and decisive judgments about the racial character of Moros and the methods needed to control and improve their communities.

Reverend Charles Brent was deeply involved in efforts to bring "Christian civilization" to the Filipinos, including the Muslim population. Brent's papers at the Library of Congress will provide further insight into the civilizing mission that American officials embarked upon in the southern Philippines. The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, contains the papers of David Prescott Barrows. Barrows was the man primarily responsible for exporting an American style of academic institutions to the Philippines. Most of the American men involved in this effort understood Islam as the antithesis to human civilization and believed that Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization represented the apex of human development.

The U.S. Army Heritage Institute at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, holds the papers of many other figures involved in the pacification operations. The papers of General John Coulter Bates offer insight into the thinking behind the decision to sign a treaty with the sultan of Sulu regarding the status of existing political institutions after the Treaty of Paris. George W. Davis and John P. Finley, both officers who served during the early period of U.S. occupation, also have papers and collections of photographs at this facility.

The National Archives in Washington, D.C., contain the Philippines Commission Reports as well as the records of army overseas operations in the time period examined in

this project. These records contain Colonel Joseph Duncan's reports on the Battle of Bud Dajo, which were ordered and compiled by the Senate in light of the controversies surrounding the killings. Taken as a whole, they provide a coherent record in order to organize a chronology of events and provide details, which support my argument that savagery and Islam were conflated and understood within a racial context by U.S. officials. The unifying worldview of these men was the contrast between civilization and savagery, which they understood and articulated within a race ideology, which permeated all cultural, social, and philosophical discourses of this era.

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