NOBLE COLONIALS: AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS, 1901-1940

By

KENNETH F. KASPERSKI

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2012
To the American internees in the Philippines
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the chair and members of my supervisory committee for their mentoring, the archivists in America and the Philippines for their direction, and the institutions for providing access to their collections. I am especially grateful to the Rockefeller Archive Center for their generous support.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  OPENING SALVOS</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  PEARL OF THE ORIENT</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  CARABAO ARMY AND BAMBOO FLEET</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  SERVANTS OF EMPIRE</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  AMERICAN COLONISTS</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  COLONIAL SUBJECTS</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  LET ME ENTERTAIN YOU</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 4 JULY 1946</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-1</td>
<td>Number of schools in 1892.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-2</td>
<td>Salaries of public school teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>Front entrance of the Manila Hotel, opened in 1912 for Americans. Although extensively damaged during World War II, the reinforced concrete walls remained largely intact.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>Main entrance of the Army and Navy Club; probably the most imperial of institutions during the American Era. Gutted by the Japanese during the battle of Manila.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3</td>
<td>Reconstructed buildings of Gen Luna Avenue, Intramuros, of the Spanish Colonial style.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>Former library of the University of the Philippines, Pedro Gil, now part of the Supreme Court complex.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-1</td>
<td>Philippine imports and exports.</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The American Era in the Philippines provides a unique opportunity to explore concepts that shaped American imperialism. The nature of imperialism in the Philippines is understood not only in the policy decisions of governments but also in the experience of particular social groups who lived there. Therefore, this study emphasizes the cultural and economic interchange between American colonists and Filipinos from 1901 until 1940. American colonialism in the Philippines fostered complex cultural relationships as seen through individual identity. To some extent Americans developed a transnational worldview by living within the Philippines while maintaining connections to America. Filipinos viewed American colonialism from the perspective of their Spanish traditions, a facet often undervalued by the new regime.

Many Americans who lived in the Islands engaged in commerce. Trade served as a natural domain for foreigners as it had over the centuries. Filipinos retained ownership of large tracts of the countryside supported by Washington’s policies that limited American investments, especially through tariff structures. The emphasis on business in the Islands followed a broader trend during the 1920s of rejecting progressive regulation in favor of the free market. These men and women developed a mentality of Americans in the Philippines, an important distinction.
They lived in the Islands while confining social contacts to their peers by means of restrictive clubs and associations.

Filipinos actively engaged with Americans, often welcoming modern ideas and programs that broke with Spanish colonial traditions. The effects appear most clearly in popular culture where American entertainment overlaid Spanish, Malay, and Chinese customs. European traditions prepared Filipino musicians to perform American music. Mass entertainment permeated society through live venues, cinema, and radio. Political independence during the Commonwealth period facilitated shifts from Filipino performance to production. A transformed identity, based to a large extent on popular culture, developed in the islands that altered colonists and Filipinos vision of their world, complicating the meaning of colonialism.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on Americans who moved to the Philippines after the Spanish-American War and their experiences during colonization, along with the Filipinos who experienced American rule. The American era in the Philippines showcased the nation’s vision of colonial development. Both Americans and Filipinos believed that their unique relationship differed from that formed during Spanish rule. My dissertation explores the cultural and economic exchange between American colonists and Filipinos from 1901 until 1940, encompassing the period of civilian administration between the Philippine-American War and World War II.

How and why – and to what extent – did American culture become a salient feature of Filipino society? American colonists living in the Philippines shared a popular belief in the superiority of their national identity. Their devotion to these values emerged during the late nineteenth century, when waves of new immigrants reached America’s shores. Eastern and Southern Europeans often retained their ethnic and religious characteristics that differed from those of earlier arrivals from Northern Europe, but it was assumed that they would assimilate into a homogeneous society through education and an immersion in American culture. Drawing from that model, colonial administrators in the Philippines implemented paternalistic programs, including English language instruction, education, and public works projects, to uplift society and instill American values in Filipinos. My study builds on political and administrative studies, which examine the interchange of experiences and cultural and economic imprint of American colonists on the Philippines. Filipinos actively engaged with Americans, often welcoming foreign ideas and programs that broke with Spanish colonial traditions, while they rejected others.
as coercive and of little value. This dissertation contends that American colonialism in the Philippines fostered complex cultural relationships.

This dissertation emphasizes the relationships between middle-class Americans and Filipinos in the Philippines between 1901 and 1940. It moves across disciplines including culture, economic, social and political history. Much of my study examines United States policy. Imperialism limited American investments and business activities within defined hierarchies, leaving large-scale land ownership largely in the hands of Filipino elites. Examining Philippine economic development during the American regime traces the relative success and failure of colonial initiatives. How did American expatriates deal with these opportunities? What was it like to live in a colony ruled from Washington? Did economic opportunities solidify class-consciousness between Filipinos and Americans or was there a broader interchange that affected these relationships? Why did American culture imbue itself so quickly and pervasively in a society founded on Catholic, Spanish customs?

The opening chapter introduces the civilian period of American control by explaining the events of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars as they pertained to further colonial actions within the Philippines. Chapter 3 explores the built environment of Manila as a means to view America’s physical interpretation of an imperial landscape. Both public and private buildings created during the American era supplemented existing designs from the Spanish period affecting the look and feel of the city. The following three chapters examine the social groups who moved to the Philippines as seen through personal papers, diaries, and oral histories. They represent the middle-class men and women who clung to their identity as Americans in spite of living in the Islands, including officers in the military, civil servants in government, and members of the business community. Missionaries, another middle-class group
are discussed in a subsequent chapter. Chapter 4 considers both the Army and Navy within two sections as a means to understand their role in projecting imperialism in the Philippines and the western Pacific. Chapter 5 traces the experience of administrators and civil servants as they developed key nation-building programs of political government, education, and public health. Businessmen in the Philippines were constrained by tariff policies developed in Washington, D.C. Therefore, Chapter 6 moves chronologically through the era following these laws and their effects on economic opportunities.

While interactions between Americans and Filipinos appear in these early chapters, their emphasis is on the experience of Americans. Chapter 7 serves as a transition that follows a relatively few missionaries, the United Brethren in Christ (Protestant), and the Society of Jesus (Roman Catholic). Religious programs reveal the increased autonomy of Filipino actions that occurred during this period. The following chapter’s focus is on the Filipinos who interacted with their American counterparts as witnessed mostly through printed speeches and published articles. This broad middle class included professionals, teachers, engineers, clerks, nurses, and others who perceived their social status as much a result of education as economic achievement. This chapter consists of thematic sections that consider class, race, and gender to understand the similarities and differences between the two cultures. These chapters build the foundation for understanding the cultural relationships seen in Chapter 9. American popular culture, including music, film, and sport, demonstrate the complexity of identity in a twice-colonized society. The physical presence of Americans in the Islands strengthened the adaptation of American culture in the Philippines as a lasting legacy of the nation’s imperial moment. The final chapter provides a brief summary of the events in the Philippines during World War II and the effects on some of the individuals.
Spain’s first encounter with what would become the Philippines occurred when Ferdinand Magellan landed in April 1521. Leading a small Spanish fleet of three ships, Magellan was attacked and killed by natives in Mactan, across the straits from Cebu. King Philip II of Spain authorized Miguel Lopez de Legazpi’s colonial expedition; it arrived in the islands in 1565, initiating the Hispanization process. His ships were built in New Spain and the crew and explorers recruited in the Americas, beginning a long relationship between the two regions. In May 1571, Legazpi sailed into Manila Bay, and over the protests of a local chief, Suleiman, founded Manila on June 24th, establishing Spain’s capital city in the Islands.¹

The Spanish settlement in the Philippines remained small, a colony of a colony. Finding few spices and no signs of precious metals, the Spanish identified Manila as a trading center – and little else for the next two hundred and fifty years. Manila anchored the western extremity of the galleon trade that exchanged Spanish silver for Asian silks and spices. Each year, a ship left Acapulco with silver bound for the Philippines.² Chinese and Japanese traders gathered in Manila with an array of linens, silks, spices, and porcelains in exchange for silver. Merchants competed for space on the galleon to Acapulco, after which products were either sold locally or transported overland and re-shipped to Spain. Immense profits justified the arduous journey and the existence of the colony.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the annual galleon to and from Acapulco served as the principal economic enterprise. New Spain’s assembly funded the Islands’ occasional deficits.³

---

Spain’s physical presence centered in Manila with a handful of administrators and a few hundred troops to defend and control the colony. Relatively few colonists immigrated to the Philippines in contrast to the Americas. Unlike in other Spanish colonies, they remained in the city instead of amassing large estates in the countryside. Since few Spanish women came to the Islands, Spanish families generally developed as mestizos (mixed-race), blending cultures of Spanish, Malay, and Chinese.

Roman Catholic orders, or friars, administered Spain’s control in the countryside. While their main purpose was to convert the local population to Christianity, they served as Manila’s visible presence to the people. Some 400 priests provided a buffer between Spanish colonial administrators and village elites whose authority increased during the period. Spain viewed Filipino cooperation as a sign of compliance to the regime while local elites used the material symbols of Spain such as clothes, titles, and swords to strengthen their network of trade and indebtedness. Catholic priests remained European throughout most of the period. Each year new priests from Spain went to the Islands replacing those who died. Unlike the majority of government administrators, priests received extensive training for their mission. Each Catholic order maintained a seminary in Europe in order to train missionaries for the Philippines. After they received holy orders, the new priests studied in Philippine seminaries to perfect their language skills. Converting people to Catholicism served colonial purposes including cultural

---

4 Hsia, 179.
5 Hsia, 180.
7 Ibid., 140.
transformations that advanced the civilizing narrative. Spain’s primary goal for the Philippines remained trade.

Liberation movements in Latin America changed the center of Spanish control from Mexico City to Madrid. The galleon trade sustained the colony until the 1820s, with occasional interruptions as European wars impacted trade in the Pacific. Mexican independence from Spain in 1821 ended the trade forcing merchants to shift routes and diversify the economy. Trade between the Islands and Spain occurred via the Cape of Good Hope, the long westerly route. In 1837 Manila opened to foreign trade, as did new ports including Sual, Iloilo, Zamboanga, and Cebu. Commerce between Spain and Manila increased after the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. As a result Filipino landowners profited by exporting cash crops, especially locally grown tobacco and sugar. Philippine exports increased thirty-six times between the 1820s and the end of the century.

The shorter journey through the Suez brought an increased liberal sentiment, as Spanish exiles moved to the Philippines. Similarly, Filipino *illuminados* (educated and enlightened) increasingly traveled to Spain in order to sample European culture. Wealth in the Islands resided in the hands of Chinese merchants while English and Germans dominated foreign trade. During the late 1890s only eight or nine thousand Spaniards resided in the Islands, primarily in

---


10 Galang, 227.

11 Karnow, 61.

12 Kramer, 44.

13 Coleman, 119.
Manila and other larger towns. Although Spanish existed as the favored language of institutions, Catholic missionaries employed local languages for teaching and ministering. The government of Spain presided over the islands, but the Catholic Church, in its many forms, ruled. By the end of the nineteenth century, the situation in Spain’s Philippine colony was messy.

During the late 1890s, Filipino revolutionaries, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, sought greater autonomy for the Philippines from Spain. After a failed insurrection, Aguinaldo led forty rebels into exile after receiving an indemnity and Spain’s promises to expel the Catholic friars, create Filipino representation in the Cortes, grant freedoms of the press, and expand Filipino participation in the administration of the country. Spanish administrators failed to comply with these terms, and when America attacked the Spanish fleet in Manila, opening the Spanish-American War in May 1898, Aguinaldo and his compatriots eagerly sought accommodation with the American forces under Commodore George Dewey. The United States rejected Filipino pleas for independence and instead agreed to purchase the Philippines from Spain for $20,000,000. The subsequent Philippine-American War witnessed unprecedented brutalities, racial antagonisms, and protracted guerilla fighting that lingered past President Theodore Roosevelt’s pronouncement of its end on July 4th, 1902. While America sought to transform its Pacific colony, Filipinos wondered how Americans would govern their islands and what colonization meant for their future.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, Americans moved to the Philippines to govern the new colonial territory and capitalize on its expected commercial opportunities. Colonial

---

14 Ibid., 36.


16 Ibid., 42.
administrators William H. Taft, W. Cameron Forbes, Dean Worcester, and Douglas MacArthur believed that it was their duty to serve their class and country in the Philippines. But there were also thousands of middle-class administrators, military personnel, educators, businessmen, missionaries, and their families who came to the islands. They developed a particular worldview by living within the Philippines while maintaining connections in America. Army officers in the Philippines as well as reformers back home shared not only similar Anglo-Saxon family origins, but also an upper-middle-class status. Educators, especially the “Thomasites,” typically held either normal school or college degrees, coming from middle-class families most frequently from New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, and California.

Yet, these men and women transported a complex worldview to the islands. Administrators in particular reflected changing opinions of Washington’s priorities of Philippine self-determination or colonial development. Policy decisions may have spurred these developments, but the expectations of Americans who moved there and the Filipinos who interacted with them on a regular basis transformed each other’s lives.

This study seeks to understand those changes by asking simple yet fundamental questions. Why did Americans choose to move to the Philippines? Who were these men and women? How did they live? More broadly, how did the peculiar dynamics in the Philippine Islands inform American imperialism? Exploring these questions by examining the day-to-day lives of the colonists, Filipinos, and other expatriates helps us to understand why American culture became so attractive to Filipinos and eventually others around the world.


European imperialism provides a model from which to compare American actions in the Philippines. During the late nineteenth century, England, France, and Germany sought to expand their power and prestige through global empire-building. Historians have shifted their explanations for expansion from political power to economic exploitation, and, more recently, national prestige as a means to explain the motivation for empire. Late nineteenth-century imperialism developed as a complex impulse that differed from seventeenth and eighteenth-century mercantilist visions of managed trade. New empires emerged in response to a combination of factors including a desire for power, outlets for excess capital, and a spirit of expansion. America entered late into the fray, but, as a result of the Spanish-American War, it secured the Philippine Islands as a possession in the Pacific. This assumed a set of pre-conditions for imperialism, including an opportunity for expansion as well as a desire to dominate a foreign territory. America embarked on a pattern of establishing military and administrative control, followed by a period of cultural and economic imposition, a model established by European nations in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

---

This project especially focuses on the experience of colonialism in the Philippines. The interactions between Americans and Filipinos represent a broader worldview within a particular location. A transition in American culture from Victorianism to the modern era appears more clearly in the remoteness of the Philippines. Recent studies of globalization provide a means to model cultural exchange.\(^2\) Transnational theories help explain how people retain their culture from their country of origin while adding customs from their new locale creating a more complex individual and group identity. What occurred in the Philippines may be seen as identity formation, which is limited compared to many of these discussions. Filipinos utilized Americanization as part of their developing identity as an independent nation. Americans usually retained their particular identity without the desire to assimilate elements of Filipino culture. Locality signifies different things to different people. For most government employees, military personal, or businessmen, the period in the Philippines was limited and communication with the homeland remained frequent and essential to maintain a sense of identity. Americans held power and whether by institutional policy or individual actions, transmitted that power towards Filipinos. American policy decisions, a frequent topic of scholarly literature, undervalue the importance of social identity. Cultures mixed more easily in Manila, due to the large and dominating presence of the colonial government. Certainly, symbols of cultural dominance as obvious as schools, and the official use of English provided an imagined community that differed

from the previous Spanish regime. It follows that literature, music, and other forms of popular culture are essential in understanding individual actions.

The events in the Philippines reflect how Americans viewed changes during this period and what that meant for the nation as it moved onto the world stage. While most of the scholarly literature emphasizes the first two decades of the American era, my dissertation is situated during the period from 1901 to 1940. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Philippines achieved stability and economic development. The United States reaped the benefits of that growth and dominated the economy, increasing its share of the total value of import and export trade with the Philippines from 11% in 1900 to 72% in 1934. Much of the literature remains silent about this topic. This study speaks to these points by examining the commercial growth of the islands and the Americans and Filipinos who participated in the Americanization of the economy, providing detail to an under-explored topic.

Glenn Anthony May’s *Social Engineering in the Philippines* concentrates on the first decade of American administration providing an important foundation for literature on the Philippines. May contends that American administrators’ initial goals of economic expansion and educational reform achieved only limited success. The objectives of colonial policy from 1900 to 1913 failed to change the inherited social and political character of Filipino society, which retained much of its blend of Spanish and Filipino characteristics. He traces attempts to develop opportunities for American investment, create liberal and industrial education programs, and advance democratic institutions through political tutelage. Key to this era, as May points out, was William H. Taft, who served as the first civilian governor, secretary of war, and finally

---

as president, all key roles in defining American colonial policy. Filipino resistance, based on 300 years of Spanish culture, provides an important basis for examining the period. Still, in spite of the relative failures of American goals, compared with policies of European powers, the efforts in the Philippines were commendable. He contends that “Despite the restrictions imposed on the franchise and the supervision to which Filipino officials were subjected, the Americans gave their subjects more experience in self-government than Europeans did to theirs.”

Recently, Paul Kramer explores American colonialism in the early twentieth-century Philippines in his The Blood of Government (2006). He emphasizes the importance of race, as Americans and Filipinos formed political and social structures that fused Spain’s Catholic colony into American’s Anglo-Saxonism. Kramer suggests that racial animosity first justified and then fueled increasing brutalities during the Philippine-American War. “What had been diffuse and fragmented prewar animosities,” he observes, “congealed into novel racial formations at the very center of U.S. soldier’s popular culture, capable of defining a wartime enemy and organizing and motivating violence against it.”

Racial stereotypes dominated attitudes on both sides in the Philippines as well as in the United States as seen in the Philippine exhibition during the St. Louis World’s Fair of 1904. Elite Filipinos hoped to promote a cultured, Catholic vision, while Americans focused on black, savage, and non-Christian peoples more appropriate as candidates for uplift and transformation. Kramer argues that America’s colonial impulse grew from both a racial construction of empire and imperial interpretations of race utilizing people and cultural difference to add texture to his political study. He relies on published primary documents of elite

---

22 May, 8.
23 Ibid., 181.
24 Kramer, 124.
25 Ibid., 284.
Americans and Filipinos, archival material from Spain, the Philippines, and America, newspaper accounts, and government reports. However, traditional elements of imperial politics, namely political dominance and administrative control, were largely absent in the Philippines, replaced by a colonization based upon the belief that American values could be established across the Pacific by imposing democracy, education, culture, and economic institutions. Therefore, my sources draw heavily from unpublished documents including private correspondence, manuscripts, diaries, and memorabilia that reveal the personal rather than public face of colonialism. The work routines of mid-level business managers, lawyers, public servants, and others, placed them in daily contact with their Filipino associates. Shifting the focus to cultural interactions and the personal elements of commerce reveals the uniqueness of this colonial construct.

Explorations of race and gender help explain the colonial relationships established during the early twentieth century. Comparative studies of the Pacific and transnational viewpoints add to the historiography. They describe how America’s experience in the Philippines shared some aspects of European colonialism, yet differed in others, particularly because of domestic racial imprints on policy and paternalism.\(^{26}\)

During the early twentieth-century, concepts of masculinity help explain the desire for expansion in the Philippines. Kristin Hoganson, a historian of gender, explores American manhood as an identity that defined politics of expansionism from the onset of the Spanish-

American War in *Fighting for American Manhood* (1998). Centering gender as an ideology that trumps Victorian notions of nobility, honor, and civility, she offers new interpretations that situate imperialism as a desire to imbue the nation with manly characteristics as seen in the Philippines. Hoganson argues that a diverse group of American men concerned with the degeneration of manhood influenced foreign policy decisions in hopes of eliminating the effeminate effects of modern society. This led to the chivalric freeing of Cuba and the desire to uplift Filipinos under the tutelage of an American administration.  

My dissertation employs a topical organization, using a range of sources. The study begins during the formation of the Philippine Commission government in 1901 and concludes just prior to World War II. It examines the experience of Americans in the Philippines, how they lived and interacted with Filipinos. A thematic structure allows flexibility to examine diverse subjects including people, economics, leisure, and infrastructure, while tracking change over time within each chapter.

American men and women came to the islands as members of the government and military, but also for purposes of religion, education, and commerce. Their individual experiences create a mosaic of life in the colony. The study explores cultural interchange within a variety of social and physical settings. The built landscape helps to explain what Americans created and why. Leading American city planners and architects left their imprint on the physical appearance of the country. Organizations such as the Army-Navy Club and the Polo Club restricted Filipino participation providing a sense of national identity for Americans. Membership lists, activities, and special events supply source material for understanding the limits of social interaction. The *American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines Journal*

---

27 Hoganson, 202-3.
describes commercial and economic development activities and the individuals participating in these programs. Liberal and industrial education programs reveal attitudes of teachers and students. Religious and fraternal organizations including the Knights of Columbus and the Freemasons provide insight on the degrees of male sociability. Public and private sports, recreation, and entertainment venues help understand the degrees to which racial and class separation occurred. Music offers an especially rich source of information that illustrates a shift from Spanish to American preferences. Overarching views of economic development help explain the specific opportunities achieved and if these commercial projects did indeed help open the door for trade with China.

Americans attempted to impose their own values, believing that democracy, culture, and economic institutions could and should be transplanted on this distant shore. However, racial identity, class-consciousness, and paternalist motives thwarted some of these goals and tended to limit the interactions between Filipinos and Americans to defined spheres of interchange. But, from Dewey’s opening salvos in Manila Bay, the Philippines caught the imagination of the American public providing an opportunity to understand one facet of national expansion during the early twentieth century.
CHAPTER 2
OPENING SALVOS

Take up the White Man’s burden-- / Have done with childish days-- / The lightly proferred laurel, / The easy, ungrudged praise. / Comes now, to search your manhood / Through all the thankless years / Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom, / The judgment of your peers!

—Rudyard Kipling, The White Man’s Burden

America’s Asiatic Squadron sailed toward the Philippines from Hong Kong, and in the darkness of night, entered Manila Bay. At 5:40 AM on 1 May 1898, Commodore George Dewey turned to the Olympia’s commander and ordered: “You may fire when you are ready, Gridley.” The eight-inch shells from the forward turret roared towards the Spanish fleet, a mere two and a half miles distant. The seven ships of Dewey’s Asiatic Squadron quickly engaged Admiral Montojo’s ships anchored off Cavite’s Sangley Point. The squadron turned starboard, releasing a broadside from their port guns. The batteries from Cavite and the guns of the Spanish fleet returned fire as Dewey passed, executed a 180-degree turn, and raked the Spanish line with his starboard guns. After the fifth pass Dewey broke off to verify his supply of ammunition and to confer with his captains. He re-engaged, and, at approximately 12:30 PM, a white flag over the naval station at Cavite signaled the end of the Battle of Manila Bay. With minor physical damage and only six wounded, the American Asiatic Squadron sunk or destroyed the Spanish fleet, inflicting nearly four hundred killed and wounded.¹ Olympia’s salvos opened both the Spanish-American War and the American Era in the Philippines.

Before the charge up San Juan Hill, before the battle in Manila Bay, before the Sinking of the Maine, Cuban patriots sought to convince Americans that freedom in Cuba was worth the cost of waging war with Spain. Public meetings deplored atrocities committed by a brutal

regime that wished to suppress the island’s population. However, Cuban patriots desired a voice in the Cortes for greater representation rather than a divorce from Spain. The American press sympathized with these arguments and reported on the brutalities with a fervor that would ultimately be called yellow journalism. At the same time, on the other side of the world, Filipino patriots fought for the same privileges from Spain. The American press ignored Jose Rizal, the Philippine’s national hero, in part because Filipinos did not engage the American public with a propaganda campaign, as did the Cubans. However, the arguments towards Americans and the rationale of fighting Spain for another’s freedom intertwined and affected the reasons for starting the Spanish-American War and continuing the Philippine-American War. Propaganda in support of the war for Cuban independence and its quick success created the American public’s expectations for the Philippines.

Americans heard of the depredations inflicted upon a docile Cuban population as early as the mid-1890s. Cuban propagandists sought both moral and financial support for their rebellion against the Spanish government and found a willing audience in America. The press reported on these events because they struck a chord with a public eager to compare Cuban aspirations to those that drove America to rebel against England’s arbitrary rule. Victorian Americans idealized the words of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Freedom, liberty, democracy, and republic were more than words, they crystallized ideals that defined who Americans were and what made them different from their European predecessors. Competing New York papers, particularly the World of Joseph Pulitzer and the Journal of William Randolph Hearst, sensationalized events in Cuba with what would be known as yellow journalism. Sketches and cartoons effectively illustrated Spanish cruelties to the public.² The Cuban Junta, operating

within the major cities in the United States, carefully nurtured these images in order to obtain both material and moral support.³

Pleas for aid by Cuban revolutionaries found a willing American audience. The ideals stated in the Declaration of Independence remained a vital aspect of popular culture. Americans viewed themselves as distinct from their European forebears in part because of their not too distant struggle for liberty over the dictates of a monarchy. The fact that Catholic Spain ruled through a descendent whose history included the Inquisition and Armada rather than an enlightened Protestant Parliament made it easier for many Americans to vilify its actions in Cuba.⁴ Public opinion accepted American responsibility for the struggling Cubans and merged with a reexamination of the nation’s role in the world.

Expansionism elicited a debate over American policy, as Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge promoted expansionist views in order to make the United States a major power by controlling an isthmus canal, securing its Caribbean and Pacific approaches, and establishing an extended naval presence across the Pacific. Starting in the late 1880s, popular opinion began to accept these goals. For example, an article in the Washington Post in 1892 claimed that Britain planned to annex Hawaii, an important component of American control in the Pacific. Expansionists, a coalition of politicians, political scientists, sociologists and historians, viewed a reliable Hawaii as essential to secure the Pacific approach to the isthmus canal. Admiral Alfred T. Mahan’s The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783 shaped the policy positions of

³ With its headquarters in New York City, the Cuban Junta sought American material and moral aid for Cuban independence and maintained friendly relationships with newspaper editors throughout the country.

⁴ O’Toole, 59.
both Roosevelt and Lodge. The American public gradually developed an expansionist philosophy that accepted Admiral Dewey’s opportune placement of the Asiatic Fleet near Manila Bay to achieve a strong naval presence at the western extremity of the Pacific.

The Navy also moved into Havana Harbor in response to continued struggles in Cuba and concern for the welfare of American citizens. The USS *Maine* cruised into Havana as a show of force, calming American fears. However, an explosion ripped into its hull on 15 February 1898 killing 268 sailors a mere ninety miles from Key West. A shocked American public mourned the dead and blamed Spain for the loss. The image of a sinking USS *Maine* called the nation to its first global war. The New York press, in particular the *World* and the *Journal* raged against Spain and called for war while many Midwestern papers, such as the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Columbus Dispatch, St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, urged caution. They advocated negotiations with Spain and further investigations by the Navy rather than military action. Ultimately, William McKinley succumbed to pressure for direct involvement and, along with a willing Congress, declared war on Spain in April 1898.

The American army was in no position to mount an invasion of a foreign country. The regular army consisted of a small, dispersed core of soldiers whose mission consisted of fighting Indians. It would take months to gather enough volunteers to supplement the regular army as well as train, provision, and position them prior to an assault on Cuba. However, propaganda and public sympathy instilled a desire for Americans to fight Spain in support of Cuban independence. Hundreds of thousands of men offered themselves to fill McKinley’s request of

---


125,000 volunteers.\(^7\) On July 1\(^{st}\) the American army charged El Caney and San Juan hills to defeat the main Spanish force. It was here that Roosevelt and his Rough Riders created their legend and elevated Roosevelt while the public ignored the significant role of black troopers.\(^8\)

Meanwhile, the Navy prepared an active campaign for a global action against a threatening Spanish fleet. The Navy blockaded Cuba both to protect American ports from Spanish attack (a real fear of many along the east coast) and to prevent reinforcements arriving from Spain. Admiral Pascual Cervera attempted a break out from Santiago de Cuba on July 3\(^{rd}\) and was quickly defeated by the American fleet under Commodore Schley, virtually ending the Spanish Navy as a threat. Without hope of re-supply, Santiago surrendered on July 16\(^{th}\).

Earlier, Commodore Dewey’s Asiatic Squadron struck the first blow in Manila Bay and engaged the Spanish fleet on 1 May 1898 achieving an overwhelming victory without the loss of a solitary US sailor. Onboard his flagship, the *Olympia*, Dewey received singular praise for the Manila victory as the public attributed the redemption of American prestige to this one leader. During the late 1890s Dewey emerged as an anachronism, an unqualified hero reminiscent of Washington, Farragut, and Grant who led the country to victory and sought revenge for the *Maine*. Manila fell to an American force under General Wesley Merritt on August 14\(^{th}\); a day after an armistice was declared in Cuba, ending the war with Spain.\(^9\)

The Spanish-American War provided a quick victory in a popular cause. Propaganda for Cuban independence elicited wide support for American intervention to suppress the harsh measures of Spain while the political goals of expansionists were simultaneously achieved. The

---

8 Gerstle, 32.
short and relatively bloodless victory over Spain offered the opportunity for Pacific expansion into the Philippines but failed to prepare the public for a different kind of war.

Few expansionists anticipated the consequences of acquiring the Philippines. The Philippine-American War changed from conventional battles to a guerilla conflict whose conduct formed the basis of shifting public opinion back home. The events of late 1898 instilled guarded optimism in the minds of Filipinos seeking an independent country after earlier defeats. Emilio Aguinaldo was in his late twenties and came from a middle-class family of Tagalog-Chinese background. In December 1897, he led forty Philippine insurgents into exile after surrendering to the Spanish authorities. The insurgents received promises of reform as well as an indemnity of 800,000 pesos, half of which was actually paid. In return for leaving the islands they expected Spain to expel the Catholic friars, create Filipino representation in the Cortes, grant freedoms of the press, and expand Filipino participation in the administration of the country. E. Spencer Pratt, American consul for Singapore, advised Aguinaldo of the possibility of collaboration with American authorities and arranged a meeting with Commodore Dewey, then in Hong Kong. However, the squadron sailed before their meeting and Aguinaldo left for the Philippines separately on another American ship. No record exists of the first meeting aboard the Olympia on 20 May 1898 between Dewey and Aguinaldo. It is probable that Aguinaldo interpreted Dewey’s expressed friendship more broadly. While Spain clung to greater Manila and a few remote garrisons, Filipinos asserted control over the countryside. On June 12th Aguinaldo proclaimed Philippine independence from his family’s home in Cavite. Two weeks later he

10 O’Toole, 250.


12 Welch, 13.
became president of the revolutionary Philippine republic. However, Secretary of State William R. Day cautioned the Philippine consul not to provide any expectations other than friendship.  

Dewey could do little more than blockade the harbor and maintain a small presence on Cavite; therefore, McKinley ordered a supporting army to the Philippines as a means to take Manila. General Wesley Merritt commanded the army, which arrived as three separate contingents from June 30th through July 17th. The American attack on Manila began on August 13th and was expected to be a bloodless march after a naval bombardment of outlying forts. Merritt brushed aside surrounding Filipino troops and received the surrender of the Spanish garrison. Subsequently, American troops prevented the entrance of any insurgents into the city. Dewey requested directions from Washington regarding Filipino demands to enter the city and on August 17th received a reply that the President prohibited a joint occupation; both Spanish and Filipino units had to recognize the authority of the United States and its military control.  

Meanwhile, the Philippine Revolutionary Government established its capital in Malolos, thirty miles northwest of Manila with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. They drafted a constitution based upon both British and American practice, establishing the Republic of the Philippines on January 23rd.  

Washington’s policymakers formulated goals and objectives for Spain’s expected capitulation, not for Philippine independence. United States peace commissioners met with their Spanish counterparts on 1 October 1898 at the Quai d’Orsay in Paris. Negotiations continued, with directions from McKinley, until December 10th, when among other conditions, Spain ceded

---

14 Ibid., 292.
15 Welch, 14.
the Philippines to America for $20,000,000.16 Regarding Filipino independence claims, McKinley drafted a policy statement on December 21st instructing General Ewell S. Otis in Manila that a military government should be based on the principle of benevolent assimilation. Meanwhile, the debate over ratification of the treaty revealed a Senate divided over the acquisition of the Philippines, which differed from the original goal of Cuban freedom. The Anti-Imperialist League most clearly represented organized opposition to both colonial expansion and the war in the Philippines. The League provided leadership, forums for communication, and a structure whereby sympathetic individuals could express their dissent. Originally formed during the Spanish-American War to oppose the Treaty of Paris, it subsequently turned against American policy in the Philippines.17 Many of the League’s founders, including E.L. Godkin, Carl Schurz, Moorfield Story, Erving Winslow, Edward Atkinson, and Herbert Welsh, come from a tradition of social reform movements and believed that imperialism diverted attention from more pressing domestic issues.18 They distributed petitions of protest across the country denouncing the virtual purchase of the Filipino population.19

Arguments continued through Saturday, February 4th when an incident in the trenches in front of Manila brought them to a close. William Grayson, a Nebraska private, shot at Filipino troops who refused to halt, resulting in a general firefight with both American and Filipino

17 Welch, 43.
19 Leech, 352.
casualties. Upon careful study of the event’s dispatch, McKinley observed, “It is always the unexpected that happens, at least in my case. How foolish these people are. This means the ratification of the treaty; the people will insist on its ratification.” The Senate approved the treaty on 6 February 1899 establishing America’s first colony while fueling the flames of war in the Philippines.

After months of inactivity both American and Filipino troops welcomed the opportunity to fight. Rifle and artillery fire erupted all along the positions surrounding Manila. Aguinaldo requested a cease-fire on February 5th that Otis quickly rejected. General Otis had replaced Merritt as commander in the Philippines and determined the only outcome should be the insurgents’ unconditional surrender. During the first two days General Arthur MacArthur and General Thomas Anderson directed attacks on the water works and quickly expanded American control to conform to the natural defensive positions around the city. MacArthur’s columns sortied towards Coloocan, a rail center seven miles north of the city, and overwhelmed the Filipinos commanded by Antonio Luna. The Filipinos reeled under the attacks and suffered over three thousand casualties. Otis concentrated his army and drove to Calumpit encircling the main army under Luna. The city fell in April but most of the Filipino force escaped. Failed negotiations and small engagements south of Manila in the vicinity of Cavite ended the first portion of the war in May. The onset of the rainy season from May through September provided

20 Sexton, 99.

21 William McKinley, “President’s reaction:” George B. Cortelyou AD, 4 February 1899, quoted in Margaret Leech, In the Days of McKinley (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 358.

22 Hawaii, in contrast to the Philippines, was annexed as a territory and the 150,00 residents declared as citizens of the United States.

23 Welch, 24.

24 Ibid., 27.
little opportunity for major troop movements. Otis expanded American control to roughly thirty miles north and east of Manila.

Substantial differences among the two forces fostered animosity between the combatants. At the beginning of the war, American ground forces totaled twenty-four thousand men armed with Krag-Jorgensen rifles, backed by field artillery and the guns of the Navy. Americans thought the Filipino deceitful and lazy and named the war, the Philippine Insurrection, thereby implying rebellion against a lawful government by insurgents, rebels, and *ladrones* (bandits).\(^{25}\) Far from the benevolent assimilation that McKinley had envisioned, the American soldier marched to a different song:

Damn, damn, damn the Filipinos!
Cut-throat khakiac *ladrones*!
Underneath the starry flag,
Civilize them with a Krag,
And return us to our beloved home.\(^ {26}\)

Little admiration existed on either side. Perhaps five months in the trenches opposite one another created this tension. While Filipino forces outnumbered the Americans by nearly three-to-one, they lacked sufficient quantities of weapons and ammunition. They viewed the Americans as crude and tyrannical whose presence constituted an act of conquest and subjugation, no different than the Spanish before them. In any case, once the fighting began it continued without remorse. The rainy season halted offensive operations by the American army, as rice paddies turned into lakes and roads became muddy quagmires. Troops in the field suffered as disease reduced the effective strength of some units by 40%.\(^ {27}\)

25 Karnow, 140.


27 Welch, 30.
Starting in October, Otis opened a three-pronged offensive north of Manila crossing the central plain of Luzon in hopes of capturing the Filipino army and ending the war. The main American force, led by General MacArthur, followed the path of the railroad north and west of the city. It moved through San Fernando, Angeles and on November 12\textsuperscript{th} routed the Filipinos from their new capital at Tarlac. General Henry Lawton’s infantry and cavalry followed the easternmost portion of the plain to contain the Filipinos and prevent their escape into the mountains. Finally, General Lloyd Wheaton’s regiments made an amphibious landing in Lingayen Gulf. Aguinaldo retreated towards Dagupan offering light resistance. He realized that his forces would not be able to withstand the coordinated attacks of the American army in traditional battles. Therefore, Aguinaldo ordered the dispersal of the Filipino soldiers and formation of guerrilla bands to fight from remote locations. Wheaton and Lawton barely missed closing the trap, and after a rear-guard battle in which General Gregorio Del Pilar died with his unit, Aguinaldo and the rest of the command escaped through the Tila Pass and into the jungles of the Benquet Mountains. Otis believed that the plan had largely succeeded and reported his conclusion to Washington.\textsuperscript{28} By November 1899 the American lines had greatly expanded and included the agricultural prize of central Luzon. However, the absence of a formal surrender transformed this from a conventional war into a guerrilla conflict that lasted another three years.

Aguinaldo sought to protract the war by limiting combat to small group actions where he held a numerical advantage. He believed that a long and costly war would discourage the occupying army as well as the American public. Filipino units needed help from the peasants and generally succeeded in obtaining this support. Otis changed his approach and began to occupy towns recently cleared of insurgents, though this plan required more men. In 1900 the

\textsuperscript{28} Sexton, 174.
size of the army increased to its peak of 70,000 men.\textsuperscript{29} By spring of that year American forces expanded their operation from Luzon throughout the islands and held the major towns, though the surrounding countryside remained in Filipino control. New methods of fighting the guerrillas involved the use of counterinsurgency measures, including the water cure, as a means to force information from captives. While not officially condoned by headquarters, increased frustration of the officers and men with the obstinacy of the population made them believe that nearly all natives were probable insurgents.\textsuperscript{30}

Encouraged by Otis’ operational reports, Washington formed a Philippines commission, headed by William H. Taft, to define the process of assimilation. The commission’s responsibility was limited to civilians in the Philippines, but Otis could not accept the loss of authority and asked to be relieved. General MacArthur replaced him in May 1900, a month after the arrival of Taft and the commission. Aware of the pressure from Washington, MacArthur continued to develop garrisons but added a degree of harshness to the treatment of Filipinos in order to separate the guerrillas from the population by expanding the intelligence network and executing insurgent spies. These punishments were justified under General Order No. 100 from the Civil War, treating a non-cooperative Filipino as a war rebel.\textsuperscript{31} In anticipation of potential election issues, the military authorities waited until November 1900 to institute this new effort.

At first these aggressive tactics proved counter-productive. The Filipinos responded to this new harshness by retaliating. However, the civilian population of the Philippines was tired of

\textsuperscript{29} As a result of the Philippine-American War, a large portion of the American Army remained overseas. At its maximum strength in December 1900, 69,420 regulars and volunteers plus an additional 1,500 Filipino troops garrisoned the islands. For comparison, in 1899 Britain maintained 74,000 regulars in India in addition to 145,000 native troops. Edward M. Coffman, \textit{The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941} (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2004), 28.

\textsuperscript{30} Welch, 33-34.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 36.
the war, and the insurgents expended their supplies with little hope of replacement. McKinley’s
re-election and the ferocity of the American troops made it clear that the anticipated withdrawal
would not occur. Collaborators from the Filipino elite and middle class formed the Federal Party
to work with the Americans in developing increased participation in the civilian regime. The
crushing blow to the insurgents occurred in March 1901, when Colonel Frederick Funston led a
group of Macabebe scouts deep into rebel territory, capturing Aguinaldo and his guard. The
publicity turned Funston into a popular figure among the American public. On April 1st
Aguinaldo swore allegiance to the United States, and on the 19th signed a manifesto ordering an
end to further resistance. Over the next several weeks, organized fighting ended in all but
southern Luzon, Batangus, and Samar and by summer only Generals Miguel Malvar and
Vincente Lukban remained as insurgent leaders.

Protracted fighting angered the frustrated American soldiers even as Taft assumed the role
of first civil governor of the Philippines on 4 July 1901, and General Adna Chaffee replaced
MacArthur as commanding general. In response to Taft’s desire for benevolent treatment of the
Filipinos, a popular refrain refuted that position:

I’m only a common soldier man in the blasted Philippines,
They say I’ve got Brown Brothers here, but I dunno what it means.
I like the word Fraternity, but still I draw the line;
He may be a brother of William H. Taft, but he ain’t no friend of mine.

Notorious in its ferocity was the massacre on Samar during the morning of September 28th,
only two weeks after McKinley’s assassination and the inauguration of his replacement,

Theodore Roosevelt. Guerillas infiltrated the town and attacked a company of the 9th Regiment,

32 Sexton, 264.
33 Welch, 38.
34 Robert F. Morrison, Manila Sunday Sun quoted in William J. Pomeroy, American Neo-Colonialism: Its
leaving thirty-eight Americans dead and eleven wounded. In response, General Jacob H. Smith ordered reprisals that displayed a goal: “Kill and burn and the more you kill and burn, the better you will please me.” Smith assigned Major Littleton Waller, a Marine with combat experience in Cuba and China to lead the mission. Smith ordered Waller to kill anyone ages ten and older who could bear arms. The repression appeared effective, and Chaffee ordered further attacks on the remaining insurgents. In December 1901 and January 1902, General J. Franklin Bell directed the removal of all Batangas civilians into concentration centers, burning their crops and slaughtering their livestock. By April 1902, hundreds of civilians died as a result of these tactics, leaving the guerrillas with few available resources. Finally, General Malvar surrendered on April 16th, ending any organized fighting, though insurgency continued for several years.

Recognizing the importance of ending the increasingly embarrassing discussion of the war, Congress passed the Philippine Government Act on 1 July 1902, and Roosevelt proclaimed an end to the insurrection on July 4th.

The fundamental ambition in acquiring the Philippines was expansionism, and neither the public nor the administration considered Filipino independence a part of their agenda. Expansionists, including McKinley, used this opportunity to send an American army to the Philippines. By the time Spain surrendered, policymakers realized that simply acquiring a coaling station on Luzon left the status of the Philippines unresolved. The military and governmental leaders believed Filipinos were incapable of forming a stable government, and if America did not acquire the entire archipelago, then other nations (i.e. Germany, Japan, or

---


36 Karnow, 191.

37 Welch, 42.
England) surely would.\textsuperscript{38} This required a significant change that justified America’s colonial policy.

America’s navy and army answered the question of who would govern the Philippines, defeating first the Spanish, then the Filipinos. However, the shape of this colonial venture remained an open topic that would only develop as a result of actions by others. Shortly after the end of the Philippine-American War, Americans embarked on a mission to physically transform the Islands, especially Manila. The result was a built environment, which planted American ideas in a tropical settling.

\textsuperscript{38} The presence of German, French, British, and Japanese warships in Manila Bay from May – December 1898 led American commanders to believe that should America not annex the Philippines, other imperial powers would enter the Islands. Karnow, 125 and O’toole, 385.
Thus without additional expense, but merely by taking thought for the future, the two capitals of the Philippines, even in their physical characteristics, will represent the power and dignity of this nation.

—Daniel H. Burnham

Manila’s built environment reflected a particularly American interpretation of imperialism in the nation’s Pacific colony. American culture, as seen through city planning and an assortment of buildings, fashioned a modern appearance that contrasted with Spanish tradition. Although few in number, public and private buildings reassured Americans that the Philippines belonged to their expansive American domain. Their architecture appeared reminiscent of structures back home. Simultaneously, these changes to the country’s landscape reminded Filipinos of the power relationships imposed upon the Islands. Visible symbols of American imperialism shaped individual’s response to the nation’s transformation.

Within colonial settings, power and culture intertwine to symbolize imperial control. In the Philippines, both depended on Filipino approval. Relatively few American city planners and architects directly influenced the physical landscape of Manila and the Islands. Their designs, however, profoundly affected the city’s feel, especially those areas frequented by the expatriate community as well as visitors. The physical landscape offers a convenient starting point to examine how relationships formed between Americans and Filipinos.

This chapter explores the public and private space developed during the American Era. It includes the planners, styles, and amenities that people found important. The built environment reflected the twice-colonized nature of Philippine colonization. Familiar American Era landmarks developed alongside Spanish districts in and around the old walled city, Intramuros. American planners supplemented previous designs rather than physically altering the existing
areas of Manila. The consequence of these actions fostered cultural blending among widely diverse traditions.

Arriving in Manila, Americans encountered an exotic tropical setting tempered by familiar features. The Manila Hotel or the Army and Navy Club were but a short drive from the pier. Situated alongside Manila Bay and surrounded by the open spaces of the Luneta, these landmarks offered a first stop for many travelers. Perhaps friends traveled the few blocks from their homes in Ermita to welcome their visitors, invited them to a dinner at the adjacent Elks Club, or organized a drive down Dewey Boulevard in a modern Buick or traditional calesa, a two-wheeled cart pulled by a pony, for a reception at the Polo Club. The tiled roofs, curved arches, and plain walls of many of these buildings, typical of the mission style, appeared familiar to those passengers who left California only a few weeks before. Beneath the surface, reinforced concrete ensured their structural integrity against frequent earthquakes and storms in this part of the Pacific. Americans found these surroundings comfortable.

During the American Era in the Islands, Filipinos participated in a complex relationship with these new arrivals. New government buildings at the opposite end of the Luneta reflected the prestige of Washington, D.C. Administration buildings in the provinces, schools, and hospitals illustrated Filipino designs under the direction of colonial supervision. Still, scenes in the congested neighborhoods of Manila, such as Tondo, or throughout the countryside retained the image of light construction exemplified by the ubiquitous nipa hut. With the exception of those locations where interaction occurred, Filipinos found their surroundings relatively unchanged.

What impressions did the Pearl of the Orient impart to a new arrival? If an American traveled to Manila during the late 1930s, the scene offered a pleasant, comfortable vision. For
those fortunate enough to stay at the Manila Hotel, a walk around the heart of the city could be easily managed. Waking up to coffee and breakfast alongside Manila Bay provided a leisurely start to the day. The elegant five-story hotel catered to Americans by offering a familiar residence of clean rooms amidst tropical plants. Walking across Burnham Green, vistas of the bay to the west and the expanse of the Luneta on the east fostered a feeling of openness. Ahead stood two landmarks, the Army and Navy Club and the adjacent Elks Club. Along with the Manila Hotel, these structures anchored the American landscape since 1912 when the hotel opened for business.

Their white walls, tiled roofs, and curved arches not only looked beautiful, but worked together creating a proportioned image of cohesiveness. Of course, most mornings were quiet alongside the bay with only the occasional sound of tennis breaking the silence alongside the sea-walled enclosure. The parties and festive gatherings occurred much later. However, the city was characterized by frequent arrivals and departures by American officers at the Army and Navy Club, the most prestigious or elitist of the various clubs.

Across Dewey Boulevard stood the old Luneta, a location of more active public events including the annual Manila Carnival, baseball games, and equestrian demonstrations. It served as the southern gateway to Intramuros, the walled city from Spanish times. The old moat surrounding Intramuros had long been filled in to prevent malaria and now served as a golf course. Upon passing through the stone walls one entered another era and culture. Strolling along the narrow streets the visitor encountered crowded areas of old government offices, shops, and wooden homes with overhanging balconies. Stone cathedrals of the Jesuits, Augustinians, Dominicans, and other Orders symbolized the Catholic essence of the Philippines. The old-
world flavor within the walled city contrasted with the openness of the Burnham Green left behind only minutes before.

Walking north within Intramuros, the visitor saw Fort Santiago, which overlooks the Pasig River. Americans made it their military headquarters, as did the Spanish before them. Passing out of the eastern gate a visitor may have followed Taft Avenue to the north. The Jones Bridge led across the Pasig River into the heart of the business district. Department stores and offices along the Escolta provided a myriad of consumer goods. Restaurants and movie theaters surrounding Plaza Goiti offered an array of entertainment options. No movie palaces, the theaters appeared utilitarian compared to the substantial appearance of the adjacent commercial houses. While in Plaza Goiti the popular “Tom’s Dixie Kitchen” offered an ideal stop for lunch. Americans seldom ventured further north to the congested Filipino neighborhoods of Tondo and Sampaloc.

Upon re-crossing the Pasig via the Sta Cruz Bridge, the huge Post Office building appears on the right. Its white walls, columns, and symmetrical lines complemented the government buildings scattered along Taft Avenue. Only the new Metropolitan Theater with its distinctive art-deco design distinguished the architectural image from Washington. Malacanang Palace, home to the Governor General and those of Spain before him, remained out of sight, a short distance up the river. Its Spanish image prevailed in spite of numerous American additions. The National Assembly building along Taft looked familiar to any visitor who had been to America’s Capital. Continuing south on Taft Avenue brought our traveler first to the Normal College and then Central School, the public education facility reserved for Americans. The visitor was now on the opposite end of the Luneta.
Continuing south on Taft one encountered the massive complex of the University of the Philippines. The buildings incorporated the neo-classic styles deemed appropriate for the first secular university in the Islands. Americans favored residential areas surrounding the campus, as did many middle-class Spanish and Filipinos. The homes reflected an eclectic image of styles that mirrored individual tastes. Some residences blended imported with local designs while others remained distinctly American, Spanish, or German. Americans typically moved towards the south, first building in Ermita, then Malate, and by the 1930s, Pasay. Walking through these neighborhoods, our visitor witnessed a cosmopolitan community of Americans, Europeans, and Filipinos. The streets remained wide with manicured lawns surrounding most homes of the well to do, in contrast to the crowded lanes of Intramuros. The street names all seemed familiar; Colorado, California, Georgia, and others that would disappear after the war.

Turning back towards the bay on Herran, our traveler again emerged on Dewey Boulevard. Further south lay the popular Polo Club in Pasay, a bit too far to walk, but a short drive instead. By mid-day Manila became hot, and our visitor would have turned back to the north. The palm-lined promenade alongside Dewey offered mottled shade, relief from the heat. Upon returning to the Manila Hotel it would have been a time for a refreshing swim in the pool. This brief walking tour encompassed the world of many Americans who lived in Manila. For our traveler, the end of a comforting day’s walk would be watching the sunset over Manila Bay from the gardens of the hotel. While residents and visitors often traveled outside these limits, their home in Manila remained rather compact. This physical landscape projected an American flavor within a colonial setting.

The built environment in Manila expressed in physical terms the cultural identity of the times. Americans replicated familiar plans and designs as they developed the Islands. Without a
colonial tradition, designers avoided imagined styles of the orient adapting American concepts to the Philippines. Individual tastes rather than government mandates determined the design elements of colonial architecture.

The civilian government embarked on a building program to replace the temporary military structures with public buildings meant to convey prestige. Initially, the Army used frame buildings for most of its requirements. In 1902, even the Santa Mesa Hospital consisted of little more than oversized huts with woven reed walls, supporting nipa palm roofs.1 The Philippine Commission sought a more impressive vision of American planning and replaced these temporary structures. However, the reach of city planning was limited to public space. Private homes and clubs followed personal taste creating an eclectic pattern of American, Spanish, and mixed elements. The overall design effect planted contemporary thinking rather than conscious impositions of power.

Interpreting the built environment, as modified by American colonials, requires a note of caution. Change is an ongoing process that occurs even in the absence of colonial intervention. Imperial studies must distinguish between reality and perception when looking at the physical and metaphysical characteristics of Manila. Renato Rosaldo cautions historians to avoid perspectives that long for the authenticity and innocence of earlier periods. In his *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (1989), Rosaldo explains how imperialist nostalgia may help explain a sense of mission, one that a developed nation assumes for those viewed as less so, such as the frequently touted “white man’s burden.”2 Both culture and power affect relationships in imperial settings. Culture provides an organizational structure from which humans shape their

---

1 William S. Osborn, photographs, 1902, Osborn Collection, OHA 258.05, Otis Historical Archive, National Museum of Health and Medicine, Washington, D.C.

experience. It is inclusive, encompassing people’s everyday life, the mundane and commonplace, along with what some have referred to as high culture. Rosaldo suggests that in order to avoid discussions of objectivity and analytical distance, social scientists and other scholars should examine their topics from a range of positions including power, which is unquestionably linked to culture. These visions apply to both colonizer and colonized alike. The new mestiza (person of mixed ancestry) takes from the past and reconfigures different cultural elements into something new. Therefore, individuals as well as the physical environment in which they live are continually evolving. Filipinos probably viewed Manila’s changes as an extension of colonialism with a modern flair. Meanwhile, Americans in the Philippines incorporated visions of the built landscape into their collective memory. As a point of comparison, Britons created a unique landscape in Asia based upon their own imagination.

Britain placed considerable importance on the appearance of public buildings in Malaya and Singapore. Its empire spanned the globe during the late nineteenth century whetting the appetites of competing European powers. While a considerable literature exists describing the importance of India as a centerpiece in this empire, Thomas R. Metcalf expands this vision by incorporating India’s connections to the wider world of Britain’s colonies in, Imperial Connections (2007). Metcalf argues that the Raj, or British India, facilitated British imperial control from East Africa to the Straits Settlements via administrative, social, and military means.

3 Ibid., 26.
4 Ibid., 169.
5 Ibid., 216.
An imagined colonial architectural style surfaced in Malaya combining design elements from North India, with colors and textures of North Africa, as seen in a number of public buildings in Kuala Lumpur, notably the Secretariat and the railway station. Britain employed an imagined vision of “Mahometan” style to public architecture first in India, then later in Malaya. The British colonial regime applied these elements believing the arch and dome, for example, imparted a Muslim flavor to public buildings. Only Singapore, the imperial hub in the region, warranted buildings associated with the classical architecture of Europe. The classical forms, according to Metcalf, imparted an imperial feel to the city.

Although the Philippines developed independently of Britain’s imperial model, Americans similarly brought what they knew from home and adapted them to conditions in the Islands. Certainly, applying American solutions to any perceived problem derived from the perception of their superiority. Yet, the key to understanding this penchant rests not in the imposition of imperial power as much as the application of known methods. Within the built environment, Americans adapted existing forms of city planning, architecture, and infrastructure development to the Philippines.

Daniel H. Burnham, prominent city planner, initiated public planning in the Philippines. The Philippine Commission tasked Burnham to create a plan for Manila “connecting thoroughfares, open space, driveways and promenades which should provide adequate facilities for transportation, improved sanitation, and opportunities for those particular kinds of recreation

---

7 Ibid., 57-59.
8 Ibid., 60.
which the climate invites.”9 His instructions stipulated that the plan should recognize the value of existing public buildings in Manila. Burnham traveled to the Philippines in late 1904 spending six weeks acquainting himself of Manila, its environs, and Baguio.10 In addition to Manila’s plan, he modeled Baguio after L’Enfant’s design of Washington. These two foundational plans, created in a relatively short time, shaped the identity of both Manila and Baguio. Burnham insisted, “Thus without additional expense, but merely by taking thought for the future, the two capitals of the Philippines, even in their physical characteristics, will represent the power and dignity of this nation.”11

Daniel Burnham gained prominence by planning the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. His reputation as a politically astute city planner grew as he formulated plans for Washington, D.C, Manila and Baguio, San Francisco, Cleveland, and the well-known Plan of Chicago.12 Burnham envisioned the city as a public space whose whole consisted of interconnecting buildings and services. He believed it should symbolically promote lessons of social solidarity and proper behavior.13 Burnham’s plan of Manila (1905) provided the Philippine Commission with a blueprint for the city’s expansion whose key elements included a government center, system of arteries radiating from it, railway station, and shore road.14

---


11 Burnham, 29.

12 Ibid., vi.

13 Ibid., xiii.

14 Ibid., 27.
Burnham envisioned a waterfront along Manila Bay that included parks and recreation accessible from throughout the city. As a result, he recommended a broad boulevard following the contour of Manila Bay’s shoreline. Anchoring the plan around an expanded Luneta Park, Burnham proposed a hub of the Manila Hotel, Army-Navy Club, and open vistas of the Bay.\textsuperscript{15} Burnham’s city plans evolved from his analysis of the organic nature of urban development. He believed the capacity of a city to project greatness derived from its ability to serve its citizens as convenient, beautiful, orderly, and inspiring.\textsuperscript{16}

The \textit{Plan of Manila} incorporated Burnham’s visions of twentieth-century planning adapted to the environmental conditions of the Philippines. He recommended the use of reinforced concrete as the primary building material rather than stone as it would withstand the tremors of earthquakes and blend into the existing architectural scene. Burnham favored, “Flat walls, simply built of concrete (with steel rods to resist earthquake), and depending for their effect upon beautiful proportions rather than upon costly materials, are from all points of view most desirable for Manila.”\textsuperscript{17}

The city of Baguio offered a distinctive American vision of the Islands. Planners followed Burnham’s design in Baguio to a greater degree than in Manila, developing it as a summer capital, where both the military and civilians escaped Manila’s heat in its high, pine forests. E.J. Halsema, an American, served as mayor of this city from 1922 until the war.\textsuperscript{18} Throughout the


\textsuperscript{16} Burnham, 30.

\textsuperscript{17} Moore, 195.

American Era, Baguio remained a remarkably open city with orderly buildings, manicured lawns, and wooded hills.\textsuperscript{19}

American and Filipino architects shouldered the responsibility of executing Burnham’s plans. Burnham personally selected William Edward Parsons from a number of applicants because of his technical qualifications and tenacious character. The Commission appointed Parsons Consulting Architect in September 1905, a position he held for nine years. Parsons took charge of implementing Burnham’s plan and personally designed several public buildings in Manila and the provinces.\textsuperscript{20} During Parsons’ tenure, he accepted a number of private commissions that added to the overall feel of Manila. His signature style of arches, porticos, and minimal ornamentation established a cohesive style for Manila’s newer buildings.\textsuperscript{21}

Architecture helps us see the changes during the period through physical manifestations of Spanish and American culture. Parsons’ execution of Burnham’s plans, particularly the Manila Hotel, Army-Navy Club, and Elks Club, formed the nucleus of American identity in a colonial setting. While some government buildings replicated neo-classic designs of Washington, portions of Manila remained Spanish. Intramuros retained its Latin flavor and over time residential styles returned to their Spanish origins with the introduction of mission-style architecture. Blending Philippine elements such as capiz-shell screens and open passages mitigated these contrasting styles.

Some Filipinos perceived the imposition of architecture as an imperial projection of power. Architecture served to impose American visions as part of the transformative process of change.

\textsuperscript{19} Frank G. Carpenter, \textit{Through the Philippines and Hawaii} (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, & Co. Inc., 1930), 70.

\textsuperscript{20} Alarcon, 71-72.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 78-80.
Similar to the imposition of English, the Neo-Classic styles created a vision of power and control. Complaints of imperial plots linked to architecture over-reach. While it is tempting to apply the metaphor of the “Pearl” as a trophy colonists wished to possesses, the built environment changed as a result of new styles in Manila, reflecting the application of popular design concepts by American architects and planners.

The architecture of public buildings in the Philippines consisted of various American styles of the era. These included Neo-Classic, Mission, Stick, and Bungalow. As Filipino architects gained status, their European tastes added interpretations such as Spanish Revival, Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and International Style. While Baguio’s buildings reflected the specialized locale as an imperial hill station, Manila evolved as a combination of both American and Spanish architecture.

The Mission Style developed in California during the late nineteenth century as an alternative to Georgian Revivals of the East. Design elements included low-pitched tile roofs, semi-circular arches, and smooth walls occasionally enhanced with balconies. It complimented Spanish designs of churches and public buildings already in the Islands. William Parsons applied the Mission Style to a number of public buildings including the Manila Hotel, Philippine Normal School, and the General Hospital. The semi-circular arches and external piers offered a familiar vision for Filipinos.

Bungalows, typically single story homes, provided modest residences for many while elites favored the Spanish Colonial Revival. However, the Neo-Classic styles in the Philippines transplanted popular interpretations directly from America. This style gained popularity during

---

22 Ibid., 152.
23 Ibid., 144.
24 Ibid., 146.
the 1893 Colombian Exhibition in Chicago combining classical architecture with the City Beautiful approach to planning. As a result, architects favored the fashionable Neo-Classical Revival with Greek architectural features including plain surfaces, unbroken rooflines, pediments, and linteled doors and windows.  

The Manila Hotel served as a focal point for both visitors and residents of the city. Burnham situated the hotel north of the Luneta opposite the Army and Navy Club and the Elks club. It provided a superior level of comfort and service for travelers to the city. While Burnham’s plan included city parks, plantings along waterways, and shaded drives, most of these features were ignored. Only the three key buildings and Dewey (later Roxas) Boulevard offered a glimpse of his comprehensive plan.

The hotel included Parsons’ signature design; white walls, balconies, curved semi-circle arches above the main floor windows, and red-tiled roofs. This mission-style building provided a clean impression of understated style. Parsons favored reinforced concrete as the practical building material being not only resistant to earthquakes but also easier to construct. He rejected imported Oregon pine, since termites quickly ate through the wood, preferring Philippine mahogany. Reinforced concrete and local hardwoods remain the favored combination of building materials today.

Construction began on the hotel in 1908, and it opened in 1912. The government financed the project and retained ownership throughout the period. The five-floor hotel consisted of extensive public areas including a roof garden, billiard room, several bars, and poolside

25 Ibid., 149.
27 Ibid., 5.
28 Ibid., 8.
restaurants. Douglas MacArthur lived in the penthouse overlooking the garden and Manila Bay from 1935 until the war. The hotel was extensively damaged in early 1945, but rebuilt since most of the exterior walls remained intact.

The Manila Hotel served as a favorite destination for Americans. This showplace welcomed guests into its open-air lobby where birds often perched on the light fixtures. 29 Guests enjoyed evening entertainment on the roof garden or simply opened their capiz-shell casement windows for the sounds of the city from their balcony, listening to the music of the Constabulary Band at the Luneta. 30 The Champagne Room, located by the pool, offered some of the finest dining in Manila. Throughout its early years the Manila Hotel remained fundamentally American. For decades the only Filipinos seen in the dining room were the waiters. Although no formal rules or regulations stated these policies, Filipinos felt uneasy coming into the hotel and generally stayed away.

The Army and Navy Club provided the premier social center for American elites. Located alongside Manila Bay, by the 1920s its food, furnishings, and bar were famous throughout Asia. 31 The Army and Navy Club began as a private corporation founded by thirteen officers on 24 May 1908. It remained both private and unofficial, yet offered some of the finest social and recreational facilities in Manila. The white, three-story club sat on three acres facing the bay, just south of the Luneta. Club members owned the land and building, which included driveways, an outdoor pool, tennis courts, and lawn for outdoor dining and relaxation. The first floor held a

---


30 Romulo, 13.

31 Brian McAllister Linn, Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 120.
large bar, reading room, card room, and billiard room.\textsuperscript{32} The immaculately maintained interior courtyard included a manicured lawn and potted palms.\textsuperscript{33} Seventy guestrooms on the second and third floors provided temporary living space.

Members restricted access to the military and a few carefully screened civilians. Those invited to join included all active and retired officers of the United States military, service nurses, and a select group of American business and professional men. Civilians underwent a thorough review prior to their selection.\textsuperscript{34} Members frequently celebrated important events at the club, especially transport day (arrival and departure), the Army-Navy game, and New Years.

The Elks Club stood adjacent to the exclusive Army and Navy Club. The four-story building of reinforced concrete complimented the local architecture. Parsons again utilized arches for the porticos and main windows as well as an open, pillared top floor with a low-pitched roof.\textsuperscript{35} The Elks Club provided the local business and professional community with a popular gathering place.

The built environment, of course, consisted of more than a few prominent public buildings. Manila’s panorama blended cultures in its streets and plazas. Across the Jones Bridge, modern six-story structures sat amidst older two-story balconied buildings. Ponies pulled their calesas amidst streetcars, trucks, and automobiles. Men in white blazers and straw hats shared the sidewalks with barefooted laborers in their traditional loose-fitting shirts and pants. The street


\textsuperscript{33} Carpenter, 270.

\textsuperscript{34} Parker, 2.

\textsuperscript{35} “A few of the reasons why life in Manila is more attractive than in other oriental cities,” \textit{Manila Daily Bulletin} (Anniversary Number 1919): insert.
scene offered an uncrowded vista that welcomed rather than threatened the newcomer.\textsuperscript{36}

Manila’s public space developed not only from the architectural designs, but also from transportation improvements.

Infrastructure projects became an essential part of America’s modernization program, expanding imperial control throughout the Philippines. As early as 1908, drainage programs that modified low-lying areas, road construction, and clearing and straightening of streams helped control diseases such as malaria and dysentery. The Army engineered these activities as a means to eradicate breeding areas of mosquitoes that along with nets, screens, and sanitation programs improved the health of both the military and civilian populations.\textsuperscript{37} Development of the Islands required improvements of the roads and rail, facilitating the extension of the mail, telegraph, and phone lines linking the islands.\textsuperscript{38} Workers constructed 450 miles of new track, creating a total network of 575 miles. By 1912, increased construction of roads and bridges improved travel in the Islands with 1,140 miles of first-class macadamized roads, 1,340 miles of second-class lightly surfaced roads, and 5,170 steel and concrete bridges and culverts. Expenditures for roads and bridges for 1911 and 1912 totaled over 4 million dollars. Shipping remained an important form of transport. Over 800 foreign vessels entered Manila Bay with a total of just under 2 million net tons. Coastal steamers added an additional 33,000 net tons.\textsuperscript{39}

Railroad service originated in 1887 when the Spanish government granted a concession to an English company to build a line north of Manila. During the American Era, the Manila

\textsuperscript{36} “In Memory of My Cruise on the Asiatic Station,” by Robert Cason, USS Beaver; 1925-1932, photo album, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, D.C.

\textsuperscript{37} Coffman, 83.

\textsuperscript{38} “Filipinos Progress in Spite of Critics,” by Oscar King Davis, New York Sun (5 February 1916).

\textsuperscript{39} “Philippine Facts for 1913,” Pamphlet, folder: 1900-1916 Notes and Memoranda, box 94, William A. Jones Papers, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.
Railroad Company envisioned two lines heading north and south of the city. The Baguio branch received priority, which caused local tension due to higher than expected costs. The first 22 miles to Baguio resulted in expensive construction caused by heavy bridging, tunneling and steep grades. The roads to the north proved contentious as a result of these large expenses guaranteed by the government.

By the 1930s, passengers reached Baguio via a combination of railroad and bus, unless they traveled by private automobile. The journey required anywhere from six to nine hours. Undoubtedly, a first class ticket on the Manila Railroad Company’s train proved the most comfortable aspect of the trip. Those who selected the Baguio-Ilocos Express found a dining car with linen tablecloths, large, wood-framed windows, and tables for two or four passengers. This dining car operated under the management of the Manila Hotel providing passengers with breakfast, lunch, and dinner on the southbound trip. Daily service left Manila at 6:55 AM. The train arrived at Damortis just before noon where first class passengers boarded their separate bus for the remaining two-hour ride to Baguio. The night train operated once a week from November to June and included a lounge car managed by the Manila Hotel. Typical for the period of posh railroad travel, the lounge included comfortable chairs, sofas, and a few small tables for passengers to place their glasses. Large windows opened to provide fresh air while ceiling fans aided the circulation. Art-deco style fluted lights on the ceiling and upper walls illuminated this social space.

---


41 “Manila-Baguio Train Service Time Table,” 5 December 1930, D, folder: Travel, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.
Americans built roads as a manifestation of twentieth-century modernization in the Philippines. Previously, railroads served as projections of European imperialism during the nineteenth century. Britain, France, and Germany laid track from Africa to Asia as a means to expand their presence from the coast to the interior. America focused on creating a network of roads allowing automobiles access to the Islands, consistent with the exponential expansion back home. During the early twentieth century, the automobile fostered a range of development projects across the United States. However, adaptation in the Islands remained modest. From 1916 through 1925 the number of private passenger automobiles grew, but only from 2,461 to 10,095. Never the less, American conceptions of transportation needs focused on street construction rather than railroads. Many middle-class residents of Manila simply used their automobiles to travel to work or relax.

Private clubs served as a popular focus for recreation and social connections. The Manila Polo Club, located a short fifteen-minute drive south to Pasay, remained a playground for the privileged of the Islands. W. Cameron Forbes founded the club in 1909, the same year he became Governor General, purchasing waterfront property in Pasay. He loved polo and played for the Civil Government team along with Dr. J. W. Strong, General Henry Allen, and P.G. McDonnell, typically against Army teams.


43 “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926, folder 14-14, box 14, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The first clubhouse included a distinctive pagoda-shaped water tower that remained a landmark for years.\textsuperscript{45} While membership remained primarily American, some Filipinos of Spanish heritage were extended invitations.\textsuperscript{46} Charter members included Gregorio Araneta, Enrique de Castellvi, Carlos de las Heras, and Manuel de Yriarte.\textsuperscript{47} Proximity to the Club soon became attractive, causing a local real estate boom. People drove out via Calle Real, later to be called F.B. Harrison. The southern boundary of the club was Naushon Road. The Manila Polo Club provided a premier social setting for its members, and from 1917 its Sunday night supper dances became legendary.\textsuperscript{48}

Polo and the club flourished throughout the 1920s with frequent improvements to the fields, clubhouse, and swimming pool.\textsuperscript{49} Membership fees were steep, at 100 pesos (50 dollars) along with monthly dues of 12.50 pesos during the 1930s. Yet, the polo matches remained popular, drawing nearly 500 participants and spectators weekly. The club broadened its offerings by the late 1930s with expanded facilities for swimming, baseball, tennis, badminton, and horseback rides to Camp Nichols.\textsuperscript{50}

Private clubs served as an important social setting for expatriates in Manila. Clubs allowed them to escape the colonial agglomeration of Manila and define their individual identity by limiting interaction to a select few. Their architecture captured the distinctiveness of a club’s membership, often reflecting nationality, such as the Japanese style of the Mitanao Club. Manila

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 97.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 19-21.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 36.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 50.
residents and visitors selected from a variety including the Columbia Club, Swiss Club, Defenders Club (formerly the German Club), Casa De Espana, Oriental Club, Sociedad De Tiro Al Blanco (Gun Club), and the impressive Elks Club.\textsuperscript{51} Manila’s private clubs established enclaves, setting their members apart from the public spaces of the cosmopolitan city.

Manila projected a tropical image of America’s Pacific outpost. Away from the Filipino neighborhoods and barrios, the colonial presence appeared clean and uncluttered. The palm-lined promenade between Dewey Boulevard and Manila Bay remained more a path amidst well-tended lawns and young palm trees. By 1931, the base of the fronds grew to shoulder height. Well-crafted electric lampposts illuminated streets, wide sidewalks, and meandering paths. Public space frequented by Americans and prominent Filipinos remained free of visible signs of poverty. Those were relegated to the local quarters such as Tondo where nipa remained a popular building material. It is easy to visualize how residents and visitors could have enjoyed the tropical scene under an American vision.

Government buildings that resembled those in Washington served as physical reminders of colonial relationships. However, their architectural styles developed from local decisions rather than following Washington’s dictates, consistent with the general nature of imperialism in the Philippines. Once Parsons returned home, other architects imposed their own visions on the face of public and private buildings. Both American and Filipino architects moved beyond clean mission styles with increased ornamentation. The first example of this trend was the Pangasinan capital of Lingyen whose embellishments stood in marked contrast to the earlier styles noted for their simplicity.\textsuperscript{52} Of the newly constructed buildings, the Administration building in Manila

\textsuperscript{51} “A few of the reasons why life in Manila is more attractive than in other oriental cities,” \textit{Manila Daily Bulletin} (Anniversary Number 1919): insert.

\textsuperscript{52} Alarcon, 116.
most obviously replicated designs from Washington, DC. Roman columns, recessed windows, and solid proportions created an imperial appearance that rivaled British projects in nearby Singapore.\textsuperscript{53}

Juan Arellano, a Filipino, designed two notable buildings in Manila, the Metropolitan Theater and the Manila Post Office. Arellano graduated from the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia and applied his skills as an impressionist painter to building design. The monumental Post Office was completed in the 1920s on the site envisioned by Burnham along the Pasig River and at the end of Taft Avenue.\textsuperscript{54} The colossal Greco-Roman building dominated the riverfront as it does today. The Metropolitan’s Art Deco design created a unique impression in the 1930s as a center for high culture.

Manila’s important entertainment and commercial section developed along the Escolta, just north of the Pasig River. The Majestic and Rivoli theaters stood side by side on Escolta Square. Instead of the elaborate movie palaces of urban America, the utilitarian designs of these popular destinations lacked ornamentation. Theater signs and banners informed patrons of the current films, enticing them into these two-story buildings. In contrast, taller commercial buildings on either side boasted grilled windows, balconies, stone figures, and decorative cornices.\textsuperscript{55} Proprietors evidently believed merchants required expensive and attractive edifices while the entertainment itself proved sufficient to draw customers to the theater.

Public space developed as a result of inserting contemporary American design concepts into Spanish traditions. Prominent buildings provided a visible symbol of both modern and

\textsuperscript{53} Photographs, 1931, Volume LXXIX, Papers of Glenn F. Howell, Operational Archives Branch, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, D.C.

\textsuperscript{54} Alarcon, 140.

\textsuperscript{55} “In Memory of My Cruise on the Asiatic Station,” by Robert Cason, USS Beaver; 1925-1932, photo album, Naval Historical Center.
traditional designs as imagined by their builders. Significantly, this occurred gradually over time, without destroying historic buildings. Intramuros remained visibly Spanish. The resulting cultural imprint provided a comfortable theme for colonists, while reminding Filipinos of their position as recipients of authority. However, these imported designs carried few if any explicit intentions of power, reflecting, instead existing practices applied to public buildings, private clubs, and infrastructure projects. Manila’s built environment, therefore, provided a familiar setting for Americans visiting or living in the Philippines. Individuals contributed to this public blending of styles in their private residences.

The built environment constituted private as well as public space indicating America’s presence. While public space often replicated existing urban themes, private space revealed personal character. Individuals incorporated their own tastes and styles into their residences as a calming influence in everyday lives. Home provided a sanctuary that insulated their occupants from the outside world, a particularly important function when living in a foreign land. From Victorian times, the notion of home included a sense of privacy and comfort that helped define domesticity.56 If public space emitted the pearl’s radiance, private space created a solid core for peoples’ lives. Their homes revealed both their individual identity and cultural taste. Some examples from Manila and Baguio, the two cities most indicative of America’s presence, illustrate how people responded to their environment through private space.

Manila developed as a mixture of cultures, a tendency that carried into home design. Individuals of sufficient means expressed themselves through the designs and amenities of their personal enclaves. Dean C. Worcester and his wife Nanon lived in the Islands for over two decades beginning with his appointment to the Philippine Commission in 1900. Worcester, of

average build, sported a pointed beard and mustache, popular at the time. His sad eyes, pointed ears, and high forehead suggested the middle-class man he was. He appeared suited for a boardroom, government office in Manila, or on a horse in the Mountain Province. Everything about him suggested a typical American, representative of his upbringing in Michigan. Worcester loved the Islands as seen in his incorporation of Philippine styles into his house.

Worcester’s first home in Ermita consisted of a rather small bungalow, perhaps twenty feet wide, perched on a stone foundation. A double staircase, often seen in Charleston allowed access to the front door of this frame structure. Tall windows swung out leaving shutters as the means to keep out the weather. Chinese ornamentation set off the shallow pitched roof adding interest to an otherwise simple home.\(^{57}\) The house probably influenced his preferences for mixed design elements.

Worcester contracted architect Louis E. Marie from Philadelphia to design his new home in Manila. As a resident in the Philippines for fifteen years, Worcester’s house plans reflect the physical characteristics of a home that appealed to elite Americans, especially his concept of comfort, space, and convenience. The exterior design utilized a particular Philippine style: rustic gingerbread. The two-story wooden home consisted of both private and working sections. The residence encompassed two floors, each 20 by 60 feet. A large metal roof extended over the enclosed area to approximately 35 by 75 feet, providing a wide veranda offering both shade and shelter from the sun and rain. The working area, 28 by 30 feet, included a kitchen, closets, and servant quarters, connected to the main house by means of a covered porch. While Worcester

\(^{57}\) “Our Home in Ermita,” nd, photo, folder: Manila, box 4, Dean C. Worcester Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
would have engaged six or more Filipinos for his domestic staff, the small servant’s room suggests that most would have lived elsewhere.\(^5^8\)

The structure used weatherboarding for siding. Porch rails, posts, and decorative corner ornaments created a simplified gingerbread image. The house stood six feet above the ground, with the opening covered by lattice. Concrete footings and structural foundations in key locations provided stability. Each floor was twelve feet high, creating an impressive structure for the time with a total enclosed area of nearly 3,300 square feet. Its design sought protection from Manila’s sun and heat while allowing for ample air circulation. Therefore, the house included more doors than windows to maximize outside access. The doors utilized capiz shells rather than glass, for both privacy and insulation, allowing the double sliding sash to open a room as needed. A separate, pillared porch covered the twin-door entrance to the house.\(^5^9\)

The first floor created public space with the main doors opening to the salon, or living room. To the right a 15 by 20 foot dining room allowed ample space for entertaining. A serving table provided a transition place between the dining room and kitchen, located across the rear of the house. The large study to the left of the salon could either be open to the public area or closed with a set of French doors. A stairway at the rear of the salon provided access to the private second floor. American’s penchant for privacy dominated this area. Each 15 by 20 foot bedroom included a private bath and closet. Eight-foot high, sliding capiz-shell screens partitioned the veranda creating individual porches. The master bedroom, though the same size as the other two, included a slightly larger bathroom with a sink, toilet, and shower.\(^6^0\)


\(^{59}\) Ibid.

\(^{60}\) Ibid.
Electric lights in the ceilings of each room as well as at the four corners of the veranda illuminated the home as needed. Insulation between the interior partitions and under the bathroom floor added sound deadening for comfort. Tarred paper beneath each bathroom floor helped prevent water from rotting the wooden structure. In all, the residence incorporated many contemporary conveniences of American construction with Philippine design, while adapting to the environmental conditions of Manila.\textsuperscript{61}

Some residents built homes of a Spanish style, a nod to their heritage. The contest for Manila’s most beautiful homes from 1926 offers some examples. Alfonso Tiaoqui’s Spanish Colonial mansion at 1157 Carolina, Malate, received first prize. Designed by Tomas Mapua, it stood out as the most expensive home at 120,000 pesos. Second prize went to a Spanish Colonial residence for two sisters, Paz and Rosalia Zamora. A local civil engineer, Pedro Sachi created the plans for this rather modest 27,000 peso home on the corner of Colorado and Padre Faura. Emilio Moreta’s residence garnered third prize. Costing 60,000 pesos, the Spanish Renaissance home was designed by his son, also a civil engineer in Manila.\textsuperscript{62}

The grand homes of Manila-Americans blended styles reflecting their owner’s identity. For example, in the 1930s, wealthy businessman Joseph P. Heilbronn built a large, eclectic design on Robert in Pasay. Heilbronn and his wife Charlotte moved from their Malate home at 806 Georgia to more spacious quarters further south. The massive two-story home exceeded 5,000 square feet of living area reflecting the family’s economic status. Its high-pitched roof and timber-accented attic imparted an air of Bavaria, a nod to Joseph’s German origins. The exterior walls included multiple corners and a central tower with a hexagon turret. The central theme of

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{62} “Most Beautiful Houses Built in Manila in 1926,” \textit{Tribune} (5 January 1927).
the exterior, however, consisted of a series of tall, narrow arches that shaded both windows and porches. The top floor included multiple windows of a Philippine style creating an open environment. The house sat amidst a lush landscape of tropical plants, shrubs, and flower gardens. These design elements yielded a sturdy, impressive residence, but one that an architect would surely have difficulty in classifying.

Baguio’s climate and remote location allowed wealthy residents to escape the heat and congestion of Manila. The pine forests, cool temperatures, and mountain vistas offered an ideal setting for Americans to build homes reminiscent of lodges or cabins that exuded relaxation. Baguio remained a rather small hill-station throughout the period. Colonists who could afford to do so built their retreats reflecting their identity without overt intentions to impress others of their status in the community.

Dean and Nanon Worcester built their house in Baguio primarily to escape the heat of Manila. They lived nearby during the final stages of its construction overseeing its completion. Worcester found the house and location attractive. “We have glorious sunrises and sunsets, unsurpassable cloud views,” he declared, “and are unable to see what could be done to make us better satisfied than we are.” He and Nanon envisioned moving between Baguio and Manila, depending on the season. Worcester believed the weather is Manila remained pleasant from November through March, however for the balance of the year Baguio offered one of the best climates in the world.

---


64 Dean Worcester to Miss C. E. (Kittie) Worcester, 5 February 1908, TLS, folder: Correspondence, 1907-1911, box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers.

65 Ibid.
Worcester’s two-story house faced a drive on the front while its rear hung over a gorge overlooking the mountain, Santo Tomas. The downstairs consisted of a great room with a large stone fireplace, flanked by two porches. Two sleeping rooms with a bathroom between them stood to the left. To the right was the kitchen, dining room with another fireplace, and a butler’s pantry between the two. Upstairs were two bedrooms, a study, and another bathroom. A small balcony offered a clear view of Santo Tomas. Amenities included hot and cold water and heat from Franklin stoves. “Our stable, which has accommodations for an automobile and a carriage and five stalls for animals on the ground floor,” Worcester stated, “is provided with a well lighted and heated loft in which our servants will live.”

Following the example of other prominent Americans, Joseph Heilbronn built a cottage in the hills of Baguio. Villa Carlota, though modest, sat on a prominent lot across from the Governor-General’s house. Though known for its pines, their grounds included eucalyptus and camphor trees emitting a fragrant alternative to the smells of Manila. Heilbronn’s raised single-story bungalow consisted of approximately 1,800 square feet of living area. The home’s low-pitched roof, dark trim, and white walls highlighted the windows, which opened outward, yielding both fresh air and ample natural light. Its wooden trim and flower-filled window boxes belied its location in the Philippines. Lush flowerbeds, a luxuriant lawn, and a stone garden pool created a relaxed environment for the couple. The interior included rough-cut, wood-paneled walls and wood floors, creating the relaxed atmosphere of a lodge. The parlor emphasized the Heilbronns’ middle-class status with an upright piano placed against the wall. Comfortable wicker furniture, accent rugs, and a few flower arrangements softened the texture of the

66 Ibid.
Baguio offered an ideal opportunity to build homes that reflected individual tastes while virtually ignoring its colonial setting. Residents found comfort in their hill-station escape.

Whether in Mania or Baguio, private homes proved essential in maintaining cultural identity. The designs may have incorporated features that eased the transition of western designs to tropical conditions, but they seldom dominated the visual or sensual texture of private space. Primarily, they reflected individual taste while providing a comfortable setting of home.

Successful Americans transplanted their vision of domesticity onto Philippine soil complete with the nice home, parlor piano, and garden. It remained distinctly middle class with a home in Malate comparable to Oak Park (sans Hemingway) and Baguio as a substitute for a northern Wisconsin summer home. The wealth of Hyde Park and the Hamptons remained far removed from the Islands.

The physical landscape, as seen in the built environment, stamped a cultural imprint upon the face of Manila. Both public and private space imparted something familiar to American visitors and residents that eased their transition into the Philippines. American designs adapted to local conditions served as visible reminders of the hybrid nature of the location. This imperial motif created a focal point for nostalgia. Colonists looked fondly at the clean designs and open spaces hinted at through Burnham’s city beautiful concepts. There existed enough of these elements within Manila’s core community to anchor American identity within a recognizable setting. Power is of course implicit within a cultural representation of this comfort, establishing a visible reminder of America’s colonial presence.

The built environment remained complex, though contingent on the beholder’s point of view. It is essential, however, to visualize the Pearl of the Orient as part of the experience of

---

living in the Islands. The transition from Spanish to American colonization included a significant cultural shift. Individuals who lived through these changes retained mixed feelings about their value, but would remember both the look and feel of Manila as central to the experience of living there. This study moves from a physical landscape to social groups who experienced life in the Philippines, and the relationships that developed between these Americans and Filipinos. Members of the Navy and Army were some of the first Americans to live in the Islands. They personified America’s presence as surely as the physical structures of Manila.
Figure 3-1. Front entrance of the Manila Hotel, opened in 1912 for Americans. Although extensively damaged during World War II, the reinforced concrete walls remained largely intact. (Photo: K. Kasperski, Feb. 2010)

Figure 3-2. Main entrance of the Army and Navy Club; probably the most imperial of institutions during the American Era. Gutted by the Japanese during the battle of Manila. (Photo: K. Kasperski, Feb. 2010)
Figure 3-3. Reconstructed buildings of Gen Luna Avenue, Intramuros, of the Spanish Colonial style. (Photo: K. Kasperski, Feb. 2010)

Figure 3-4. Former library of the University of the Philippines, Pedro Gil, now part of the Supreme Court complex. (Photo: K. Kasperski, Feb. 2010)
CHAPTER 4
CARABAO ARMY AND BAMBOO FLEET

I like the little snatches of life out here we get in our voyaging, but I haven’t the slightest desire to come back out here for a lengthy cruise.

—Lieutenant Commander Glenn Howell

The Philippines required a new set of problems for the military to solve. The Army and Navy experienced few situations that established precedents for operations in the Islands. For the Army, officers and troopers fought Indian wars, garrisoned small outposts on the frontier, or on rare occasions quelled urban labor disputes. Nothing prepared the Army to act as an occupying force thousands of miles from any supply or support base. Similarly, the Navy’s experience in Samoa, Hawaii, and the Caribbean offered few hints of what the Philippine Islands required. America entered into its empire lacking the Europeans’ traditions of imperialism. While the military may have modeled some of their procedures on the British Empire, the actual service of officers and men provided little practical experience from which to accomplish an effective overseas military presence.

The American acquisition of the Philippines required a substantial military commitment. Except for the brief expansion during the Spanish-American War, the size of the Army and Navy remained small. Troopers from the west and sailors from the fleet entered the Philippines as a blend of regular army, state guardsmen, and volunteers. After the Philippine-American War the army occupied the Islands with regulars and Philippine Scouts. The complexion of America’s military turned increasingly white. In 1924, the 4,186 black enlisted men represented 4% of the Army’s strength. Ten years later this number decreased to 2.5%, or 2,974. In 1932, the Navy’s
441 black sailors, nearly all messmen, constituted about 0.5% of the service personnel, virtually creating a force as white as their summer uniforms.¹

America’s Carabao Army and Bamboo Fleet visibly affirmed American control in the Philippines. At any given time the number of military personnel and their dependents exceeded the total civilian contingent of Americans on the Islands. The Army maintained 13,000 troops in the Islands from 1905 until the Great War, then reduced the number of regular Army soldiers to 5,000 along with their dependents.² The Navy’s 8,000 member Asiatic Fleet, along with their dependents, utilized Manila as its homeport.³ While many of these individuals may have lived separately, their presence permeated the cultural, social, and institutional stories of the time. They led Filipino troops, worked with their servants, and through the details of their daily lives, transmitted American culture. The following pages explore how these men and women navigated the uncharted waters of garrison life. While orders specified their mission, how that happened reveals the intersection of American identity and the military’s interpretation of imperialism in the Islands. The physical presence of an American Army and Navy in the Philippines reassured the American expatriate community of their safety while reminding Filipinos of their dependency on the United States.

This chapter begins with an overview of the American military in the Philippines. The Army maintained a visible presence in proximity to metro-Manila, as did the Asiatic Fleet. The military’s mission changed during this period from pacification of the country to defending the

Islands from Japan. Throughout the American Era, the primary goal of the Army was to protect the naval station in the Islands. The next two sections focus on junior officers and their families, first in the Army, and second the Navy. Those Americans who served in the Philippines remained within a formal world distinct from society at large. The section on the Army helps to understand the daily experiences of Americans in the Islands. The officers and their wives led middle-class lives but maintained an elite image to those outside their tightly knit community. An exploration of the Navy follows, recognizing the temporary nature of the Asiatic Fleet in Philippine waters in order to project power in the western Pacific. Both Navy wives and the administration determined acceptable social boundaries as seen in the more permanent postings at Cavite. Finally, a brief exposition of Douglas MacArthur’s unique position in Philippine history serves as a counterpoint to the insular attitudes of most military families who served in the Islands.

The Army and Navy initiated the American Era, setting the tone for complex cultural relationships between Americans and Filipinos. Duty and discipline forced the men and women of the military to retain their unique identity while living in the Islands. Especially for officers and their wives, social networks tightened their American bonds. For some, duty far from home led to excessive drinking and depression. However, the structures imposed by the Army and Navy usually restrained socially unacceptable behavior. To a limited degree, wives and children participated in the outside community by joining clubs, teaching, and attending school. Yet, compared to other Americans in the Islands, military families led lives apart from society at large, a key distinction. Tradition fostered a strict separation by rank. Officers could not and would not associate socially with enlisted personnel except for formal functions. This attitude migrated into the civilian sector, where mixing with middle-class Americans and Europeans
constituted an acceptable social network outside the structure of the post or base. As a result, the officers, soldiers, sailors, and their families projected an unabashed American image in the Philippines. Military families lived according to well-defined regulations and social norms masking their middle-class identities, a focus of this chapter. Rank and race determined how these soldiers, sailors, and their officers interacted with others in the Islands.

At the beginning of the American Era, the Army committed a third of its total strength to garrison the Islands and defend the naval base. The Philippine Scouts and Constabulary gradually assumed control over internal security with the exception of Mindanao. By 1914, the primary mission of the Army in the Philippines was to defend against external threats, especially from Japan. In 1903, Adna R. Chaffee, the commanding general, planned permanent camps for the Army, including the three-square-mile Fort William McKinley on the Pasig River, a mere six miles southeast of Manila. Over time, the Army settled into a garrison mode. By 1912, six regiments provided the American contingent in the Philippines, including the Eighth, 13th, 15th, 24th Infantry, as well as the Seventh and Eighth Cavalry. In 1916, the Ninth Cavalry relieved the Seventh, as did the 27th for the 24th. The 31st Infantry formed that year at Fort McKinley and remained an essential part of the Army’s presence in the Philippines for decades to come.

The Army positioned most of the American units near Manila, a popular location due to its active social life. They created a visible reminder of their presence at Cuartel de Espana, inside Intramuros, Estado Mayor, Fort McKinley, Fort Mills on Corregidor, and the adjacent harbor defense forts which contained coast artillery units manned by both American and Filipino units. Philippine Scouts, led by American officers, served outside Manila, staffing posts such as Fort

4 Ibid., 33-35.
5 Ibid., 83.
6 Ibid., 92.
Stotsenberg (Angeles) and Pettit Barracks (Zamboanga). The number of soldiers in the Islands changed over time. In 1902, over 24,000 U.S. troops served in the Philippines out of a total Army strength of 75,000. Five thousand Philippine Scouts supplemented this total. The number of U. S. troops declined to around 13,000 from 1905 until 1920, then stabilized at fewer than 5,000 during the 1920s and 1930s. The number of Scouts gradually increased to approximately 6,500 men during the same period. The Army’s commitment to the Philippines remained high. Only after the Great War, when the Army’s strength declined to 137,000, did the number in the Islands drop to less than 10%.7

The Philippines profoundly affected the history of these units. The 31st Infantry owed its existence to the Islands. Formed at Fort McKinley as the first regiment organized under the National Defense Act of 1916, it held the distinction of spending its entire service life on foreign soil prior to the Japanese attack of the Philippines (8 December 1941). The 31st Infantry served in Siberia from 1918 until 1920, supporting Czech troops and guarding the Trans-Siberian Railway. It was from this experience that the 31st gained its nickname, “Polar Bears,” an ironic twist for this Philippine regiment. The 59th Coast Artillery organized 1 January 1918 for action in the Great War. It arrived at Fort Mills on Corregidor in August 1921 and quickly took charge of Manila’s coast defenses at Fort Mills, Fort Hughes, and Fort Drum.8 Soldiers of the 59th manned these fixed batteries for the next twenty years. The Army’s primary mission was to defend the Navy in the Philippines.

An American naval station was, after all, the rationale for possessing the Philippines. The Navy developed the Islands as their Pacific homeport, projecting their presence towards China.

7 Linn, 253-4.
8 “Philippine Department Athletic Meet, 1929, Souvenir Program,” RG-17, Department of the Philippines (1928-1929), folder 1, MacArthur Memorial Archives, Norfolk, VA.
The actual number of sailors varied, as ships and boats joined or departed from the Fleet. Since the ships moved about the western Pacific, only a portion of the officers and men lived in the Philippines at any given time. The Asiatic Fleet consisted of approximately 8,000 officers and men, and they were commanded by one of only four full admirals in the Navy. Cavite provided the Navy with a forward base in the Pacific. It may not have compared to Pearl Harbor, but the Navy Yard provided reliable American facility for the Fleet without seeking approvals at Tsingtao (German) or Shanghai (British).

The Sixteenth Naval District constituted the administrative and shore facilities of the Asiatic Fleet, principally the Navy Yard at Cavite and Naval Station Olangapo (Subic Bay). Naval personnel varied depending on those men who moved off their ships at any given time. There could be a turnover of nearly a thousand sailors a year. In 1926, the Asiatic Station included nearly 1,200 Marines stationed at Cavite, Olangapo, Peking, Guam, and aboard ships of the Fleet.

The number and type of ships within the Fleet changed over time. However, its make-up in 1931 was typical for the period. The Asiatic Fleet’s organization included the Flagship U.S.S. Houston, Destroyer Squadron Five, Submarine Squadron Five, Aircraft Asiatic Fleet, Mine Division Three, Oiler, Pecos, Yangtze Patrol, South China Patrol, Cruising Tender, Isabel, and Tulsa, operating directly under Commander in Chief, Sixteenth Naval District, Naval Station Guam, Marine Detachment Peking, and the Fourth Marines, Marine Corps Expeditionary

---

9 Winslow, xi.

10 “Annual Report, U.S. Asiatic Fleet, 1 September 1919 to 30 June 1920,” 31 July 1920, TD.

Force. The Asiatic Fleet fulfilled its mission of showing the flag throughout the western Pacific, a traditional function of imperial powers. The Philippines, not the remote Pearl Harbor, allowed this projection of power to occur, protecting American interests and threatening potential foes.

The Army, meanwhile, established a visible American presence in the Philippines. Since the majority of troops were stationed near Manila, the implicit power of the Army affirmed a traditional imperial relationship: America maintained military control over the Islands. Simultaneously, garrisoning the Islands transformed the experience of the Army’s officers and troopers from an American to an international outlook. In addition to required duties of training, supervising, and otherwise organizing the men under their command, officers interacted with each other and to a limited degree, American civilians. Its formal structures of rank projected an elitist image of officers to both enlisted personnel and the broader civilian population. However, the daily lives of these men and women explain another side to military life. Their living quarters, food and clothing, and social networks reveal a decidedly middle-class identity. Imperialism in the Philippines prepared the Army’s officer corps for their future global responsibilities.

Throughout the first twenty years of occupation, Army medical personnel assisted in a range of health and sanitation projects including visits to remote barrios, monitoring vaccinations of local children, and the control and study of lepers. After the Philippine-American War, Army commanders focused on education, sanitation, and malaria control. One

---

12 “Supplementary Report to the Annual Report of the Commander in Chief, Asiatic Fleet, for the year ending 30 June 1931,” 31 August 1931, TD.

13 Clinical notes, 30 March 1923, Record 307, Philippine Islands Reasearch, box 1, OHA 275, Otis Historical Archive, National Museum of Health and Medicine, Washington, D.C.
of the enduring images of American benevolence depicts American soldiers teaching Filipino children on the heels of taking over barrios. The Army often established a school as the first formal program in towns, serving as a source of pride for Americans and generally accepted by Filipinos. While soldiers initially re-started a number of schools, the Army addressed problems that affected their men in the tropics. The Army’s initial concerns regarding sanitation and health foreshadowed many civilian programs. Cholera, malaria, and dysentery threatened both the military and civilian population. The Army implemented sanitation requirements in Manila and in smaller outposts. Walter Reed’s programs contributed to the improved public health of the Army and local populations of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The resulting reduction of malaria, diarrhea, dysentery, venereal disease, and alcoholism improved effectiveness of the overseas Army.

With the limited number of troopers available in the Philippines, officers focused on their physical conditions. Rather than impose morality, the Army sought to control venereal disease (VD) through regular examinations, records of treatments, punishments for uncontrolled infections, and a series of prophylaxis stations both on and off the base. Adjutant General Edwin London ordered all commanding officers to strengthen the punishment for those soldiers who failed to take the prophylaxis. London noted a reduced number of court-martials in 1917 from 269 trials compared to 1,094 the previous year, mostly among white troops. The Army delegated punishment to unit commanders, who typically fined the soldier one-half their month’s

---


15 Coffman, 81-82.

16 Ibid., 83.

17 Ibid., 80-81.
pay. Landon sought a harsher punishment in order to force compliance since failure to take the
treatment indicated gross neglect, affecting efficiency.” Army commanders and medical staff
focused on effectiveness and not the moral behavior of their troopers.

Duty in the Islands could cause mental fatigue as well as physical maladies. “Philippinitis”
referred to an overall feeling of indifference, diagnosed as a form of neurasthenia. In some
instances this led to extreme drunkenness or even suicide. Autopsy results of Albert Williams,
Eng. 2nd Cl., of the USS Huron provides one example. The medical examiner reported that
Williams’s body was found in a roadhouse, after having drunk 1-½ oz of a “Sypol” bottle
containing 2 oz. of hypol regubutyl. The examiner believed Williams swallowed the chemical in
order to commit suicide. While VD and “Philippinitis” caused concern, natural occurring
diseases constituted a more widespread threat.

The Army’s public health campaign preceded civilian programs such as those from the
Public Health Service and the Rockefeller Foundation. Sanitation and hygiene programs
provided improvements for the general population, but the Army’s main concern remained the
health of their troops. They measured the effectiveness by recording the number of cases of
dysentery between 1905 and 1921. Their findings suggested dysentery cases declined each year
from a high in 1905 to a low during 1915. The Army reported 700 cases among Philippine
troops in 1905, dropping to approximately 500 cases per year through 1909. There were
exceedingly large numbers of cases of motorzoal dysenteries in 1918.

---

18 Edwin Landon to Commanding Officer, All Posts, 28 November 1917, TD, box 11, William M. Connor Papers, Accession No. 3287, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.
19 Linn, 74.
20 Clinical notes, 30 March 1923, Record 307, Philippine Islands Research.
21 Ibid.
Medical personnel developed malaria control operations that protected the health of the troopers as well as nearby civilians. The Army conducted a long-term malarial study in the Philippines that lasted over twenty years. Surgeons and medical staff from each Army post reported the status of malaria at their location to the Army Medical Museum in Washington. Their findings provide insight into both the study and the environment.

The Army recognized conditions that created breeding locations and sought to control them. The contract surgeon at the military hospital in Tayabas found the custom of pouring wash or bath water through the kitchen floor often resulted in puddles, breeding grounds for mosquitoes.22 Surrounding vegetation added to control problems. First Lieutenant W. Darwall found few mosquitoes but their larvae (*Stegomyia Samarensis – Ludlow*) could be as high as twelve feet from the ground in the nearby banana and hemp plants.23 At Camp Wilhelm in Tayabas, the hospital corpsman reported only one or two cases of malaria a month since most troops used mosquito bars (nets) at night.24 Army Surgeon Samuel Bell reported on the conditions at Naic, Cavite. He noted that no oil had been applied to either the canals or streams for mosquito control as the water moved too swiftly. “The habitual breeding place of mosquitoes in this vicinity is doubtless in wells, uncovered water jars, and” according to Bell, “in the water contained in the bamboo used in the construction of fences, houses etc, and in old cans and broken crockery ware which has been thrown into back yards of native houses.”25

---

22 “Memorandum” by Contract Surgeon at Atimonan, Tay, 29 June 1906, “Philippine Islands” MM 8811-1, Malarial Study, Philippine Islands Research.


24 Sergt. 1st Class, H.C., 24 March 1911, TD, “Philippine Islands” MM 8811-1, Malarial Study.

25 Samuel Bell, 22 June 1906, TDS, “Philippine Islands” MM 8811-1, Malarial Study.
The Army’s efforts to document and control malaria in the Philippines illustrates a long-term commitment to improving health conditions at its camps. Later, civilian agencies, notably the Bureau of Science, continued efforts to define and eradicate tropical disease. Sanitation and malaria programs illustrate the cooperative relationship between military and civilian organizations staffed by Americans. Relationships deteriorated in the 1920s, as these organizations became politicized. In order to accomplish these various missions, the Army required a contingent of competent junior officers.

America’s colonial military required a core of officers who molded American and Filipino troops into a professional army. The Philippines required an independent defense force because of the distances from the American mainland. Army officers allowed their troopers wide latitude in comfort so long as they fulfilled their military duties. Many soldiers hired Filipinos to do their laundry, shine shoes, or clean out the stables, making garrison life more pleasant while they focused on soldiering. That included annual field exercises, beginning in 1904, where units on Luzon marched into the countryside for periods up to two weeks.\(^\text{26}\) Officers trained their men and assumed a degree of responsibility for their personal lives. John Hammond, second lieutenant at Pettit Barracks, worried about the Philippine Scouts in the Barrio, especially on payday. At that time “the men were more likely to drink, gamble, and get into fights.” Still, as his wife Mary reported, “John had to remind himself that the Army was not there to deal with the social, cultural or political problems of the Filipino people. The Army was there to train a Filipino Army and protect American civilians who had businesses in the Islands.”\(^\text{27}\) It did, however, attempt to limit the effects of service in the Philippines on its American soldiers.

\(^{26}\) Coffman, 89-91.

The Army’s policy of three-year rotations imbued the entire service with an officer core that experienced overseas command. Duty overseas broke Army traditions of career service within a particular unit. Previously, entire regiments transferred their personnel, equipment, and organizational apparatus to an assigned post. Soldiers’ tours lasted only three years (after 1915, two). These shorter tours reduced efficiency and created a general lack of unit cohesion in the Philippines. However, the experience of an overseas posting permeated the ranks of both commissioned and non-commissioned officers throughout the stateside command.

Within the ranks and the officer corps there emerged a group of men who remained in the Islands. The enlisted men reapplied for the posting they had previously held, often staying on for most of their careers. Of those who married Filipinas, no trip home could include their wives and families, according to the Asian Exclusion Act. Enlisted men who either married Filipinas or fathered children out of marriage could be discharged. In spite of these prohibitions, mixing occurred on a fairly regular basis. In 1921, some 200 soldiers of the 9th Cavalry married local women while an additional 187 lived with Filipinas.28 Others managed to find new postings in the Islands for their relaxed and amiable life style.29 Officers seldom remained in the Islands for extended periods since rotations enhanced their career development. Assignment to the Philippines meant a defined term of duty, subject to transfer at short notice. Mary Hammond stated, “Anyone who had been in the P.I. for 2 years or more expected to be shipped back to the States on the next transport,” which until 1933 meant four times a year.30 Policies of training and periodic field exercises provided the soldiers with a broad-based experience. John Hammond held a number of responsibilities at Pettit in addition to his role as communications

28 Linn, 126-27.
29 Ibid., 63-65.
30 Hammond, 232.
officer. They included drill officer, rifle training, gunnery instructor, *Barrio* officer, to mention just a few. At larger posts, like McKinley, individuals generally held only one position.\(^{31}\)

Officers settled into a structured home life at Army installations in the Islands that grounded their expected behavior. Their garrison experience affords key insight into the private thoughts of these men and women. It shaped their middle-class attitudes revealing how they maintained their identity within the Islands. Their outward persona served as a façade meant to garner respect from their command and project an image of imperial power. These contradictory images pushed officers and their wives into an insular world of traditions. They hid their “average” identities behind the trappings of an idealized officer class that barely existed in the American Army compared to their European counterparts. The experience of serving in the Philippines shaped their ability to negotiate these inconsistencies without dramatically altering their individual identities.

The journey to Manila for most officers and their families entailed travel (shipping over) on one of the Quartermaster Corps’ transports. Steamer trunks held all their possessions including any winter clothing accumulated during service in the colder climate back home. Tropical heat and humidity, along with the uncertain treatment of the Quartermaster’s storage often ruined treasured possessions. Unmarried officers were expected to relinquish their cabins to married couples, and made the journey in crowded conditions.\(^{32}\) Upon arrival in Manila, officers and their wives stayed with their sponsors or compatriots who exposed them to the social

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 333.

\(^{32}\) Linn, 67.
possibilities of the city. This might include an evening out for dinner followed by dancing at the Santa Anna Cabaret, a stop at the Poodle Dog bistro, and coffee at an all-night dinner.\textsuperscript{33}

Manila’s residents obtained their general impressions of the Army from the local detachments. The 31\textsuperscript{st} Infantry manned the Manila garrison and offered the most visible American presence. Pacific soldiers gained a reputation as a spit-and-polish band. Soldiers shunned regulation issue uniforms in favor of custom tailored khakis. Officers donned whites and often tuxedos for evening functions. Their ladies appeared in dresses and gowns for the constant stream of dinners, teas, and parties. All in all the clothing requirements constituted a significant portion of a soldier’s pay.\textsuperscript{34}

Second Lieutenant John and Mary Hammond lived in the Islands from 1932 to 1935. They married in her hometown of Elgin, Illinois, shortly before his transfer. Mary reported that nearly half the 5,000 United States soldiers lived near Manila. Fort McKinley held the largest contingent, which included about 150 officers. “Almost anyone drawing an assignment in the P.I. in 1932” she recalled, “would have preferred to be near Manila.” Hammond received orders to serve with the 45\textsuperscript{th} Infantry (Philippine Scouts) at Pettit Barracks, in Zamboanga.\textsuperscript{35}

Girls who grew up in the Army typically married into the service. During the interwar years the regular Army tended to inbreed. If an Army girl failed to find an officer to marry, she might as well resign herself to staying single.\textsuperscript{36} Catherine Carswell embarked in New York on the USAT Republic, May 1937, with her family bound for the Philippines. Her father’s posting on Corregidor proved fortuitous as she met the only bachelor officer onboard, First Lieutenant

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 69.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 73.
\textsuperscript{35} Hammond, 82.
\textsuperscript{36} Coffman, 249.
Harry John Harrison of the 60th Coast Artillery. Their romance continued beyond the voyage. Initially living on Corregidor with her family, Catherine moved to Manila to complete her college degree at the University of the Philippines. She left Westhampton College during her junior year in order to accompany her parents. She recalled that one of her Filipino classmates at UP, Ferdinand Marcos, became president of the Philippines.\(^{37}\)

Living quarters imparted a uniformity that maintained distinctions between officers and troopers regardless of whether they were American Regulars or Philippine Scouts. Their details illustrate how people lived, key to their experience. The physical location on the post fostered separation by rank. During the early 1930s, Pettit Barracks existed as a Philippine Scout post. The ten American officers and two sergeants commanded two companies of Scouts. Each company wore standard Army uniforms with exceptions of their caps. The Filipino company wore standard issue while the Moro company donned a four-cornered turban.\(^{38}\) Hammond served at Pettit for two years before transferring to Fort McKinley. “Moving to Fort McKinley from Pettit Barracks,” according to Mary, “was like moving from the little farm town of Wayne, Illinois, to the big city of Chicago. When we left Pettit, we left behind the Small Town Splendor, Top Brass, and Grand Lady Stuff.” While the overall size of McKinley created the major difference, its proximity to Manila offered bachelor officers some advantages, not the least of which were available Army Nurses and civilian women.\(^{39}\)

Corregidor’s location in the bay required those stationed at Fort Mills to develop local activities for the families. Cub Scout and Boy Scout troops, including a separate Scout unit for


\(^{38}\) Hammond, 106.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 344.
Filipino boys, provided but one activity. Church services and a Sunday school helped retain a
sense of family. The chaplains often organized “sing-alongs” prior to the featured show at the
cinema on Topside at 6:00 PM. Officers and the families wore evening clothes for the 8:00 PM
showing and sat in rattan chairs, adding to the separateness of the post.40

Housing units adapted standardized Army buildings to climate conditions in the Islands.
Living on a small post often meant that junior officers obtained comparatively spacious housing.
The Hammonds found their home at Pettit Barracks more than anticipated. The exterior of their
square, two-story home replicated others both on that post and throughout the Islands. Mary
recalled that each house received two-tone gray paint, a red corrugated metal roof, and a wide
porch surrounded the building. Translucent shutters of seashells rather than glass windows
provided protection from the elements as well as privacy. Like most houses in the Islands, these
frame structures stood on stilts, three feet above the ground. At each corner a wooden pillar, set
in concrete, created stability as well as protection from insects. Grooves cut in the top of the
concrete were filled with oil to trap bugs. The location created an idyllic setting with a view of
the parade grounds from the front porch and, according to Mary, “in between the houses across
the way we could see the foam crowned waves of the Sulu Sea.”41

The front door opened into the sala, or great room, flanked by a living room, dining room,
den, and kitchen. The second floor consisted of a master bedroom, two guest rooms, and a huge
bathroom with walk-in shower. Mahogany floors and moldings decorated the interior. Instead
of closets, they used wardrobes. Later, the Hammonds added a dry closet under the stairway

40 Calmes.
41 Hammond, 95.
building a sealed room with a light bulb that glowed continually in order to prevent mold, a necessary addition in hot and humid environments.\textsuperscript{42}

Families found that traditional furniture from America often failed to survive the conditions in the Philippines. The humidity and heat softened the glue, separating joints and laminations. Alternatively, rattan and wicker furniture held up to tropical conditions and could be purchased in Manila. Rather than wool carpets, woven grass and hemp offered a cheap, durable floor covering. Cockroaches, termites, and other pests proved challenging as they attacked books, clothing, and any remotely edible substance. Some methods of pest control may have been as hazardous to the occupants of the housing as to the intended victims. Treatments included dousing the termite tunnels with gasoline and applications of sodium fluoride powder to cracks in the floors or walls for cockroach control.\textsuperscript{43}

Daily life on an Army post adapted local customs to an American lifestyle. Military life at Pettit Barracks consisted of a series of routine tasks. John Hammond began each day at 600 and completed his work at 1600. After the flag raising, he drilled the troops for two hours. Junior officers, first and second lieutenants, alternated leading these drills followed by target practice until lunch. The afternoons included training and fatigue duty for the soldiers and paperwork for the officers. Hammond lectured his soldiers on a variety of army topics including field fortifications, trenches, barbed wire, care and cleaning of equipment, written field messages, and personal hygiene.\textsuperscript{44} He also served as Barrio Officer, supervising the soldiers’ quarters. Hammond stated, “I am the landlord for the married troops’ quarters. I collect rent, build new houses and assign quarters.” Generally the houses consisted of nipa shacks, bamboo frames.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 96.
\textsuperscript{43} Calmes.
\textsuperscript{44} Hammond, 134.
covered by woven palm fronds for the outer walls. Roofs consisted of either corrugated iron or palms.\textsuperscript{45}

A soldier’s pay remained modest during this period forcing families to stretch their income. The Great Depression affected the military as well as civilians back home. Soon after President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s inauguration, military personnel experienced a cut in salary. Second Lieutenant Hammond’s pay reduction amounted to $26 a month so that instead of $125, he received $99.\textsuperscript{46} However, shortly after his transfer to McKinley, he was promoted to first lieutenant, which provided an additional $60 a month to their income.\textsuperscript{47} In spite of this modest income, officers often hired two or three servants who cooked, did laundry, and cleaned their home. The ability to hire multiple servants differentiated most military families experience from duty in the States.

The Army helped provide essentials for officers and their wives that reduced their expenses. The Hammonds supplemented their meager furniture collection with government items. Officers selected from the quartermaster’s inventory, which cost them absolutely nothing. Mary found the selection surprising. “There was everything! Hepplewhite, Duncan Phyfe, and Chippendale” she stated, with no charges, rental fees, or limits of the number of pieces. They were free as long as the family was stationed at the post. They purchased a bedroom set in Elgin prior to leaving for the Islands, however, most of their furnishings consisted of Army issue.\textsuperscript{48}

Families carefully selected safe, local foods that supplemented imported items from America. At Pettit, local fish offered a safe and inexpensive source of protein. For example,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 264.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 347.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 97.
\end{itemize}
Mary Hammond purchased an eight-pound red snapper for 25 cents that lasted for several meals. The Army sold products from California. They arrived at Corregidor for distribution to the various posts. Groceries and canned goods arrived in Zamboanga on the *Mayon* every week. The Army shipped perishables, foods that required cold storage, less frequently.  

In general, Americans avoided locally raised meat with the exception of chicken. Hammond only obtained fresh produce from a trusted source. Mary shopped at one particular fruit stand in town and selected only those vegetables grown above ground and thick-skinned fruit. These products included locally grown bananas, pineapple, mangos, papayas, and citrus. Other products survived the freighter from America including fresh carrots, celery, apples, oranges, grapefruit and potatoes. However, lettuce generally spoiled before it arrived at the military commissary.

Locally supplied water was out of the question. Instead, each family relied upon a daily supply of purified water. Mary stated, “At 4:00 AM the water man dropped off a full twenty gallon metal can of distilled water, and picked up the empty from the previous day. Empties were sterilized before each refill.” Additionally, they obtained a large block of ice each day for their icebox. The Army supplied both the water and ice without cost to the families. In order to avoid typhoid fever, they never used tap water for drinking, cooking, or even for brushing their teeth.

Officers purchased locally made uniforms and clothing for both comfort and style. They faced constant pressure to look sharp. That often required three or four showers and changes of clothes each day. Officers ordered new uniforms immediately upon arrival in the Philippines. Wool proved too hot. Instead, they ordered cotton uniforms from local Chinese tailors. Cotton

---

49 Ibid., 124.
50 Ibid., 125.
51 Ibid., 130.
was comfortable, absorbent, and suited to the multiple washings required in the tropics. Hammond changed two or three khaki uniforms each day, and if they went out at night or had guests, he was required to wear whites after sixteen-thirty.  

West Point traditions made Hammond take extraordinary measures to maintain a crisp appearance. This not only required lengthy instructions to the laundry maid regarding the correct amount of starch, but also necessitated rather peculiar dressing procedures. Mary believed his methods rather dangerous. “He stood on the seat of a straight back chair, and held the trousers out in front of him. Held them high so they didn’t touch the floor. Then keeping his knees stiff, and his legs perfectly straight, he jumped into his trousers without putting a wrinkle in the pant legs.” Upon achieving his goal of not wrinkling or cracking his crease, John virtually flew down the stairs to avoid breaking the crease, and refused to drive to evening functions if at all possible. In that manner he arrived at a destination starched and crisp.  

Uniforms helped maintain an elite image to the general population. When officers left the post to socialize, they usually dressed in civilian clothes. That generally meant donning their Mufties, a British term borrowed by the U. S. military in the P.I. Men typically wore a white linen suit, cotton shirt, and tie. Considering the cost of a civilian suit from Sears at less than $25, their Mufties often looked cheap and shabby compared to a uniform which may have cost nearly $260 for the custom tailored shirt, britches, jacket, and boots, over two months salary for a second lieutenant.  

Wives faced their own travails with clothing in the Islands. Mary brought a number of silk dresses to the Philippines. However, Zamboanga had no dry cleaners. She avoided sending

---

52 Ibid., 116.
53 Ibid., 117.
54 Ibid., 118.
these dresses to Manila, since the cleaning was expensive and took two or three weeks. Alternative measures soon proved sufficient. Mary allowed her laundress, Victoria, to clean her silk dresses in gasoline, out doors, and away from the house. Mary described the process, “Dresses were soaked, one at a time, in a small amount of gasoline. Then Victoria gently swished the dress. Being careful not to squeeze or twist the fabric. The dress was then rinsed in a fresh pan of gasoline and hung in the shade to dry.” However, she cautioned, “Silk washed in gasoline dried in a few minutes. Evaporation of the gasoline smell took a little longer.”

Duty in the Philippines forced Army officers and their families to maintain a rigid outward appearance. The image of command took priority over tropical heat and humidity placing considerable demands on these individuals’ lives. Fulfilling that picture of military command came with a number of benefits not available to other Americans in the Islands including housing, furniture, and access to clean food and water. In effect, the Army created a structure for its officers along with access to American-made essentials that encouraged a uniform, military identity.

Officers and their wives’ social networks reinforced their American identity. Army traditions including calls and formal parties demanded segregation by rank, which indirectly meant by race. The Hammonds first arrived at his post in Mindanao on 24 June 1932. Soon afterwards they attended a dinner party held by a Swiss family who owned a coconut plantation some distance from town. Virtually all the officers from the post attended. Later that night the party moved to the Over Seas Club for dancing. The club occupied the second floor of a warehouse next to the post and held a bar, kitchen, and two restrooms besides the dance floor. Music offered the primary attraction. A Filipino orchestra dressed in red, white, and blue

---

55 Ibid., 119.
uniforms provided the entertainment. Mary was pleasantly surprised by the repertoire of these talented musicians, including the latest songs from “The Hit Parade” and favorites such as “Moonlight and Roses,” and “Baby Face.” The orchestra consisted of piano, trumpet, trombone, clarinet, and drums.\textsuperscript{56}

Social courtesies filled the balance of each day. Calling hours were from 1700 until 1900, followed by dinner at 1930. Mary described the tradition:

Those who were new to the post or departing a post, called at the home of officers with whom your husband served. At a small post like Pettit that meant calling on everyone. If you were invited to another officer’s house for a social function, a day or two later, we called to say, “Thank you for having us. We had a very good time.” After twelve minutes, the required minimum calling time, a formal calling card was left on the table. No refreshments, not even a cup of coffee or a glass of tea were served. None were expected when the call was made. If no one was at home, a calling card was left under the door. On a large post, leaving one’s card constituted having made a Call. On a small post, one was expected to make a Return Call. And keep making Return Calls until someone was at home. Generally, when we geared up to make a call, we made two or three in one evening. Sometimes we hoped they weren’t.\textsuperscript{57}

Corregidor provided an expanded opportunity for social functions. Its proximity to Manila and the sheer numbers of Americans differentiated the pace of life at this post. Ceremonies reinforced the formal outward appearance of military life. Harry Harrison and Catherine Carswell were married on Corregidor on 3 May 1939. Three hundred guests attended the ceremony at the post chapel, located on the second floor of the Headquarters building on Topside, followed by a reception at the Officers Club. A Manila designer created Catherine’s satin wedding dress and attended to her throughout the day in order to ensure it withstood the summer heat and humidity. Harry and Catherine set up house in Middleside officer housing. A

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 91.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 137.
mere nine months later they welcomed their first daughter, Selma, born at the Hospital at Fort Mills.\footnote{Calmes.}

Corregidor’s easy access to Manila permitted officers’ wives to enjoy an occasional day of shopping and socializing in the city. Locally made linens provided one of the most popular purchases from the Philippines. Several stores offered high quality products at reasonable prices causing most of the military families to accumulate large quantities of fine linen. In addition, shopping trips to Manila included visits to Chinatown and the Osaka Bazaar. While several shops existed in the local \textit{barrios} and Post Exchange, the preferred destination remained Manila. There, wives and children could visit the Army-Navy Club for lunch or the Manila Hotel for socializing.\footnote{Calmes}

Sports and recreation on an army post served to relieve boredom, enhance physical fitness, and develop competitive skills. Golf offered a popular activity for men and women throughout the Islands. Officers and their wives enjoyed swimming and tennis, which forced them to socialize in healthy activities. “The Army believed active men and women had a better chance of staying healthy and living happier lives,” according to Mary, because “officials had seen regular recreation and relaxation as the best weapons against boredom, in-fighting, and excessive drinking.”\footnote{Hammond, 251.} McKinley’s golf course provided a clubhouse four times that of Zamboanga’s Country Club. The Officers Club at McKinley offered a large selection of activities, including the popular monthly, formal Saturday night dances or the weekly, Sunday afternoon tea dances from 1630 to 1800.\footnote{Ibid., 350.} Sports provided an opportunity to remain fit as well as filling the time on a
post. Additionally, the Army held public sports competitions, encouraging displays of team and individual achievements.

Army life imposed both formal and informal structures that shaped the identities of its men and women. They adhered to commands and traditions, but also the unwritten rules that defined an ordered way of life. There was little opportunity to stray from presubscribed paths that defined correct behavior. Equally important, they were not alone. Even at the remote Scout post of Pettit Barracks, officers and their wives shared the experience with other Americans, creating a support system that directed, affirmed, and encouraged.

Social life outside the post retained similar caste associations as found on base. Officers and acceptable civilians, who were usually middle-class Americans and Europeans, mixed socially for particular events thereby expanding social networks outside the military. As long as Prohibition remained in effect back home, the military applied its rules within the boundaries of their overseas posts. As a result, the Army enforced the no-alcohol policy on the post, including private homes. However, Prohibition did not apply to the Philippines at large, so people consumed alcohol outside the post. For Pettit this included the Zamboanga Club, private homes, and the country club. Dues were modest, at $3.50 a month for either the Over Seas Club or the Country Club. However, for a newly minted lieutenant and his wife the cost appeared extravagant. The Hammonds attended events there as guests of other members.62

Distinctly American traditions eased the awkwardness of mingling with a diverse civilian population. For example, the Fourth of July in 1932 included typical American activities. The soldiers paraded around town in the morning followed by a baseball game at the country club. A civilian team played against the Army team. Father Murphy, a Jesuit, played on the civilian side.

62 Ibid., 93.
The traditionally American picnic included fried chicken, potato salad, and baked beans. Later, children waved sparklers as the crowd watched fireworks explode over the water. Mary observed, “We were ten thousand miles from the United States, yet we couldn’t have celebrated our country’s Independence Day in a more traditional way than if we had been at home in Illinois.”

Both class and race determined acceptable social contacts. Army officers occasionally socialized with Filipino elites. For example, the annual post inspection included a fete for the military and prominent families in Zamboanga and Mindanao. “The only Caucasians in the vicinity who were not invited were the Sundowners,” Mary Hammond explained, “old soldiers or plantation bosses who had taken native wives and had stayed in the Islands after their tour of duty or employment ended. These men and their wives were never included in any of Zamboanga’s social functions.”

The Army maintained a public image of American imperialism in the Philippines. Its physical presence reminded Americans and Filipinos of its mission to defend the Islands, unencumbered by local politics. Army officers and their wives exhibited good manners when engaged with Filipino elites, obscuring their personnel feelings regarding independence or social standing. This visible face of imperialism corresponded with the image expected of an Army officer. Publicly, these men and women projected an elite image, worthy of command, based upon traditions, manners, and expensive uniforms. The crisp look of a spit-and-polish soldier encouraged that image. Privately, their tightly guarded identity and middle-class mentality insulated these families from the world around them. The daily lives of junior officers and their

---

63 Ibid., 106.

64 Ibid., 230.
wives revealed a more modest persona, quite similar to other middle-class Americans. They used their income frugally, lived in basic homes, and relied on the Army to furnish many essentials for a middle-class lifestyle. Yet, they were perceived as elite Americans through their outward appearance and manners. Experience in the Philippines trained a large number of middle-class American officers to effectively command overseas.

The Asiatic Fleet projected a visible American presence throughout the western Pacific. The Navy represented a public display of imperialism with its ships resting at anchor in Manila Bay as its sailors enjoyed liberty in the local bars and restaurants. While the Fleet patrolled China’s waters during the summer, it concentrated in the Philippines during the winter. However, its officers and sailors considered their ships as home and developed an identity that was both narrow (their ship) and broad (Asia). Unlike the Army, which maintained a fixed base of operation, the Fleet moved and parcelled out its resources throughout the western Pacific. Therefore, the Islands represented a temporary home for most of its officers and men.

The Navy made the Philippines a forward base of operations, projecting American sea power in the western Pacific. Expansionists justified retention of the Philippines in part to operate a naval base in the Islands. Alfred Thayer Mahan’s *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1763* (1890) influenced expansionist beliefs. Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and others agreed with many of Mahan’s visions. Mahan argued that industrial production creates a need for merchant shipping as well as colonies.\(^{65}\) He believed that American economic development in Asia and Latin America required strategic naval bases, not simply coaling stations. Mahan largely dismissed traditional colonialism and instead embraced the financial and industrial expansion of the period. The shipping lanes, which delivered

American goods to new markets, such as China, required the protection afforded by the Navy’s strategic base.  

Mahan emphasized the importance of the battleship for modern warfare and its subsequent key role in projecting power. He believed that modern naval power required the strength of a battleship to gain control of the sea. The Asiatic Fleet lacked these large ships and consisted of mostly smaller craft with a cruiser as the fleet’s flagship. The fast, well-armed cruisers retained only light armor making them well suited for attacks against merchant shipping and smaller naval vessels. The visually appealing lines of cruisers, such as the Augusta and the Houston, created an impressive vision for port visits, a role admirably fulfilled by the Fleet. Throughout the era, the Fleet and navy yard provided only a modest commitment of resources to the western Pacific. This compromise still obligated the Army to defend the base. Without the prospect of a strong naval presence, it became a liability as well as an asset.

Naval personnel assigned to the Navy’s shore facilities in Cavite developed long-term attachments to the Philippines. An American controlled naval yard avoided relying on British or other foreign powers in the western Pacific. The administrative and supply mission of the Sixteenth Naval District allowed the Asiatic Fleet to operate independently. In 1908, the naval facilities at Cavite and Olongapo remained modest. Cavite included the naval station, arsenal, stone buildings from the Spanish period, and modern American structures. Facilities included machine shops, blacksmith shops, boat-building shops, a sail-loft, and auxiliary structures

---

66 Ibid., 91.

67 Ibid., 93.
designed to service the fleet. The Canacao Naval Hospital stood across the basin, adjacent to the coal pile and bunkers of Sangley Point, all carryovers from the Spanish naval facility.68

The Navy upgraded port facilities at Olongapo. The arrival of the Dewey Dry Dock in 1906 created a welcome addition for the Asiatic Fleet in the western Pacific. It measured 500 feet long with a lifting capacity of 16,000 tons, sufficient to service the fleet’s ships. Initially, sailors lived aboard the USS Mohican, a wooden hulled bark which served as a station ship since priority was given to building shops and sheds.69 The dry dock served the Asiatic Fleet throughout the era.

Olongapo remained a backwater for the Bamboo Fleet. Robert Cason served aboard the USS Beaver. His photographs allow a glimpse of a sailor’s life on shore. While the Beaver’s crew may have enjoyed their pig roast at Olongapo, the surrounding area remained devoid of entertainment.70 Meals at Olongapo could be as simple as “scoffing” on the pier where Navy personnel set paper-covered folding tables and benches for the crew. Eating out in the open, next to the water, and amidst warehouse building was a far cry from Manila’s variety.71 The “Tia Juana” offered some respite for sailors at Olongapo. This small wooden cabaret welcomed men who could sit under its wide porch and covered deck. Diversions included pig hunts where sailors armed with rifles, spears, and machetes followed local guides near Subic Bay.72

68 Navy Guide to Cavite and Manila (Manila, 1908), 77, Special Collections, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, D.C.


70 “In Memory of My Cruise on the Asiatic Station,” by Robert Cason, USS Beaver; 1925-1932, photo album, Naval Historical Center.

71 Ibid.

72 S-39 1926-27, Asiatic Station, photo album, Naval Historical Center.
The Philippines provided a secure homeport for the Asiatic Fleet throughout the year, a contributing factor for the specific imperialism formed in the Islands. Ships sailed its waters, found safe harbors, and looked to the port facilities for supply, repair, and maintenance. In 1934, ships normally called at Cavite, Manila, and Olongapo, with occasional arrivals at Looc Cove and Zamboanga. The Philippine concentration began in October and continued until May. Manila served as a source of recreation while the Cavite Naval Yard and the naval station at Olongapo brought the ships back into good order.

China received the bulk of the Navy’s attention. The Asiatic Fleet patrolled the China coast and provided a physical presence of American power in the Pacific. Ships sailed its offshore waters, gunboats floated on its rivers, and sailors visited its treaty ports for much of the year. Even during the winter when the majority of the Fleet stayed in the Philippines, between nine and thirteen ships showed the flag in China at Nanking, Canton, Chungking, Hankow, Hongkong, Ichang, Shanghai, and most frequently at Tsingtao and Chefoo. Ships utilized the shipyards at Shanghai for repairs, taking advantage of the security of its British protection.

The Asiatic Fleet retained a cruiser squadron structure, reminiscent of late nineteenth-century tactics, up until the beginning of World War II. Captain Chester W. Nimitz commanded the Fleet’s Flagship USS Augusta in 1934. Their sailing schedule to the Philippines illustrates the extent of American visibility in the region. They departed Tsingtao on 10 September 1934, sailed down the China coast, across to Guam, Australia, the Dutch East Indies, and finally arrived in Manila Bay on December 22nd. The Augusta’s cruise book noted, “All hands may not be able to say ‘Home is the Sailor!’ but many of them can say it. For most of our officers and
men who have their families on the Asiatic Station were greeted by them in Manila on 22 December. And that is just about as much home as a sailorman gets.”

The Navy’s larger ships boasted orchestras and the Asiatic Fleet was no exception. Their musicians performed at public venues throughout the region creating subtle reminders of America’s presence. The USS Augusta’s musicians played wherever the ship docked. “Sid Zeramby and His Syncopators” consisted of fifteen American and Filipino musicians who performed throughout the Asiatic Station. Zeremby developed his musical talents with the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra prior to his enlistment. Their repertoire included popular tunes for a variety of venues. The “Syncopators” obtained a six-week engagement Shanghai’s Cathay Hotel Ballroom, and played at the Edgewater Mansions and Navy Club in Tsingtao. During their stay in Manila the orchestra performed at the Army and Navy Club, Los Tamaraoos Polo Club, and Ateneo Auditorium.

The frequency and duration of visits to the Philippines affected how Navy personnel interacted with more permanent residents of the Islands. The number of sailors and Marines in the Islands varied throughout the year. Yet, at any given time the Navy maintained its visibility around Manila Bay with thousands of service personnel and their families. The officers and men of the Fleet may have numbered 8,000 with an additional 2,000 naval dependents.

The Navy’s presence in Manila became a physical reminder of American protection. Ships anchored in the bay, moored at the pier, and sailed the Philippine waters creating a reassuring image of American sea power for Americans. For the Fleet’s officers and men, Manila offered only brief encounters. The Fleet sailed the Philippine waters but the majority of its men seldom

73 Augusta Cruises from Orient to Oceania (Manila, 1934), 78, Naval Historical Center.
75 Winslow, 4.
developed an identity linked to the Islands. Exceptions included personnel assigned to the Sixteenth Naval District at Cavite and Olongapo who gained a fuller understanding of life in the Philippines.

Occasional visitors treated their time in port as little more than opportunities to meet old friends and unwind from a cruise. Lieutenant Commander Glenn Howell served on the Navy transport USS *Henderson* as Executive Officer. In 1931, the ship made two voyages to the Pacific including visits to Manila for several days. Somewhat stout in build, Howell’s face carried a set of oversized jowls, wide mouth, and slightly protruding ears. However, his sharp nose and narrow gaze defined a man used to the sun during long ocean voyages. He typified a middle-class officer with a professional yet accessible persona.76

During Glenn Howell’s sailings onboard the USS *Henderson*, he made frequent visits to the Philippines and commented on a number of facets of Navy life as a visiting officer. Some officers preferred to spend their time at familiar institutions. After “another hellish hot day,” Howell lunched at the nearby Elk’s Club and enjoyed the company at the Army and Navy Club in the evening. He decided to forgo the usual visit to Santa Annas because of the hot weather. Howell complained, “I shall be glad when we get out of this place for the heat is enervating.”77

Howell used his time in Manila to socialize with old friends. He visited Corregidor commenting, “This Island is a very beautiful place, and it is a very efficient and busy post, but you wouldn’t ever catch me shutting myself up on an Island with nobody else around except service people.”78 Howell enjoyed the company of friends at the Army and Navy Club. On one

---

76 Photographs, 1931, Volume LXXVI, Papers of Glenn F. Howell, Operational Archives Branch, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, D.C.

77 Glenn Howell diary, 22 May 1931, Volume LXXVI, Papers of Glenn F. Howell.

78 Glenn Howell diary, 19 November 1931, Volume LXXIX, Papers of Glenn F. Howell.
occasion he arrived just past six in the evening. “I met fifty people whom I know, and we had a very pleasant evening.” For Howell this included drinks, conversation, and dancing. Yet, he tempered his view of Manila. “I like the little snatches of life out here we get in our voyaging, but I haven’t the slightest desire to come back out here for a lengthy cruise.”

While in port Navy officers divided their time between work and leisure. Howell attended to ship’s duty in the morning, lunched at the Manila Hotel with his friend, Lieutenant Commander E.L.R. Bailey the Supply Officer, and continued his tasks until evening. He met a number of friends at the Army-Navy Club for dinner and forced himself “to leave it at ten o’clock in order to go to our Filipino Bluejacket’s ball.” Apparently, the officers felt free to mix socially with their Filipino sailors. Howell continued, “There we found the Captain…and other officers. I stayed for an hour an a half and danced most of the time, principally because I felt it safer to take a chance on having prickly heat tomorrow…” rather than drink the entire time. He commented upon the tendency to overindulge. “I have never seen such drinking as these people do in Manila.” He imagined they must wake up with a splitting headache every morning and could never manage to do their work.

The Fleet’s schedule included longer-term port visits, which allowed some officers and their men to develop limited social connections. During the winter months, Manila witnessed the Navy’s physical presence in Manila as seen by the Admiral’s Review. Sailors paraded on the fields of the new Luneta, in their crisp dress whites, in sharp contrast to the green lawn. Guests at the nearby Manila Hotel and officers at the Army Navy Club witnessed this formal ceremony that reinforced the Navy’s importance in the Islands waters.

---


80 Glenn Howell diary, 21 November 1931, Volume LXXIX, Papers of Glenn F. Howell.

81 “Asiatic Station,” by George Campbell, photo album, Naval Historical Center.
Sailors enjoyed Manila’s numerous bars and restaurants that catered to military personnel. Proprietors included former servicemen, expatriates, and Filipinos. As early as 1908, visitors selected from dozens of welcoming establishments such as “Hickey” Johnson’s “Nutshell Saloon” in Cavite, Otto Bohlmann’s “Old Heidelberg”, 45 Soledad, and the “Silver Dollar Bar and Columbia Restaurant” located at the corner of Escolta and Plaza Sta. Cruz which claimed to be headquarters for Sailors and Marines, the best of everything to eat and drink. The popular Legaspi Garden specialized in American steaks. Situated close to the Navy Dock, sailors could eat and drink without fear of missing their boats or going overleave. The “Maypajo Cabaret” provided music, food, drinks, a friendly atmosphere, and good entertainers. Attractions at this Caloocan nightclub included Filipina dancing partners.

Some sailors preferred more permanent relationships with Filipinas. Seaman Hanasan served on one of the Fleet’s submarines, the S-39. Like many of his young shipmates, Hanasan took up with a young woman. While we do not know very much about their life, Grace posed for a photo with a seemingly happy composure. Dressed in western style clothes, her mestizo characteristics featured a rather wide nose, light skin tones, and long brown hair. Grace wore a short-sleeved dress for the picture that reached below her knees, accented with a wide black belt whose buckle sat off to one side. She gazed directly at the photographer, smiling slightly, while holding a puppy in her arms. This image evokes Grace’s confidence as a Filipina who chose to be with an American sailor. Her direct gaze into the camera demonstrates her power as an

---

82 Navy Guide to Cavite and Manila (Manila, 1908).
85 S-39 1926-27, Asiatic Station, photo album, Naval Historical Center.
individual. The photo also served as a validation of Hanasan’s male fantasy by performing his tasks in the Islands under an approving female gaze.\(^{86}\)

The Navy organized numerous sporting events for competition and entertainment. For example, sailors from the *Huron* enjoyed the varied events of the Magallanes Carnival from January 29\(^{th}\) to February 7\(^{th}\). This special designation for the 1921 festival honored the 400th anniversary of Ferdinand Magellan’s arrival in the Islands. Back in Philippine waters for the winter, the ships company competed in basketball, swimming, and baseball contests held in conjunction with the annual festival. Competition included teams from the Army, schools, and local businesses. The *Huron*’s basketball team defeated competitors from the Y.M.C.A., 31\(^{st}\) Infantry, and 15\(^{th}\) Infantry and anticipated playing the Filipino champions. Certainly, the crew enjoyed the parades and dances of the Carnival as well as the sporting events.\(^{87}\)

Whenever practical, the Navy helped its sailors retain their American customs. Christmas dinner onboard the submarine tender USS *Canopus* reminded Submarine Squadron Five of home. Stewards treated the crews with Mulligatawny soup, olives, celery and head lettuce prior to the main event of roast young tom turkey with oyster stuffing. Cold ham added to the traditional fare, which included mashed potatoes, sweet potatoes, cranberry sauce, giblet gravy, French peas, and rolls. Desserts consisted of fruitcake, ice cream, candy, and nuts followed by the ever-present cigars, cigarettes, and coffee. The submarine tender and her six boats were decked out in their dress flags, adding to the festive theme.\(^{88}\)


\(^{87}\) *Far Eastern Cruise of the USS Huron, Flagship, Asiatic Fleet 1919-20-21*, 117.

\(^{88}\) Wheat, Jack, L., Enlisted Seaman, USN, USS *Canopus*, 39-41, menu, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, D.C.
Officers’ responsibilities aboard their ships limited interactions to dependents and close friends. Charles Wellington Gray tour of duty in the Asiatic Fleet from December 1935 until April 1938, serves as an example of life in the Asiatic Fleet. Born in Chicago on 27 November 1897, Gray attended Crane High School, followed by Michigan State University prior to his appointment to Annapolis. After serving on the USS \textit{New York} and later USS \textit{Savannah}, he was assigned to the Asiatic Station and reported onboard USS \textit{Canopus} as Senior Aide and Operations Officer on the staff of Commander, Submarine Squadron 5.\footnote{“Finding Aid”, Papers of Rear Admiral Charles W. Gray, 1924-1953, Operational Archives Branch, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, DC.} In addition to his duties on the flagship, he received temporary duties with the submarines. For example, on 21 January 1936 Gray observed gunnery exercise onboard the S-39. However, his primary responsibility remained as Ship’s Service officer.\footnote{Sweeney and Gray to Commanding Officer, 10 February 1936, TD, Papers of Charles W. Gray.}

Routine sailings and port visits were on occasion broken by the increased tension in the area. Gray received a commendation when on 13 August 1937, as the \textit{Canopus} helped evacuate American citizens from Tsingtao, China.\footnote{Commendation, 10 March 1939, TD, Papers of Charles W. Gray.} However, duty on ships such as the \textit{Canopus} typified life in the Fleet. The officers and sailors held little permanent attachment to the Philippines in spite of its homeport designation. This contrasted with the experience of the Army as well as the Navy’s shore facilities in the Islands.

Navy personnel stationed at Naval Station Sangley Point and the Cavite Navy Yard interacted with Manila society and Filipino workers similarly to their Army counterparts, where rank and race influenced social contacts. Social networks defined by these men and women solidified their identity as Americans. Their children attended schools segregated from the
Filipino population. Navy wives played a key role by controlling the limits of social contacts of their immediate family members as well as the sailors at Cavite. They helped determine acceptable contacts at the various parties and dances authorized by the Navy. Holidays revealed both the similarities and differences between the American and Filipino cultures as experienced by the Navy.

Of all the holidays, Christmas created an atmosphere of shared excitement of intrinsic value to most Americans and Filipinos in the Islands. Throughout the American Era, Christmas offered a means to celebrate traditions that were already a conglomeration of shared customs from multiple nations. Many Christian Americans and Filipinos realized common bonds in response to the season that transcended their political differences. Seasonal symbols may have adapted to the new environment, but they remained important features of Christmas celebrations. Those adaptations, in and around Cavite, demonstrate how by 1940 Americans and Filipinos shared cultural traditions that reflected their shared heritage.

Christmas in the Islands included both religious and secular elements, combinations familiar to Americans. The Navy Yard publication *Bamboo Breezes* described some of these events in the 29 December 1939 issue. For the Sixteenth Naval District, “the absence of gray old Father Winter enabled us to take advantage of many other opportunities that the States-siders would have given most anything for.” The sheer number of Christmas parties for adults and children created a festive atmosphere including those at the Officers Club, the Warrant Officers’ Center, the American Shack, and the Navy Wives Club (Cavite and Manila Branches). In 1939, Santa Claus arrived in an Austin convertible instead of the usual carabao cart.92

---

Rather than a pine or balsam, sailors from the departments decorated a green mango tree near the entrance of the Navy Yard. It was here that Santa paid his visit, arriving promptly at 1900 on 22 December. He sat beneath the Mango, visited with the children, and then distributed the presents. Santa called each by name, shook their hands, asked what they wanted, and wished them a Merry Christmas. Then children moved on to receive their shares of Eskimo Pies and stockings filled with candy. The officers’ wives and daughters received exuberant thanks for their work. Santa moved to a similar party at Canacao for children at the Warrant Officers’ Center and American Shack.

Filipinos from Cavite decorated their homes with paper lanterns of various shapes and colors. The lanterns hung from the second floor eves, while door and widow sheers revealed the decorated trees in each home. On Christmas Eve, candles lit the paper lanterns providing a colorful display of orange, red, and yellow. Children formed bamboo bands parading amidst the neighborhoods. The highlight of Christmas for many remained celebration of Midnight Mass in the Catholic church. Decorated for the season, the church provided a joyful venue for High Mass in Latin and songs by the choirs, and Holy Communion. Protestants within the District attended a candlelight service in the Canacao Chapel. The service consisted of a reading of the Christmas Story, singing of hymns, and Holy Communion. Here too the chapel used candles and decorations for Christmas.93

Christmas held the potential for shared celebrations by Christian Americans and Filipinos in Cavite. However, with the exception of a few symbols adapted to the locale, people from the Navy Yard and surrounding town celebrated the holiday separately. They witnessed each other’s

93 Ibid.
traditions but apparently felt little need to mingle. Both peoples maintained their distinct cultural interpretations of their shared holiday within a compact environment.

Cavite’s physical appearance contrasted to Manila with its wooden buildings, a modest Catholic church, and few automobiles. Stuccoed brick and mortar buildings sat alongside the streets, with only a narrow sidewalk’s separation. Some homes consisted of little more than small, raised wooden cottages with steep nipa roofs. Nearby San Roque offered relatively few choices for entertainment. Local movie houses played mostly American films. The Plaza Theatre in Cavite and The Perla in San Roque changed their venue every other day in hopes of generating attendance. Movies created a popular source of entertainment in the Islands.

Sailors and Marines chose between films shown on base or in town. The Navy rotated films between the receiving ship, Naval Hospital, and Marine Barracks. While Cavite offered only limited diversions, the Navy Yard met the basic needs of the Fleet’s ships and sailors. Those included a full range of medical treatments for the men and their families.

Nurses at Canacao Naval Hospital provided modern care while they enjoyed its idyllic setting. Dorothy Still Danner served as a Navy nurse in the Philippines prior to and during World War II. Born on 29 November 1914, she was a young woman of just 27 when war came to the Islands. Graduating from nursing school in 1935, she worked at a doctor’s office and then in a small hospital in Corona, California, until she developed an interest in the Navy. An article in the *American Journal of Nursing* magazine led to her nursing tour at the Navy Hospital, San Diego. According to Still, “At the end of my tour of duty, I was called into the chief nurse’s office. This was kind of a surprise to me, I got orders for the Philippines.” Dorothy, of medium

---

94 “In Memory of My Cruise on the Asiatic Station,” by Robert Cason.

build, appeared attractive with wavy brown hair, dimples, and puffy eyes. She moved to the Islands, receiving a salary of 140 pesos per month and an opportunity that few American women at the time obtained.

The fleet’s medical facilities in the Philippines centered at the Canacao Navy Hospital. Still found her tour in the Philippines both beautiful and relaxed. According to one of the corpsmen, the only day they actually worked was Tuesday. Wednesday everyone prepared for a full inspection on Thursday. Friday was spent getting ready for weekend liberty, and on Monday they recuperated.  

Dorothy found the physical setting most agreeable. The three-story hospital sat amidst tall trees and a manicured lawn. Awnings shaded each of the first and second story windows while oversized eves protected those of the top floor. The compact setting provided an insulated enclave for the medical staff. The nurse’s quarters and the hospital were no more than a block apart while a road circled the compound connecting the gate to Sangley point. Still described her impressions of Canacao:

It was beautiful there, with the tropical flowers. Right next to our quarters, there was a banyan tree with the many-rooted structure. Along the front of the compound, there was a sea wall. On the sea wall, there were what looked like little, tiny lighthouses. They had amber lights in them, and it was quite a picturesque setup. You could go down and sit along there. In the long twilights, it was just a very romantic situation. Then twilight ends, and here are the stars twinkling in the sky. It was beautiful. There was an arcade of mahogany trees.

The Navy replaced the old Spanish hospital in the 1920s with a new two hundred and forty-bed facility. It compared to modern facilities in the States including surgical facilities and

96 Dorothy Still Danner, interview by Richard W. Byrd, 19 March 1995, interview 1072, transcript, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, Denton, TX.

97 Ibid., 4.

98 Ibid., 5-6.
a separate section for Navy dependents. By 1940 malaria ceased to be a major problem, however, some of the enlisted personal at Sangley developed polio.

Still’s romantic notions changed as families left the Islands. Admiral Thomas Hart learned of Japanese belligerency towards the international community in Shanghai. As a result of Japan’s actions, the English sent their people from Shanghai to Singapore causing Hart to ponder the Fleet’s safety. Still recounted, “Admiral Hart was getting the feeling that the Japanese were getting a little hostile, so he decided to send the dependents home.” 99 Some two thousand women and children left for America including all families from the Sixteenth Naval District. 100 However, Still remained unconcerned because Hart pushed the fleet and everyone in the yard with constant drills and training exercises. 101 However, the situation quickly changed. “Around November of 1941,” according to Still, “Admiral Hart received orders from the Chiefs of Staff in Washington to send the Asiatic Fleet south.” 102

Navy children attended elementary school on base while they mixed with other expatriate high school students in Manila. Four American teachers instructed 52 elementary students. A school photograph suggested that these teachers and students could be lifted from any small town in America, with the exception of the tropical vegetation and wide porches on the school building. Indeed, the Navy’s adaptation to the Philippine climate appeared practical in contrast to the dearth of shade offered by typical government designed schools for the Filipinos. While

99 Ibid., 8.
100 Winslow, 4.
101 Danner, 9.
102 Ibid., 12.
some students obviously preferred to be somewhere else, the poses indicate a comfort with their surroundings that could be replicated from the little red schoolhouse of home.\(^\text{103}\)

The school year started in June at the Navy Yard, corresponding with schedules in Manila. The American teachers for the 1939 – 40 term were Thelma L. Weaver, Principal and teacher of 7\(^{th}\) and 8\(^{th}\) Grades, Pearle V. Harris for 5\(^{th}\) and 6\(^{th}\) Grades, Doris M. Wilson handled 3\(^{rd}\) and 4\(^{th}\) Grades, while Janet Finnell managed 1\(^{st}\) and 2\(^{nd}\) Grades. With frequent transfers of service men, their children needed to apply for a grade based upon their performance. The school required Stanford Achievement Tests for placement above the 3\(^{rd}\) Grade.

High school students encountered a variety of experiences that enlarged their world. Parents selected from a number of public and private schools in Manila. Certainly, the cost of an education influenced their decision. High school created an opportunity for students to spend some time away from their insulated military post. High school students boarded the “Welfare Bus” to Netzorg’s School, Bordner – Central School, Union High School, and American School. The school bus left the Navy Yard at 6:00 AM and returned to Cavite by 2:00 PM. Parents paid a modest fee of 5 pesos a month for the bus service.\(^\text{104}\)

Clubs offered Navy wives and opportunity to socialize and tackle current problems in the area. The Manila Navy Wives Club included educational events as part of their social schedule. For instance, they planned a tour of the National Library of the Philippines, where a guide described a number of collections. The Cavite Navy Wives Club held weekly meetings at the American Shack. Housing constituted a recurrent topic of conversation as noted by the Housing Welfare Committee. Alice Slack, Chairman of the Committee, reported general improvements


\(^{104}\) Ibid., 14.
of available homes for rent in the area. With regular business matters under control, they intended to expand into social programs.105

Both the Navy and Navy wives controlled the type of entertainments and selected who could interact with the officers and men at the naval station. They oversaw both the content and invited guests as a means of creating a controlled social gathering. The district dance provided an example of how location, entertainment, food, and guests formed an environment that fit American concepts of proper relaxation.

Navy wives periodically helped organize the dance. A restricted invitation list, due to the limited space at the “Ship’s Service Restaurant,” no doubt caused some disappointment among the ranks. In addition to controlling the selection, the enlisted personnel’s wives also decorated the club and prepared for the event, a joint Navy Day – Halloween celebration. They submitted the invitations to the officers and petty officers for distribution. The Navy Yard issued a blanket invitation to American women as well, offering those from town transportation via the ferry between Cavite and Manila for the dance. Sailors were reminded to wear their liberty uniforms rather than any Halloween costumes.106

A Filipino orchestra, “Obrero’s Syncopators”, provided the music for the dance where white, American women from the Sixteenth Naval District as well as their civilian counterparts from Manila, offered enlisted men a diversion of dancing and relaxation. Dances, including a ladies tag dance, allowed constrained contact between the sexes. Refreshments were limited to beer and soft drinks. The Balintawak Brewery provided a local beer but the menu of baked beans, potato salad and turkey grounded the sailors and their guests in their home country. More

importantly, the women who attended reflected American notions of propriety. A photo of the attendees revealed only white Marines, Sailors, and female guests. All military personnel wore their liberty uniforms, while the women donned their party dresses. The young women who attended apparently enjoyed the attention of these men and felt comfortable attending a supervised (Chaplain Faulk) Navy function in Cavite.  

The Navy made the Philippines its homeport, yet for most of its officers and sailors the Islands held few permanent attachments. Arrivals and departures of the Asiatic Fleet offered a constant reminder to Manila’s residents of American naval presence. Yet, this image was little more than an illusion. The Fleet showed the flag but could offer only limited naval power projection. Its gunboats sailed China’s rivers while its ships paid port visits. In spite of these limitations, the Philippines allowed the Navy to impose its imperial presence in the western Pacific. The Asiatic Fleet could not have accomplished this mission without its base of operations in the Islands.

Naval officers, seamen, and their wives experienced the Philippines as a series of vignettes, brief visits that provided stories for their diaries or letters home. Relatively few sailors lived in the Islands year-round. Interactions between these Americans and other residents remained limited. Officers attended formal affairs held by the Filipino Bluejackets, but found no incentive to mingle on a regular basis. Unlike Army personnel, Fleet officers remained tied to their ships thus avoiding the need to join country clubs or fraternal organizations. The Army-Navy Club along with Manila’s commercial venues proved sufficient. While the “China Sailor” may have been socially rough, he and his officers knew their place; Americans stationed at the far reaches of the Pacific.

---

Navy personnel and their families attached to the Sixteenth Naval District experienced the Islands at a more personal level. Similar to their Army compatriots, they maintained a tightly regulated social network that valued its distinct identity. Women played a key role in defining these social norms. Navy wives managed these networks by limiting formal contacts between Filipinos and Americans. Their children attended American schools, on base or in Manila. Through their work in organizing parties, celebrations, and dances, women sought to control the racial mixing of the larger group of Sailors and Marines. Customs as well as regulations shaped the social identity of the Navy’s men and women. In that sense, these individuals shared the experience of their Army compatriots. The Philippines prepared a select group of officers for global command and power projection.

Douglas MacArthur created an enduring legacy in the minds of Americans and Filipinos. Most military personnel stationed in the Islands or with the Fleet remained firmly attached to their American peers. In contrast, MacArthur projected an image that may have appeared theatrical to Americans, but not to Filipinos. While in private he limited social ties to a select fraternity, he publicly pronounced a deep respect for Filipinos and their aspirations. This helps explain why MacArthur is remembered with fondness and respect in the Islands. He built his reputation among Filipinos as he sought to create a defensible, independent Philippines prior to World War II. In 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Act authorized a Commonweallth government in the Philippines as an interim step to full independence in 1946. Franklin D. Roosevelt selected MacArthur to create a Filipino military capable of defending their nation. MacArthur personified the American commitment to Filipinos.

Douglas MacArthur’s early career was intimately tied to the Islands. History meant a great deal to him, therefore his father’s role in the Philippines served as a basis for his further
postings. He spent his first year surveying and engineering projects near Manila. He remained but a short while and in 1904 received his promotion to first lieutenant and sailed for home. In 1922, Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur commanded the Military District of Manila and later the Philippine Scouts where he served until 1925. In the late 1920s, MacArthur returned once more to the Philippines as department commander. He recalled, “No assignment could have pleased me more.” In this role he commanded all the troops on the islands.  
MacArthur developed close ties to both Filipino and American officials including Manuel Quezon and Governor General Henry L. Stimson. MacArthur left the Islands once more upon assignment as Chief of Staff in August 1930. After his four-year term, MacArthur returned to the Philippines, this time to create a defense for the newly created Commonwealth.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 authorized Philippine independence in 1946. The Commonwealth government served as a transition from colony to republic affecting both civilian and military organizations on the islands. American commitments to the Philippines centered on Franklin D. Roosevelt’s appointment of MacArthur to secure the Commonwealth’s defense. MacArthur’s orders of 18 September 1935 outlined his broad objectives and enabled him to operate freely. President Roosevelt, through the War Department, charged MacArthur to create a solid defense of the Islands and authorized him to select officers and enlisted men as he saw fit. These orders approved any and all offices, rank, compensation, and benefits authorized by the Commonwealth Government.

109 Ibid., 36-37.
110 Ibid., 96.
111 Brigadier General, Ed Conley to Douglas MacArthur, 18 September 1935, TLS, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 2: Correspondence, 1935, MacArthur Memorial Archives, Norfolk, VA.
MacArthur received authorization to draw from existing Army resources, including buildings at the Santa Lucia Barracks, additional officers or enlisted men, general overhead and maintenance, assistance in training, and material held in reserve. He obtained wide latitude for his mission. Existing limits on foreign service were waived for MacArthur and his selections. The War Department held no aspirations of a quick transformation. “It is expected that your term of service will be at least seven years and probably much longer.” Finally, he received permission to communicate directly with the Secretary of War, Chief of Staff, or Deputy Chief of Staff, thereby streamlining the communication process.  

Manual Quezon, Commonwealth president, sought to establish a relationship with the incoming military adviser. He cabled MacArthur during his transit and invited him, his mother, and sister-in-law to his home for dinner on the night of his arrival. MacArthur accepted, but the two ladies declined since his mother was ill. Discussions were cordial between the two friends as MacArthur clarified his specific role in the Islands. Quezon notified MacArthur of his approved compensation. It included a salary of 36,000 pesos ($18,000) plus expenses of 30,000 pesos ($15,000) per year. In addition, he obtained furnished quarters as part of the package. MacArthur received his appointment as Field Marshal, Philippine Army effective 18 June 1936 pursuant to the provisions of Section 95 of Commonwealth Act No. 1. The National Assembly confirmed it on 28 June 1936.

---

112 Ibid.
113 Quezon to MacArthur, 15 October 1935, TD, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 2: Correspondence, 1935, MacArthur Memorial Archives.
114 Quezon to MacArthur, 31 December 1935, TLS, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 2: Correspondence, 1935, MacArthur Memorial Archives.
115 Quezon to MacArthur, 18 June 1936, TLS, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 3: Correspondence, 1936, MacArthur Memorial Archives.
MacArthur lived in the public space of the Manila Hotel rather than sequestered at an Army post, enhancing his image of accessibility. He demanded quarters equal to the highest-ranking American in the Islands. As a result of his requests, Quezon hired architect Pedro Luna to convert the roof garden above the fifth floor of the Mania Hotel into a penthouse. Traversing the entire bay-front wing, it consisted of seven bedrooms, shelf-lined study, music room, and formal dining room.\(^\text{116}\) The newly built penthouse awaited MacArthur and his new bride, Jean Faircloth. They held their wedding reception at the hotel for several hundred officials and personal friends.\(^\text{117}\) MacArthur and Jean lived out the placid years of the Commonwealth at the hotel while he worked in his office at No. 1 Calle Victoria in the nearby Intramuros.

The MacArthurs’ social circle remained small. They preferred intimate groups at home rather than large gatherings. Jean held tea parties in the penthouse inviting both Filipina and American women.\(^\text{118}\) In 1938, their son Arthur was born.\(^\text{119}\) They held his Christening at the hotel suite and selected President Quezon and his wife, Dona Aurora, as his Godparents.\(^\text{120}\) In so doing, MacArthur transformed the bonds of friendship into ties of mutual obligation.

MacArthur offered his personnel help to friends in the Islands. For example, he wrote Stephen Fuqua, Military Attaché at the American Embassy in Spain on behalf of one of his close friends in the Philippines. I. F. de Mora, a Spanish businessman, sought the release of three family members in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War. His relatives remained under the


\(^\text{118}\) Day, 97.

\(^\text{119}\) MacArthur was fifty-eight and Jean thirty-nine at the time.

\(^\text{120}\) Manchester, 178.
protection of the Swiss Legation, since government restrictions limited travel.\footnote{MacArthur to Stephen Fuqua, 13 July 1937, TL, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 5: Correspondence, July to September 1937, MacArthur Memorial Archives.} De Mora thanked MacArthur for his concern about his family, “Please accept my heartiest gratitude for the letter you sent me – for the letter, and for the affectionate interest which you have shown in my family’s situation.”\footnote{I. F. de Mora to MacArthur, 15 July 1937, TLS, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 5: Correspondence, July to September 1937, MacArthur Memorial Archives.} This brief exchange provides a glimpse into MacArthur’s desire to be polite to Filipinos. At both a personal and official level, he projected a respectful image of both friend and teacher.

MacArthur approached his task of creating a Philippine military capable of defending the promised independent nation by assuming the mantle of an idealized teacher. He envisioned a trained citizenry able to assist the regular forces when required. MacArthur stated, “My plan for building a defense for the Philippines was a simple one, patterned after the citizen-soldier system of conscription effectively established in Switzerland.”\footnote{MacArthur, 114.} MacArthur consistently supported an independent Philippines respecting both its leaders the general population. During an interview for \textit{Colliers}, he expressed his opinions on the subject of independence. “My job, outside of building him an army, is to make him realize that democracy costs money and effort and isn’t just something that falls into his lap and can be forgotten.” According to MacArthur, “That’s why we’re starting in the schools, with kids of ten, to build up a national spirit and national confidence. It’s just as you’d teach a child to stand on its feet – it can stand, only it doesn’t
know it until it tries.” Both MacArthur and President Quezon anticipated a small standing army aided by trained citizens during emergencies.\textsuperscript{124}

The Islands’ strategic location athwart trade routes posed a danger to its national security. MacArthur believed that adequate preparations could dissuade aggression. A standing army would be too costly, however, a citizen army built over time seemed the most practical solution to the nation’s defense. MacArthur claimed, “The first step in the Filipino’s training begins in school.” Throughout their studies students learned sanitation, physical development, citizenship, and specific military training. He expected that through their education, a professional cadre of commissioned and non-commissioned officers would provide the leadership needed to direct the citizen army. However, America remained as an essential guarantee of sovereignty. “Until independence is achieved,” MacArthur insisted, “ultimate responsibility for Philippine Defense remains with the United States.” As part of that responsibility, the Philippine Army would provide an emergency reserve for the American forces stationed in the Islands.\textsuperscript{125}

Throughout the American Era, the American Army and Navy provided a demonstrative presence of power in the Islands. The relatively small contingent of officers and men developed into a professional core of soldiers and sailors who projected the image of a strong American military. The Army never expanded beyond the small, professional nucleus that served during the interwar years. Still, these regulars recognized the dangers facing them in the Pacific and


\textsuperscript{125} “National Defense in the Philippines” by General Douglas MacArthur, 1936, TD, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, box 1, folder 3: Correspondence, 1936, MacArthur Memorial Archives.
attempted to do the best they could with available resources. Similarly, the Navy fulfilled its mission and in the process developed officers with first-hand knowledge of the region.

The continuous visibility of the Army and Navy created a distinctive imperial impression that provided a feeling of security from internal and external threats up until the very moment of war. Troopers stationed in and near Manila imparted an image of control, as expected of an occupying army. Warships riding at anchor in Manila Bay portrayed the power of the Navy to defend the Islands as well as interests in Asia. The military presence in the Philippines reassured the American expatriate community of their safety while reminding Filipinos of their dependency on America. More broadly, the Philippines allowed the military to understand the demands of empire in the Pacific. This altered their focus from the Americas and Europe to the expanse of Asia. The Navy patrolled the waters of the western Pacific opening the door to China. The Army garrisoned the Philippines, ready to intervene in regional emergencies.

The multifaceted public image of the military influenced the social and cultural components of the era. Formal appearances in parades and sporting events transported American ideas of competition and discipline to the Philippines. Informally, restaurants, bars, and theaters catered to the tastes of these mostly young, single men. It’s no wonder that one continuing legacy is the Filipino’s greeting to Americans as “Hey Joe”!

As individuals, these soldiers and sailors maintained a clear vision of their identity. The rigid distinctions between officers and enlisted personnel carried over to interactions with the civilian community. There was little incentive or opportunity to mix socially with Filipinos, Americans, or other expatriates other than those perceived as social equals. Most of these men and women limited their associations to their military peers and families. As middle-class

---

126 Coffman, 289.
Americans, officers and their wives adapted to living in a foreign land while projecting an elitist persona demanded of their position. In contrast, Douglas MacArthur embodied the vision of an elite Army officer, yet projected a sympathetic demeanor to the Filipino population.

The experience of serving in the P.I. intensely affected how military families viewed their world. They shook-off their parochial mentality, an inevitable result of postings within the United States. The requirements of garrisoning a foreign station imbued these men and women with a tolerance of the exotic while they accomplished their mission. Not all did this well. Some turned to excessive drinking while others went native. Yet, the majority of the Army and Navy personnel fulfilled their roles in America’s Pacific domain.

The concentration of Army and Navy personnel in the vicinity of Manila magnified their influence on the Philippines. The city’s civilian population viewed the physical presence of uniformed soldiers and sailors from a distance, without a clear understanding of their true identity. Civilians imagined an officer corps worthy of empire, projecting security in the Islands and the western Pacific. Uniforms masked the decidedly middle-class nature of these men and women as seen by their private lives and restricted society. The military’s public displays of strength and discipline, however, became part of the Islands’ culture.

While the military created images of empire, America’s expansive civilian policies directly affected the lives of Filipinos. Administrators, civil servants, and educators crafted programs aimed at transforming the culture of the Islands. These men and women implemented a reform agenda in hopes of building an American-style democracy in their Pacific colony. Civilian programs, unlike military missions, required the cooperation of the Filipino people.
CHAPTER 5
SERVANTS OF EMPIRE

It is well to remember that the situation in Manila is always loaded with dynamite, and that even a disinterested desire to be of help may be misunderstood and be swept into the ever turbulent political sea.

—Dr. Victor G. Heiser

Civilian control of the Philippines emerged early in the era of American administration, diminishing the authority of the military and facilitating Filipino participation in the colonial regime. Administrators, civil servants, educators, and public health officials embraced a progressive agenda that relied upon efficiency, technology, and expertise to develop the Philippines. Middle-class Americans shouldered the responsibility for creating this colonial government and its new bureaucracy. The same progressive impulse that shaped modern America in the early twentieth century triggered nation-building in the Philippines during this same time period.

The experience of men and women who worked in the civilian government speaks to the larger question of nation-building. Creating a self-sufficient Philippines required civil servants to perform the tasks associated with government institutions. How they accomplished their assignments, while cooperating with their Filipino coworkers, informs the nature of America’s progressive reforms in the Islands. Some individuals expected to create an exceptional form of government, not one that mimicked the evils of other nation’s imperialism, but one focused on uplift and benevolence. Conflicts arose when these progressive experts transferred control to Filipinos. This process of Filipinization, and the larger issue of political independence, constrained the actions of American government employees. In order to understand the dynamics of Americans and Filipinos in the colonial bureaucracy, we need to first describe the institutions, and then explore people’s actions within those organizations.
This chapter explores three critical areas of progressive reform applied to Philippine development. It begins with the structure of the insular government and how American civil servants negotiated their status with Filipino bureaucrats. The number of Americans in the colonial government peaked at over 3,000 employees in 1905. The subsequent two sections examine education and public health. Programs replicated progressive goals, while adapting to the specific needs of the Islands. The process of Filipinization profoundly affected both Americans and Filipinos throughout the era. The experience of Americans who served within these programs illuminates the convergence and conflict of two particular cultures.

American imperialism based nation-building on progressive reforms, focusing on efficient government, secular education, and public health. Administrators believed that applying programs targeting these areas would benefit the Philippines in a similar manner as they would in America’s cities. They assumed that effective government, staffed by experts, offered the best means to solve society’s problems in the modern era. If progressive reforms held promise in urban America, then those same initiatives would transform the Philippines. Reformers assumed that civil service positions circumvented partisan appointments for the expanding bureaucracy. Educators sought to develop broad-based civic sentiment while fostering English as a nation-building tool. Sanitation and public-health initiatives attended to the physical development of the population. Reformers often found that Filipino leaders resembled big-city politicians back home in steering their agenda towards partisan objectives. Americans developed programs intended to uplift the majority of Filipinos but often encountered an elite political oligarchy that insisted upon political independence as a priority.

From the beginning of the Insular Government, structural limits constrained reformers. Filipino demands for independence shaped policy in Washington and confined colonial
development within boundaries established by the colonized elite. Throughout this period
American public servants were restrained by Filipino collaboration, cooperation, and eventually
consent to accomplish their tasks. Many Americans found this dynamic frustrating because they
saw themselves as experts in charge of creating a modern state.

America’s tentative formulation of colonial policy empowered Filipino elites in their
demands for independence, and Filipinization programs simultaneously frustrated and
demoralized Americans in public service positions. Public statements against Philippine
independence constituted an unpardonable sin. For most Filipino elites political independence
remained the litmus test for notable government positions. Americans who spoke negatively on
the subject faced retribution. Positions within all aspects of the government became linked with
political independence. Independence and Filipinization created obstacles to progressive reform.

American public servants emerged from a middle class that valued efficient government as
a means to improve society. Robert Wiebe argues in The Search for Order that a new middle
class embraced the ideals of associations and scientific methods to form a bureaucratic society.
These professionals in medicine, law, economics, and social work as well as specialists in
business, labor, and agriculture distinguished themselves by their expert status.\(^1\) Resistance to
these reformers’ intentions led to impatience with existing systems and the slow pace of change.
Robert Wiebe insists on the importance of order for the middle class.\(^2\) They believed that
scientific government offered the surest route to implementing reforms to create a modern
society. The placement of self-imagined experts in an American colonial bureaucracy locates
these servants well within the progressive frame.

---

\(^2\) Ibid., 166.
These servants of empire expected to contribute to the success of colonization by doing their jobs well. Some may have been motivated by a missionary zeal, but most simply wished to accomplish their assignments in an efficient manner. Yet, this fostered conflicts with Filipinos throughout the American Era. Americans generally undervalued the contributions of Spanish development in the Islands. As a result they either ignored existing institutions or viewed their own accomplishments from a singular perspective. Most of these men and women did not intend to appear rude, but by virtually ignoring the Islands status as a twice-colonized state, they undervalued the necessity of building relationships. This should not come as a surprise since many of their progressive counterparts ignored the desires of urban immigrants and rural poor. The structural changes of colonial government limited nation-building reform.

The civilian administration during the American Era evolved from the military government of the Philippine-American War to the Commonwealth structure prior to World War II. Within this brief period of time, imperialism followed a trajectory from American to Filipino control that strongly influenced key concerns of good government, education, and public health. The Philippine Commission, led by William H. Taft, established civilian authority on 4 July 1901. It served a dual role as both the legislature and Governor-General Taft’s cabinet. The Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) operated within the War Department overseeing the new colonial government in the Islands.\(^3\) Congress approved the Organic Act on 1 July 1902, which defined the role and shape of civil government in the Islands. This organic, or insular act, provided for an elected Philippine Assembly within two years after a census. The BIA remained within the War Department until 1935 when it transferred to the Department of the Interior until abolished in 1939.

Filipino participation in the colonial government began early and increased over time. As a result of the 1907 election, Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmena’s Nationalista party formed the first Philippine Assembly. The commission remained as the upper house and retained a majority of Americans until Governor-General Francis B. Harrison appointed a Filipino majority to the commission in 1913. Filipinization of government positions accelerated under Harrison.

While independence permeated Philippine politics, the Jones Act of 1916 affirmed eventual independence of the Islands. Named for Representative William Atkinson Jones of Virginia, it linked independence to the formation of a stable government. The act abolished the Commission and replaced it with a Senate. As a result of this act, Filipinos increasingly joined in the judicial and legislative branches of government, thereby diminishing American administrative responsibility. By 1925, the remaining Americans in the cabinet were the governor general and lieutenant governor general who also served as the Secretary of Education.

Responding to Filipino demands for political control, Congress enacted the Tydings-McDuffie Act of March 1934, establishing a ten-year transition to independence. This legislation created a Commonwealth status, in which the United States maintained control of the Islands’ defense and foreign affairs. The inauguration of President Manuel L. Quezon on 15 November 1935 marked the beginning of the Commonwealth Government. Formal colonial ties ended with the Philippine independence ceremony on 4 July 1946 in the Luneta.

Americans who entered government service exhibited a spirit of optimism which, by reproducing American institutions in the Philippines, led to a confidence in their ability to build a modern state in Asia. Administrators and civil servants were motivated by the belief that efficient government served as a model for colonial policy. The following section traces how

---

4 Ibid., 353.
individuals responded to their diminished autonomy due to structural changes from the Taft era through the Commonwealth government.

William Howard Taft created a structure of governance that persisted beyond his tenure in the Islands. After his term as Governor-General ended in 1903, he served as Secretary of War and then President, retaining supervision over the P.I.’s direction. The first Philippine Commission consisted of Taft, Luke Wright, Henry C. Ide, Dean C. Worcester, and Bernard Moses. Wright then Ide replaced Taft as Governor-General, while Worcester served on the Commission until 1913, the longest serving original member. They received what some politicians back home saw as excessive salaries, first $5,000 each for being on the commission then additional annual salaries of $15,000 for Taft as civil governor and $10,000 for Wright (finance and justice), Worchester (interior), Ide (commerce and police), and Moses (public institutions).

The civil government delegated control of local decisions to the towns. Officials centralized the financial and judicial operations for greater supervision. In this manner the civil government sought to achieve responsible, honest, and timely decisions at all levels. Filipinos directed local affairs while Americans retained oversight of financial and judicial decisions.

The colonial government searched for operational structure at the beginning of the regime. Paul Kramer relates how governors and commissioners served at the pleasure of the American president, yet were constrained by public perceptions and congressional inquiries. Prior to the

---


6 William A. Jones, 19 June 1902, folder American Occupancy of the Philippine Islands, box 88, William A. Jones Papers, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

passage of the Organic Act in 1902, the Philippine Commission operated for nearly a year as the executive and administrative heart of the government. The Act codified the civilian government and defined Filipino identity. Residents of the Islands as of 11 April 1899 remained citizens of the Philippines and not the United States. At a basic level this separation defined future relationships between Americans and Filipinos.

Taft struggled during the start of civilian government in the Islands. He confided a litany of obstacles “in our experiment here” to James LeRoy, historian and secretary to Worcester. In 1902 a number of diseases affected the economic stability of the Islands, especially cholera, rhinderpest, surra, and malignant malaria. Silver valuations varied by 30%, affecting wage earners, “and now a schism in the Catholic church,” noted Taft, “with a red-hot religious controversy between Aglipai’s followers and the Roman Catholic authorities.” Taft expected a negative assessment from the recent visit of General Miles, “He has seen nothing but army circles, and his two favorites, Baldwin and Lee, are of the old-style denouncers of civil government and the necessity for the rigor of military government.” Taft’s candid remark describing the experimental nature of American colonial government accurately reflected the early structure of the regime.

Americans who worked in the Philippines hoped that Taft’s familiarity with the Islands would advance their agenda. Edmond Black believed Taft’s actions placated proponents of Filipino autonomy. Black believed Taft’s statements against American retention caused uncertainty in the business community. For example, Taft proposed an additional Filipino on the Supreme Court, creating a majority. “Anyone who thinks for one single fraction of a second,”

---

8 Kramer, 165.

Black insisted, “can see that capital will not come to a country where we have neither consular nor court appeal. When the merchants – foreign and American heard of this last freakish move, they were simply staggered.” Still, he considered Taft a promising candidate for the presidency. “He’s the best man I know of for the place so far as we are concerned, if he will only remember that an American is the equal of a Filipino and deserves equal protection under the law.” Black provided an anecdote of what he considered unfair treatment.¹⁰

Americans who lived outside major cities faced local hostility. Black advised that “any American who isolates himself in a place outside of three or four of the big towns, is sure at some time to find himself in jail for having struck a Filipino.” He explained the situation for Americans. “Once you are charged, you might as well give up. You don’t have to buy testimony; they like to lie so much they’ll do it for nothing.” He assured LeRoy of his objectivity. He recounted frequent examples where “white men are accused of having horribly maltreated natives.” Bribes and payments provided one means of avoiding trouble of this nature. “Of course we could if we desired, pay tribute to the Justice of the Peace – so much per month and come out clear every time.” Once charged an American would have to stay in jail awaiting his appeal. Needless to say, the conditions of a local cell struck most Americans as anathema. Yet, this practice did not appear common at the time. Black relented “It’s true that very few cases are so extreme, but there’s more lying over here to get Americans into trouble than philosophers have ever dreamed of.”¹¹

Colonial administrators focused on economic development projects in the Islands. The Philippines were expected to be financially self-sustaining except for direct military

---


¹¹ Ibid.
expenditures. One of the longest serving governors, William Cameron Forbes, was Governor-General from 1908 to 1913. Of a total fourteen governors-general during the period, Forbes, Francis Burton Harrison (1913-1921), and Leonard Wood (1921-1927) held office for over half the position’s existence. Forbes stressed infrastructure improvements and economic development. The insular government awarded concessions as a means to develop natural resources and grow the economy. For example, acting director of forestry, William F. Sherfesee, sought bids for a twenty-year timber concession on the island of Mindoro. Requirements included a minimum capitalization of 250,000 pesos, building a sawmill, and obtaining logging equipment. The government expected production levels of 60,000 cubic meters of timber during the first two years.\(^\text{12}\)

Supporters of Philippine autonomy often resisted economic expansion. The American city of Baguio and the Benguet Road became points of contention. Few Filipino politicians openly supported the expenditures. Southworth, a member of the Manila law firm of Southworth, Hargis & Springer, charged the government with “squandering the money of the people of these Islands, not only in an extravagant and wasteful manner but in ways which very strongly intimate criminality.” Southworth accused Governor-General Forbes with misappropriation of funds from other projects or inflated budgets “with the express intention on the part of the officials of applying this excess to Baguio and the Benguet Road.”\(^\text{13}\)

By the end of Governor-General Forbes’ term, the financial condition of the Islands remained strong. The government operated, on average, on a balanced budget. Customs provided roughly half the revenue, followed by internal taxes, as well as smaller amounts under

---

\(^{12}\) “Timber Concession Offered,” *Philippine Free Press*, 2 March 1912.

\(^{13}\) L. M. Southworth to William A. Jones, 9 August 1913, TLS, folder 1913, box 93, William A. Jones Papers.
miscellaneous headings. Bureaus and offices accounted for the largest expenditures, 65%, while public works projects utilized 22% of the budget. While high-level officials directed policy matters, the majority of Americans in government service often remained in the shadows. Nevertheless, their tenure and contributions provide insight on the nature of the experience. Civil servants acted out their culture as they interacted with Filipinos on a daily basis.

Good government required hundreds of qualified civil servants capable of carrying out the projects in the Islands. Bureaucratic expansion provided early opportunities, yet few Americans desired civil service positions in the Philippines. After the initial flush of teachers, skilled jobs often remained vacant. The need was great, but rumors, low pay, and sufficient prospects at home thwarted the department’s project of attracting Americans. These individuals moved to the Islands motivated by a desire to perform their jobs in a competent manner, lured by the adventure of working in a distant land. Attempts to hire civil engineers illustrate the difficulties encountered. The need for qualified engineers remained largely unfilled. W. S. Washburn of Manila’s Bureau of Civil Service explained the pressing need for qualified individuals and the difficulty in drawing them to the Islands. “Excluding the Benguet Road, there probably has never been a time when the number and extent of engineering projects required as many engineers as at the present time; the Commission has made larger appropriations this year than ever before.” Private enterprise projects continued to draw from the pool of Americans who traveled there for government service.


The government screened candidates through civil service examinations, identifying qualified individuals with the potential of succeeding in these demanding positions. Selection criteria included performance on the exams, health certificates, and age limitations. Washburn explained why relatively few Americans applied for these positions. “My own view,” according to Washburn, “is that the difficulties of the Bureau and the Commission arise largely either through failure to offer adequate salaries or by so restricting the conditions under which appointment is made as to practically destroy competition and to effectively operate as a handicap to the Bureau and the Commission in obtaining appointees.”

Frank McIntyre at the BIA sympathized with Washburn, but remained optimistic. He believed it likely that the current openings for twenty civil engineers would be filled. Senior positions included three openings at $1,800 salaries and two at $2,750. The remainder, fifteen positions at $1,400 per annum, targeted junior engineers, especially recent graduates. McIntyre disagreed that health conditions headed the list of concerns. Drawing from recent requests for teachers, “Some of the replies we have received from county and city superintendents to our circular letters asking their assistance in inducing the right people to compete in large numbers in the teacher tests,” stated McIntyre, “have caustically arraigned the salary proposition.” Others complained about transportation reimbursements and perceptions over lack of promotion. Those Americans who accepted civil service positions, in spite of modest salaries, encountered colonial politics. The Constabulary illustrates how Filipinization programs affected the attitudes of its American officers.

The Philippine Constabulary served as a national police force quelling occasional bandit activities and providing a means of central control over the population. Early in its formation

---

16 Ibid.

American soldiers transferred to the Constabulary forming its leadership corps. While other colonial countries used native troops led by white officers, the Philippine Constabulary policed a particular district with troops recruited from the same area.\textsuperscript{18}

Owen Tomlinson served in the Philippines as an enlisted soldier. He applied for a position of junior lieutenant of the Philippine Constabulary in January 1905.\textsuperscript{19} At the time he was 1\textsuperscript{st} Sergeant, Co. K, 12\textsuperscript{th} U.S. Infantry, Camp Jossman. He passed his exam, received a discharge from the regular Army, and joined the Constabulary as third lieutenant with an annual salary of $900.\textsuperscript{20} The Constabulary assigned Tomlinson to Bulacan, where he proceeded to San Miguel to assume command of the detachment at the station. Tomlinson projected a confident image as an American Constabulary officer. Young and lean, his face held a determined glare due to his close-set eyes and high cheekbones. He was relatively short in height, matching that of most of his all-Filipino staff.\textsuperscript{21} Tomlinson thrived in the organization and received a promotion to Second Lieutenant on 3 May 1906 and achieved the rank of first lieutenant on 1 July 1908 with a salary of 2800 pesos.\textsuperscript{22}

Already in 1908, Americans in the Constabulary doubted their future in the organization. The Acting Director, J. Hubboad, addressed these concerns with a confidential memo to the Constabulary officers. “There is uneasiness among our officers,” he acknowledged, “particularly the younger ones, a feeling of doubt and lack of confidence in the stability of the Constabulary


\textsuperscript{19} Tomlinson to Adjutant General, 26 January 1905, D, folder 1899-1905, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

\textsuperscript{20} “General Orders No. 39”, 3 April 1905, TD, folder 1899-1905, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.

\textsuperscript{21} Photograph, 1915, Photograph Albums, box 2, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.

\textsuperscript{22} “Special Orders, No. 34”, 3 May 1906, folder: 1906-1910, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.
and the permanence of their positions.” The Philippine and American press criticized the units demanding strength reductions and Filipinization. Hubboad anticipated that more Filipinos would become officers, but they would not replace qualified and diligent Americans. He encouraged his officers “to keep cool and advise others to do likewise, to keep your faith and in deciding on your careers to consider the Constabulary as a permanent Corps in which industry, good judgment, and honesty will win their due rewards.”

American participation in the Great War accelerated the replacement of Americans with Filipinos. There remained only nineteen Americans left with the Constabulary by the end of 1918. Many joined the Philippine National Guard without the likelihood that they would return. Tomlinson served out his career as Adjutant of the Philippine Constabulary from 11 December 1917 to his retirement on 25 November 1918. He remained single throughout his service and at the age of thirty-five, retired and moved back to America. Filipinization policies signaled progress towards self-government. While often attributed to Governor-General Harrison, they began early in the period, permeating bureaucratic appointments.

The Bureau of Insular Affairs report for 1912 reviewed American progress in administering the Philippines. American policy’s primary objective directed the War Department to prepare the Filipino people for self-government. By this time Filipinos almost exclusively populated the municipal and county governments including officers and the position of Justice of the Peace. At higher levels, one-half of the Judges of First Instance were Filipinos, as were four of the nine Supreme Court Justices. While these efforts demonstrated progress

23 “J Hubboad, Confidential,” 1 May 1908, TDS, folder 1906-1910, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.
24 Constabulary Record, by C.E. Nathorst, TDS, folder 1917-1920, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.
towards self-government, they created apprehension within the American community. Political independence elicited a feeling of uncertainty, especially for civil service employees. John Early, a teacher and bureaucrat, received a warning from a friend in the Mountain Province office, “It does not seem that there is much future for the average American government employee in these Islands, and the sooner, therefore, that you can engage in some lucrative and agreeable occupation the better for you, and as I said before the little that I can do will be done gladly and with all my might.”

Individuals witnessed the Filipinization process throughout government departments.

James A. Robertson served as the first librarian of the Philippine Library in Manila from 1910 through 1916 followed by six years with the Department of Commerce. Photographs illustrated a well-organized, though modest, library including open and closed stacks, reading tables, and files. The light and open rooms with well-crafted furniture and woodwork provided a pleasant atmosphere for visitors. The library staff, as portrayed in a 1913 (or 1914) group photo, included twenty-three people of whom four were Americans. In addition to Robertson, three American women held positions at the library, Miss Dwyer, Miss McKee, and Mrs. Elmer. Manual Artigas stood out among the Filipino staff members, positioned on Robertson’s right, dressed in his dark, formal suit. Upon Robertson’s departure from the library, Filipinos held the position without interruption.

Prominent Americans in the Islands, including Bishop Charles Brent and Dean Worcester, questioned Filipinization policies. They believed Harrison’s large-scale replacement of Americans with Filipinos, while dramatic, undermined efficient government. Brent argued that

---

26 Caupeteg to John Early, 17 January 1912, TLS, folder: Correspondence, undated and 1911-1920, box 1, John C. Early Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

27 Philippine Library, ca. 1913-14, photograph, oversized box 19, James Alexander Robertson Papers.
only two policies were possible. First, America could pull out of the Islands immediately and let
the Filipinos manage their own affairs. Brent and many Americans who lived in the Islands
favored an alternative position. Brent preferred “to continue a system of rational and honest
development, putting Filipinos in office not because they are Filipinos but because they are
competent Filipinos, fitted for their work by long and successful training as understudies.” He
disagreed with Harrison’s policy and claimed the change premature. Brent offered an analogy,
“But to claim that eight or ten years can make the Filipino ready to attend to his own house-
keeping is like promising a pupil in the primary school that in three or four years he will be made
a teacher.”

Thousands of Americans moved to the Islands as civil servants. During the first decade of
the era, openings at virtually all positions created an expanded bureaucracy. Government
employees generally performed their tasks in an efficient manner. However, high turnover
among Americans caused problems of continuity. During 1907, of the 2,626 Americans in the
service, approximately 500 resigned for other positions. Scientists, civil engineers, surveyors,
physicians, and teachers left for more lucrative opportunities, citing the lack of promotion and
adequate pension provisions as important factors in moving from government employment.
Many treated these positions as simply temporary assignments.

The government recognized these problems but failed to develop long-term solutions. As
a result, the number of Americans declined, replaced by Filipinos seeking higher salary
structures than were available in the private sector. The number of American civil servants

---

28 Bishop Brent to Dean C. Worcester, 26 September 1914, TLS, folder: Correspondence, July-Dec. 1914,
box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Michigan.

29 “Special Report of Frederick McIntyre,” 1916, folder: Research Materials, Halsema, E. J., 1913-1918,
box 34, RG-105, James J. Halsema Papers.
declined from 3,307 in 1905 to less than 2,000 in 1914. Filipinos filled the positions, attracted by the prestige and income since salary structures remained equal for a given grade regardless of citizenship. Some departments modified this by hiring locals at a lower grade than the American whose job they had replaced. Filipinization fulfilled the Commission’s stated goal of replacing Americans with Filipinos as rapidly as possible. It demonstrated progress towards the larger goal of political independence.

The desire of Filipinos for independence shaped colonial governance throughout the period. It caused the Philippine-American War, fostered anti-imperial sentiment, and led to the decision, in the Jones Act (1916), that America would eventually relinquish sovereignty over the Islands. Promised Philippine independence shaped American imperialism into a tentative form of control. Filipinos increased their role in government decisions starting from the Assembly in 1907. Politically, the question of independence was settled, and during the 1920s and early 1930s discussions centered on the timing and limits of American control. As a result, civil servants risked their careers by publicly denouncing the wisdom of an independent Philippines.

Judicial appointments also offered attractive positions for Americans. The judicial organization in the Philippines consisted of forty-nine provinces and the city of Manila, each containing a Justice of the Peace and Auxiliary whose jurisdiction included review of criminal cases and violations of municipal ordinances. Above these, the Court of the First Instance functioned in each province and Manila. Judges of first instance received their appointments

30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
from the Governor-General with the consent of the Philippine Senate. Finally, the Supreme Court reviewed both criminal and civil cases previously tried in the lower courts.32

William H. Connor served in various legislative and legal positions, gaining insight into the political ramifications of independence. Connor recalled how judge Herbert D. Gale “did the Honorable Bill Jones scuttle-act,” leaving his work in the Philippines undone, thereby “abandoning the erstwhile beloved Filipino to his Democratic fate.” Gale served as Judge of the court of First Instance in Zamboanga.33 Connor worked in the Moro Province preparing legislation under the direction of General John Pershing. While civil servants certainly held opinions regarding independence, Connor believed that publicly expressing these views appeared unseemly. He claimed that “the expression of any opinion that might prejudice wither the formation or execution of the new governmental policy” seemed rash, not knowing the eventual intention of a Democratic congress in 1915. Privately, Connor felt comfortable in confiding his views to D. D. Wallace in a letter dated 24 August 1915. Here is an instructive view from someone who had lived and worked in the islands for twelve years. “I believe in eventual independence for the Filipino people,” according to Connor, “without hastening the event to its own undoing.” The Philippine problem centered around how far and fast to go in reaching that goal. For Connor, “The body politic as a whole is not today prepared for independence in my opinion nor can it be developed to such a state of fitness in the early, visible future.” Attempts by Congress to set a fixed date appeared unreasonable, since the Islands above all else, required a stable government. “You cannot have a stable public opinion or stable popular will,” he insisted,


“where dense ignorance and mental primitiveness predominate among a people.” Rather, according to Connor, the Insular Department of Education needed to continue its good work in preparing the majority of Filipinos for their responsibility.\(^{34}\) Connor supported a clear statement of American policy that affirmed eventual independence. Should such a statement be made, it would “eradicate distrust, engender confidence, and cause the subsidence of the incessant political agitation which for the past fifteen years has retarded industrial, economic, and human development in these Islands.” He believed that a clear expression of America’s intent should be followed by Filipino obedience to authority.\(^{35}\)

Government employees faced a quandary in the Philippines. They served as professionals under the assumption that their expertise benefited the P.I. and its people. Many discerned the value of political tact in advancing their personal agendas. Emily Rosenberg explains how the BIA selected experts for Philippine service as part of a financial stabilization process. She explores connections between dollar diplomacy and colonial assumptions that American actions differed from its European rivals based on benevolence rather than exploitation.\(^{36}\) Moreover, the Philippines provided a training ground for many individuals who moved on to apply policies and procedures first employed in the Islands.

Relatively few Americans obtained long-term positions within the Philippine bureaucracy. Announced government intentions of Filipinization began early and accelerated during Harrison’s term as Governor General. Promised career opportunities proved limited for most civil servants who moved on to private-sector employment or transferred out of the Islands.


\(^{35}\) Ibid.

Many resented these realities and responded by singling out independence as a key factor in limiting their advancement. Individuals in prominent positions who made public their opinions often faced a hostile Filipino response.

From the 1920s forward, administrators faced the reality of Philippine independence with either reluctant acceptance or bitter disappointment. Dean Worcester returned to the Islands after serving on the Commission and engaged in a series of business ventures. Worcester opposed Philippine independence claiming it was far too early in the development process. Worcester replied to the Wood-Forbes mission request regarding his opinions on recent trends in the administration of the P.I. However, due to his imminent departure for America, he expressed only brief opinions supported by some examples. Worcester believed Harrison’s Filipinization programs created inefficient and corrupt bureaus. He claimed that as a result of poor leadership “much work has fallen very badly behind.” Consequently, the resulting backlog “has made it possible to enforce demands for improper payment against people who imperatively needed quick action.” He cited an example from his recent experience. Worcester applied for a permit to build a pier at company owned land at Opon, location of the Visayan Refinery. “I tried in vain for more than six months even to secure an answer to my application for permission to build this pier,” claimed Worcester, in spite of assurances from the Bureau of Lands in Manila that it would take only a few days. He received agreement from the Port Collector to proceed without the permit and built the pier. “More than two years after the application was put in and when the pier had been completed about a year and a half,” noted Worcester, “I got permission to build it.”

Worcester’s well-known criticism of independence kept him at odds with prominent Filipinos. Many American civil servants found that discretion offered an alternative strategy.

---

37 Dean C. Worcester to The Special Mission to the Philippine Islands, 4 August 1921, TLS, folder: Papers 1921-22 Concerning Wood-Forbes mission, box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers.
Modest expectations allowed Americans to retain their cultural independence while building relationships with Filipinos. Away from the limelight of Manila, Eusebius Julius Halsema was Mayor of Baguio for nearly twenty years, a unique feat in government service. His experiences, formed in Ohio, help explain his motivations in moving to the Philippines. Once there, Halsema’s unassuming manners allowed him to establish constructive relationships that led to efficient governance.

Halsema was raised in New Bremen, Ohio, a German community where his family’s Dutch, Catholic background proved exceptional. Halsema’s religion caused him few problems. His daughter Betty recalled, “Dad didn’t go to the Protestant church’s young peoples meetings (he made the long walk to Catholic church in Minster every Sunday) but he was included in everything else.” This may have foreshadowed Halsema’s tolerant attitude years later in Baguio. Halsema’s high school paper, “Aguinaldo and the Philippines,” illustrates his early interest in the Islands. He financed his education, in part, by borrowing from his life insurance policy as well as working at the hometown bank between his sophomore and junior years. As a result, it took him six years to graduate from Ohio State University where he received his degree in Civil Engineering on 19 June 1907. After graduation, Halsema applied for a civil engineering position in the Philippines. He passed his civil service examination in March 1908, moved to the Islands, and served as district engineer for Benguet Mountain Province. Betty explained his reasoning, “It was an adventure and there was a job there.” During his initial assignment, he


39 Commencement Program, Ohio State University, 1907, folder: Research Materials, Halsema, E. J., 1900-1908, box 34, James J. Halsema Papers.

40 Inventory of Examination papers, May 1908, TD, folder: Research Materials, Halsema, E. J., 1900-1908, box 34, James J. Halsema Papers.
attempted to learn the local language. However, with so many dialects and the increased knowledge of English by the local population, he gave up.\textsuperscript{41} Halsema worked in the Philippines for several years before he married.

The Halsemas appeared as a pleasant middle-class family. Julius stood tall, his slightly heavy frame dressed in a light colored suit and tie. His egg-shaped face, receding hairline, and glasses projected the common man, not the patrician. His wife, Marie, easily impressed with her clean-cut appearance. She was pretty. Her short hair allowed her pleasant face to stand out, drawing attention to her overall well-proportioned appearance. Their children, Betty and Jim, fit within the American two-children model of middle-class respectability, with Betty the older of the two. Photographs of the family in Baguio could be mistaken for a Sunday picture in America with Marie and Betty in spring hats, dresses, and a light coat on Marie. While the father wore the mandatory suit, James sported knickers, a cardigan, and golf cap. The healthy Halsemas appeared content in their distant home.\textsuperscript{42}

Baguio proved an anomaly not only as an American-favored city, but also because of its American mayor. Julius Halsema and his family lived a modest, middle-class existence. The family maintained a regular schedule, eating at 7:00 AM, noon, and 6:00 PM. Betty and James were expected to be on time for these family functions. While Julius and Marie married in a Catholic Church and Betty received her baptism at the Manila Cathedral, Julius seldom attended mass in the Islands. “He was on good terms with Fr. Carlo and the other Catholic Priests and Brothers.” Betty recalled, “He said he had grown away from it and he also felt the churches

\textsuperscript{41} “Conversations for my grandchildren,” TD, folder: Research Materials, Halsema, E. J., 1882-1900, box 34, James J. Halsema Papers.

political role in P.I. and didn’t want to align himself with any side.” He entertained, more out of a sense of duty than pleasure. Halsema remained a rather private person, and enjoyed Baguio, although at times they discussed a move to California for retirement.\textsuperscript{43}

The physical setting of Baguio provided a remote outpost in the Philippines. Halsema benefited from its distinctiveness that few others witnessed. Throughout the era Manila remained central to the colonial regime. With the approach of independence, even moderate politicians witnessed the increased pressures resulting from Filipino autonomy. Some continued to argue for retention while others accepted the inevitable.

Joseph Hayden served as Vice Governor under Frank Murphy, the last Governor-General of the Philippines. Born in Quincy, Illinois, Hayden received his B.A. from Knox College and then his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He remained at Michigan as professor of political science, specializing in Philippine politics and government. Hayden was an exchange professor at the University of the Philippines in the early 1920s and later at the State University of the Philippines. He traveled extensively during these periods developing relationships with Filipinos. His expertise greatly assisted Murphy who had little knowledge of the Islands.

Joseph and Elizabeth Hayden lived in Manila with their three children, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ralston. Hayden’s family photo from 1933 depicted a modest outing to the local marketplace, in spite of his position as the second most important American appointment in the Philippines. His daughters both wore white dresses, although Elizabeth’s clearly reflected her greater maturity. After all, she was fifteen. Mary looked rather bored, and probably resented the childish dress with a crossed tie and layered skirt. At least most thirteen-year-old girls probably

felt that way then, and today. Ralston demonstrated his precocious nine years, especially in his white shorts and shirt. Joseph sported a suit, hat, and tie while Elizabeth (his wife) wore a baggy dress, knit hat, and frayed silk stockings. The family appeared distinctly middle class, happy, and comfortable within a foreign setting.\(^{44}\)

Hayden and Elizabeth associated mostly with fellow Americans, either at home or at the Polo Club for tea while watching a game. He enjoyed tennis and attempted to play frequently during the late afternoon. If he missed out due to a late day at the office, a walk to the beach often served as a good alternative.\(^{45}\) Sunday routines consisted of tennis, walks to visit friends, and Church. Social calls remained a prominent activity throughout the day.\(^{46}\)

In 1934, Americans acted with Philippine independence in mind. Hayden attempted to balance directives of the War Department that emphasized the principle of autonomy with reasoned steps that maintained good government. For example, he agreed that new appointments for the Constabulary should develop Filipino control and responsibility. However, his practical experience in the Islands recognized the difference between political expediency and sound policy. During a discussion with Sergio Osmena, he objected to Manuel Quezon’s public position that upon independence, Army reservations should be handed over for Philippine control while naval bases would be decided later. This elicited strong opposition from Hayden, who believed eliminating American “military forces from the Islands seemed like filling their

\(^{44}\) Family in the market, 1933, photograph, folder: Handwritten Notes, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

\(^{45}\) Joseph R. Hayden, 24 February 1934, folder: Diary, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.

\(^{46}\) Joseph R. Hayden, 28 January 1934, folder: Diary, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.
house with gasoline and then tearing up the insurance policy.” Osmena agreed with Hayden having expressed a similar sentiment to Quezon.47

The BIA directed its employees in the Philippines to build an efficient government capable of supporting self-determination. The civil servants charged with this responsibility approached their tasks with a distinctive middle-class point of view that they would do good, by doing their jobs well. Fundamentally, these individuals sought stable positions that enhanced their careers in government service. These examples suggest that civil servants often moved to the Islands because of some previous knowledge of the Philippines. Many remained because they found life in a colonial environment interesting. While a chance for adventure may have sparked an interest in the Philippines, the job itself took precedence over any imagined encounters.

Filipinization programs interfered with some of these aspirations. The replacement of Americans with Filipinos demonstrated progress towards self-determination, but often ran afoul of career goals. Conflicts over the perceived pace of change created a quandary for many of these individuals. Most had little control over the colonial administration’s directives. Therefore, American civil servants who remained working in the Islands managed to place the performance of their duties ahead of local politics. Government employees had to be particularly careful in keeping their opinions on the timing of independence to themselves. Most Americans believed that education served as an important nation-building tool in order to realize Filipino self-determination.

Educational policies imposed a progressive vision of social change in the Islands, similar to Americanization efforts directed towards immigrants in the United States. Americans believed that the public school offered the surest means of creating common interests among a

47 Joseph R. Hayden, 28 February 1934, folder: Diary, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.
diverse population. Preparing Filipinos for self-determination through public education was a key component of nation building. Educators transported policies of English language, universal access, fitness, and industrial education to the Islands. These programs and the publicity surrounding education created an impression that, compared to its European rivals, America tempered its imperialism with altruistic motives. From the late nineteenth century, Americans believed that education and the common school could solve nearly all the nation’s problems, including the assimilation of large foreign populations.\textsuperscript{48} American educators moved to the Islands creating a positive impression among Filipinos that persisted throughout the period. Unlike other civil servants, many teachers remained in the department of education in spite of pressures to fill positions with Filipinos.

Americans inherited an educational system from the Spanish regime that reflected its Catholic, European vision. In 1865, Philippine education expanded, forming a Normal School and the broader concept of universal education.\textsuperscript{49} Further changes occurred in 1871, as educators implemented the plan of studies from Cuba. While topics of Christian doctrine and morality formed part of the curriculum, reading, writing, arithmetic, and especially Spanish defined the primary education program.\textsuperscript{50}

The number of national and private schools in 1870 included 1,004 for boys and 775 for girls. Of the nearly 400,000 students, 57% were boys and 43% girls. Over the following twenty years, the numbers of schools increased to a total of 2,113. By 1892, schools for both boys and


\textsuperscript{49} Evergisto Sanchez Bazaco, \textit{History of Education in the Philippines} (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1939), 218.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 248.
girls remained nearly equal in the lower grades while relatively few 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} class schools existed for girls.\textsuperscript{51}

Table 5-1. Number of schools in 1892.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entrada (lower)</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>1022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascenso (2\textsuperscript{nd} class)</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Termino (1\textsuperscript{st} class)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The American regime rejected European models in favor of the secular common school. However, specific education policies reflected the often-contradictory goals of administrators assigned to the Philippines. In his 1980 book, \textit{Social History in the Philippines}, Glenn Anthony May states that administrators vacillated from favoring the traditional classroom to industrial education programs. He argues that the initial goals of colonial policy from 1900 to 1913, preparing Filipinos for government responsibilities, providing primary education for the masses, and developing the economy, failed to change the inherited social and political character of Filipino society, which retained much of its blend of Spanish and Filipino characteristics. May disagrees with studies that claim American instituted education was valuable. He maintains that the programs were poorly conceived and executed, lacked continuity, became diluted, and failed to accomplish expected changes.\textsuperscript{52}

Americans embraced the public school as a means to level the diverse ethnic and geographic differences into a monolithic national character. Since the early nineteenth century, educators sought to reform society through public schools. By the closing decades of that century, schools were considered the basis for nation-building through cultural and geographic

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 253.

\textsuperscript{52} May, 77.
integration, thereby imbuing children with prevailing social values.\textsuperscript{53} Social reformers struggled to find a solution to the waves of new immigrants populating northern urban centers. Educators believed the common school would assimilate the children of recent European immigrants into Americans.\textsuperscript{54} Southerners placed similar hopes on common schools for blacks, as did northerners for immigrants. Schools would teach responsibility, self-help, morality, respect for private property, and the rule of law.\textsuperscript{55} However, unlike European children, the racial divide precluded notions of assimilation. During the early twentieth century, leading educators, including John Dewey, insisted that education was fundamental to progress and reform. While most agreed that public schools would solve the nation’s problems, they differed over the approach. Some wished to create more democratic institutions while others emphasized efficiency and scientific management.\textsuperscript{56} Still others emphasized industrial education as a means of teaching practical skills over intellectual pursuits.\textsuperscript{57} While educators disagreed over particular methods, the goal of public education was to instill in the nation’s future citizens common interests and beliefs as the basis for American democracy.\textsuperscript{58}

In the Philippines Americans established an expanded educational system as a primary goal of the regime. By 1910, the number of students enrolled in all schools except those in the Moro Province numbered 610,493. Filipino students attended 4,404 schools under the direction

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{53} William J. Reese, \textit{America's Public Schools: From the Common School to “No Child Left Behind”} (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 47.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 51.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 74.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 120-21.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{58} Reese, 157.
\end{flushleft}
of 9,086 teachers, including 8,403 Filipinos and 683 Americans. The total enrollment included 582,115 in primary grades, 24,974 in intermediate classes, and 3,404 in secondary programs. These enrollment numbers suggest that while notable, the effects of ten years of American efforts generated only modest increases.

Early in the American Era administrators established English as a common language for education. This provided benefits such as “Commercially, economically, politically, and socially in moulding the people of the Islands into a unity trained in the art of self-government.” Final exams, inspections, or oral exams were eliminated in favor of class recitations, compositions, laboratory work, combined with periodic quizzes. English language instruction appeared successful with over half of Manila’s population able to speak English by 1939. While subject to its criticism, the Bureau of Education achieved notable gains over time. Enrollment increased from 160,000 in 1901 to 1,146,471 in 1933. The system not only mandated English, but also utilized American methods and processes as an example of modern education. The Tydings-McDuffie bill mandated the continued teaching of English in the public schools for ten years.

Education and development centered American objectives during the early decades of the century. By 1916, some critics faulted the public school system as having failed to achieve its goals. Oscar Davis, writing for the New York Sun, disagreed noting its accomplishments and

---


61 Ibid., 37.


63 Alfonso V. Usero, Teachers of the Philippines (Manila: P. Vera & Sons, 1935), 18.

64 Ibid., 41.
arguing that its failures must be put in perspective. He claimed that during the Spanish period only a small minority attended school. In 1916 “more than 500,000 children are in school,” virtually all who wish to attend. He admitted that compared to some public schools back home the education level remained poor. Yet it provided a strong beginning that “compared with what they got before the American occupation it is of inestimable value.”

Quantitative measures of improvement depend on the starting point. Journalists typically referenced census data from 1901, when the Philippine-American War closed down many of the Catholic schools. A more instructive comparison may be found by starting in the early 1890s, when nearly a half-million students were enrolled under the Spanish regime.

David P. Barrows, general superintendent of education, believed public education was essential for the social transformation of the Philippines. He opposed “the selfish use of an education, warning them against the acquisition of knowledge and power simply for selfish needs and telling them frankly that I believed that to the ordinary education Filipino his training and position were little more than instruments of oppression.” Barrows insisted, “The great curse of the Islands is that personal rights are not understood.” His views concerning Filipino education remained consistent with contemporary models in the United States.

The educational system sought to imbue Filipino students with American values as part of a nation-building process, while acknowledging its complex culture. By the late 1930s, the course of study considered these factors in teaching character and citizenship. For example, “Loyalty and Patriotism” included some forty specific goals including, “To learn and observe the proper ways of showing respect to the American and Philippine flags,” buying from Filipino

65 “Filipinos Progress in Spite of Critics,” by Oscar King Davis, New York Sun (5 February 1916).
merchants, and “To appreciate the work of the Spaniards and the Americans in helping the Filipinos, culturally, socially, and politically.” Suggested readings for the 6th grade included Jose Rizal, Abraham Lincoln, Garibaldi, “The Man Without a Country,” and “The Maid Who Saved France.” For 7th grade a number of situations were proposed for discussion. Some examples were “If you were an elector, would you vote for a candidate simply because he is your relative?” and “Is there any love that is nobler, purer and more sublime than the love of the native country?” On sportsmanship, examples drawn from basketball, baseball, and volleyball emphasized teamwork. Overall, these topics provided a combination of American, European, and local stories and people.

 Nation-building through education remained a primary goal in spite of changing pedagogies. The role of sport played an integral part in American-led education. During Frank R. White’s term as Director of Education, a handbook for public schools outlined training for games and organized athletics. Administrators adapted American rules to local conditions. While baseball and other sports entered into the Islands via the American Army, teachers introduced the game into public education creating greater interest among Filipinos. Initially, the most popular sports were baseball, and track and field. Already in 1904, athletic organizations in southern Luzon formed baseball games.

---


68 Ibid., 109.

69 Ibid., 139.


71 Ibid., 39.
American teachers and their Filipino colleagues created a legacy of cooperation distinct from the perceived civil servant persona. Hundreds of enthusiastic college graduates moved to the Philippines in hopes of transforming the Island’s children. It is popular to trace the beginning of American teachers with the arrival of the USAT *Thomas* in August 1901, when over five hundred teachers arrived.\(^72\) They came from across the country, some with teaching experience, and had either attended or graduated from college and normal schools. An additional hundred or so sailed on army transports *Sheridan* and *Buford*.\(^73\) While many school buildings of the Spanish period were destroyed during the revolution of 1896 and then the Philippine-American War, others remained and were used for classes during the American period.\(^74\)

Filipinos filled the majority of teaching positions from the onset of American control. Over time, their numbers swelled offering expanded professional openings and a path to the middle class. In 1901, there were 2,625 Filipino teachers and by 1935 nearly 27,000 staffed the public educational system. It was said that during the Spanish period these teachers held but a 4\(^{th}\) grade education while during the 1930s the standard required graduation from a Normal School for elementary grades and a college education to teach high school.\(^75\)

Availability of qualified teachers contributed to the shape and size of public education. While the Bureau of Education may have created standards, fulfilling these requirements took time. Of the nearly 26,000 teachers, principals, and supervisors for the 1927 school year, fewer than 300 were Americans. Of these some 200 served as secondary teachers (45 male, 151 female) while others served as either principals or supervisors. Only 32 Americans remained

\(^72\) Usero, 34.

\(^73\) May, 85.

\(^74\) Usero, 36.

\(^75\) Ibid., 39.
teaching elementary grades. Filipino teachers throughout the islands brought mixed qualifications. In 1927, 33% of the Filipino teachers graduated from secondary schools while 15% failed to reach that level. Few elementary teachers held college degrees. Similarly, relatively few Filipino secondary teachers were college graduates, a total of 650 for all schools. In spite of the great need for qualified teachers, the number of American educators decreased to only 156 by 1935.

Salaries provided teachers a means to enter the middle class. Even entry-level positions for a normal school graduate offered a decent income. Teachers’ salaries varied based upon their source and type of degrees.

Table 5-2. Salaries of public school teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States pensionados</td>
<td>1,560 pesos (minimum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Master degree (self funded)</td>
<td>2,000-2,500 peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. PhD (self funded)</td>
<td>3,000-3,200 peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP AB (4-year)</td>
<td>1,200 peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP USTC</td>
<td>1,440 peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP BSE</td>
<td>1,560 peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal School</td>
<td>1,200 peso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

American teachers obtained somewhat higher salaries in order to attract qualified instructors with English language skills. Both John and Willa Early moved to the Islands after receiving offers from the Board of Education. John Early was appointed a teacher, Class 6,

---


77 Ibid., 158-60.

78 Ibid., 162.

79 Usero, 29.

80 Service Manual, 121.
effective 25 May 1917 at a salary of 3,800 pesos.\textsuperscript{81} Willa Early received her appointment as temporary Teacher of Domestic Science at 2,000 pesos effective 16 August 1917. Temporary employees were not entitled to a leave of absence.\textsuperscript{82}

Some American teachers resigned from the education department but remained in the Philippines. John Early held the position of Governor of the Mountain Province, Bontoc starting in 1927. John and Willa’s home provided spacious comfort for the couple. The two-story, brick residence sported a front porch for each level. Large windows opened outward allowing the breezes to flow through the house. Their salon included a stone fireplace, oriental carpet, rattan furniture, but few personal touches. John often wore a coat and tie and on occasion wore a pair of boots and leggings. The matronly appearance of Willa, conservative dress, medium heels, and a short, wavy hair-do validated her position as an American woman of a middle-class status.\textsuperscript{83}

Nation-building required professionals to lead the country into the modern age. Educators established a public university, the University of the Philippines (UP), to supplement the Catholic institutions in the Islands and the pensionado program of sending students to America. It represented a major commitment towards self-determination. The UP held its first commencement on 29 March 1911. Ten students received degrees including George B. Vargas, Manuel Roxas, and Jose Zamora. The exercises began with music provided by the Constabulary Band, conducted by Capt. W. H. Loving. At this time five Americans and four Filipinos held positions as regents at the university. Of the Americans Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, Newton Gilbert, Secretary of Public Instruction, and Frank White, Director of

\textsuperscript{81} Bureau of Education, 24 May 1917, TD, folder: Willa Rhodes Early Correspondence, 1923-1942, box 1, John C. Early Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

\textsuperscript{82} Bureau of Education, 19 September 1917, TD, folder: Willa Rhodes Early Correspondence, 1923-1942, box 1, John C. Early Papers.

\textsuperscript{83} Photograph Early home in Baguio, folder: Residences, box 1, John C. Early Papers.
Education, represented the public face of America. Murray Bartlett, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of Manila, served as regent as well as the Catholic Archbishop of Manila, Jeremias J. Harty. Filipino regents were Emiliano T. Tirona, Rafael Palma, Pardo de Tavera, and Jose Escaler. The small class nevertheless garnered attention of top government officials who recognized the significance of the new institution as the first public university in the Islands. Archbishop Harty gave the Invocation followed by an address of Governor-General Forbes. After the degree ceremony, Sergio Osmena, Speaker of the Assembly offered the final address.84

By 1938, the University of the Philippines operated as a fundamentally Filipino institution. The majority of its regents were Filipino as were the department heads. Filipinos constituted virtually all its graduates, majoring in disciplines reflecting UP’s rigorous scholarship. The university conferred Bachelor Degrees in Business Administration (46), Education (47), Engineering (73), Agriculture (60), Bachelor of Law (74), Doctor of Medicine (105), Pharmacy (22), Certificate in Public Health (22), and others. Douglas MacArthur gave the commencement address and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.85

The Bureau of Education tailored public education policy to colonial preferences causing an exception to the idea of a common school. American parents in the Islands insisted on separate educational facilities and non-Filipino teachers for their children. While race was a factor in these decisions, parents demanded a quality education comparable to that in the States. During this period American children typically attended one of three schools; Brent in Baguio, American in Manila, and Central, a public school reserved for American students. The Bureau

84 “First Commencement Exercises of the University of the Philippines,” 29 March 1911, D, folder 2, box 18, James Alexander Robertson Papers.

85 “Commencement Exercises of the University of the Philippines, 1938”, D, folder: 11 Correspondence, March 1938, box 1, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth MacArthur Memorial Archives.
of Education appointed American teachers to Central in response to parental concerns over their children’s future. While private education remained an option for some, other Americans sought the economical approach of public education.

Central school provided the first and only public school in the Islands established for the children of American citizens. Early in the civilian administration, Taft directed the Bureau of Education to establish this school to help retain American parents in government positions.\footnote{Charles W. Armstrong, \textit{Thomasites and the War Generation of Central-Bordner School in the Philippines} (Irving, CA: C. W. Armstrong, 1991), 3.}

Funded by the Bureau of Education, Central afforded a separate school experience for Americans, British, and other expatriates in Manila. However, overcrowding and concern over the number of mixed-race children diminished its appeal.\footnote{The American School, Inc. Catalog of General Information, (Manila: Sugar News Press, 1941).} Central opened in 1914 on the northeast corner of Taft Avenue and Padre Faura. The three-story, publicly funded school’s enrollment peaked at 600 in the early 1920s, and then fell to under 500 students. Both civilian and military children attended from 7:30 AM until Noon with six classes and a twenty-minute recess. Central offered only the basics; no art, music, or local history. Science laboratories were sparse; therefore, any students taking physics would walk a few blocks to the Normal School.\footnote{Milton Walter Meyer, “Third World Kids: A Past Remembered, Manila Central / Bordner School,” \textit{Bulletin of the American Historical Collection} Vol. XXVI, No 4 (Oct-Dec 1998): 59-60.}

Elizabeth G. Flagg served as its principal through much of the period. The Bureau of Education issued special course of study publications for Central High School.\footnote{Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Calendar Year 1927 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1928), 51 and 209.} By design and popular American demand, Central operated as both separate and unequal.
Central’s stated goal was to mirror the public education course in America, allowing children to enroll at colleges in the United States. The American Chamber of Commerce endorsed proposals to restrict attendance stating, “In the past, many Americans who have been well started in business have left here because there were not suitable facilities for the education of their children.” The Chamber hoped to enhance the current system by strengthening the program and limiting enrollment. It requested the government “to provide a purely American school for American children in Manila, of a character and capacity adequate to meet all the educational needs of such children.”

The American Chamber of Commerce lost its argument with Luther Bewley, Director of Education, who refused to further restrict admission to Central. The Chamber complained that only eighteen American teachers at Central left many students to study under Filipinos. They cited examples of its inadequacy, included a recent graduate failing to receive admission to the University of California because her credits from Central School were not recognized. Fundamentally, Americans objected to the mixed-race character of the student population. In 1921, fewer than half its students were considered full-blooded Americans. Some 250 children had American fathers and Filipino mothers who, it was said, spoke no English at home and raised their sons and daughters “in which the prevailing traditions, habits and culture are non-American.” The school remained segregated in spirit until 1932, admitting few Filipinos.

---


Central changed its policy during the 1930s, eliminating race as the primary criteria for admission. Increased Philippine autonomy undermined the legitimacy of national origin as a basis for separation. Filipinos objected to the Bureau of Education’s exclusive treatment of Central for years. Finally, Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt Jr. directed that it would no longer be segregated by race, incurring the disapproval of the American community. In 1932, competency in English became the main criteria for entrance. It was renamed Bordner, in honor of the superintendent of Manila City schools, and by the late 1930s enrollment increased to a thousand students of American, European, Chinese, and mestizo decent. The cost of tuition was higher at Central than at other public schools, 102.50 pesos instead of the normal 24 pesos.\footnote{Meyer, 61-65.} The English language requirement and higher tuition restricted attendance to middle-class families.

American colonial policy placed considerable resources behind public schools in the Islands. Educators utilized domestic models whose goals included assimilation and social transformation as a basis for nation building. From a structural viewpoint, public education took root and then matured into a substantial presence instructing Filipinos in the English language and basic courses of study. Whether the public school created a change in identity remains a debatable point. The key result of America’s policy was the adaptation of English by educated Filipinos. English language skills allowed men and women to enter the ranks of an expanding bureaucracy paving the way to middle-class status. It offered a common language for middle-class Filipinos throughout the Islands accommodating an important nation-building goal.

Education permeates the concept of American imperialism and is further developed in the following chapters including private schools, religious education, Filipino perspectives, and
popular culture. Instructors and parents alike viewed education as important to shaping and maintaining their identity. As a result, many Filipinos chose Catholic schools as a means to balance the political influence of the colonial government. However, few Americans or Filipinos quarreled over the value of another key nation-building effort, public health.

Americans engaged in public health initiatives as part of the nation-building process. They entered the bureaucracy as experts who hoped to change the attitudes of Filipinos. Similar to public education, individuals who promoted a change in behavior utilized experiences from America as seen by the Rockefeller Foundation’s public health initiatives. Public health officials acted within the early twentieth-century frame of social progressivism. They believed that by doing good they would benefit the general population of the Islands. An overarching faith in problem solving and the impartiality of scientific methods drove these individuals forward in their endeavors. America’s colonial project of developing the Philippines offered numerous opportunities to apply scientific principles, especially towards the elimination of malaria and hookworm. Health officials utilized their experiences in America as a basis for tackling these two diseases. Significantly, the newly formed Bureau of Science established a bastion for experts to insulate themselves within a scientific enclave in Manila. As in government positions and education, American public health experts often found their paths to problem solving strewn with political obstacles tied to autonomy and independence.

Philippine health initiatives developed from traditions established in America. Concepts and approaches first implemented in the rural south underpinned those in the Islands. Progressive social programs extended beyond urban centers, often cited as the focus of social projects. In his 1992 book, The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, William A. Link explains how paternalism and reform shaped social policy. He argues that two conflicting views influenced Southern
progressivism; traditionalists from small communities who clung to their local values vs.
progressive reformers seeking solutions through state intervention. The anti-hookworm crusades
supported by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission (RSC) blended education and health reform
during the 1910s.\textsuperscript{95} Early attempts to shape public opinion regarding improved hygiene
generated mixed results.\textsuperscript{96} A crusade centered on county dispensaries, however, proved effective
in demonstrating the effects of the disease and the methods of control.

The RSC organized a sanitation campaign in the South by working with existing
institutions including the medical professions, public health officials, churches, schools, and
other agencies for the cure and prevention of hookworm disease.\textsuperscript{97} With the antihookworm
crusade of 1909-1915, reformers sought to alter existing behaviors and thereby improve the
sanitation habits of the region.\textsuperscript{98} The disciplinary program served as a model for improving the
welfare of people around the world. The RSC served as the prototype for subsequent overseas
projects of the Rockefeller Foundation.\textsuperscript{99}

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) supported public health initiatives in the Philippines
under the rubric of self-help. Similar to other nation-building efforts, public health reformers
initiated programs with the expectation of turning their operations over to locals. The
Foundation typically funded projects as a cooperative program with the government. They
shared expenditures on an equal basis during the first year with proportionally less support

\textsuperscript{95} Link, 142.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 147.
\textsuperscript{97} John Ettling, \textit{The Germ of Laziness: Rockefeller Philanthropy and Public Health in the New South}
\textsuperscript{98} Link, 142.
\textsuperscript{99} Ettling, vii.
during the subsequent years.\textsuperscript{100} Increased financial participation by local agencies was expected to create a fiscally responsible administration. The following review of the RF’s activities provides context for the specific discussion of their progressive agenda.

The RF’s International Health Board (initially called the International Health Commission) conducted a survey of health conditions in 1913 that helped formulate specific programs that appeared useful in developing the Philippines. The RF appointed Dr. Victor Heiser to oversee activities seen as “stimulating them to self-help.” The first such program in 1915 consisted of a hospital ship envisioned as a traveling dispensary, or clinic, that traversed the southern islands. The county dispensary had been an important feature of the RSC anti-hookworm campaign and served as a model for the Philippines. The RF terminated the project after a few unsuccessful years characterized by high costs and few patients. During the 1920s a number of valuable programs addressed the Islands’ health status, including a nurses training program, public health laboratories, malaria control projects, and education. Advisors assisted the Philippine Government in efforts to improve the status of the College of Medicine at the University of the Philippines. In tandem with insular programs, the RF supported a fellowship program whereby students from the Islands studied in America.\textsuperscript{101}

Specific projects directed towards eliminating hookworm and malaria dominated the RF’s focus during the mid-1920s. Additionally, the RF funded the Bureau of Science in Manila, which pursued theoretical and practical solutions to tropical diseases. For example, a biological laboratory at the Bureau conducted primary research studies on typhoid. This led to a number of

\textsuperscript{100} “Preliminary Report of the Cooperative Health Work of the Rockefeller Foundation, Philippine Health Service and the Province of Rizal,” by Clark H. Yeager and Marcelino A. Asuzano, 1932, folder 857, box 70, series 242, Record Group 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York (RAC).

\textsuperscript{101} “Outline of Rockefeller Foundation Activities in Philippine Islands,” by Clark H. Yeager, 1913-1935, pp. 1-2, folder 12, box 1, series 242, RG 1.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
malaria control projects in Pampanga, Laguna and on the island of Mindoro. After these initial grant-based projects proved their merits, the Philippine Health Service assumed overall program responsibility.102

The RF funded two visiting professors for the University of the Philippines. A grant of over $37,000 supported Robert W. Hegner of Johns Hopkins, professor of parasitology, and William B. Wherry of the University of Cincinnati, a professor of bacteriology and immunology, at the School of Hygiene and Public Health. At a more basic level, the RF initiated sanitation studies under the direction of Dr. Clark Yeager, which sought “to determine the type of sanitary latrine best adapted to locality.” Programs that focused on malaria control, local sanitation, and fellowship grants continued into the 1930s. However, the anticipated independence and increased Filipino demands for practical application of these programs accelerated the RF’s desire to complete the projects and leave the Islands.103

The Public Health Service shifted its personnel as Filipinization programs proceeded. Public health positions initially included many Americans in higher grades of the Service. “Up to 1913, the chiefs of hospitals were all Americans, with the exception of that of Butuan. Of seventeen medical inspectors, but two were Filipinos, the rest, Americans.” During the period from 1909 to 1913 there were nine junior medical inspectors, all Filipinos, and twenty-seven district health officers, five of whom were Americans.104 Filipinization goals under Governor-General Francis B. Harrison induced some of these Americans to reconsider their careers.

102 Ibid., 3-5.
103 Ibid., 6-8.
104 “Memorandum on Sanitary Activities in the Philippine Islands (1909-1921),” by V. Jesus, p. 1, folder 128, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
Dr. Heiser directed the Bureau of Health in Manila prior to joining the RF as Director for the East of the International Health Board. IHB projects included the broad efforts to control smallpox, cholera, and plague as well as the reduction of amoebic dysentery and malaria. Heiser often worked in his office until midnight or later and was widely regarded as an effective bureaucrat. “He has been particularly successful in dealing with the Filipino officials. He gets what he goes after, and does it not by driving but by tact, unruffled good humor, and ever lasting persistence.” After thirteen years in the Islands, Heiser decided to leave government service. He grew discouraged with the Harrison administration which allowed “the native politician freer rein and thereby to impair the efficiency of the Government service.” He viewed the future apprehensively. Heiser earned a combined salary from the Philippine Government and the U. S. Public Health Service of $10,500, but considered abandoning his retirement allowance and accepting a smaller salary “in case of service that would not keep him continuously in the tropics.”

The Philippine Health Service created programs for the general population based upon prevailing medical practices. By 1920, public dispensaries provided free medical assistance to the poor including over one hundred in Manila and 830 in the provinces. The Service developed reports recommending improvements where necessary. For example, the “Report on the Typhoid Situation in Manila during 1924” included detailed records illustrating sound experimental procedures and application of statistical analysis. The report traced variations of the number of monthly typhoid cases based upon mean, standard deviations, and coefficient of variations. They discovered that typhoid occurred most frequently among Filipinos (237 per

105 “Visit to Manila (June 1-7, 1914),” folder 121, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
100,000) while Americans maintained the lowest rate (64 per 100,000). The specific causes of typhoid outbreaks remained complex. The committee’s 1925 report attributed typhoid in Manila to several sources including unsanitary handling of the water, defective sewage disposal, flies, unsanitary and crowded living conditions, and the presence of carriers engaged in food handling occupations.

Locally supplied produce posed an area of concern, especially for Americans living in the Islands. Fresh vegetables in Manila appeared suspect during the 1920s. Therefore, the Service initiated a research program investigating truck gardens, operated for the most part by Chinese farmers, as a possible source of contamination. The report found no application of human or animal waste as fertilizer since farmers preferred nutrients supplied by vegetable products such as copra and soy. Farmers often utilized shallow wells for irrigation and washing of the produce.

While little contamination of fresh vegetables appeared at the point of production, frequent handling during transportation and at the markets posed a highly probable source of infection. Findings indicated, “in many instances water was obtained from the horse trough in the street rather than from the faucet available for that purpose.” Still, the committee found no evidence to believe consumption of produce was a major source of typhoid, dysentery, or other intestinal diseases. However, they urged greater care of washing and handling vegetables in the markets. These findings generated increased inspections of city markets and programs regulating the handling of produce from farm to consumer.

---

106 “Report of the Typhoid Situation in Manila during 1924,” 1925, p. 10, folder 125, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.


108 Ibid., 3.
Malaria and hookworm proved particularly troublesome in the Islands. Public health initiatives may have built upon past experience but developed according to local conditions. Americans and Filipinos identified the problems and implemented solutions that may appear today as both hazardous and environmentally irresponsible. However, at the time they constituted a multifaceted approach in hopes of eliminating or at least controlling these two diseases.

Early in the American Era both military and civilian projects focused on eliminating standing water as a means of malaria control. These efforts targeted mosquito breeding grounds but offered only part of the solution. Civil engineering projects sought to eliminate standing water near homes and alter streams to minimize slow-moving water. Individuals contracted malaria independent of income level. An investigation in Laguna Province suggested that malaria occurred among both rich and poor. Quinine offered the most practical means to minimize the number of malaria cases, reduce mortality rates, and protect the public. In spite of these traditional methods, the climate, topography, and agricultural landscape posed continued challenges to malaria control.

Rice remained an important crop in much of the Philippines with over four million acres under cultivation. Filipino rice workers usually lived in barrios of between ten and one hundred homes and obtained their water from artesian wells. Malaria constituted a pervasive disease in rice producing provinces. Mortality figures for the period between 1915 and 1924 suggested that for a population in these areas of 3.1 million people, deaths from malaria ranged between eight and fourteen thousand per year. During this period experimental applications of Paris Green

109 “Findings of the Malaria Investigation within the Four Selected Zones in Laguna Province,” by R. G. Padua, 22 January 1923, p. 21-23, folder 124, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
(Arsenious Oxide) larvicide proved promising as a supplemental control program. Studies suggested that cultivated rice fields generated few mosquitoes whereas the canals used for irrigation served as breeding grounds for dangerous malaria carriers such as *A. Minimus* and *A. Ludlowi*.\(^{110}\)

The International Health Board informed the Philippine Sugar Association of the benefits and procedures required for malaria control programs at the centrals and plantations. By 1925, experiments suggested that the anopheles mosquito, primary carrier for malaria in the Islands, breeds in running streams during the dry season. Therefore, they recommended beginning control efforts immediately after the rainy season.

Mosquito control programs focused on attacking the larvae in the water. Certainly, eliminating standing water constituted a major factor in control, but this failed to address the various streams and ponds found in the region. Oil remained a common method, but required a complete film over the water surface, which proved ineffective on streams due to excessive vegetation along the water’s edge. Mixtures of cresol and water offered a solution for small areas. However, experiments at Del Carmen confirmed the effectiveness of Paris Green as a larvicide in the Philippines. This poison killed the larvae as it fed on the particles. Applying a mixture of Paris Green and fine road dust provided an economical mixture for the water’s surface.\(^{111}\) Although commonly used at the time, Paris Green also remained widely recognized as a deadly poison.

---

\(^{110}\) “Data Required on the Relation Between Malaria and Rice Cultivation in the Philippine Islands,” by J. J. Mieldazis, 3 March 1925, folder 121, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

\(^{111}\) “Malaria Control,” by Jerome J. Mieldazis, October 1925, folder 123, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
Public health officials faced wide-ranging problems associated with the prevention and treatment of hookworm. For much of the period, few individuals lived in homes with flush toilets. Most people either used privies, public midden sheds, or defecated along riverbeds and open ground.\textsuperscript{112} People often made no effort at disposal, relying on pigs and sometimes chickens to feed on the night soil.\textsuperscript{113} Health and sanitation workers created public education programs, in part through the school system, that encouraged building bored-hole latrines, a solution particularly suited to the soil conditions in the Islands. The bored-hole latrine consisted of a vertical shaft approximately twelve feet deep. An augur cut through the surface soil and then a series of blast holes dynamited through the adobe sub-soil. Occasionally, another charge of dynamite was exploded at the hole’s base in order to increase capacity by creating a series of fissures several feet outward from the central hole.\textsuperscript{114}

In order to facilitate the building of latrines, a grant of 300 pesos provided seed money for an easy payment plan demonstration system in the municipality of Navotas. At an estimated cost of 15 pesos per latrine, private accommodations remained comparatively expensive for many Filipinos. The local auditor suggested the account’s title as the “Rockefeller Toilet Funds” but other titles proved more suitable including the “Sanitation Revolving Fund” and “Toilets-by-Installment.” The fund allowed homeowners to make twelve to fourteen monthly payments until

\textsuperscript{112} “Preliminary Report of the Cooperative Health Work of the Rockefeller Foundation, Philippine Health Service and the Province of Rizal,” Chapter III, by Clark H. Yeager and Marcelino A. Asuzano, 1932, folder 857, box 70, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

\textsuperscript{113} “Report on Health Agencies and Health Conditions,” International Health Commission, Response by J. Andrew Hall, 24 February 1915, folder 343, box 23, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

\textsuperscript{114} “Steps for blasting a bored-hole latrine,” photos by Dr. Yeager, 1930, folder 1316, box 56, series 242, Rockefeller Foundation Photograph Collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
the cost was fully repaid. Private latrines offered improved sanitation compared to “constructing public midden sheds which are expensive and unsatisfactory.”

Treatment options for hookworm included relatively dangerous medications. Dr. Charles N. Leach commended the work performed in Cebu by Health Service workers. He reported no fatalities of the cases treated with carbon tetrachloride as a result of the quality of the drug and the denial of treatment to any patient exhibiting liver disease. “This record is one of which the Philippine Health Service should be proud, as they are the only organization on record who can show no fatalities after twenty-five thousand treatments with carbon tetrachloride.” Carbon tetrachloride offered an inexpensive solution, costing an average of 5 centavos per dosage.

The Service initiated an island-wide campaign against hookworm. The department expected all inspectors to commence a screening program to ascertain the level of infestations. In 1923, doctors administered carbon tetrachloride at a dosage of 1 cc to each 7 kg. of body weight. The Philippine Health Service limited medications to those re-purified by the Bureau of Science. Guidelines cautioned to only take this treatment under the supervision of a doctor, which included a minimum observation period of five hours.

Americans working in the Islands often felt unfulfilled. Dr. Leach longed to return to America after working in the Islands for three years. Already in 1924, a general concern about withdrawal of support for the Islands affected these professionals. Leach commented, “Our failure to accomplish more has been due largely to the unsettled political situation and a growing

---

115 “Sanitation Revolving Fund,” by Clark H. Yeager and Marcelino A. Asuzano, folder 857, box 70, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

116 “Memorandum Regarding Inspection Trip and Survey of the Southern Islands,” by C. N. Leach, 10 May 1923, folder 122, box 20, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

117 “Memorandum on Hookworm Campaigns to all District Inspectors,” by V. Jesus, 3 July 1923, folder 126, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
movement of non-cooperation of the native towards Americans generally.” He explained, “This has been most marked towards the efforts of Gov. Gen. Wood, which of course is reflected in their relations with the members of the Foundation staff.” Leach believed that Filipinos were so focused on independence that it was not wise to pursue public health projects.\textsuperscript{118}

The Bureau of Science operated as a branch of the Philippine government and served as a central source for laboratory and scientific work. In 1915, Bureau personnel provided virtually all biological and pathological work for the Bureau of Health, chemical tests for Customs Service, testing required under the Food and Drug Act, the manufacture of vaccines and serums, material testing, assaying, as well as original research. Heiser noted “the old employees, whose experience in the Philippines is a great asset, are leaving rapidly owing to the threatened reduction in salaries and the hostility of research work.” He believed this institution served as a unique outpost in the Pacific. “With the possible exception of the laboratory of the Japanese Government in Tokyo and the laboratories in Australia, the laboratory of the Bureau of Science in Manila is the only fully equipped institution in the entire Orient.” Known throughout Europe and America, it contributed to the progress of medicine, sanitation, and economic development of the Islands.\textsuperscript{119}

Filipinization altered the composition of Bureau personnel. By 1925, the number of employees stood at twenty-one persons, all but two of whom were Filipinos, Prof. Haughwout, an American protozoologist, and Dr. Schoble, a European temporarily in charge of the Biological Department. The position of head of this department remained vacant after Dr. Gomez left the

\textsuperscript{118} Charles N. Leach to Dr. Heiser, 2 January 1924, TLS, folder 2383, box 184, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

\textsuperscript{119} “Memorandum for the International Health Commission, Re Bureau of Science, Manila, P. I.,” by Victor G. Heiser, 1 March 1915, folder 121, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
Bureau. Politics influenced the replacement process since government officials resisted appointing an American. George Lacy reported on current conditions: “At present, it seems to me that little can be done toward getting an American because there has been a strong movement to discontinue granting other special contracts.” He continued, “Anyone employed at a salary of more that 6,000 pesos must be employed on special contract basis, since that amount is the maximum salary paid by the Civil Service.” Most nominations originated from Filipinos since those initiated by the Governor-General appeared doomed for rejection.\textsuperscript{120}

Virtually any program that involved selection of individuals for a position of note turned political. For example Heiser attempted to treat the fellowship program in a non-political manner. “It is well to remember that the situation in Manila is always loaded with dynamite,” he cautioned, “and that even a disinterested desire to be of help may be misunderstood and be swept into the ever turbulent political sea.” He continued with his metaphor: “The men in responsible government administrative posts in the Philippines are pulled here and there by the fierce political currents, and sometimes it may appear that they are not carrying out exactly the promises made with regard to future employment of those to who we have granted fellowships.” Heiser cautioned that in spite of the politics, the fellows usually moved into responsible positions. He generally “first took up with the Filipino officials, and later secured the acquiescence of Vice-Governor Gilmore.”\textsuperscript{121}

Politics led to the reduction of philanthropic assistance in the Philippines. After an investigative trip around the Islands, Selskar Gunn recommended termination of RF funding.

\textsuperscript{120} “Report on Conditions in the Bureau of Science,” by George R. Lacy, 5 January 1924, TDS, folder 121, box 20, series 242, RG 5, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

\textsuperscript{121} VGH to Dr. Pearce, 13 August 1925, TL, folder 60, box 6, series 242, RG 1.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
Evaluating RF-funded projects, he assessed the malaria project under the School of Public Health useful and the rural sanitation programs relatively successful. However, a great deal of internal bickering apparently existed: “The Filipinos fight so much amongst themselves that work is made extraordinarily difficult.” “Just how long it will be worthwhile for the Foundation to cooperate with the Filipino Bureau of Health will depend on the success of the present undertakings,” Gunn concluded. Furthermore, the Bureau of Science continued to atrophy. Gunn regretted its change from research to one of “applied science.” He noted its decline, stating that it “will become poorer as the few remaining American scientists are chiseled out of their jobs by the Filipinos.” While the professionalism of the School of Hygiene at the University of Philippines continued to impress him, the bureaus of Health and also Education appeared wanting. Gunn expressed his overall disappointment of the current state of the Islands blaming much on the continued Filipinization programs. “I can only repeat that it seems to me a tragedy that these people should already have been given so much independence with the possibility of their getting full independence before many years have elapsed.” Although the RF tended to provide program specific support for a set number of years, perceptions similar to Gunn’s may have terminated this funding sooner than expected in the Islands. As Gunn concluded, “Under existing conditions, I would not advocate any extension of the present Foundation program.”

Change at the Bureau of Science may be indicative of the conflicting goals of American philanthropists and Filipino administrators. Americans viewed this Manila institution as a facility for experts to study tropical disease, creating a scientific bastion in the Pacific. Filipinos expected results that could be directly applied to their society. As Filipinos increasingly replaced

---

122 Selskar Gunn to Max Mason, 13 October 1933, TLS, folder 4, box 1, series 242, RG 1.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
Americans in all facets of government and private institutions, their visions prevailed at the Bureau. This example mirrors what Progressives faced in many environments back home in both urban and rural settings. Experts may have had science on their side, but unless their programs actuated clear benefits for the people, they ultimately failed.

Transitions from theoretical to applied science created disappointment within the Bureau. Dr. Paul F. Russell worked at the Bureau of Science from December 1929 to 1934. Russell complained of the dissection of the Bureau in order to provide practical results. “Such plans leave very little place for pure research and the simple fact that years of theoretical study may have been required to make possible the production of one usable device seems to be almost entirely ignored.” For example, organic chemistry merged with inorganic under an umbrella of industrial research. Even the buildings no longer retained their exclusivity, but operated under the generic “Science Buildings.” Russell cast a dubious eye on the future and complained, “If Under-Secretary Vargas has his way it is certain that the Bureau of Science as you knew it, and as it was planned, will no longer exist.” He predicted a far more mundane institution. “It will be a fourth-rate museum, a testing and measuring laboratory, an uninspired manufactory of serums and vaccines, and a place where men will play at industrial research.” Russell regretted its destruction at the hands of local politicians. “There are few places where there are better opportunities or larger needs.”

American experts in public health learned that local politics often trumped science in a colonial environment. Successful programs that combated typhoid, malaria, and hookworm proved beneficial to the Philippine population. However, experiments frequently suggested solutions that created cures through potentially deadly means. One marvels at the controlled

123 P.F. Russell to V. G. Heiser, 11 October 1933, TLS, folder 2, box 1, RG 1.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
administration of Paris Green and carbon tetrachloride and its apparently benign effect on patients. Medical experts faced the same realities that other civil servants found so vexing; Filipino politicians often prioritized programs based upon autonomy and independence. Their long-term goals ignored short-term benefits regardless of the problems at hand.

From the early years of civilian government, colonial programs focused on preparing the Philippines for independence. The government employed key progressive initiatives of efficient government, education, and public health as central to nation-building. The administrators and civil servants responsible for carrying out these initiatives considered themselves experts in their fields, bristling at local challenges to their authority. Unlike resistance to progressive programs back home, these Americans faced an empowered Filipino leadership. Americans found that they needed not simply the collaboration of the colonized people, but increasingly the permission of Filipinos to accomplish their tasks. This dynamic created a distinctive relationship that colored American imperialism in the Philippines. Filipinization and independence dominated discussions of development programs and limited the ability of American government employees in accomplishing their tasks. These pre-conditions challenged their identities as experts leading to frequent turnover and a general discontent. Members of the business community knew who they were, Americans in the Philippines. Whether business owners or employees of corporations, these individuals tied their fortunes to their ability to create a profitable business in a colonial environment.
CHAPTER 6
AMERICAN COLONISTS

It’s not dollar diplomacy; it’s plain business.

—S. F. Gaehes

Many Americans saw life in the Philippines as a business opportunity. These individuals believed that moving to the Islands offered possibilities in business, either to establish their own firm or to accept a position for another. While some people may have envisioned life in the Islands as an adventure, the realities of colonial commerce rested on structural elements of government fiat, especially tariff policies. For most of the colonists who moved to the Islands, imperialism meant that Washington’s fiscal policies directed how they earned their livelihood.

The American business community, through their individual efforts and the help of like-minded associates, found a home in the Philippines. The experience of these individuals is largely unexplored in studies of empire or colonial economics. They moved to the Islands with the expectation of developing a new business in the commercial sector. The nature of this enterprise involved economic exchange, but these individuals remained apart from the broader society, preferring to interact among compatriots. They pioneered twentieth-century American economic ascendancy by establishing a business community in a colonial state rather than a territory of the United States. This differs from the late nineteenth-century practice of an occasional journey, grand tour, or extended visit. These American colonists moved to the Islands to put down roots, participating in the country’s economic growth. Tariffs and politics shaped the commercial development of the Islands. Changing tariff structures during the American Era directed trade into modest commercial ventures as a less politically charged alternative to large-scale development. Therefore, key tariff laws and regulations provide a direct relationship to commercial growth framing economic development in the Islands.
This chapter moves chronologically through three periods. Each of the three sections explains the specific tariff issues, follows their effect on the Philippine economy, and traces their influence on the American business community from an initial period of entrepreneurship to corporate subsidiaries by the end of the era. Tariffs created three distinct segments during the era. First, reciprocity under the Dingley Tariff treated imports and exports similarly for both Spain and America as specified by the Treaty of Paris for ten years. From 1901, the gradual return to stability fostered modest commercial development. However, uncertainty over the political status of the Philippines limited large-scale capital investments. Second, the Payne-Aldrich Bill (1909) revised tariff schedules with quotas that would be modified by the Underwood Tariff Act of 1913. These lower rates fostered increased trade between the Philippines and America between 1910 and 1935. Finally, the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 linked tariff rates to the independence process. Entrepreneurs reconsidered their personal investments leaving development projects to corporate subsidiaries.

Manila remained central for American commerce and the business relationships that fostered successful trade. It provided an extensive social network for the expatriate community. Those who lived and worked away from the city experienced a more solitary existence. While the economic conditions changed, Americans maintained a consistent idea of themselves. Regardless of where they resided, these individuals clung to their identity as Americans in the Philippines. The experience of living in a colonial outpost strengthened their visions of national distinctiveness. More than individual self-reliance, Americans sought the help of family, friends, and associations in order to successfully operate in the Islands. Social networks of other Americans often appeared as the only help available to counter government regulations and anti-colonial sentiments.
Philippine imports and exports illustrate the larger changes to the colony’s economy during the early twentieth century. Total imports of merchandise during the later years of the Spanish period averaged 16 million pesos, with imports from the United States generally under 3%. From 1901 through 1909, total imports remained fairly constant at 30 million pesos while the percent of American goods increased from 9% to 21%. Exports from the Philippines followed a similar growth pattern.\(^1\) During the American Era, a fixed exchange rate of 2 pesos to 1 U.S. dollar linked the two currencies.

![Graph of Philippine imports and exports](image)

Figure 6-1. Philippine imports and exports

Rapid trade growth between the Islands and America transformed the Philippine economy to one virtually dependent on America. Philippine exports to America increased from 40% in 1915 to approximately 70% after 1920. By 1915, over half the Islands’ imports came from the United States. While cotton goods constituted the highest value import over the first two decades of the century (20%), iron and steel, automobiles, and coal reflected an increased

\(^1\)“The Philippine Islands,” report (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1 March 1913.)
demand for manufactured goods. Additional imports included paper, dairy products, meat, silk goods, vegetables, and electrical machinery reflecting the diversity of the economy.²

By the 1930s, the Philippine economy was dominated by a colonial model, in which agricultural products from the Islands entered America duty-free in exchange for American finished goods. The Islands’ exports increasingly relied on the American market. In contrast, American trade to the Philippines, as a portion of total exports, remained small, only 3.2% in 1937. Finished goods from America represented over 70% of the Islands imports while manufactured foodstuffs provided the largest category of Philippine exports followed by crude materials and semi-manufactured goods.³

Specific categories of products imported into the Islands reveal a diverse collection of products constituting profitable niche markets for their producers. The highest value imports during the mid-1930s included iron and steel, cotton goods, mineral oil, automobiles, and wheat flour. However, of those products that American suppliers ranked either first or second, the top five products were cotton goods, cigarettes, rubber, galvanized steel sheets, and wheat flour. Other items in this category included sewing machines, educational textbooks, soaps, canned sardines, and cornstarch.⁴ The existence of niche markets for particular American producers suggests that although the overall trade to the Islands remained small, it developed as an important source of incremental sales for those companies who provided goods for both Filipinos and foreign nationals. Philippine exports to America included traditional cash crops and products specifically sold to the American markets. The top five categories of exports to the United States in the mid-1930s were sugar, abaca, coconut oil, copra and desiccated coconut.

² “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.
³ “United States Commercial Relations with the Far East, 1930-1939,” 1939.
⁴ Ibid.
America absorbed 100% of Philippine exports of sugar, embroideries, canned pineapples, cutch, and pearl buttons.\(^5\)

Demographics reveal a limited mingling of races and cultures during this period. The 1939 census reported 167,000 foreign nationals living in the Islands, approximately 1% of the population. American citizens totaled 8,739, excluding the military and their families. Most Americans lived in either Manila (3,210) or nearby Rizal (1,958), with smaller concentrations in the Mountain Province, Cavite, Zamboanga, and Camarines Norte. Chinese constituted the largest single group of foreigners, followed by Japanese nationals and those who claimed Spanish citizenship.\(^6\)

The population of Manila grew during the American era, attracting both Americans and Filipinos to the city. The Philippine census reported Manila’s population as 219,928 in 1903, growing by 30% to 285,306 in 1918. By 1939, the city contained 623,492 people. The population of Ermita, where many Americans lived, remained relatively small, increasing from 12,000 to 18,000 over the same period. By contrast, the population of Tondo (mostly poor Filipinos) increased from 39,000 to 161,000 people.\(^7\)

Most Americans and Britons lived in Malate and Ermita, areas directly south of the Luneta. Spaniards lived in Malate, Ermita, Intramuros, and Sampaloc. Within each of these districts, Filipinos constituted the vast majority of the population.\(^8\) The expatriate community lived among the local population rather than in isolated enclaves.

\(^5\) Ibid.


\(^8\) Ibid., 4.
Of the Americans who resided in Manila, some 662 reported their occupation as non-gainful, such as students or retired. Largest reported classifications included domestic and personal service (645), professional service (552), trade (351), manufacturing (168), and clerical (164).\(^9\) Interesting is the reported number of families with male and female heads of household. While Americans reported male head of household as 1,086, the number of female head of households was 159. Approximately one-third of American households consisted of one or two persons; consequently, two-thirds raised children in the Philippines.\(^10\) The demographic data suggests a decidedly middle-class character among the American civilian population in the Islands. Manila became the most important location for these Americans and Filipinos to interact with each other. As a result, Filipinos experienced imperialism from their contacts with these middle-class colonists.

During the first period of economic analysis, 1901 to 1909, American investors found that political conflicts limited their business options. While the insular government promoted agricultural development as a means to revive the economy, Washington’s policies allowed Filipinos to retain most of the land. Therefore, American business owners believed that smaller commercial ventures avoided political disputes. The Philippine economy slowly recovered from the effects of revolutions and wars. Treaty agreements between Spain and America constrained investments, while anti-imperialist sentiments precluded land acquisitions necessary for creating a plantation economy. As a result, economic growth remained sluggish through 1909. The early stage of American occupation, up to the changes by the Philippine Commission, retained the

---

\(^9\) Ibid., Table 15.

\(^10\) Ibid., Table 25.
Spanish tariff, essentially a fixed rate dependent upon the category of the goods.\(^{11}\) During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Philippine commerce operated under the Spanish Tariff Law of 1891. Customs duties applied to both exports and imports. The tariff structure, however, favored Spanish imports, imposing a 3% tariff on goods from Spain, shipped on Spanish vessels. In contrast, foreign imports carried a 14% rate. This structure remained in effect until the Treaty of Paris of 10 December 1898 stipulated that for a period of ten years Spanish ships and merchandise entering the Philippines received the same terms as those of the United States."\(^{12}\)

Americans participated in a cosmopolitan Philippine economy centered in Manila. In 1890, England led all other nations and supplied over 35% of the Philippine’s imported goods. American imports trailed those of China, Spain, and Singapore with a miniscule 3%, primarily cotton goods, rice, mineral oils, iron and steel, and wheat flour. The most important export markets for Philippine goods included China, largest at 35%, followed by the United Kingdom, United States, and Spain.\(^{13}\)

Tariff structures framed Philippine trade and generated a shift towards American markets. Paul Wolman tackles the evolutionary process of tariff policy in his book *Most Favored Nation: The Republican Revisionists and U.S. Tariff Policy, 1897-1912*. He explores the movement of tariff revision in the early twentieth century and how it reshaped American commercial policy. Wolman notes the fundamental difficulty in achieving reciprocal trade agreements was a Congressional approval process that changed with each administration. The reliability of this political process often frustrated American exporters and importers.


\(^{12}\) “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.

\(^{13}\) Ibid.
The open-door policy generated increased trade during the early twentieth century. American exports entered Europe, secondary markets, and its own interests in Cuba and the Philippines at substantial levels. As a result of the Spanish-American War, America’s dependencies required a clear tariff policy that blended operating revenue with the highly touted open door thesis. Both the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations supported liberal trade policies between America and Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The courts took up these issues in the Insular Cases of 1901. They resulted in a compromise that promoted development in the colonies while maintaining a degree of protection from cheap, colonial products. In spite of Taft’s strong support for development, actual legislation proved ambiguous, concerned that any preference for U. S. products into the Philippines could back door these same items from Europe. The concern centered on the agreement with Spain that any preferences in the Islands likewise applied to Spanish goods for a period of ten years.

Reciprocity provided the carrot to modify the Dingley Tariff stick of high rates. In theory it offered a means to recognize mutual trade agendas with low tariffs and received support from many expansionists such as the National Association of Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturers, and the National Association of Manufacturers. Revised tariff structures sought to ameliorate the instability caused by the Philippine-American War, raising revenue for building the administrative structure. The Tariff Revision Law of 1901 enacted by the Philippine Commission reduced the customs duties on both American and Spanish products in keeping with earlier provisions. Congress confirmed the Commission’s policy and passed the Philippine

---


15 Ibid., 15.

16 Ibid., 19.
Tariff Act of 8 March 1902. As a reciprocal measure, the act stipulated that Philippine goods be taxed at 75% of the rates for similar products of foreign countries. Congress sought further preferences through the Philippine Customs Tariff Act of 3 March 1905. During the legislative process, debates continued on the merits of increased trade, especially for Philippine sugar and tobacco. Congress amended this act in 1906 in order to reduce the tariff on cotton, recognizing the importance of this item to the Philippine market. Furthermore, the amendments decreased duties on shoes and eliminated the export duty on coconuts.17

From the beginning of American rule in the Islands, administrators sought greater agricultural production as a way to increase revenue. Initially, domestic sugar and tobacco interests opposed free trade on competing products as a protective measure. A portion of the American public supported their efforts in order to prevent a foreign-owned plantation system from developing in the Islands. Indeed, land ownership limitations were embedded into the Organic Act of 1 July 1902 in order to enforce this anti-plantation philosophy.18 Charles A. Conant, a key financial advisor to both Roosevelt and Taft, believed that reciprocity and duty-free raw materials offered American interests a better way to expand international trade. He proposed reduced tariffs as a means to ensure economic stability at home while freeing capitalism’s potential.19 Taft supported these changes during his term as Governor-General, advocating reduced rates for Philippine tobacco and sugar, irking Roosevelt, the western beet

17 “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.

18 Abelarde, 201.

19 Wolman, 12.
sugar growers, as well as the Connecticut valley tobacco farmers. Duties on rice exports were removed sometime later.

Administrators sought increased agricultural production as a means to generate revenue while emphasizing the long-term nature of investments. Promotional programs during the first few years of American occupation targeted agricultural development. The Manila Merchants Association, precursor to the Chamber of Commerce, issued publications that outlined some of these opportunities ranging from small farms to large timber concessions. These commodities represented many of the colonial products envisioned for the Islands.

Maguey and sisal hemp offered an attractive product for small farmers. Promoters compared the successful hemp exportations from Mexico to America as a model for Philippine production. Malaya’s tapioca production appeared reasonable to copy in most parts of the Philippines. While native to the Islands, tapioca had not experienced extensive cultivation. Rubber remained mostly a South American and African product. Promoters expected the southern islands to compete with plantations in Borneo and the Straits Settlements. However, rubber required large plantations and lengthy periods of cultivation prior to the first harvest, meaning a substantial investment of capital with little return during the initial growth period. Coconuts represented a reliable and popular crop throughout the Islands. The processed dried meat (copra) provided oil suited to a number of food products, including vegetable butter, in  

20 Ibid., 42.
21 Abelarde, 63.
22 “Resources of the Philippines – Maguey, ” by Manila Merchants Association, nd, folder 2, box 19, James Alexander Robertson Papers.
addition to its traditional market in soaps and confections.\textsuperscript{25} The few Americans who considered agricultural investments preferred leasing properties for a fixed period in order to avoid large capital investments.\textsuperscript{26}

Outside Manila, the commercial economy consisted of small-scale trade and crafts. Villagers typically worked the land while producing a few hats, mats, and rough blankets for local consumption. They frequently purchased rice, cloth, dishes, pottery and salt.\textsuperscript{27} Chinese merchants succeeded in commercial enterprises at the expense of Americans, Spanish, and mestizos. They developed a reputation for efficiency and cleanliness of their stores and merchandise. Filipinos typically owned small shops, tiendas, managing less than 50 pesos worth of goods. Most of the transactions took place on a cash basis, with little credit offered.\textsuperscript{28}

Americans moved to the Islands believing in their ability to succeed with planned commercial ventures. Their decisions, however, were not made in a vacuum. People could have easily remained at home and persued a business career in America. While we may never know the full extent of individual’s motivation, literature offers a clue that reaches into their emotions. Romantic-adventure themes within turn-of-the-century novels provide insight into these motives.

Popular literature at the turn of the century influenced Americans by creating a romantic notion of empire that combined adventure, mission, and masculinity into a particular style of imperial attitude. Not all Americans participated in empire building, but many vicariously

\textsuperscript{25} “Resources of the Philippines – Coconuts,” by Manila Merchants Association, nd, folder 2, box 19, James Alexander Robertson Papers.

\textsuperscript{26} Dean Worcester to Miss C. E. (Kittie) Worcester, 5 February 1908, TLS, folder: Correspondence, 1907-1911, box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers.

\textsuperscript{27} “Economic conditions of Samar,” by Division Superintendent of Schools, 1912, TD, pp. 26-27, William M. Connor Papers.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 47-48.
traveled to distant corners of the globe as part of the project. Alice Payne Hackett provides a valuable resource with 70 Years of Best Sellers, 1895-1965 listing the most popular books sold in America each year as reported in Publishers’ Weekly. Various terms historical romance, historical fiction, or romantic adventure, this genre triggered a fascination for adventure that American authors instilled in an eager public. Those stories, popular at the turn of the century, frequently fueled the American imagination, lingering throughout the early twentieth century.

Public taste for adventure literature developed as part of the empire-building process. Amy Kaplan argues in her article “Romancing the Empire” that romance-adventure novels help us understand American geopolitics during the transition from the continental frontier to overseas empire. Turn of the century best sellers, Kaplan notes, shared similar story lines and expressed the popular image of the Spanish-American War as a noble mission to liberate an oppressed people. “Manhood,” she writes, “is embodied through spectacles staged for the female gaze,” thereby women participated in the male quest for imperial adventure. The hero is often a disinterested frontier type, while the heroine is an athletically inclined “Gibson girl.” The contests with the enemy other remain less important than the female observer who encourages the hero’s manliness while constraining his primal urges within civilized norms. Similarly, Europeans found novels supported their imagined superiority. Edward Said insists that literature reinforced imperial fantasies throughout the period. He illustrates how Kipling’s Kim and T. E.

29 Four such novels are Richard Harding Davis’s Soldiers of Fortune (1897), Charles Major’s When Knighthood was in Flower (1898), George Barr McCutcheon’s Graustark (1901), and Mary Johnston’s To Have and to Hold (1900). Amy Kaplan, “Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s,” American Literary History 2 (Winter, 1990): 666.

30 Ibid., 661.

31 Ibid., 666.

32 Ibid., 677.
Lawrence in *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* promote the fantasy that Europeans could blend into virtually any setting and do as they wish.\(^{33}\)

A novel’s popularity offers one means to judge their influence on the potential audience. In 1897, the third best selling book in America was *Soldiers of Fortune*, by Richard Harding Davis (Scribner). In 1899 Charles Major’s *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (Bowen-Merrill) achieved second place. It remained number nine in 1900. In 1900 audiences selected *To Have and to Hold*, by Mary Johnston (Mifflin) as the best seller. In 1901 the ninth best seller was *Graustark*, by George Barr McCutcheon (Stone & Kimball). Finally, *The Virginian*, by Owen Wister (Macmillian) claimed the top best-seller position in 1902 thrusting the western onto the public stage.\(^{34}\)

These novels project a common theme, that Americans retained an innate ability to overcome problems in a strange and often hostile environment, a reassuring assumption for any American in the Philippines. To be an American male meant that compared to the foreign population, one possessed a unique set of skills that virtually guaranteed success. Reading the prose, one could imagine a personal adventure that turned out well. The hero navigated within a strange environment whether a central European principality, Latin American nation, or the American West. The heroine, more educated, well born, or wealthy, could not help but fall in love with the practical skills of the modest American male. In Richard Harding Davis’s *Soldiers of Fortune*, the mining engineer, Robert Clay, travels to Olancho to run the mine in spite of a pending revolution in this South American nation. Of his class, according to Davis, “They were marching through an almost unknown part of Mexico, fighting Nature at every step and carrying


civilization with them.” It is no wonder that Americans could imagine themselves as the leading edge of imperialism. Davis offers his vision, “They are the bravest soldiers of the present day, and they are the least recognized. I have forgotten their names, and you never heard them. But it seems to me the civil engineer, for all that, is the chief civilizer of our century.”35 Clay wins the heart of the mine-owner’s daughter, applies his problem-solving skills to the mine, and saves his wards from the revolution. Some Americans may have imagined their own modest positions reflected by these adventure story heroes. We can search for glimpses of these notions within the words and deeds of the men and women who moved to the Philippines.

During this era the individuals who engaged in business constituted an important segment of the American civilian population in the Islands. Their visibility within society created the dominant image of America because they lived and worked among the Filipino population. The American Chamber of Commerce in Manila voiced the concerns and ideas held by many in this community. It refuted stereotypes of expatriates in general and offered its perception of the identity of these men and women. Above all, the phrase “Americans in the Philippines” provides the key to understanding how the business community saw themselves in the Islands. While insistent upon their Americanism, they refuted the notion they were foreigners and resented depictions of them as “ex-convicts, ticket-of-leave men, and worse.” They imagined their identities as “pioneers of western ideas and customs” who played a critical role in the development of the Philippines.36


The Chamber of Commerce defended the character of the business community by depicting its members as honorable citizens. While many soldiers who served in the Spanish-American War remained in the Islands, only those with an honorable discharge gained this right. C. W. Rosenstock, writing for the Chamber, claimed that over half the men held either college degrees or supplemented their high school education with commercial courses and specialized training. He emphasized that the majority of these men were married and had families.  

These men and women residing in the Philippines took pride in Manila and the Islands in general. However, notions of identity as Philippine-Americans or Manila-Americans would be stretching this point too far. “Above everything an American is an American,” according to Rosenstock, “and his national pride is one of his greatest virtues, but an American does not live who has no civic pride for his home town or State.” American businessmen and women maintained their distinctive identity to the same degree as the military; however, they did so amidst the Filipino population.

The Philippine economy regained much of its previous energy during the first decade of American control. Tariffs and equality trade agreements between the Islands, Spain, and America limited development options, thereby suppressing desires to favor American business interests in an imperial pattern. Promoting large-scale agricultural development, such as coconut plantations, failed to create a significant change in the nation’s economy. Instead, limited commercial and industrial growth enticed a few adventurous Americans into Philippine investments.

---

37 Ibid., 7-8.  
38 Ibid., 10.
Americans who moved to the Islands during this first decade probably felt a certain kinship to the heroes and heroines of romantic-adventure novels. The Philippines offered an opportunity to test their prowess, even in the mundane realm of commerce. Some individuals experienced the Islands directly through military service during the war. Others learned about the Islands through promotional literature, such as those produced by the Manila Merchants Association. Ultimately, these individuals chose to participate in America’s empire by moving to the P.I. at considerable risk. Those early arrivals reaped rewards of dramatic commercial growth following a reduction of tariffs between the Islands and America.

This section examines the period when duty-free tariff structures fostered a surge in import and export trade from 1910 until 1934. Free trade attracted entrepreneurs to the Islands in order to participate in a lively economy. They focused on short-term investments that benefited from the Islands’ economic dependency on America. Both formal associations and informal social networks established a separate community of Americans in the Philippines. Investors found commercial operations attractive since they generally required only modest capital investments. The uncertainty over Philippine independence discouraged Americans from risking large amounts of capital in manufacturing ventures. Extensive changes occurred to the tariff structure after the expiration of the ten-year agreement with Spain.

Perhaps the most significant legislation for American trade, and its relationship to the Philippines, developed from the Payne-Aldrich Bill (H.R. 1436) of 5 August 1909. Revised tariff schedules encouraged trade between America and the Islands. The sharp increases of 1910 for both imports and exports testify to its effectiveness. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff established lower rates, created a maximum-minimum structure, and introduced a Tariff Board that sought

---

39 “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.
expert analysis to moderate Congressional prerogative. While far from providing a broad reduction in tariffs, it did alter the system and reduced rates on hides, leather, coal, iron ore, and lumber. Furthermore, it demonstrated a Republican willingness to change, negating perennial accusations by Democrats to the contrary.

The Payne-Aldrich Act allowed President Taft to create a Tariff Board charged with the responsibility to secure commercial information on costs and advise the President of its findings. It provided a progressive element to the tariff revision movement. Instead of a political decision by the House Ways and Means Committee, the Tariff Board, staffed as a panel of experts, would provide a scientific decision. They approached the tariff issue based upon the cost of production. New to accounting methodology at the time, cost of production values offered a standardized comparison across companies, industries, and nations. An average cost of production in America could be compared with that of France, for example, and the difference utilized as a basis for tariff rates. Therefore, the Tariff Board sought equalization between cost and productivity.

The expiration of the equality provisions with Spain allowed America to dominate Philippine trade. The Payne-Aldrich law included a quota, imposed by American sugar and tobacco interests on the amount of Philippine sugar and tobacco that could enter America duty free. Simultaneously, it increased the amount of American products capable of entry into the Islands. In general, Section V provided for nearly free trade between the Philippines and America. Framers assumed that increased agricultural production would raise overall

---

40 Wolman, xxv.
41 Ibid., 150.
42 Ibid., 178.
43 Abelarde, 96.
44 Ibid., 101.
purchasing power and stimulate economic activity. The act favored smaller Philippine sugar producers at the expense of larger operations. Specifically, it instituted a quota of 300,000 gross tons of sugar that could be admitted duty free. If imports exceeded that level, preferential treatment went first to smaller producers of less than 500 gross tons in any fiscal year. Only then would the rates apply to larger producers.

By 1912, the lack of progress in tariff reform encouraged Democrats to create revisions through the Underwood tariff, which dismantled the existing tariff board and replaced the maximum-minimum structure with a single, lower rate. The Underwood Tariff Act of 3 October 1913 eliminated certain Philippine export taxes and abolished quotas formerly applied to sugar and tobacco, thus expanding the export trade to America. Reciprocity provided an overall framework for the legislation. Products grown, produced, and manufactured in the Philippines entered America duty free with similar privileges for American goods into the Islands. However, other provisions biased trade in favor of American producers. For example, an article manufactured in America maintained its duty-free status regardless of the origin of its materials. A change in the product by any manufacturing process proved sufficient. Philippine manufactured goods could only contain foreign supplied materials up to 20% of its total value. This policy continued until 1934 when in conjunction with independence movements, quotas

46 Ibid., 204.
47 Wolman, 191.
48 Abelarde, 202.
49 “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.
were re-imposed on Philippine sugar, coconut oil, and cordage while American products entered the Islands without restrictions.\textsuperscript{50}

Debates over the status of Philippine autonomy destabilized economic investments in the Islands. The Jones Act of 29 August 1916 resolved the political issue, affirming that America would eventually grant political independence to Filipinos. In addition, it allowed the Philippine government to establish trade relations, subject to presidential approval, of all but those between America and the Islands, which remained under the authority of the United States Congress.\textsuperscript{51}

By transferring this power from the Insular Government to the Philippine Legislature, American foreign investments shifted towards short-term opportunities, such as trade, rather than long-term investments that depended upon fixed assets including manufacturing, transportation, and large-scale agriculture.

Financial structures and commerce in the Islands resulted from American visions of economic development. Emily S. Rosenberg’s \textit{Financial Missionaries to the World} considers the relationships between private and public control of other nation’s financial stabilities, often referred to as “Dollar Diplomacy.” Of particular interest is how the Philippines provided a training ground for many of the individual bankers and financial consultants who went on to apply policies and procedures first employed in the P.I. While these specialists studied other countries’ experiences in financial administration, especially that of Britain in Egypt, they formulated a particular agenda that was essentially American. Policy makers supported their efforts prior to the Great War by linking financial stability with political stability. They sought to ameliorate three deficiencies of dependent countries: poor education, a non-white population,  

\footnote{Abelarde, 202.}

\footnote{“Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.}
and virtually no middle class. Direct financial control as well as supervision led some anti-imperialists by the 1920s to broaden their definition for imperialism to include economic domination either by government loans or financial advisors. This process shifted the critique of imperialism, particularly in the case of the Philippines, which in spite of the relatively strong political autonomy by the 1920s remained under American financial supervision.

Trade expanded dramatically between America and the Philippines. Both imports and exports increased in spite of stability concerns, government fiat, tariff policy, and commercial opportunity. Cotton cloth provided one example of manufactured products of which American manufacturers and Filipino consumers shared a desire for trade. While the Philippines imported virtually no cotton cloth in 1894, over five million dollars worth was imported in 1912 making the Islands America’s best customer.

Business opportunities flourished during the 1910s for trading companies, manufacturers, and service companies, many of which located on or near the Escolta in Manila. San Miguel Brewery, one of the larger companies in Manila, advertised “The brewery that brews beer to suit the climate.” They offered a variety of beers including Pilsner, Double Bock, Negra, Gold Ribbon, Malt Extract, and Maltina. Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, established in 1882, both grew tobacco and manufactured cigars. They operated the La Flor de la Isabela cigar factory and sold their products in America through agencies in San Francisco and New York. The Escolta attracted trading firms and merchants creating a vibrant shopping area in

53 Ibid., 130.
55 The Filipino People Vol. 2, No. 1, (September 1913).
Manila. Stores sold Bordon’s Condensed Milk, Del Monte canned fruit, Kodak cameras, Gillette razor blades, and Corona typewriters. Roberts department store carried a full line of men’s clothing emphasizing the “correct” nature of their products for all customers. While trade increased over time, the composition of this economic sector varied during the period. Americans, Filipinos, and foreign nationals formulated individual strategies shaped by their worldview.

During the first two decades of the American era, manufacturing development grew as measured by the number of establishments. This is contrary to established notions that colonialism stifled internal industrial growth. The number of manufacturing establishments increased from 2,111 to 5,239. Virtually all commercial and industrial sectors increased in number. By 1918, Manila drew the greatest amount of investment capital, attracting over 70%, by value, of investments in the Philippines. While manufacturing firms benefited from competitive labor rates, the total number of individuals employed in manufacturing remained small, just over 70,000. Most Filipinos worked in cigar and cigarette factories, sawmills, oil factories, bakeries, tailor shops, embroidery shops, power plants, copra drying, gold mining, and salt industries. Cigar and cigarette factories paid the highest monthly wages. However, individuals employed by all manufacturers barely equaled the number employed at sugar mills, located in scattered sites in Batangas, Iloilo, Laguna, Occidental Negros, and Pampanga.

58 Ibid., 505.
59 Ibid., 506-7.
60 Ibid., 558-59.
American businessmen and women participated in the Islands’ growth based on their individual experience, personal friends, and networks of interested associates. For example, Dean C. Worcester engaged in a number of business ventures after his period of government service. While Secretary of the Interior, Worcester believed in obtaining personal knowledge of the countryside. He made annual inspection trips to northern and eastern Luzon, Mindoro, Mindanao, and Palawan.\(^61\) This first-hand experience aided his future business endeavors.

Worcester accepted a position as vice-president of the American-Philippine Company after resigning as Secretary of the Interior. He began a project with Loew’s Boston Theater to create a film on the Philippines, but spent most of his time lecturing on the importance of the P.I. to America’s future. Worcester’s goals were “to educate the people of the United States as to the resources and commercial importance of the Islands, the political condition of their people and the utter absurdity of believing that they can at this time maintain a just and stable independent government of their own.”\(^62\) After a brief stay in America, he returned to the Philippines and managed operations for Visayan Refining and, after 1918, the Bukidnon Corporation.

While at Visayan, Worcester served as operations manager of the company’s coconut oil mill. During this period transportation proved troublesome since American customers wanted coconut oil shipped in food-grade containers rather than in ship’s tanks that carried petroleum. Proctor & Gamble initially refused to accept oil shipped in those holds, but later agreed after tests revealed the cleaning process eliminated any petroleum residue. Afterwards, the coconut

\(^{61}\) Dean C. Worcester to Douglas Flattery, 21 September 1913, TLS, folder: Correspondence, July-Dec. 1913, box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers.

\(^{62}\) Ibid.
oil filled the containers of Standard Oil Company tankers providing efficient transportation of petroleum oil to the Philippines and coconut oil on the return trip.\textsuperscript{63}

The experience of Joseph Heilbronn provides an example of a businessman who devoted most of his adult life to building a company in the Islands. Heilbronn emigrated from Wiesbaden, Germany arriving in America as a young man of 23 in 1891. Short in height, he maintained a narrow mustache throughout his life. His oval face framed a slightly cleft chin, largish nose, and closely spaced eyes. His wife, Charlotte Ellen Kloop, was originally from Brooklyn, NY. Heilbronn joined the First California Volunteers participating in the capture of Guam and occupation of Manila in August 1898 where he remained until September 1899. He returned to the Philippines in 1909 when he opened his paper business. Heilbronn became one of Manila’s most successful entrepreneurs, reinvesting his profits into an ever-expanding business. By 1939, he moved his operation to a new concrete facility in Cristobel.\textsuperscript{64} During his time in the Islands, Heilbronn developed connections with other Americans being a member of the Elks, Rotary Club of Manila, Philippine Society, Olympic Club in San Francisco, and the Army and Navy Club in Manila.\textsuperscript{65}

Clubs and organizations assisted Heilbronn and other Americans in the Islands through contacts and associations. The Philippine Societies provided a network for businessmen who either operated or worked previously in the Islands. By 1927, there were three branches in New York, Chicago, and Southern California. These clubs served as business networks. Their stated goals included “retaining, strengthening and enlarging the friendship and personal contact of

\textsuperscript{63}“Duffy Will Manage Visayan Refining Co.,” 1918, Source Unknown, folder: Miscellanea, box 3, Dean C. Worcester Papers.

\textsuperscript{64}Business, 1939, Photograph, RG-104, Papers of Joseph P. and Charlotte Heilbronn, box 2., folder 2: Photographs, MacArthur Memorial Archives.

those who have been, are now, or who may in the future become residents of the Philippine Islands, and for those who may have commercial or business interests in or with the said Philippine Islands.” In 1927 the Southern California organization counted one hundred and sixty-five members, nearly half residing in the Islands. Heilbronn belonged to this group listing his business address as 233 Calle David, Manila.66

New York was the first such organization, followed by California and then Chicago. Chicago had offices at the Tribune Tower, 435 North Michigan Avenue. Each organization published a membership list that included mailing addresses and the number of years each person lived in the Islands.67 Potential investors found these contacts invaluable for transmitting suggestions and contacts in the Islands. Chicago listed 144 members at that time. Architect William E. Parsons, who resided in the Islands from 1905 thru 1914, belonged to the Chicago chapter.68

American investors avoided capital-intensive projects limiting their ventures to trading operations. H. L. Heath, Director of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Islands, expressed his opinions on investments to newly appointed Governor-General Leonard Wood. Heath advocated investment in trade, either purchasing Philippine produce for selling elsewhere, or buying American goods for selling in the Philippines. These ventures offered similar risks compared any other location in Asia. However, he emphasized the Chamber’s opposition to any investments “along permanent, fixed and frozen lines, or in the natural resources of the Islands, where a long period of time is required to develop the investment to a point of profit.” Heath


67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.
attributed the difference to the lack of a stable government in the Philippines. Capital-intensive investments in the Philippines competed against those in other, more stable nations. While some ventures turned profitable during the Great War, they generated their success based on favorable market prices that vanished in the 1920s. Heath expressed his doubts on the wisdom of long-term, fixed investments in the Philippines.

The instability resulted in part from anti-American actions of Filipino politicians. Heath claimed that those in national government sought to eliminate the American government, individuals, and businesses. He proposed a stable government under the sovereign control of the United States such as in Hawaii or Puerto Rico. Without that control, only the most adventurous investors would take the risks to “make its large profits and swallow its large losses.” The American Chamber of Commerce spoke for the typical investor, not the speculator. As such they demanded safety, stability and protection through a change in government. They pleaded to Wood to take up this policy as a means to increase American economic development in the Islands. At the request of Wood, the Chamber of Commerce neither forwarded these confidential comments to the headquarters in Washington, nor published them in Manila.

Americans in the Philippines believed their childrens’ education as essential to maintaining a distinct identity. Private schools insulated these children and ensured they remained American. While the public school reserved for Americans, Central, remained an option, the private Brent School in Baguio and the American School in Manila proved more attractive since they offered a

---

69 Memorandum to General Wood, by H. L. Heath, President of the American Chamber of Commerce, 24 October 1921, TDS, folder: Papers 1921-22 Concerning Wood-Forbes mission, box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.
course of study equal to college preparatory training in the United States. Brent’s boarding school served as the elite institution for expatriate children in spite of its reputation as a repository for problem students. The American School emerged as a result of overcrowding at Central as well as a response to its mixed-race students. These two private institutions assured parents that their children received an education that solidified their identity as Americans.

Founded in 1909, Brent School began “in order that the American and European residents of the Orient might have the advantages of a first-class Christian education for their sons, and not be compelled to break up their families by sending the boys back home.” Operating under the supervision of the Episcopal Bishop of the Philippine Islands, it opened admissions to girls in 1925. Situated amidst a pine forest in the city of Baguio, Brent provided a cool climate for its students in contrast to the heat and humidity of Manila. It remains at this location today.  

The school year began on the first Monday in October and ended on the final Friday in June. Students received two-week breaks at Christmas and Easter. Discipline and academic standards pushed the students to excel. Their college preparatory course of study provided increased rigor as the students moved through elementary, intermediate, and high school courses. Bible study and religious services constituted an important element with daily prayers and Sunday services. Students were required to attend all regular services, which used the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, effectively discouraging Roman Catholics. Parents received monthly progress reports of their student’s tests and semiannual examinations. Student tuition and board remained high at Brent extracting a substantial commitment from their parents. For example, the annual fees for 1928 amounted to

---

73 Catalog of Brent School, Baguio, Mountain Province, folder: Miscellaneous, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.

74 Ibid.
1,300 pesos ($650), which covered tuition, board, room, and textbooks. Additional fees for laundry, athletics, and supplies added another 150 pesos to the parent’s budget. For those families living full time in Baguio, day student tuition was 50 pesos per month. High tuition costs ensured Brent’s exclusivity.

Brent School emphasized discipline and rigorous academics as a means to control student behavior. Students lived in dormitories under close supervision. Brent reassured parents of their children’s safety by insisting that no student could leave the school grounds without a chaperone. Furthermore, all students faced restrictions that limited contact outside the school: no visits after dinner, no automobiles, no telephone, and no smoking.

Students experienced an increasingly rigorous class load as they moved through the grades. Elementary classes (through grade five) received instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, history, Bible, spelling, drawing, and vocal music. Intermediate grades broadened the course of study, preparing them for high school. A typical second year high school student focused on English, Latin, Geometry, and Greek and Roman history. Students studied a foreign language in their final two years as well as two semesters of physics during the senior year. Extracurricular programs such as piano instruction, Boy Scouts, drama, and clubs completed their formal program.

Ralston Hayden (eleven year-old son of Joseph and Elizabeth) attended the Brent school in 1934-35 as did his sisters Elizabeth (seventeen) and Mary (fifteen). He was one of 87 students for the year. His sixth grade report card documented an extensive course of study including arithmetic, Bible, drawing, English, geography, history, music, physiology, reading, Spanish,

75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
spelling, and writing. He did reasonably well in most classes receiving marks of between 81 and 90. Bible class proved the exception for Ralston, receiving a poor mark of 65. Ralston attended the American School in Manila for the 1935-36 year having C. W. Joiner as his teacher. He obtained satisfactory results there. However, his first report noted “Capable of doing much better work,” a comment that seems all too familiar throughout American education.

Parents considered their children’s education important for instilling a sense of identity as well as the scholarship they obtained. While the Brent School in Baguio offered a disciplined, religious environment away from the city, the American School provided college preparatory training that many Americans and Europeans demanded. Located in Pasay, it gathered elite and middle-class expatriate students into its classrooms for twenty years prior to the Second World War.

The American School began operations in 1920 when a number of American and British residents of Manila founded the school as a non-profit organization. The organizers appealed to parents, the business, and professional community to actively support the initiative. The founders specified their intentions to form a school for American and British children currently in the Orient. The school’s popularity grew and by 1936 moved to a two and a half acre campus on Calle Donada, Pasay. A second building, largely funded by the Heilbronns in 1939, completed the campus.

The American School restricted its student population through explicit selection policies. The school emphasized, “As stipulated in the by-laws the school is exclusively for children of

---


Caucasian parentage.” The Board of Trustees retained final authority for admissions after a preliminary review by the principal. References were required for students unfamiliar to the Board or principal. Additionally, all students were required to produce a certificate from his or her previous school stating their academic standing. Instructors worked with each student to customize programs for admission to their desired college field. Photographs reveal a student body characterized by its uniformly white, well-groomed appearance.

The school accepted students from pre-kindergarten through high school. With the exception of Spanish language instructors, its faculty consisted of Americans with degrees from well-respected universities. The list of High School teachers for 1940 illustrates their qualifications:

- Ernest O. Joly, *Spanish*, BA, Universidad de Barcelona
- Leila M. Maynard, *History*, BA Nebraska State, Graduate work, Chicago
- Jeanne de Prida, *French*, Louisiana State

Elementary school teachers were women with five to ten years experience in their field. Mrs. Mae Fletcher was one of the exceptions. After graduating from South Dakota Normal College, she taught in their public school system for six years, moved to Manila, and spent sixteen years teaching kindergarten.

The American School established a reputation as an exclusive private school at a modest cost. Tuition ranged from 200 to 350 pesos per year by the late 1930s, considerably lower than at Brent in Baguio. They modeled their course of study and physical setting as close as possible to American preparatory schools believing this fostered “the highest ideals of education, conduct,

---

81 Ibid., 25.
82 Ibid., 8-9.
and citizenship.” The American and British communities generated most of the students and support, supplemented by other European children from French, German, Swiss, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch families. 83

Student life resembled that at similar schools back home. Students were expected to remain at school throughout the period, which began at 7:30 AM and lasted until 12:30 PM. Class schedules during the cooler portion of the day also allowed parents to drive their children to school before work, and bring them home during the lunch hour. Parents received report cards six times per year and were encouraged to discuss their child’s progress with their teacher. The few boarding students lived at private residences since the school maintained no dormitories. Athletic competition at both a citywide and inter-class level offered competitive sports for the students. 84

American parents sheltered their children from the Philippine’s cultural diversity by carefully selecting their schools. While Central served the majority of American students, many parents chose one of the two private schools that avoided the limited mixing at a public institution. Both Brent and American fostered an elitist reputation through high tuition, explicit racial restrictions, and rigorous academics that mirrored American standards. Children attended schools beside other white Americans and Europeans, consistent with their parents’ social norms. The emphasis on academic standards reflects the poor perception of public education in the Islands. Private education at these two schools solidified a family commitment to remaining Americans in the Philippines.

83 Ibid., 20-21.
84 Ibid., 20-21.
Businessmen and women moved to the Islands during this period as entrepreneurs. Tariff policies favoring American–Philippine trade allowed them to build trading firms without excessive capital requirements. Free trade increased the Philippine’s economy dependence on America. Investment concerns centered on the future stability of the Philippines as an independent nation. As a result, few Americans invested in long-term manufacturing operations or large-scale agriculture. Manila served as an ideal location for commerce as it had during the Spanish period. Therefore, Americans concentrated in the nation’s capital rather than settling on the periphery.

The business community received little support from government organizations. Instead, they relied on private associations such as the Philippine Society and American Chamber of Commerce, replicating a similar pattern that developed in America during the 1920s.\textsuperscript{85} The individual investor exemplified the American presence in the Islands for nearly 25 years. Entrepreneurs relied on their compatriots’ advice from associations and informally through clubs and social groups. These networks of personal contacts fostered a sense of self-reliance, perhaps less as an individual, but more as a community of Americans engaged in business. The experience strengthened their shared identity as a separate community, which determined their home, friends, and schools.

This chapter’s final section examines the effects of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie act on the business community. In the 1930s, investors anticipated the demise of preferential trade policies between America and the Philippines after political independence. As a result, they viewed economic opportunities based upon available markets and regional competition. Americans increasingly sought positions as employees, rather than owners, as corporations created

subsidiaries within the Islands. The Tydings-McDuffie act of March 24, 1934 established the independence of the islands and linked tariff rates to the independence process. The Act stipulated relations between the United States and the Commonwealth government during the transition to autonomy. It retained existing trade relations specified by law with certain exceptions including quotas on refined sugars, coconut oil, and abaca fiber products. Any imports to the United States in excess of those quotas were taxed on the same basis as from foreign countries. Other exports remained duty free for a period of five years after which time gradual increases in export taxes applied from 5%, in year six, until completion of the ten year transition where a 25% duty was imposed. The Act retained import regulations for American products to the Islands.

By the end of the 1930s, the Philippines imported mostly manufactured goods while it exported tropical products. S. F. Gaehes, writing for the American Chamber of Commerce, described the exchange as a natural development between two separate economies. America supplied flour, cotton textiles, and steel products rather than the raw materials. In exchange the Philippines shipped its agricultural products: hemp, copra, and sugar. He insisted that demand, unencumbered by government intervention, determined trade. “You manufacture: they farm,” according to Gaehes, “It’s not dollar diplomacy; its plain business.” He emphasized it was only natural for America to supply manufactured products while the Philippines exchanged tropical goods, because the types of products complemented each other.

86 Abelarde, 136.

87 “Philippine Trade,” by S. F. Gaehes, American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, 30 April 1939, p. 5, folder 1, box 19, James Alexander Robertson Papers.

88 Ibid., 7.

89 Ibid., 13.
The changes anticipated from independence as well as effects of the Great Depression gradually shifted trade partnerships in the Islands. By the mid-1930s, America supplied 60% of the Philippines imports, a decrease from earlier peaks of 70%. Japan was the second largest importer, 15%, followed by China, Germany, Netherlands Indies, and Great Britain. Japan exported textiles, canned food, electrical equipment, and kitchen utensils often replacing those from America. During this period both the Philippine Peso and the Japanese Yen were tied to the dollar. These currencies, all fixed within a common bloc, offered the potential for triangular trade, a means to balance any loss of American imports after independence by increases to Japan.  

Corporations provided an opportunity for broader investments, indicative of the changed nature of manufacturing. Proprietorships did not necessarily reflect modern Philippine businesses, but remained an essential part of the economy. For example, Germann & Co., Ltd., owned by M. R. Bergmann, W. Schroder, and A. F. Teschemacher, acted as agents for a variety of firms in the late 1930s. Located on 156 Juan Luna, Binondo, this export business represented Siemens & Halske water meters, Berkefeld filters, Coleman Lamp & Stove (Chicago), and Boizenburg Floor & Wall Tiles (Hamburg). While most existing firms in the Islands persisted throughout the 1930s, corporate investments in subsidiaries and branches appeared more often during the final decade of the American Era. Some corporate employees ignored Philippine politics, focusing on their jobs and how performance in their current positions affected their careers. By the end of the decade, Americans became increasingly aware of their precarious position in light of Japan’s aggression.

---

90 “United States Commercial Relations with the Far East, 1930-1939,” 1939.

George Kerr lived in Mindanao during the transitional period of the late 1920s through the Commonwealth’s formation. His frank opinions expressed to friends and associates reveal his deep concern over the changes imposed on his business and the Philippine economy in general. Away from the light of Manila and apart from the important markets, specialized segments of the Philippine economy developed through corporate investments. George Kerr and his wife moved to Mindanao in 1927 where he managed the mangrove extract operation of the Philippine Cutch Company. The New York company processed mangrove tannin, a dye used in leather tanning, at a facility near Zamboanga. The profit potential for the business appeared favorable, based on the high tannin content and low operating costs. Kerr, a chemist, managed the operation, which began shipping extract in 1928.92

The company’s balance sheet describes a modest enterprise in the Philippines, similar to a medium-sized firm in America. The company produced nearly 4,000 tons of extract with operating expenses for 1929 of $249,000. Based on that year’s selling price of 5 cent per pound, they realized a profit of $132,000 before selling expenses, shipping, and taxes. Salaries and labor represented only 12.2% of the cost of production. George Kerr’s annual salary of $12,000, a reasonable salary for a middle-class executive, amounted to less than 5% of the operations expenses. The company paid $4,294 in Philippine taxes while spending nearly $16,000 on plant and equipment.93

The Great Depression affected businesses in the Philippines including Philippine Cutch. “Although we are running our mill at full capacity,” wrote Kerr, “we are not shipping 50% of

92 W.A. Rushworth to George A. Kerr, 27 August 1928, TLS, George A. Kerr Papers, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

93 “Philippine Cutch Corporation, Financial statements for year ending 31 December 1929”, TD, George A. Kerr Papers.
what we are making, the remaining we are storing here.” Kerr feared he would have to shutter the plant without increased sales. The company survived and continued to operate as a small segment of the Philippine economy. The value of Philippine cutch shipped to America in 1937 was $348,000, an 8% increase from the previous year.

George Kerr and his wife, Ray, remained linked to both home and Manila. After a leave in America, Kerr found that “I have at last gotten myself adjusted to the heat, insects and numerous other pestilence out here once more. It did seem terribly hot when I first came back.” He revealed a feeling of lethargy to his relative missing from his business correspondence. “It is hard to write here, one lacks the energy to do anything except lounge around and work when you are pushed to it.” The Kerr’s found that Zamboanga provided few comforts or necessities. Kerr noted his wife “is going to Manila on the first of July to see the dentist. Six hundred miles is quite a distance to go to your dentist, isn’t it? However, it has to be done.” Mrs. Kerr wrote a jeweler in America, inquiring about playing cards and a new watch. Daniel Low & Co., Salem, Massachusetts, suggested the “Kem” cards by Culberston since they resisted creases, dents, and could be washed, at $3.00 a package. The company provided a photo of several watches, suggesting a popular model that sold for $150 with a solid platinum case set with fifty diamonds, and a seventeen-jewel movement. For an additional $50 a solid gold bracelet with eleven

---

diamonds could be added.98 The Kerr’s desire to purchase these items demonstrates their preferences for American products and the implicit bonds these goods provided.

Communication between the Philippines and America improved over time, reducing the feeling of isolation. By 1933, telephone service extended from Manila throughout the islands as well as to America. A telephone call could cost 70 pesos to America and required preparation. A caller dialed the operator with the name and address of the intended person. Because of the time differences, a call placed in the morning would usually be connected during the evening. A call placed during the evening, could be connected in less than an hour.99 Americans continued their ties to America from the Islands whether by letter, telegram, or telephone. The connections not only aided their business, but also strengthened their bonds to others back home.

Kerr expected the change to Commonwealth status to negatively impact the already fragile Philippine economy. As revenues continued to decline, he anticipated increased taxes as well as the demise of preferential tariff positions affecting both the economy and his company’s fortune. During a recent trip to Manila, his conversations with associates centered on the government’s inability to generate sufficient revenue. Already in 1934, insufficient funds caused the dismissal of thousands of government employees, including some 8,000 teachers. While the fiscal problems of 1934 created these shortfalls, “it seems inevitable that when the Philippine balance of trade is further decreased by the restrictions on sugar and coconut oil imposed by the U.S.A.,” stated Kerr, “the present taxes must be increased or new ones levied if the government is to function successfully.”100

100 George A. Kerr to Sig. Saxe, 3 May 1934, TL, George A Kerr Papers.
The competitive economic forces in the Philippines rested upon a stable, subsidized relationship. “Sugar and cocoanut oil are the alpha and omega of Philippine trade balances,” declared Kerr who cautioned how “neither of these products can compete with Java, Cuba or the many other…countries, owing to the high cost of labor and taxes.” These products could only be competitive if the cost of production decreased to a level compatible with other regional producers.101

Sugar production and processing industries remained contentious, both in the Islands and in America. In 1918 the number of sugar centrals remained small at seventeen, the bulk of the number of laborers worked at the 2,646 smaller mills. However, centrals proved more efficient since less than 5% of the work force produced 80% of the processed sugar as measured by the total value of production.102 By 1936, the number of sugar centrals grew to a total of 45, of which Filipinos owned 22, and 12 by Americans. The wealth of sugar trade remained primarily under Filipino control.103

Policies formulated in Washington forced local businessmen to consider their impact at a local level. For companies such as Philippine Cutch, new taxes in the near term seem inevitable. The new laws maintained no U.S. import duties for five years, after which they increased in steps for another five, until the full duty was imposed. These gradual steps allowed for “amortization of investments of foreign capital in the Islands,” noted Kerr, anticipating the divestment of these same companies.104 Furthermore, the degree of uncertainty increased with possible revisions to

101 Ibid.
102 Census of the Philippine Islands: 1918, 572-73.
104 George A. Kerr to Sig. Saxe, 3 May 1934.
tariff laws to meet the revenue shortfalls. “Governments are not restricted in their actions by either morals or ethics and in this America differs not from any other,” mused Kerr, “and it seems within the range of possibilities that long before our raw material is exhausted in the East we may be called upon to pay export taxes or their equivalent at one end and import duties at the other.” Kerr viewed these changes with apprehension. During the waning years of the era, Americans contended with the effects of economic depression, Philippine autonomy, and Japanese aggression in the Pacific. External events increasingly impinged on the American community’s vision of safety and security in a distant land.

Memoirs and oral histories inform the reader through a personal lens, detailing an individual’s recollections. They provide a less constrained vision of the colonial experience. The following anecdotes by Patsy Robinson Booth, William L. Archer, and James D. Tyson, taken together, create an image of what it was like to work for a company in the Islands and how that experience shaped their individual beliefs. These individuals lived away from Manila, as did Kerr, illustrating the broader experience of colonial life in the Islands.

Patsy and her sister Jerry (Geraldine) Robinson, daughter of a mine supervisor in the Mountain Province, recalled their life in the Philippines during the 1930s. Jerry related, “The Great Depression, low wages for mining engineers and a glowing recommendation from Ralph Crosby, a fellow classmate at Texas School of Mines in El Paso, Texas, encouraged our father, Lewis Martin Robinson to explore job opportunities in the Philippine Islands.” Being familiar with Spanish from a previous job in Mexico, Robinson decided to move to the Philippines with

---

105 Ibid.
his wife, Ola Carson, and five-year-old daughter, Jerry. Mining became an important segment of the economy. Balatoc and Benguet Consolidated were the largest of the twelve major companies in 1935.

Growing up in the Philippines, Jerry Robinson defied simple stereotypes. Her long dark hair framed a thin face that complimented a slender body. Jerry’s confident demeanor and pleasant appearance projected an image of an independent young girl. Unafraid to walk among hazards of the mine, she often withdrew into herself and a good book. Yet, at fourteen she attended dances at the Army-Navy Club at Camp John Hay (Baguio), a testament to her maturity formed by living in the Islands.

Lewis Robinson joined the Marsman mining company owned by Jan Hendrik Marsman. He worked as an engineer at Itogon, Sangilo, Mountain Province, and later served as general manager at Suyoc, Itogon. The Robinsons lived a somewhat isolated existence in Itogon, a remote town over an hour’s drive from Baguio. Their neighbors consisted of mine workers living amidst the Igorot tribes. Jerry remembered the people as kind and caring. “I could go anywhere at that mine,” she recalled, “I could ride on the dump trucks. I could go visit the mill and be taken through by someone who would just take me by the hand and lead me through the mill. Dangerous chemicals were everywhere, but they took care of me.” They lived beside a

---


108 Patsy Robinson Booth, 6.

109 Ibid., 7.
workforce divided by nationality: Americans and Europeans supervised the operation, Filipinos worked the mine, and Japanese did the carpentry.\footnote{Ibid., 10.}

Two of the Robinson’s three children were born in the Philippines, Patsy in 1936 and Robby in 1940. Unfortunately, Patsy developed Pyloric Stenosis, and her grandmother moved to the Philippines for six months to help with the baby. Afterwards, they followed a common practice and hired an amah, Concepcion Barcelona, to care for the child.\footnote{Ibid., 11-12.} The Robinsons moved into their new house at Itogon in February 1940. The rooms were spacious with clean white walls, bright windows, and wood floors. A fireplace warmed the living room on cold evenings. Their eclectic furniture styles combined thick cushioned rattan chairs, nestled tray tables, and a formal dining room set. Oriental vases on the floor, pictures on the walls, and flower arrangements throughout provided a sense of warmth.\footnote{Ibid., 13.}

The Robinsons remained in the Islands for seven years before returning to Globe, Arizona to visit family. Ola and the children traveled by ship while Lewis flew on the Pan American Clipper, which began service to Manila in 1935. The State Department delayed their return insisting that Lewis and his family travel separately. The department relented after several appeals, issuing travel visas in December 1940.\footnote{Ibid., 14.} Concerned for their safety, Lewis purchased a shortwave radio and listened to KGEI of San Francisco, believing it provided unfiltered news.\footnote{Ibid.} Upon reflection, Patsy and Jerry understood their father’s decision to return in spite of the threat of war. “Daddy had a fantastic job,” according to Jerry, “We had a wonderful home. We had

\footnotesize{10} Ibid., 10.
\footnotesize{11} Ibid., 11-12.
\footnotesize{12} Ibid., 13.
\footnotesize{13} Ibid., 14.
\footnotesize{14} Ibid.
wonderful friends. We had a marvelous life.” As they passed through Hawaii and returned to Manila Bay, the visible presence of the Navy fostered a feeling of security. “You got this rise of patriotism and happiness in your heart as you observed all of these evidences that the United States was invincible. We really did not recognize that something didn’t feel quite right,” according to Jerry, “Most of us just wanted to get home again and get on with our lives. And home for us was in the Philippines.”\footnote{Ibid., 18.} Many recent arrivals to the Islands similarly found a home, refusing to accept the hints of war.

William L. Archer moved to the Islands as a single man, without Lewis Robinson’s concerns for his family’s safety. Archer’s career with Caltex in the Philippines spanned virtually all of his working life. Born just south of Pittsburgh on 13 December 1913, he graduated from Penn State with a degree in mechanical engineering in 1936 and accepted an offer with Texaco. Archer trained at the Port Arthur refinery followed by a year at Caltex’s technical services division. Hoping to expand their rather small export business, Caltex assigned Archer to their Philippine operation in September of 1938.\footnote{William L. Archer, interview by Ronald E. Marcello, 10 June 1986, interview 681, transcript, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.} The increased price of gold from $25 to $36 an ounce generated a mining boom in the Philippines, which started in 1936 and lasted up until the war.

Although Archer preferred working in the United States, he believed the move to the Islands advanced his career at Caltex. He began working as a lube engineer, “I was responsible for product application and trouble shooting (trying to find out what was wrong with these diesel engines, mainly).” At the time Caltex trailed Standard Vacuum Oil Company and Shell, with an 11% market share. Kerosene remained their major product at the time, with gasoline and diesel
fuel gaining share somewhat later. Archer’s customers included gold mines, sugar mills, plantations, and lumber companies. “Maybe once a month or six weeks,” he recalled, “I’d call on these various mines and try to interest them in some of our lubricants or see if they were using it and see if there were having any problems.” He prepared lubrication surveys that listed the mine’s machinery, applications, and lubricants creating a service for the customer and an estimate of sales potential. At the time, Caltex’s market in the Islands remained fairly small compared to China and India.117

While in Manila, Archer worked from a fourth-floor office in the Insular Life Building, but spent much of his time in the field. Often traveling by boat, the time spent traveling to reach a customer forced him into month-long trips for greater efficiency. He earned a fairly modest salary of $3,000 a year which allowed him initially, to rent a room at Manila’s YMCA for about $55 a month and, later, an apartment in the city. Archer stated that in spite of the very different living conditions, people adapted. “You didn’t have any air conditioning. You didn’t have electric this and that. You usually slept on a woven bed – rattan bed – laid out on a porch or something. A screened in porch was where you’d sleep. Sometimes it rained and was very muggy, very hot.” As a young engineer in the Philippines, Archer did not join any of the major clubs, leaving that for the executives. “If you tried to join the clubs that the boss belonged to,” said Archer, “it might not work so well. You wanted to stay in your category.” He moved to Cebu in 1940, rented a house, and hired a servant to watch over his property while he was traveling.118

117 Ibid., 7-9.
118 Ibid., 23-28.
Archer believed the Philippines were safe from Japanese aggression. He claimed the military led them to believe that Japan would not attack America. However, many individuals questioned those claims during the summer of 1941. Archer recalled how some men sent their wives and families back home but remained in the Islands. “You couldn’t say you wanted to leave your job just because the Japs sailed down the coast of China.”

Compared to the Robinsons and Archer, James and Teddy Tyson developed even stronger personal ties to the Islands. The Tysons moved to the Philippines as teachers, and like many of their fellow Americans stayed, taking positions in the private sector. James Tyson was born in 1903 in northern Kentucky. He graduated from De Pauw University in 1929 and was recruited by Luther Bewley for a position with the Bureau of Education of the Philippines. He met his wife, Teddy, on board the *President Wilson* on the way to the Islands, where they married three days after landing in Manila.

Tyson first taught English at a high school in Ilocos Norte. A year later, as was the custom, he obtained a transfer to Albay, and then to Manila where he served as Academic Principal of a junior college, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades. His wife, Teddy, taught at the Normal School. Importantly, the bureau continued to recruit some American teachers even as the total number of American teachers in the P.I. declined, replaced by Filipinos. After Tyson left the Bureau of Education, he worked for the Navy as manager of the Manila purchasing office for the Asiatic Fleet and then joined the Singer Sewing Machine Company.

---

119 Ibid., 29.
120 James D. Tyson, interview by Ronald E. Marcello, 5 December 1970, interview 64, transcript, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.
121 Ibid., 2-3.
The Tyson’s enjoyed living in the Philippines despite its difficulties, especially the strange food and poor sanitation. “There were lots of Chinese and Japanese gardeners in the islands,” he recalled, “and Filipinos themselves had fallen into the habit of using ‘night soil’ as fertilizer, and the result was that you didn’t dare eat green leafy vegetables, and you never touched with your bare hands any of the fruit…” The threat of disease caused by contaminated food proved particularly meaningful to the Tyson’s since their first son died in the P.I. of bacillary dysentery.122

After nine years in the Islands, the Tyson’s returned to America on vacation in 1940. During the trip they became acutely aware of the likelihood of war with Japan. He wrote the State Department “asking whether it was sensible for my wife and me to plan to go back to the Philippines as I had a job there and was slated to go back August of 1940.” Tyson received a similar reply to that of Robinson. “The State Department sent me a rather non-committal letter,” according to Tyson, “saying that they saw no reason why an American family could not safely travel out to the Philippines.” Singer offered Tyson a management position in Baguio, and so he and his wife decided to return due to their “many ties in the Philippines, including a child buried there.”123 He became supervisor for Singer in the mountain province, where he managed the forty Singer stores scattered over the area. They moved into a large two-story house near the entrance to Camp John Hay in Baguio, where their new son, James William, was born eight months after they returned to the P.I.124 The Tyson’s found themselves stranded in Baguio when the Japanese attacked the Islands.

122 Ibid., 4.
123 Ibid., 6-7.
124 Ibid., 7.
During the 1930s, Americans recognized that events in Asia affected their lives in the Philippines. While business owners and managers continued to mull over the affects of the Commonwealth government, the broader American community developed a sense of unease, as Japan’s strengthening position in the region impacted the Island’s economy and security. For many Americans, the P.I. was home. Regional threats undermined the comfortable familiarity of life in the Islands even as improved communications cultivated their national identity.

Technology increased feelings of connections with overseas telephone service, air travel, and radio loosening the rigid bonds formed through social networks.

American colonists moved to the Philippines to participate in the commerce. They experienced life in the Islands within a separate community that engaged in trade alongside their Filipino associates. Post-colonial rhetoric often couples the pejorative term exploitation with colonialism. Certainly, the political, economic, and cultural domination by a foreign government of a population is an affront to social and personal independence. However, these seemingly absolute terms ignore the actual changes in the colonial economy.

Tariff policies formulated in Washington changed both the size and character of the Philippine economy. Reduced tariffs during the first ten years of the era revived the economy, but anti-imperial sentiments limited large-scale investments. Few Americans risked investing in large tracts of land necessary for plantations, due to an increasingly autonomous Filipino Assembly. From 1910 through the early 1930s, preferential tariff structures favored American trade. The virtually duty-free nature of import / export exchange enticed American entrepreneurs to invest in commercial segments of the economy. During this period the United States became the dominant trading partner of the Philippines. American companies exported manufactured products, while Philippine firms exported tropical materials. Economic exchange developed as a
natural outgrowth of demand for what each nation produced and consumed. While tariff policies created advantages for American manufacturers, Filipino producers benefited from reciprocal trade policies. Economic declines as a result of the Great Depression were exacerbated by the uncertainty of the Commonwealth Government’s trade policies. While most small business owners remained in the Islands, Americans increasingly found opportunities by working for Philippine subsidiaries of larger corporations.

The business community constituted an important segment of the American civilian population in the Islands. A desire for adventure may have sparked romantic fantasies in some, but their desire to live and work in the Islands rested on far more mundane visions of a reasonable chance of success in a commercial venture. Tariff policies and regulations generally directed their choice of investment. American civilians in the Islands lived a sequestered existence, insulated from social, but engaged in economic commerce. They lived among Filipinos whether in Ermita or the Mountain Province, but limited their interactions to business relations.

Americans developed a feeling of self-reliance, reinforced by their identification with other like-minded individuals. However, while some colonists may have compared themselves to pioneers on the frontier, they relied on associations and personal contacts to sustain their endeavors in a colonial environment. Organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce and Philippine Society provided advice and contacts for the business community, an invaluable resource for their operations. Social networks of associates supported American families living in the Islands. Manila remained the center for such organizations providing the nexus for their children’s education, commerce, and entertainment.
Throughout the period, these individuals worked and lived in the Philippines, but clung to their distinctive identities, garnering the moniker “Americans in the Philippines.” The consistency of this mentality may be seen most clearly in how parents approached the education of their children. Private and public schools separated American children from the influence of Filipino culture and racial mixing. The American business community seldom sought to change Filipino identity. That was the role of missionaries and priests.
I don’t think I could do as much as a man, but I’d probably be better than nobody and I’d have a clear conscience and a satisfied soul.

—Harriet Raymond

Foreign missionaries dominated Philippine religious affairs from the onset of Spanish control through the American Era. While missionaries typically followed their nation’s empire as an informal partner during the “new” imperialism, Filipinos were already Catholic. Contested visions of Christianity persisted throughout the American Era. Most Protestant missionaries entered the Philippines with expectations of proselytizing Roman Catholic Filipinos. They believed the Spanish Friars stifled the nation’s development into a mature civilization. This belief proved critical in explaining missionaries’ attitudes toward civilizing, a common term for American colonization during this period. By the end of the Era, what remained true was that to be Filipino was to be Catholic. However, Filipinos actively shaped how their religion served their community.

For many Americans and Filipinos, religion served as an important component of their individual identity. Therefore, religion reveals how Filipinos interpreted culture through their relationships with American missionaries. This chapter examines the actions of the United Brethren in Christ (Protestant) and the Society of Jesus (Roman Catholic) in the Philippines in order to understand their relationships with Filipinos. The United Brethren’s Protestant message clashed with existing Roman Catholicism limiting the reach of their mission. American priests of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) helped transform the Catholic Church by fusing an informal American style within its European structure. Both missionary groups fostered Filipino assertiveness in their faith communities.
Competition between Protestants and Catholics changed how Filipinos considered their religious beliefs. Filipinos, American missionaries believed, moved from passive recipients of Spanish Catholic instruction to active leaders of their faith communities. The experiences of Jesuit and United Brethren missionaries illustrate how Americans and Filipinos negotiated the priorities of their respective churches. Filipino leadership and selective participation in faith-based institutions validated nation-building objectives of developing individuals for independence through self-determination. Yet, at the end of the American Era, approximately the same portion of the population, 80%, considered themselves Catholic.

This chapter’s three sections examine the overall status of Christianity in the Philippines, followed by discussions of the United Brethren, and then American Jesuits. It serves as a transitional chapter from an earlier emphasis on Americans to subsequent chapters on Filipinos. Each part moves chronologically during the period and draws largely from personal letters and correspondence. It begins by situating competing visions of Christianity in the Philippines as part of a broader view of American imperialism. Rather than examining theological differences, I examine Roman Catholic and Protestant efforts to connect with Filipinos. Over 300 years of Spanish Catholic tradition rooted Filipino identity into the Roman Catholic Church. Both the Catholic clergy and lay community resisted evangelical Protestant’s proselytizing efforts by establishing a vibrant community. The next two sections explore the efforts of individual United Brethren and Jesuit missionaries to connect with their parishioners. The United Brethren were but one of the many Protestant denominations engaged in missionary work in the Islands: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal. Their example reveals how a small group of Protestant missionaries interacted with people in the countryside. While evangelical Protestants expected to convert Filipino Catholics, many missionaries struggled with balancing their identity
as sympathetic teachers or strict preachers. The final section focuses on the Society of Jesus in Manila. Over time, these American Jesuits replaced Europeans, imparting a particular Irish-American flavor to the Catholic Church. They were determined to teach Filipinos that American identity could also be Catholic. These contested faiths meant relatively more for Filipino identity than other Americanization programs, such as a new language. American informality and Filipinization altered the European influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Recent studies of immigrants suggest that individuals retain multiple identities, especially their faith, and create a complex vision of how people see themselves in the world. Offering a transnational model, Peggy Levitt insists that religion is often a key factor of individual identity within social networks. The rituals and traditions embedded in religious practices facilitate feelings of belonging. She argues that religion provides a means to navigate national boundaries, in spite of various legal, economic, and political differences.\(^1\) Applying this same model in the Philippines helps explain how Americans and Filipinos moved freely between two distinct cultures. Americans who immigrated to the Philippines retained their particular identity without the need to assimilate elements of Filipino culture. More importantly, Filipinos separated prevailing visions of American culture, embracing certain aspects while questioning others. Protestantism underpins the fabric of American values and culture. Levitt insists that American culture demands a particular kind of religiosity in order to fully associate with national ideals.\(^2\) The contested visions of Christianity in the Philippines demonstrate how Filipinos could separate these layers of culture in order to affirm their individual identity.


\(^2\) Ibid., 11.
During 300 years of Spanish rule, the Roman Catholic Church Christianized all but the Moros in the south and some mountain tribes in the north. The vast majority of Filipinos practiced Roman Catholicism by the late nineteenth century. At the beginning of the American regime, the Catholic Church’s organization differed somewhat from other nations. The Archbishop of Manila and four bishops maintained spiritual authority over the priests and people alike. For example, the established canon laws required specific cause prior to the replacement of any parish priest. Because of its predominant mission status, the number of regular clergy outnumbered secular clergy by a significant number.  

A brief description of Roman Catholic clergy helps to provide context. There are specific differences between regular and secular priests regarding how the priests live. The secular priest is bound by no vows other than celibacy. He usually pays for his education and when ordained, is incardinated in a diocese under the authority of the bishop. He receives a salary, may own personal property, invests, and retires when he feels its time. The secular priest, therefore, owes his obedience to his bishop and serves primarily as a parish priest. A member of the regular clergy lives or works under the structure of a religious community, or order, and obeys those particular rules for the rest of his life. A regular priest, according to canon law takes solemn vows, consistent with the term’s derivation from the Latin, *regula*, or rule. Jesuits, as regular priests, take vows of poverty as well as celibacy, meaning that the order funds education, travel, and clothing. A Jesuit belongs to his order from the start of his novitiate, and when he dies his body is buried in the cemetery of that order. Approximately three-fourths of the Philippine

---


parishes belonged to religious orders, including Augustinians, Franciscans, Recollects, Dominicans, Benedictines, and Jesuits. As a result, the orders, or friars using the Spanish term, wielded significant influence in the majority of the parishes.5

Soon after Spain established their settlements on the Islands (1565), Philip II asked the Augustinians to send priests to instruct the local population. Spain’s experience in the Americas suggested that friars, rather than secular priests, performed well as evangelists. Over time, Catholic orders from the Philippines sent missionaries throughout Asia. In spite of converting the majority of Filipinos to Catholicism, Rome ordered that the friars maintain their structure in the Philippines.6 As a result of retaining these orders, the Church in the Philippines remained dependant on European priests.

The Augustinian order arrived first in the Philippines in the person of Father Andres de Urdaneta who accompanied Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1565. Over the next several decades, other missions followed, notably Franciscans (1577), Jesuits (1581), Dominicans (1587), and Recollects (1606). Christianization of the Philippines coincided with Hispanization for over 300 years. Spanish authorities partitioned the Islands among the various orders while allowing Manila to be open to all.7 By 1896, approximately 1,300 regular priests ministered to five and a half million people, while 800 secular clergy tended to the balance of the Catholic population, another million and a quarter.8 Missionaries served in each of the five dioceses: Manila, Cebu,
European training and centuries of tradition shaped their education, dedication, and theology.

Catholicism suffered at the onset of American control. As part of Governor-General William H. Taft’s agreement with the Vatican, the friarlands reverted to government control, and a number of Spanish friars left the country. The Aglipayan Church (Philippine Independent Church) similarly drew Filipino secular priests away from the Roman Catholic Church. Although many European and Filipino priests remained, the loss of these priests left some areas without a presence of the Church. Several European missionary orders moved to the Philippines to replace Spanish friars and augment the work of secular clergy. Members of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM) arrived from Belgium in 1907. The Scheut Missions began their work in Cervantes and Ilocos of the mountain region in northern Luzon. In 1908 Dutch Priests of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) arrived in Surigao. At this point, the clergy remained mostly European at a local level.

The Vatican appointed two prominent officials for the Philippines changing the hierarchy from Spanish to American. The Rev. P. L. Chapelle became Apostolic Delegate to the Philippine Islands. Originally from France, he studied with the Sulpician Fathers at St. Mary’s Seminary in Baltimore. In 1882, Archbishop James Gibbons appointed Chappelle to the prestigious St. Matthew’s Church in Washington. Chappelle excelled in Spanish, church history and canon law, ideal preparations for the Pope’s representative to the Philippines. In 1903, Rev. Jeremiah J. Harty, formerly of St. Leo’s Church in St. Louis was appointed as Archbishop

---


10 Mahon and Hayes, 1021.
of Manila.\footnote{\textsc{To be Archbishop Harty of Manila,} \textit{New York Times}, 8 June 1903.} He replaced the Spaniard, Bernardino Zozaleda y Villa, and became the first and only American to hold this office. Harty served in Manila until 1916 when Michael J. O’Doherty, an Irishman who retained his role until his death in October 1949, replaced him.

American priests remained scarce, serving primarily as chaplains for the military. William A. Stanton, a scholastic of the Missouri Province, was one of the first American Jesuits to move to the Philippines (1902), working at the Manila Observatory.\footnote{W.A. Stanton to Father P.X., 29 November 1901, \textit{Woodstock Letters}, Vol. 30 (1901): 425-6.} The few American Jesuits, including James P. Monaghan, S. J., Philip M. Finegan, S.J., and William McDonough, S. J., alternated between serving as military chaplains, teaching at the schools, and assisting the local secular priests.\footnote{Varia, “Philippine Islands,” \textit{Woodstock Letters}, Vol. 37 (1908): 295-96.} It was not until the 1920s when larger numbers of American Jesuits gained permission to work in the Philippines.

On the heels of American annexation of the Philippines, Protestant missionaries entered the Islands after centuries of exclusion by Catholic Spain. Certain nations carried a particular mantle of religion over the centuries. During the late nineteenth century, popular opinion maintained preconceived links between nation-states and religion. To be French was to be Catholic. To be English was to be Protestant. Those positions were clear, at least in the minds of many at the turn of the century. But what about Americans? In spite of waves of Catholic immigrants, starting with the Irish, America’s identity as an Anglo-Saxon nation meant that for many, to be American was also to be Protestant. That affected how Americans saw their role in the Philippines.
Protestant Churches in America supported annexation of the Islands, in part, as an opportunity to evangelize Filipinos.\textsuperscript{14} Protestant missionaries arrived within weeks of the American occupation of Manila. Chaplains, ministers, and leaders of the Y.M.C.A. shattered barriers erected over the centuries. Within a few years, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, United Brethren, and others entered the Philippines in order to convert Roman Catholic Filipinos.\textsuperscript{15} Episcopalians remained the exception as they focused on the Americans, Europeans, and the non-Christian tribes.\textsuperscript{16} Protestant missionaries attempted to convert Catholic Filipinos under the assumption that they required further development in order to become fully-developed Christians. They faced a formidable obstacle, embodied in European priests who worked among the people, spoke their language, and taught their children.

Protestantism underpinned American imperialism in the Philippines as a means to move towards “fitness for self-government.”\textsuperscript{17} Terms evolved over time with “modernization” replacing “civilization.” Each of these terms privileged an American model, which stated that in order to become a modern society, a nation needed extensive capital investment, development of education, transportation, communication, finance, trained labor, individual initiative, and a private business sector, under a precondition of Protestant Christianity.\textsuperscript{18} Protestant missionaries believed they were contributing to the imperial objective of creating a modern society in the Islands.


\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 4-5.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 94.

\textsuperscript{17} Matthew Frye Jacobson, \textit{Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad}, 1876-1917 (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 164.

Some Protestants justified evangelization of Filipino Catholics by employing anti-Catholic rhetoric. Opposition to Catholic practices varied from abhorrence of prayer through Saints, to condemnation of the clergy who permitted gambling and alcohol. The belief that existing Catholics were mostly superstitious led early leaders to direct their initial efforts towards Christians rather than directly at “raw heathens.”¹⁹ For others, the Roman Catholic Church played a historic role in the Islands; one that brought the Malays out of paganism and into an elementary level of faith.²⁰

The notion that Filipinos viewed religion as adolescents, rationalized the broader opinion that they needed uplift, development, and civilizing. Protestant missionaries felt justified converting Filipinos because they believed the Catholic faith was consistent with early religious development. It was a religion of a child and they would uplift the Filipino into Protestant adulthood. Their role, therefore, complimented the colonial government’s task of developing Filipinos for independence.²¹ These paternalistic notions seldom gained traction in the Islands. Catholic priests and administrators rejected that concept and resisted, at varying levels, incursions into their flock. Filipinos also resisted, generally content with a Catholic component of their identity.

In 1901, Methodists, Presbyterians, the United Brethren, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance formed the Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands, joined shortly by Baptists and the Disciples of Christ. They created geographic divisions of the Islands in order to improve efficiency in their missions and joined together in common causes such as a seminary and high

---


²⁰ Clymer, 96.

²¹ Jacobson, 163.
Charles Brent led the Episcopal mission on a separate path serving the American community, providing social services for Filipinos, and limiting evangelization to non-Christian tribes, particularly the people from the mountain provinces of northern Luzon.

Methodists actively supported the Spanish-American War and moved quickly into Luzon, just north of Manila, according to the terms of the Evangelical Union. Their missions generated early interest among Filipinos and by 1903 developed circuits in Malibay, Malabon, and Navotas. These early efforts focused on evangelization, not education, which would have competed with public schools and required physical institutions. As an example of Protestant growth, Methodists counted a steady increase in membership to 24,000 in 1920, and by 1939, they reported 50,000 full members plus another 35,000 probationers.

Presbyterian missionaries embarked on an ambitious endeavor, creating the first Protestant school in the Philippines. In 1901, Presbyterians founded the Silliman Institute; a trade school staffed by Americans, located in Demaguete City, Oriental Negros. Early emphasis on industrial education shifted to traditional college and high school curricula, by the late 1920s. For example, in 1927 the school granted twelve B.S.E. degrees, two B.S., twenty-five A.A. certificates, and eighty-two high school diplomas.

22 Copplestone, 201.
24 Copplestone, 204.
25 Ibid., 213.
26 Ibid., 234.
27 Ibid., 1169.
29 Ibid., 132-33.
Manila’s Union Seminary and high school offered a common project for the evangelical churches. As early as 1909 Protestants recognized a need for a Union Evangelical College in Manila. They envisioned a liberal arts college for Filipinos that provided training for the ministry. Most Protestant missionaries offered limited religions instruction on Luzon, generally bible schools from two weeks to two months in duration. The Union recognized Silliman’s success in the southern islands and hoped to replicate its achievement.

Evangelical efforts in Manila began with the Union Seminary in 1919. The Union faced particular problems of having five Protestant denominations agree upon any plan. Representatives discussed seminary expansion for nearly three years before forming the Union College in 1923. Intended for both men and women, they envisioned an institution of high scholastic standards as well as imparting moral and spiritual interests to the students. Located a few blocks from the seminary, Union High School followed the public school curriculum. Formed in 1919 with fifty-one students, by the late 1920s enrolment reached over 430. While open to all faiths, students were tutored in Bible study and required to attend chapel services three times a week. Recommended dormitories housed most of the students providing further religious instruction and direction.


32 Minutes, 2 October 1923, TD, 2279-2-1:13 Union Theological Seminary in Manila 1920-1923, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

33 Union College Constitution, TD, 2279-2-1:9, Union College of the Philippine Islands, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

A considerable portion of competitive Christian rhetoric dwelled on education. Both in private correspondence and public statements, missionaries criticized their counterparts’ institutions and pedagogy as unsuited for developing Filipino values and discipline. Religious education, therefore, added a layer onto the public education system as a means to achieve a civilized society in the Philippines. While negative rhetoric persisted at the broader level of religious competition, missionaries seldom employed overt critiques among their parishioners, preferring to look after their physical and spiritual needs. Filipinos, in turn, participated in the debates and increasingly set the agenda of competing Christian movements. Examining the United Brethrens and Jesuits in the Islands reveals the differences between these approaches.

The United Brethren’s experience in Luzon illustrates how a small group of Protestant missionaries proselytized Filipinos. These men and women established their connections as teachers, a more subtle form of conversion than the anti-Catholic rhetoric employed in the broader evangelical Union. Missionaries of the United Brethren (UB) stretched their limited resources between establishing a self-sustaining Filipino Church in La Union Province and cooperating with Union projects in Manila. The actual number of American UB missionaries remained small, consistent with their primary goal of training Filipinos to minister independently. The limited presence of Americans facilitated the Filipinization of the UB church. According to the Union agreement, the United Brethren received a mission territory at the southern end of Lingayen Gulf encompassing the province of La Union. Principle towns included San Fernando, Tauzin and Saga. Episcopal missions headed by Brent bordered their territory on the east, which included the American-favored city of Baguio.35

35 Outline Map of Northern Luzon showing location of UB Mission, 2280-2-8:10, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
The United Brethren in Christ formally established the Philippine mission in 1910, after a series of exploratory ventures in the province. Spiritual programs required physical buildings that fostered cooperation and accommodation. The Woman’s Missionary Association assisted the UB by collecting nearly $5,000 in 1907 for a church in San Fernando. They purchased a half-acre lot on the main road, near the plaza for $750 in 1908.36 Missionaries opened Bible schools in part to train Filipinos for the church. As missionaries entered into this new environment, existing cultural practices appeared corrupt. Sanford Kurtz, an early UB missionary, began his circuit rounds and appeared satisfied with their progress in spite of strong opposition by Roman Catholic priests and what he saw as an apathetic public. He observed how in spite of the “loose morals of the priests, the festering sores of the corrupt social system and gambling, love of ease so prevalent among the people,” many Filipinos dedicated themselves to follow his guidance.37

Missionaries presented themselves as teachers, by their model behavior as well as through instruction. By 1916, the UB established a clear set of goals including the establishment of a self-sufficient Filipino church, mirroring the broader imperial goal of autonomy. They instructed Filipino men at the Union Seminary in Manila and trained women as deaconesses and Bible instructors. Additional goals included improved publishing, new dormitories at both Manila and San Fernando, and ultimately a hospital to meet the physical needs of their congregations.38

36 “San Fernando Church, P. I.,” TD, 2280-2-8:1 Correspondence 1907, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

37 Sanford Kurtz to S. S. Hough, 2 May 1907, LS, 2280-2-8:1 Correspondence 1907, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

Since the primary goal was to create a self-sustaining Filipino church, the number of United Brethren missionaries remained relatively small. For example, in 1926 only four men (H. W. Widdoes, C. E. Rettew, Walter N. Roberts, C. C. Witmer) and three women (Harriet Raymond, Myrtle Metzger, Lottie Spessard) served as American missionaries in the Philippines. Widdoes, director of the mission, engaged in a series of mundane tasks in addition to his teaching forty students at the training school.\(^{39}\)

Missionaries sought to transform Filipinos in order to minister to their own congregations. Bible training immersed students into a structure provided by American missionaries. Myrtle Metzger related some of the routine work at the new Bible school in San Fernando. The school provided room and board for girls from the province.\(^{40}\) Metzger explained how missionaries connected with Filipinos in order to foster conversions. Each Saturday, she arose at five and led the girls off for swimming lessons. Later, they cleaned the rooms and went to the local market. The girls spent most evenings in study time, from seven to nine-thirty. On Sundays the teachers and some of the girls traveled to nearby towns for service. Girls often went out in groups on Sunday to hold meetings in the barrios. Metzger and 40 girls attended services at six in the morning. She noted that all girls attended this service, even though all but two girls were Catholic. “This is the way we get in best touch with the Catholic girls and each year we win a girl or more,” according to Metzger, “Many learn to think new things or see that we have not the opposing of the Catholic religion uppermost in our minds but that we love and are ready to do for

---

\(^{39}\) H. W. Widdoes to Samuel Ziegler, 21 June 1922, TLS, 2279-5-3:18 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

\(^{40}\) Myrtle Metzger to Samuel Zeigler, 2 July 1922, TLS, 2279-2-1:4 Correspondence 1922, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
any of them any thing we can.” Proceeding with a gentle touch, missionaries avoided harsh rhetoric in their conversion efforts.

Harriet Raymond, a deaconess, worked in the Islands for over a decade. Her humility connected with Filipinos in spite of feelings of self-doubt and loneliness. In 1927, Raymond moved from San Fernando’s Bible Training School to the new UB high school in Lubuagan. She appeared discouraged by the few students, Catholic pressure, and self-doubt. Raymond recognized the difficulty in circumventing existing Catholic traditions of the Filipino population. “It is quite hard to try to keep a high school going here,” noted Raymond, “because the Belgians – priests and nuns – are so persistent in keeping students away.” Several students left school after a few days and returned home. As a result, only four students remained, three boys and one girl. Raymond believed that many of these students were not prepared for their work because of a poor foundation in English. She remained encouraged with the 31 students registered in Bible class, though attendance remained poor. Raymond missed her routine and companions at San Fernando. “Of course it is often lonely here and I think of our Bible Training School girls so much,” she stated, “but since the need was great here, I could not refuse to come, though it was more than hard to leave the work that had grown to be a part of me and that I love so much.”

Raymond expressed her continuing doubts to Widdoes, her colleague in the Islands. Knowing of the proposal to replace her with a family or a single man in Lubuagan, she understood the rationale, yet sought to remain. “I don’t think I could do as much as a man,” Raymond agreed, “but I’d probably be better than nobody and I’d have a clear conscience and a satisfied soul.” Raymond received fulfillment in her work by affecting the lives of her students.

41 Ibid.

42 Harriet Raymond to Samuel Zeigler, 1 September 1927, TLS, 2279-2-2:14 Correspondence July-September 1927, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
She welcomed the challenge of the high school, even though she missed her work at San Fernando, since it would be following “God’s will.”

The remote location of Lubuagan created additional challenges for single women such as Raymond. Married couples drew upon each other as well as their children to retain their American identity in the Philippines. Walter Roberts described his journey from San Fernando to the Filipino mission station in Lubuagan in early 1927, prior to Raymond’s transfer. Roberts’ family helped him face life in the Islands. His wife, Marjorie, gave birth to their seven-pound son, Charles Walter, at the hospital in San Fernando while Roberts looked after their daughters, Edna Mae and Janet. He continued his work taking strength from his family. Roberts stated how the Spanish only succeeded in spreading Catholicism in the lowlands, while the mountain districts of Luzon and Mindanao in general retained either their “primitive religion” or remain “Mohammedans.” Leaving San Fernando, Roberts traveled north along the coast road for nearly forty miles. In total, it required nearly three days by car and horse for Roberts to reach the mission town of Lubuagan. “There we have a Filipino Missionary and his wife who have been up there for six years,” noted Roberts, “a fine example of loyal consecration to the service of God.” The couple and two deaconesses held services in a small church, with room for no more than twenty-five persons at a time. Having no high school in the region, the missionaries instructed only young children.

In order to achieve self-sufficiency, the UB required a number of well-trained Filipinos to minister throughout the province. By 1927, only twenty pastors served the fifty-five churches,

---


resulting in large circuits. However, Roberts believed that, compared to other Protestants in the Islands, the UB had achieved good results. Training programs and Bible study groups fostered feelings of trust and responsibility among these new pastors. “It looks now,” according to Roberts, “that most of the Protestant Churches in the Philippines are in greater danger of underestimating Filipino ability and curtailing native initiative than they are of turning things over too rapidly.” In contrast, Roberts believed the UB instilled an appreciation of their mission policy.45

In order to work effectively with Filipinos, UB missionaries frequently traveled outside the towns as part of their training activities. Raymond returned to the Islands in 1934 after a two-year leave in America, where she was assigned to teach in San Fernando. She felt comfortable in her surroundings and taught early church history, religious education, Old Testament history, messages of the prophets, poetic literature of the Hebrews, New Testament history, and systematic theology. Raymond felt unsure of herself since Widdoes had previously taught some of the courses.46 She frequently traveled beyond the confines of the Bible Training School. At times, she spent Sunday afternoons in the barrios, and provided a campaign at the local jail. On one occasion, Raymond traveled to Kiangan for Christmas. Several Ifugao women arrived from the barrios for the program and stayed the night, sleeping on the mission floor. Raymond organized the children’s gifts, and then placed a cake of soap, washcloth and string of beads at the head of each of the sleeping women.47

45 W. N. Roberts to Friends, 29 December 1927, TL, 2279-2-2:15 Correspondence October-December 1927, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.


47 Ibid.
Hikes near Kiangan proved strenuous for Raymond, she discovered during her trip to Bayninan’s rice terraces. “Being neither barefoot nor accustomed to tight rope walking,” said Raymond, “we found their high, narrow tops hard to walk on.” In spite of walks knee-deep in mud, she relished involvement in mission work, taking particular joy in baptisms. Yet, she maintained a degree of humility. “I could not begin to do the work that Miss Metzger had done and feel very incompetent indeed when I think of the many tasks she has so successfully undertaken and accomplished.” Raymond continued to teach Bible school at San Fernando, with classes ranging from two to three hours a week.48

The United Brethren’s missionary work prepared some Filipinos for further training throughout the Islands. Silvestre Almiro completed his studies in preparation for the ministry. Raymond attended his certification congratulated him on receiving a scholarship from the Christian Endeavor Union to study at the Union Theological Seminary in Manila. While traveling with Metzger to Kiangan, Raymond remarked on an interesting experience during her time in Ifugao, the commencement at the Mountainside School. “Jose Maddul, a graduate of Ifugao Academy in 1935, has conducted a school of about 50 children in the first and second grades.” The children helped establish a garden and in the playground Raymond and others played a game of baseball. “We had our dinner there, using as part of the feast, some of the vegetables grown in his garden.”49 Some students moved away for their continued education. Raymond commented “One of the boys who has spent two years at the Silliman Bible School is back in Ifugao now to spend a year in field work before returning to Silliman.”50

48 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
Raymond’s humility and self-doubt enhanced her ability to connect with Filipinos. As a teacher, she projected an image of service, not an authoritarian instructor. Raymond’s personality proved effective in meeting Filipino expectations and meshed with her UB associates. Individuals who allowed personal feelings to alter their identity as missionaries created conflicts.

United Brethren directives demanded strict adherence to rules and distinctiveness, providing clear examples for Filipinos to emulate. Church leaders expected personal opinions to be held privately, while publicly stating approved doctrine. Flexibility to adapt to local conditions proved problematic for some missionaries. The United Brethren believed the Islands were no place for blending of cultural practices. Missionaries were expected to adhere to American Protestant ideals rather than join in local customs. Sympathetic feelings for the local population proved problematic if allowed to become public rather than private. If carried too far, this sympathy along with the stress of isolation interfered with a missionary’s ability to fulfill the church’s goals. Not all missionaries followed these strictures.

Conflicting visions of a missionary’s proper role in dealing with Filipinos caused an acrimonious dispute between Wayne S. Edwards and C. E. Rettew, two UB missionaries from San Fernando. Their polar-opposite positions between empathy and rigidity caused them to challenge each other’s identity as a UB role model. Rettew accused Edwards and his wife of theological errors and social improprieties. Edwards (nephew of H. W. Widdoes) challenged the integrity of Rettew and his wife. These disputes in late 1921 and early 1922 reached Samuel Ziegler of the Foreign Mission Board in America. Their arguments and the subsequent response by the board reveals the importance of imparting clear examples to Filipinos.

In October 1921, a dispute arose regarding the allocation of funds from music lessons. Edwards accused Mrs. Rettew of retaining the money rather than depositing the cash into the
mission fund. Mission policy required that any fees should be turned into the mission treasury.\textsuperscript{51} Ziegler hesitated rebuking Rettew for music fees. Ziegler wondered, “If it is a matter of some little gifts that have been handed her I do not see how we can deal with them.”\textsuperscript{52} What seemed to be minor differences often hid friction among some UB missionaries.

Rettew criticized Edwards and his wife, believing they failed to provide strict role models for their Filipino church members. In his opinion, Edwards’ liberal theological viewpoints affected his public behavior in the community. According to Rettew, “with Mr. Edwards believing as he does, it is no wonder that his wife plays volley ball, tennis and goes swimming on the Lord’s Day.” She seldom attended local services and when Rettew returned from Sunday School, “Mrs. Edwards was in her room sewing.” A dance posed one of the most troubling social encounters to Rettew, “as the most insidious evil of today.” He noted that “Sometime ago the governor of this province held a SUNDAY AFTERNOON tea and Dance, Mrs. Rettew and I were the only ones of our Missionary force who refused to attend.” Rettew was appalled that even the principal of the training school chaperoned her girls to the dance.\textsuperscript{53} While social gatherings played an important part of Filipino culture, Rettew resisted bending his strict beliefs in order to connect with the local population. He perceived little problem in adhering to a rigid attitude that clashed with local cultural practices. These charges were ignored by the UB.

Rettew’s criticisms of Edwards’ “modernist view” on religious thought, however, attracted the attention of both Widdoes and Ziegler. Specifically, he claimed that Edward’s theological

\textsuperscript{51} H. W. Widdoes to S. G. Ziegler, 17 October 1921, TLS, 2279-5-3:18 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

\textsuperscript{52} Samuel Ziegler to H. W. Widdoes, 20 October 1921, TL, 2279-5-3:18 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

\textsuperscript{53} C. E. Rettew to Bishop W. M. Weekley, 22 September 1921, TLS, 2279-5-3:18 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
positions regarding the Bible as the Word of God, the divinity of Jesus, evolution, and the role of faith vs. works affected other workers in the mission. “I think they are slow to take a definite stand,” according to Rettew, “largely on account of his influence.”54 United Brethren leaders responded to accusations of dissent by their missionaries. Samuel Ziegler questioned Edwards on his faith, noting that while some religious interpretations are expected, UB missionaries should be held to fundamental standards. Ziegler explicitly told Edwards that he must hold “that the Bible is the only revelation of God’s divine will to man and that Jesus Christ is His Son and the world’s only Savior and Redeemer.” While a missionary may have his own private opinions, his public teaching must adhere to the fundamental positions of the church.55

Edwards responded with a letter that described everyday life in the Philippines instead of directly addressing the accusations of dissent. His response focused on practical aspects of his missionary life including his experiences, reflecting Edwards’ priorities. Ziegler politely acknowledged his interest, but stressed the importance of the spiritual aspects of the mission. “People want to know what the gospel is doing,” insisted Ziegler, “whether men and women are being saved, whether they are believing in Jesus as their Savior and accepting him.”56 Ziegler wished to learn about these experiences, not the interactions with Filipinos that Edwards found so worthwhile. The two men held different views of a missionary’s priorities in the Islands.

Shortly after Christmas 1921, Edwards faced a personal loss: his wife gave birth and tragically the baby boy was smothered during delivery and died. The vibrant Mrs. Edwards, after a two-week confinement in the hospital, decided to leave the Islands. “Mrs. Edwards had a

54 Ibid.
55 Samuel Ziegler to Wayne S. Edwards, 22 December 1921, TL, 2279-5-3:18 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
56 Ibid.
very hard time,” Widdoes explained, and decided return to America. When she first moved to the Philippines to teach in the public schools, she promised her mother that she would return after two years. The loss of her baby led her to keep that promise and return in April.  

Edwards responded to allegations of improper ideology, defending his concern for Filipinos’ physical well being as well as his religious beliefs. He accepted that UB support might be at risk from a conservative element that did not appreciate that mission work consists of mostly secular details that must be attended to prior to religious instruction. “I think they do not appreciate the situation,” stated Edwards, “which makes it impossible to help some people very much spiritually until we have helped them industrially and physically.” These daily needs included medical care, agriculture, and education. He emphasized the physical help as a precursor to spiritual development. “Spiritually, we have as yet not common ground with the Ifugaos,” according to Edwards, “But they eat and sleep, feel cold and hunger the same as we do.” He insisted that only by addressing their physical needs would people become open to religion.

Edwards admitted his liberal theological views contradicted those of the conservative element of the United Brethren mission. “I believe thoroughly in the teachings of Jesus,” he maintained, “and am trying in every way I can to teach those principles to others.” Still, there remained a list of specific instances where his interpretations varied from safe doctrine. Edwards admitted to the “heresy” charges leveled against him and proceeded to explain his theological positions. He respected the Bible, yet found some of the Old Testament ideas primitive. While

---

57 W.H. Widdoes to Samuel Ziegler, 18 January 1922, TLS, 2279-5-3:18 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

58 Wayne Edwards to Samuel Ziegler, 3 February 1922, TLS, 2279-2-1:4 Correspondence 1922, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
he acknowledged it as an “expression of God’s will,” portions appeared to him as unethical by contemporary standards. Edwards singled out verses eight and nine of the 137th Psalm, “Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth the little ones against the rock.” Similarly, he questioned the Genesis accounts of creation and preferred to view the Bible as inspired rather than absolute. Instead of literal interpretations of the Bible, Edwards focused on the world around him. “I believe the regeneration of men, and winning them to higher ideals and standards of morals and religion as of supreme importance.” Having stated his frank beliefs, Edwards understood that conservative members of the United Brethren could have a problem with his philosophy. If that impeded his position, he volunteered to step aside should his personal beliefs endanger the success of the UB in the Islands.  

Filipinos were expected to learn from Americans as both teachers and by their example. Therefore, the mission expected an unambiguous message for their congregation.

Edwards submitted his resignation through his uncle, H.W. Widdoes on 28 March 1922. He acknowledged that the theological impasses between his beliefs and the Foreign Missions Board remained insurmountable and chose to resign rather than abandon his personal beliefs. Ziegler accepted his resignation, yet regretted losing Edwards. Ziegler attributed its cause to contrasting theological positions, between conservative and liberal. However, in Ziegler’s letter to Edwards he touched on the broader issues of missionary work in the Philippines. “I can also imagine,” Ziegler observed, “how these people have won a place in your heart and that they are

---

59 Ibid.

60 Wayne Edwards to Foreign Mission Board of the United Brethren in Christ, 28 March 1922, TLS, 2279-2-1:4 Correspondence 1922, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
actually precious to you.” Yet, the personal tragedy remained unspoken. The concern about physical health over spiritual uplift dismissed. Edwards and his wife cared deeply about their Filipino brethren. Perhaps as a result their lives shattered against tradition.

American missionaries carried paternalistic views to the Philippines. As a result, they would not allow the ways of Filipinos, who they saw as children, shape their lives. Those individuals, who appeared distant and rigid, may have been better suited to life in a distant land under cultural pressure. The few American field workers of the United Brethren faced a tremendous burden to subsume their self-doubts and maintain their identity amidst a questioning population. Simple rules and clear examples avoided ambiguity. On the other hand, a sympathetic demeanor as seen by Edwards failed to transmit their intended message. Individuals needed to balance their personal lives in the field with the mission’s expectations. As teachers, missionaries proved effective if they blended a compassionate continence with unambiguous identities.

Protestant culture clashed with Filipino identity formed by centuries of Roman Catholicism. In their efforts to proselytize Christian Filipinos, UB missionaries confronted opposition by Roman Catholic priests and nuns who discouraged children from attending Bible schools. Those children who attended these schools most often retained their existing religion in spite of efforts to win them over by kindness. Missionaries often blamed priests for influencing parents’ decisions. However, as Harriet Raymond noted, most of their potential students lacked fundamental English language skills. The dependence on the written word as witnessed in the Bible, placed Protestantism at a disadvantage to the more visual religious traditions of Catholicism. By avoiding social encounters at dances and Sunday parties, some missionaries

---

61 Samuel Ziegler to W. S. Edwards, 13 April 1922, TL, 2279-2-1:4 Correspondence 1922, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
missed the opportunity to connect with Filipinos. Rettew imposed a barrier between his strict sense of propriety and the congeniality of Filipino customs. United Brethren programs functioned best when mission goals and Filipino desires converged.

Bethany Hospital addressed the medical needs of the local population while fulfilling the larger goal of self-determination. The hospital project attracted financial support from America but relied largely on a Filipino staff. Lottie Spessard, a registered nurse and superintendent of nurses at the hospital was an exception. Bethany Hospital (originally called Mission Hospital) began as a fifteen-bed wooden structure in 1921. Its early success warranted expansion, culminating in a modern, three-story concrete building. Perched on a tranquil hillside outside of San Fernando, the forty-four-bed facility treated patients from La Union Province, the Mountain Province, Abra, Ilocos Sur, and Pangasinan with a range of medical services. Initially, the hospital relied upon government physicians for staffing. Although this reduced operating expenses, it did not provide an optimum level of control. Widdoes hoped to place UB doctors on staff, thereby ensuring attention to the local community.62

Hospital staff emphasized instruction on preventive practices. Doctors and nurses taught first aid and practical nursing at the Bible Training School and offered education programs in the countryside. On one occasion a physician, Dr. Macagba spoke on sanitation techniques while Miss Tolentino instructed on the care of babies and children. The hospital provided surgical procedures and medical care; the dispensary attracted a greater number of patients.63

The Great Depression affected the financial health of the hospital. “As is true with most hospitals,” noted Lottie Spessard, “the number of patients decreased but the amount of charity

63 Ibid.
work increased.” Bethany Hospital remained solvent with revenues of 25,895 peso compared to 24,531 peso of expenses. During the 1933-34 fiscal year they supported 51 charity cases as well as another 237 patients who paid only a portion of their billing charges.\(^64\)

By the late 1930s, Filipinos directed, administered, and attended to the complete range of services performed at the hospital. The Great Depression limited financial support, therefore, economics accelerated the Filipinization of hospital personnel. The hospital board appointed the first Filipino, Dr. Marcelino T. Viduya, superintendent, replacing Widdoes. The entire Filipino community welcomed the appointment as a positive development in the missionary relationship between the Philippines and America.\(^65\) The hospital provided needed services for the community as seen by its continued growth. In 1938, physicians performed nearly 500 surgeries, treated over 1,200 hospital patients, and serviced the community through dispensary treatments and laboratory work. Operating income usually covered routine expenses, however, the board relied on donations for most new equipment and expansion projects. Sympathetic donors from La Union, Manila, and America funded a new centrifugal apparatus for the laboratory as well as equipment for appendectomy and abdominal operations. An X-Ray machine proved valuable for medical and dental diagnosis. It allowed local treatment and reduced the frequency of trips to Manila for more specialized care.\(^66\) By 1940, Filipinos served in all staff positions reflecting the increased autonomy of the mission. Dr. Marcelino T. Vidya supervised the hospital assisted by Dr. Antonio E. Querol along with a nursing staff under the direction of Miss Marcela Cabrales.\(^67\)

\(^{64}\) Ibid.


\(^{66}\) Ibid.

\(^{67}\) “Bethany Hospital has a Good Year,” Christian Enterprise Vol. II No. 19, April 1, 1941: 8.
Throughout these twenty years, the hospital provided a needed source of medical care for the province, a UB initiative readily accepted by virtually all residents of the area.

Throughout the period, Filipinos consistently increased their role in UB projects in the Islands. This progression affected not only the Bethany Hospital staff, but also decisions regarding church formation and Filipinization of its leadership. Initially, missionaries relied on directions from America for their efforts in the Philippines. During the first few decades of the American era, successful local initiatives demonstrated the benefits of including Filipino opinions when prioritizing activities. By the 1930s, self-sufficiency dominated their agenda, consistent with the broader shift in imperial authority.

Filipinos initiated change in the structural make-up of Protestant churches in Manila. They sought a Union Church similar to the institution that served the American community. In so doing they asserted independence that mirrored Filipinization that continued unabated during the 1920s. Rev. C.C. Witmer of the Manila mission supported Filipino assertiveness and justified their actions. The UB owned land in the student area near the University, which appeared suited to a united church. Several Protestant groups including the Congregationalists and Baptists expressed interest in pooling their resources. Although a formal agglomeration appeared distant, according to Witmer, “Filipino Christians looked about for other ways to promote union.” Members of the congregations believed that planning for specific projects could pave the way for a more universal union in Manila. Thereafter, a number of Filipinos developed a constitution modeled after the American Union Church of Manila for Filipinos. “They claimed,” stated Witmer, “that Protestantism was losing many of the Filipino leaders because of our divisions.”68

68 C.C. Witmer to Samuel Ziegler, 18 May 1925, TLS, 2279-5-3:19 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
The board and conference in the Islands approved these moves in anticipation of formal union. Although Witmer admitted the moves might have been premature, he supported the actions of the Filipinos. “Our Filipino brethren have taken it for granted that all the church work is for their benefit,” he insisted, “and they could not see why they should not work out the proposition as they thought best with the hope that we would all approve it.” Witmer contended that the United Brethren should not restrict independent initiatives as it harkened back to Catholic control of religion. He stated, “I really think that we are more on trial than our Filipino Christians.” He advocated union without undue concern for any technical difficulties associated with formal authority. Instead, he supported their actions based upon their sincerity and earnestness.\(^6^9\) Witmer not only supported the proposed Union church, but also anticipated the positive encouragement this decision could provide to the Filipino members of the congregation. Missionary support for Filipino initiatives demonstrated a commitment to the ultimate goal of an autonomous church. Independent decisions by Filipinos actively shaped evangelical union agendas supplanting directions from Americans in the United States or Manila.

Financial concerns influenced the United Brethren’s goals and priorities. Already in 1926, Widdoes and Ziegler questioned their future projects. Widdoes raised concerns over the lack of clear plans, making it difficult to raise funds. Therefore, he outlined his priorities and asked for the mission board’s approval. Widdoes focused on a high school in Ifugao since it provided the best approach to train workers and evangelize the population.\(^7^0\) Ziegler agreed with the idea, yet cautioned Widdoes on finances. “From the field side it may seem like a lack of policy,” noted

\(^6^9\) Ibid.

\(^7^0\) H. W. Widdoes to Samuel Ziegler, 15 July 1926, TLS, 2279-5-3:20 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
Ziegler, “but from the home side it is a lack of funds.” However, he agreed on the need for direction.

Widdoes summarized his goals for the mission. Baguio development, according to Widdoes, required attention in order to provide a credible presence in the province. Next, Kalinga needed support in order to continue the work of their Filipino missionary from the previous six years. Finally, he argued for new printing equipment so that the Press could supply literature for the UB as well as other Union congregations. Ziegler agreed on the need to set clear priorities, yet the number of foreign missionaries continued to raise concerns. Operating expenses for the mission totaled $40,000 in 1926. Missionary salaries accounted for one-third of this amount and 75% of that went to Americans rather than Filipinos. Salaries provided to each man, Rettew, Roberts, Widdoes, and Witmer amounted to $1,700 per year. Harriet Raymond earned $1,250 while Myrtle Metzger and Lottie Spessard each collected $900 per year. Revenues from the schools, dormitories, churches, and press barely covered half the total with the balance provided from drafts and home office payments.

Economic pressures during the Great Depression influenced the pace of change. By 1933, the United Brethren followed a policy that replaced Americans with Filipinos in the field. This Filipinizing reached student work at San Fernando, the Bible Training School, and the hospital. The active ministry of the United Brethren consisted of Filipinos trained over past decades,


73 Samuel Ziegler, 19 July 1926, TL, 2279-5-3:20 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

specifically, 16 ordained pastors, 6 annual conference preachers, 8 quarterly conference preachers, and 32 deaconesses in active service. By 1933, the United Brethren maintained a number of institutions. These included the Bible Training School, Mission Hospital, Evangelical Press in San Fernando, the Evangelical Church in Baguio, Ifugao Academy in Kiangan, and the Kalinga Academy in Lubuagan. They cooperated in the Union High School, Union Theological Seminary, and the United Evangelical Church in Manila. Filipinization meant more than replacing Americans. It also served notice of the need for local funding at all levels of Protestant activities.

The depression affected the financial positions of missions limiting the number of Americans in the field. Fewer furloughs, postponed replacements, reduced budgets and salary levels became a concern. Rather than allocate funds for travel, they found it “wiser to reorganize the mission forces on the field and to conserve as much as possible the mission funds for an aggressive program, than to spend money on travel until such time as funds are available.”

According to the United Christian Missionary Society, self-supporting Filipinos operated all the programs. Alexander Paul reported, their only remaining missionary family would soon return home. He stated, “The fact is that our work in the Islands at the present time is on its own and in that respect is as near being indigenous as any work at this time can be.” Filipinos provided the personnel, funds, and goals by 1935. “We give very little financial help and all the pastors, Bible women and teachers are now Filipinos,” according to Paul, “They have work in two or three districts in the mountains where they have their own missionaries and which is being supported

---

75 Annual Report, 1933, TD, 2280-6-2:03 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

76 Samuel Ziegler to Carrie Miles, 11 July 1933, TL, 2280-6-2:03 Correspondence – Samuel Ziegler, Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
entirely by themselves." The depression both limited the ability of the United Brethren to expand, but also accelerated the process of replacing Americans with Filipinos.

The United Brethren generally succeeded in establishing their Philippine mission. These few men and women set modest goals that placed Filipinos at the center of their objective. American missionaries trained Filipinos in the doctrines of the United Brethren that persisted after their departure. Through both design and by financial limits, Filipino autonomy became a key component of the UB mission that steadily increased over time. Filipinos replaced Americans in all aspects of the UB program from ministers to nursing instructors in the hospital. Significantly, they actively shaped the agenda of religious development within La Union Province and through joint actions in Manila.

Missionaries acted as teachers, an effective and accepted method of imparting their story. Practical assistance enhanced their stature among the broader population ranging from the distribution of bars of soap at Christmas to the building of a local hospital. They established connections with the population based on fulfilling their needs. In the process the individual missionaries from America encountered challenges imposed by the remoteness of La Union Province and the closeness of competing cultures. United Brethren missionaries clashed with the existing Roman Catholic culture of Filipinos. A persistent Catholic presence limited the enrollment of school students, a primary target for conversion. The resistance of Catholic priests, nuns, and parents to Protestantism underscored the cultural differences between Filipinos and the majority of Americans in the Islands.

Generalizing even such as small group as the UB in the Islands is fraught with problems. Not everyone fit within a stereotypical model. Missionaries carried a range of emotions

---

77 Alexander Paul to Samuel Zeigler, 8 March 1935, TLS, 2280-6-2:02 Correspondence Samuel Zeigler (1934-35), Records of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
including self-doubt, humility, empathy, and intolerance. Successful missionaries knew their strength and used their individual identity to connect with Filipinos and each other. Filipinos accepted their efforts as teachers, knowing that when they departed, the responsibility for continuing the UB mission rested upon the local community. This contrasted with the continued presence of European priests that many found objectionable in the Roman Catholic Church. Americans who let their feelings for their congregation interfere with their mission, risked censure and eventual dismissal. Protestantism required a clear presentation of its message in the Islands. Missionaries of the United Brethren served effectively by adhering to their core identity as an American Protestant.

This final section moves the focus to Manila and follows the activities of the Society of Jesus. For most of the American Era, European priests dominated the Roman Catholic clergy in the Philippines. Beginning in 1921, significant numbers of American Jesuits arrived in the Islands replacing Spanish priests in both Mindanao and at the important Ateneo de Manila high school and college. These Jesuits drew upon their history in education and their experience in the urban centers of America to reanimate the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. They imparted an informal style, compared to Spanish Jesuits, consistent with the Irish-American heritage of many of their members. American Jesuits were determined to display a Catholic face to the Americanization process in opposition to the exclusive interpretation of American identity as Protestant. Some of the first Catholic chaplains argued for American priests to move to the Philippines. For many Filipinos, American culture projected an Anglo-Saxon Protestant image that ignored a significant Roman Catholic component. Since the majority of Filipinos were Roman Catholic, American priests believed that linking Catholicism to the colonial government removed the stigma of its tie to the previous Spanish regime.
Priests of the Society of Jesus returned to the Philippines in 1859 after the order’s restoration in 1814. Along with their work in Manila, the Jesuits focused on Mindanao and replaced Recoltos in Davao and Agusan while opening new missions at Jolo and Bukidnon. The end of the Spanish-American War and the subsequent Treaty of Paris altered the Jesuits’ role in the Islands. The Ateneo no longer received funding from the government but relied instead on funds from the Society of Jesus, hence the name change from Ateneo Municipal to Ateneo de Manila. Additionally, they terminated their involvement with the Normal School rather than follow the colonial government’s elimination of religion from the curriculum.\textsuperscript{78} Relatively few American priests of any order moved to the Philippines during the first two decades of the era.

American priests focused their work on Filipino education, a Jesuit tradition, while ministering to the military and expatriate community. From Taft’s agreement with the Holy See, the Vatican intended to introduce ecclesiastics of other nationalities, especially Americans, to replace those from Spain. However, only a few American secular and regular priests moved to the Islands following the Treaty of Paris.\textsuperscript{79} William H. Stanton, a scholastic of the Missouri Province, worked at the observatory, a historic and important Jesuit institution in Manila. Stanton became the first American citizen to be ordained in the Philippines on 10 August 1902. His celebratory mass on August 17\textsuperscript{th} at the Church of St. Ignatius publicly demonstrated the presence of American Catholics. Assisting Stanton at the Mass were James A. Dalton, chaplain of the 5\textsuperscript{th} Cav. U. S. A., as deacon, Francis B. Doherty, C. S. P., chaplain of the U. S. Navy, as subdeacon, and Wm. D. McKinnon, chaplain of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry, U. S. A., as master of


ceremonies. The audience consisted of a large number of American officers and men from the Army and Navy.\textsuperscript{80}

The American colonial regime pressured Jesuit educational institutions to adapt to the secular system. The two Jesuit schools in Manila were the largest institutions in the Philippines. The Ateneo, with 1100 boys, provided accommodations for 380 boarders as well as day students. The Normal school had 750 pupils with space for 190 boarders. “It is wonderful what confidence the Filipino has in Jesuit teaching,” noted Stanton, “the tradition goes down through generations.” He added these were “good Catholic families like the Irish – 12 or 15 children are common.”\textsuperscript{81} Resisting American educators’ pressures to delete religious curriculum, Jesuits rejected government subsidies, transformed the Ateneo into a private institution, and terminated their operation of the Normal School. William Hornsby, S.J., observed that many of the well-to-do Filipinos understood the benefits of Catholic education. However, he regretted the changes imposed by Americans that would make a population “exclusively Catholic support a system of religionless schools.”\textsuperscript{82} Maintaining a religious emphasis proved difficult during these years. In Mindanao, junior officers of the American army attempted to force parents to send their children to the newly formed public schools. After listening to complaints by Jesuit priests in Zamboanga, General George W. Davis made it clear that these officers overstepped their authority. “The General told me very plainly,” according to Father Bitrian, “that the parents had


\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 315.

a perfect right to send their children to any school they wished, and that no one had any right to prevent them.”

Stanton believed that Jesuit efforts to maintain Catholic education in the Islands served the needs of the majority of the population. “The Filipino people will not have a godless system of education,” insisted Stanton,

They will stick to their Catholic schools, and as long as the present unjust system of public schools without God and without religion remains in force in the Philippines, the “little red school house,” the idol of a certain class of Americans will be left alone in all its glory, till some friendly typhoon shall whirl its scattered fragments from these Christian islands to other lands where perchance its godless influence may be more welcome.

He may have overstated the situation. Yet the sentiment of providing universal public education remained rather new back home, and certainly differed from the existing system in the Islands, which privileged European models.

During the early years of the era, a few men of the Maryland-New York Province moved to the Philippines, establishing early connections. In 1907, William M. McDonough, of St. Francis Xavier’s College, New York, the Rev. Thomas A. Becker, of Fordham University, and Mr. John J. Daley, professor at Georgetown University all volunteered to teach in Manila.

Jesuits from the Ateneo attended to the physical as well as educational needs of Filipinos. For example, they fulfilled a traditional obligation to feed the hungry. A three-day celebration from December 7 – 9, 1909 marked the golden jubilee of the Ateneo. The first event consisted of a dinner for the city’s poor where between 400 and 500 assembled at the college. These guests gathered in the patio and, while seated on a panuelo, were served by some of the most prominent

---

84 Ibid., 434.
men in Manila. Afterwards, each man carried away some of the food, either for themselves or for his family who remained at home.  

In 1910, several priests argued for an increased American presence in the Roman Catholic Church. The few Americans expanded their activities in order to meet the increased demands of the school and various segments of the population. For example, Philip Finegan, S.J. increased his workload and taught Catechism at the Normal School for both boys and girls, led a sodality (charitable organization) of over one hundred girls, supervised the boy’s dormitory, and continued his work as Chaplain of the penitentiary. In view of these diverse tasks, he insisted on the need for more American priests, especially for teaching in Manila. “A dozen new arrivals could have at least a couple of thousand children under his influence,” according to Finegan, “and this would re-act on their parents and townsfolk.” He asserted that the primary mission for American Catholic priests in the Islands remained teaching Catechism to young Filipinos. While Jesuits offered retreats for businessmen and ministered to the military, relatively few American Catholic businessmen lived in Manila and still fewer actively participated in their church. A retreat planned for these men revealed only 52 names of which 39 attended the Spiritual Exercises. In 1925, estimates suggested that American Catholics may have numbered 230 out of the permanent residents.

The composition of Catholic clergy by the 1920s remained mostly European with many Spanish priests continuing at the schools and in the parishes. It was not until 1920 when large numbers of American Jesuits moved to the Islands along with a few Techney Fathers and Sisters,

---


Christian Brothers, and two Communities of Good Shepherd Sisters. Only two secular priests and bishops from America remained, according to John O’Connell, S.J. He recognized the need to supply both secular and regular priests for the Islands. Secular clergy as a means to supplement native parish priests, supervise dormitories, and serve as Catholic writers.89 While most of the clergy hailed from Europe, the number of American priests and nuns remained rather small. O’Connell found this unfortunate since American Catholics understood the pressures of a secular society and resisted Protestant teachings back home. Furthermore, wrote O’Connell, “he comes to a people that “rave” over everything American.” He concluded that above all, the Islands needed American priests as shepherds who would lead, educate, and by example fight for the Catholic Church.90 The presence of American priests offered the chance to blend American culture to Catholic, Filipino culture. They would tie into the popularity of American ideas through their relationships with Filipinos.

An important shift in the composition of Philippine clergy occurred when the Jesuit order informally transferred authority for the Philippines from the Province of Aragon (Spain) to the Maryland-New York Province in 1920. On 12 July 1921, the first contingent of American Jesuits (ten Fathers and ten Scholastics) arrived in Manila. They had been sent by the 26th General of the Jesuits, Fr. Wlodimir Ledochowski to augment the small holdover group of Spanish Jesuits working in the Philippine Mission of the Aragon Province. At that time the Pope in Rome was Benedict XV and the Archbishop in Manila was Michael O’Doherty.91 American Jesuits had planned to move to India, however, the British government denied them access.


90 Ibid., 324-26.

Therefore, the Maryland-New York Province received orders to send as many Jesuits as possible to the Philippines.\textsuperscript{92} This change created opportunities for many men, especially Irish-Catholics from New York, to develop an American presence within the Catholic Church in the Islands.

The transfer of the Jesuit Mission created a new responsibility for the Maryland-New York Province. Father Provincial, Joseph H. Rockwell, initiated the directive from the Residence in New York on 23 June 1920.\textsuperscript{93} The Province requested volunteers to work in the Philippines, including both those who completed their work as well as scholastics.\textsuperscript{94} At a solemn ceremony held at the Church of St. Francis Xavier, New York, on Sunday evening, 25 June 1921, 20 priests and scholastics prepared to leave New York for the Philippines, including Francis X. Byrne, S.J., the first American rector of the Ateneo. A year later another 9 Jesuits left for the Islands creating a substantial American influence.\textsuperscript{95} The formal transfer occurred on 17 April 1927 when the Maryland-New York Province annexed the Philippine Mission. At that time 176 Jesuits worked in the Philippine Mission including 46 Filipinos, 53 Americans, and 77 Spaniards.\textsuperscript{96}

American Jesuits replaced many Spanish priests at the prestigious Ateneo de Manila. In so doing, they made a swift connection to the families of many of the city’s elite and middle-class families. This visible position developed the larger Americanization process during the era by shaping the perceptions of the nation’s leaders. Filipino elites valued Jesuit teaching traditions. An editorial published January the 9\textsuperscript{th}, 1925, in the \textit{Manila Times}, “A Promising Outlook”

\textsuperscript{92} “From the \textit{Pilgrim} for October 1920”, \textit{Woodstock Letters}, Vol. 49 (1920): 391.


\textsuperscript{94} Reuter, 27.


\textsuperscript{96} Pacquing, 348-50.
offered one explanation. At a Rotary luncheon, Francis X. Byrne, S.J., president of the Ateneo, touched on an element of Philippine education more important than economic development. “Without minimizing the work of the public schools,” noted Byrne, “it is fortunate that a great number of the sons of the most influential families in the islands are being educated in an environment that combines high academic achievement with a healthy moral atmosphere and with the physical and mental discipline provided by military drill.”97 The Ateneo began as a high school and in 1909 was authorized by the American colonial government to confer bachelor degrees to its students. Americans served as rectors, beginning with Byrne, from 1921 until 1958 when the first Filipino occupied the position. Since many of the Ateneo’s students came from the nations elite families, American Jesuits influenced these children and, through them, their families. They combined the informality of American Catholicism with European traditions creating a blending of cultures among influential Filipinos.

Americans found their work in the Philippines both pleasant and rewarding. While teaching at the Ateneo in Manila, Joseph Mulry, a Jesuit, wrote to his nephew, John that he enjoyed the tropics, especially swimming in the China Sea.98 George Willmann, instructed students in English, Latin, history, religion, economics and political science at the Ateneo. This proved challenging for a young scholastic with limited language skills. Virtually all of his students spoke three languages; Spanish at home, English at school, and Tagalog among friends.99

98 Joseph A. Mulry to John Monagan, card, signed, 19 September 1924, Joseph A. Mulry, S.J., Collection, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
99 Reuter, 34.
Bernard M. Lochboehler explained his activities to John Walsh, a student at Georgetown University and Woodstock College. Lochboehler noted that, after a short time, he easily adapted to the climate and his new surroundings. “My class in second year high school consists of forty-two youngsters,” said Lochboehler, “tall, short, lean, fat, but all brown-skinned and dark-haired, whom I am drilling in the subjects of religion, Latin, English, history.” He reported that three weeks after he arrived in Manila in August 1932, the school buildings of the Ateneo burned to the ground. However, they moved their classes to another part of town and within five weeks resumed their schedule. They reestablished all of their activities including athletics, sodality, library, and the school paper. “We are all well here,” he continued, “Joe Gelb and Ed Wail are teaching Second Year with me, Tony McMullen is in Third Year, Forbes Monahan is Fourth, Joe Gruicheteau is College Physics, Bill Cummings teaches Mathematics.”

While American Jesuits’ primary role focused on teaching Filipinos, many priests expanded their ministry to the broader community. Priests ministered to the Americans at the Cathedral, directed the Association of American Catholic Ladies, said Mass onboard warships for American sailors, and held a Novena at the Capuchin Church, Our Lady of Lourdes.

Jesuits appealed to their American supporters to fund the mission. George Willmann left the Islands and returned to America where his Jesuit superiors assigned him to the Jesuit Seminary and Mission Bureau in New York City. Operating from an office at 51 East 83rd Street, Willmann raised funds for the missions during the early 1930s. Appeals for the Jesuit Philippine Bureau included requests to adopt a missionary at one dollar a day, a mission station for 100 to 1000 dollars a year, and a seminarian at 180 dollars a year. He succeeded in

---

100 Bernard M. Lochboehler to John Briley Walsh, LS, 1 December 1932, John Briley Walsh Papers, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

generating substantial funding for the Philippines. After five years effort, his mailing list included generous donors who consistently supported the missions. In fact, in 1935 one of his acquaintances offered $50,000 for commercial use of the list, which Willmann declined.\footnote{Reuter, 77-78.}

Activist Catholicism reemerged during the 1920s, reversing the decline caused by Aglipayanism, Protestantism, and indifference. Bishops, priests, and lay organizations promoted the Church to the public. While Catholic education transmitted a competitive point of view, Jesuits participated in the larger project of revitalizing Filipino Catholics. Encouraged by the leadership of the new Archbishop, American Jesuits helped correct misconceptions in the faith community, supported student initiatives, promoted Catholic literature, and argued for social justice. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Jesuits’ pluralism fostered the Filipinization of the Roman Catholic Church. Many of these men came from northern cities, especially New York. Their experience with a multi-ethnic society prepared them for the secular institutions in the Philippines. They were familiar with a system that incorporated Irish, German, Italian, and Polish traditions into the Church. Therefore, American Jesuits expected Filipinos to take an active role in their religion.

Across the Philippines, missionaries reported increased interest from the local populations. In northeastern Mindanao “the Sacred Heart missionaries tell us of the reunion of a great multitude with the faithful Christian majority.” Mission Hill missionaries, originally formed in England, reported 100,00 annual Holy Communions in the Western Visayas while the Redemptorist Mission on the eastern side noted both increased confessions and Holy Communions. Among the broader population, grassroots support of the Catholic Church remained sound. In Cebu, for example, men actively participated in organizations such as the
Knights of Columbus and Patriotic Sons while the women joined the Society of Catholic Ladies. This growth in Catholic societies provided a federation that developed future leaders.\textsuperscript{103} The Islands received a steady stream of men and women to support the Catholic Church. Carmelite Nuns and a community of Sisters of the Holy Ghost arrived in the Islands in order to establish their communities. Missionaries of the Divine Word entered the Province of Zambales while additional Benedictines from Europe established an agricultural school, providing Catholic vocational education.\textsuperscript{104}

The new Archbishop of Manila, Michael O’Doherty, aggressively pursued a unified voice of Catholics. O’Doherty, a Franciscan, received enthusiastic support for his zeal and energy from the Jesuits.\textsuperscript{105} Unlike his more circumspect predecessor, Jeremiah J. Harty, he unabashedly promoted Catholicism throughout the Philippines. For example, he supported Father Finegan’s construction of a modern, concrete dormitory for boys on Taft Avenue to provide a Catholic alternative for public school students. Significantly, he gathered members of the Catholic community and announced the formation of a Catholic Federation of all dioceses, parishes, and societies. The Federation was seen as a vehicle to organize the Catholic organizations throughout the Philippines to resist anti-Catholic initiatives and systematically serve the population.\textsuperscript{106} This aggressive stance recognized the importance of communicating to Filipino Catholics with a uniform voice.

Catholic leaders demonstrated an increasingly assertive posture prohibiting Catholic students from attending sectarian schools. For example, James T. G. Hayes, Bishop of Cagayan,  

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{105} Zaide, 44.  
declared in a pastoral letter that Protestant schools, such as Silliman, remained off-limits to practicing Catholics. He attacked their attempts at recruiting Filipinos since the Church forbids Catholics from attending these institutions. He noted that since Silliman’s president admitted that the school was Protestant, it fell within that classification. Hayes emphasized his opposition to Silliman, and more broadly, the Y.M.C.A., Protestant schools and Protestant teachers who proselytize among Catholic Filipinos.\textsuperscript{107} The American clergy aggressively asserted the authority of Roman Catholicism to the Filipino public.

Joseph Mulry’s instructions outside of Manila illustrate how Jesuits addressed anti-Catholic bias among the general population. Retreats allowed Jesuits to connect with Filipinos at a local level in order to listen to their concerns. Life in the provinces stood in contrast to Manila, especially compared to the middle-class students at the Ateneo so familiar to American Jesuits in the 1920s. Joseph Mulry, S.J., somewhat stout in build, projected a kindly appearance. His attentive ears, bushy eyebrows and full cheeks seemed to encourage friendship and conversation.\textsuperscript{108} In 1925, he led a summer retreat for the residents of Mansantol, Pampanga. Although less than a hundred miles from the Capital, Mansantol impressed Mulry with its distinctly Filipino culture, free from the oriental and cosmopolitan flavor of an urban setting. From his point of view, the Filipino remained fundamentally Catholic in spite of American efforts to secularize education, and its influence on the nation’s youth. For Mulry, “The Filipino is, and can genuinely be, only a Catholic.” He suggested that American priests, more than either Spanish or native clergy, offered residents of the barrios a critical link between Catholic


\textsuperscript{108} Photos, Joseph A. Mulry, S.J., Collection.
tradition and American authority.\textsuperscript{109} Mulry shared the opinions of many fellow Jesuits on the need to broaden interpretations of American identity to the Filipino population. He believed the help of American priests served as a counter to the influences of public schools, Filipino masonry, and American Protestants.\textsuperscript{110} Jesuits from the Maryland-New York Province shared an opinion, based on their experiences in northern urban centers, that American priests were more effective in navigating the complex pressures imposed by a secular society compared to their European counterparts.

Filipino students followed the examples of their priests by opposing anti-Catholic policies in Manila. Their actions illustrate how Filipinos independently shaped Catholic policies during the 1920s. The concentration of schools within Manila fostered competition between Catholic and Protestant institutions. Students attending the University of the Philippines usually lived in private dormitories, including those under religious direction. Three such boarding houses for Catholic students were Nebraska, Florida, and St. Rita Halls. The Catholic Students’ Association aggressively championed a number of programs such as views on evolution, divorce, and modern values. They organized protests over the teaching of birth control at the UP and opposed enrollment drives of the Y.M.C.A. at the universities in Manila. The Catholic Students Association opposed the “Y” due to its alleged ties with the Evangelical Union, “whose purpose is publicly proclaimed to be the promotion of Evangelism in the Islands, which means of course the destruction of the authority of the Catholic Church.” The students printed and distributed handbills and placards that attacked the “Y” as anti-Catholic. They submitted several publicity releases to the Manila press after which the student organization received both moral and


\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 255.
financial support for their efforts. Catholic students expanded the reach of their arguments beyond parochial discussions. By reaching out to the entire population, they included a Filipino voice in the public forum of opinion.

English language literature from America expanded the Jesuit’s reach to the general population in order to promote the Catholic faith. By distributing Catholic publications, they hoped to counter many of the Protestant publications. In one example, J. J. Monahan, S.J., of Mindanao, formulated a distribution program of American Catholic literature in order to assist Filipino teachers with their English skills and counter the effects of anti-Catholic materials. Monahan noted that Catholic literature, such as America, a Jesuit magazine published in New York, provided a valuable service “of accomplishing what a hundred missionaries might fail to do.” He found this particularly useful in Mindanao with its large territory and relatively few priests.

Monahan embarked on a program to distribute America to Filipino public school teachers in order to counter Protestant literature. In 1925, only 326 Americans served in the Bureau of Education, while 26,000 Filipino teachers taught in the schools. An evaluation of public schools, the Monroe report, reflected unfavorably on the quality of education offered by the public schools. Monahan did not fault the Filipinos for this situation but rather their marginal foundations in English. Since English was the required language of instruction in the classroom, he found it understandable that examination results would compare unfavorably to those in the United States. Monahan hoped to improve teacher’s English skills by tasking the Knights of

---


112 J. J. Monahan, S.J. to Father Parsons, TLS, 15 August 1925, America Magazine Archives, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
Columbus, as one of their activities, to mail literature to these teachers and periodically send them letters of encouragement.\textsuperscript{113}

The Knights of Columbus in Zamboanga, accepted Monahan’s proposal and mailed various pieces of English language literature.\textsuperscript{114} The program proved successful, expanding to similar distributions in Negros, Cebu and Luzon. Monahan helped organize distribution centers for thousands of copies of \textit{America} and other pieces of Catholic literature in English. “This will do more for the Catholics there,” according to Monahan, “and against the slanderous attacks made by the Protestants than a million sermons.”\textsuperscript{115}

Over time, some of the more blatant anti-Catholic publications fell out of favor. For example, the use of \textit{The Philippine Magazine} in the Public Schools was ordered suspended by Dr. Jorge C. Bocobo, Secretary of Public Instruction, on January 27, 1941. A recent issue included statements derogatory to the Roman Catholic Church with a “blasphemous attack on the Holy Eucharist” prompting this action.\textsuperscript{116} Previously one of the required readings in high schools, Bocobo found its anti-Catholic stance offensive to all Christians in the Islands.

Some Jesuits promoted social justice issues as they advocated change in the economic structure of Philippine society. In particular, Joseph Mulry advocated increased wages for labor, reduced influence of landed elites, and attention to the needs of farmers. He fostered programs that aimed to help the poor and challenged the prevailing socio-economic structure of the

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{114} Knights of Columbus, Zamboanga, TD, 15 August 1925, \textit{America} Magazine Archives.

\textsuperscript{115} John J. Monahan, S. J. to Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., 17 April 1926, \textit{America} Magazine Archives.

In 1932, Mulry and Ateneo Alumni organized the Bellarmine Guild. They modeled themselves after the Catholic evidence guilds of England, trained in theology, and went among fellow laymen to explain the faith. Some of the most effective meetings occurred as open-air settings in neighborhoods, small towns, and barrios. Mulry’s Social Justice crusade developed from the Bellarmine Guild in 1935. The message focused on the need to bring Christ’s principle’s into man’s everyday life, including a reconstructed socio-economic model. Mulry emphasized the need for government support of programs whereby landowners sold portions of their tracts to the tenants who labored in those fields.

Mulry opposed the lopsided economic situation in the Philippines, where a few individuals controlled most of the wealth. As part of his social justice program, he argued for a living wage, one peso a day. Mulry wrote his nephew, John, in August 1938 claiming that the Philippines offered unbounded agricultural potential with its sugar, rubber, and hemp industries. Hence, he supported a “back to the farmer” movement that built upon the latent potential of the Islands. “The American public School system has been turning out a yearly army of surely four or thirty thousand H.S. graduates,” insisted Mulry, “too good to be farmers and, of course, too unfinished for professional career and too poor to finish.” For some Filipinos, their additional education brought them into the Jesuit ranks.

---

118 Ibid., 41-45.
119 Ibid., 54.
120 Ibid., 60.
121 Reuter, 37.
Jesuits expanded their numbers in the Islands, and by 1938 they totaled 241, including two Bishops, 105 Priests, 96 Scholastics and 38 Brothers. The order’s composition changed since many of the Spanish Priests either died or returned to Spain. Some members of the community studied abroad, mostly at Woodstock College (Maryland), while of those Jesuits in the Islands there were 85 Americans, 38 Spaniards, and 80 Filipinos. The number of American and Filipino Jesuits nearly doubled since 1927 while those from Spain, halved. Education and missions constituted the primary obligations for the community at the time. Importantly, the Americanization of the Jesuit order in the Islands included a simultaneous Filipinization.

The Roman Catholic Church changed dramatically in the Philippines, from the Spanish monopoly of 1898 to a more representative organization at the advent World War II. American Jesuits contributed to this mix at a number of levels, especially with elite and middle-class Filipinos who attended the Ateneo as well as activist Catholics throughout the Islands. American Jesuits brought their own special identity to their mission in the Philippines. These men only attained full status after years of education and training, representing some of the most educated priests in the Catholic Church. They also carried their experiences from the world, and that generally meant an urban setting where, for many of these men, their Irish heritage strongly influenced their worldview. Jesuits from the Maryland-New York Province imparted an urban culture that fused into the European traditions of the Philippines.

American informality resonated with Filipinos, drawing them into activist organizations that defended the Church from anti-Catholic messages and a secular administration. Filipinos initiated change in the Roman Catholic Church through their involvement in lay-organizations and within the priesthood. American and Filipino Catholic cultures complemented each other as

---

evidenced by their common goals and their replacement of European priests. Jesuits represented a particular segment of the American religious rainbow, building upon their traditions of academics, defending Catholicism, and social activism to create connections with Filipinos.

After forty years of Protestant proselytizing, Filipinos remained fundamentally Catholic. In spite of the Americanization of much of the nation’s culture, their core religious identity remained unchanged. The 1939 Census revealed less than 2.4% of Filipinos claimed to be Protestant while 80% reported their religion as Roman Catholic. Residents of Manila remained strongly Roman Catholic, 516,000 out of 623,000 constituting 83% of the population. Despite concerted efforts by American evangelical missionaries, only 3% of Manila’s population considered themselves Protestant. 124

Within individual faith communities, missionaries often achieved their specific goals. Americans who entered the Islands to either convert or reform Filipinos understood that religious beliefs consisted of only a portion of what Filipinos desired. The United Brethren established a self-sufficient mission by emphasizing their contribution as teachers. They supplemented public education programs, connected with their students, and met the physical needs of the population with dispensaries and a hospital. This small group of Americans retained their distinctive identities, careful to balance empathy with authority. However, they faced considerable opposition from nearby Catholic priests and the vast majority of the population. Protestant culture’s reliance on the Bible clashed with a Filipino religious culture based on conviviality and visual images.

American Jesuits tempered the European led Roman Catholic Church with their informality, honed by experiences in New York, and other multi-ethnic urban centers. They

---

124 Table 8, *Census of the Philippines: 1939*.
achieved their goal of demonstrating that Americans were Catholic as well as Protestant as they educated Filipinos while promoting an activist agenda. Unlike their Protestant rivals, American Jesuits connected with the majority of Filipinos through their informality, blending American Catholic culture into existing traditions. At a broader level, both the Jesuits and United Brethren transformed how Filipinos participated in their religious organizations.

Filipinos actively shaped how these institutions developed over time. Their activities within the various churches continued without permission from America, the Vatican, or even Manila. Coincident with the larger Americanization program, Filipinos actively engaged with their respective religions, replacing their passive roles as members of an audience, adding a religious component to the Filipinization process that gained momentum during the era. Both United Brethren missionaries and American Jesuit priests supported this transition, a common element within the otherwise contentious realm of Christianity. The UB entered the Islands anticipating that Filipinos would replace Americans in their mission. Over time, local initiatives reinforced the autonomous nature of evangelical Protestantism. American Jesuits encouraged Filipinos to join the priesthood, expanding the number of American and Filipino priests. Their experiences formed in America’s cities created connections for Manila’s Catholic community that blended with the character of Filipino Catholics. The following chapter expands on the nature of local autonomy by exploring how gender and race influenced Filipino identity.
CHAPTER 8
COLONIAL SUBJECTS

Think of it, not a 3/4 American mestizo, but just a real native…his future is damned. He may last a year or two, but no more.

—George A. Kerr

Filipino men and women interacted with Americans through a complex matrix of social and cultural variables. Three hundred years of Spanish colonial influence created a mixture of Malay, Chinese, and European cultural practices that served as a basis for Americanization. Middle-class Filipinos’ response to their American counterparts helps explain how some of these relationships developed and changed over time. As Americans in the Philippines carried with them a mixture of identities and cultural beliefs, class, race, and gender shaped Filipinos’ response to the American regime. This complexity is essential in understanding American – Filipino relationships.

The interactions of middle-class Filipinos and Americans illustrate the uniqueness of the United States’s imperial moment. Americans were more likely to be involved with these men and women in both public and private settings. These relationships shaped Philippine culture as part of the nation’s emerging identity. Therefore, middle-class Filipinos’ experience with Americans in the Islands reveals why a colonized society embraced many of the characteristics of the occupying power. The emergence of the Philippine middle class directly resulted from American imperialism.

This chapter focuses on the associations formed between Filipinos and Americans through segments centered on class, race, and gender. Much of the source material for Filipinos is drawn from printed speeches or published articles, with limited archival material from personal correspondence. The chapter begins by considering class as seen through the opportunities open to moderately educated Filipinos in the bureaucracy of the colonial government. Especially in
Manila, English language education facilitated class movement for a number of Filipinos. While a developing commercial economy and Filipinization created an expanded middle class, race and gender determined its identity, the subject of the remaining sections of this chapter. Next, race served as a mitigating factor in how people viewed each other’s position in society. Since many Americans who moved to the Islands previously lived in the North or West, they carried with them a set of racial prejudices towards blacks and immigrants, developed in cities such as New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles. Race assumed greater importance in the countryside away from the urban center of Manila. The emerging middle class of Filipinos believed they had more in common with their American counterparts than with indigenous people in the Mountain Province. Finally, gender offers a useful lens to understand middle-class relationships, illustrating the blending of cultures. The balance of this chapter explores how social groups developed and retained American characteristics as Filipinos assumed control over their agendas. Gender-specific organizations operated relatively free of racial distinctions in public settings. It begins by examining the changes that occurred within public and private lives of women. Filipino women organized in clubs and professional associations promoting suffrage and social welfare. This shift from a private life under typical Spanish cultural practices appeared more striking over time. The chapter concludes with an exploration of male interaction within both military and civilian settings. Men’s fraternal organizations generally followed racially integrated practices. Americans and Filipinos joined Masonic lodges as a means to socialize and develop professional connections while the members of the Knights of Columbus transplanted an American Catholic organization into the Islands. The relationships between Americans and Filipinos in both military and fraternal organizations illustrate complex gender issues in an imperial setting.
A complete history of Filipino reaction to colonization is beyond the scope of this study. Most Filipinos probably had little personal contact with the relatively few Americans in the country. From the onset of the regime, elites maintained their family power and, except for the occasional public display of courtesy lived apart. The poorer classes usually responded to the health and education programs imposed upon them. In the Philippines, race and gender worked together to clarify relationships that reflected layers of culture that persisted despite Americanization programs.

Manliness became a crucially important ingredient of colonial power. In her *Manliness & Civilization* (1995), Gail Bederman notes that manhood was a changing classification. She claims that from Victorian times, individuals applied an evolutionary discourse to distinguish levels of civilization. Children and savages were stages in the evolutionary process that led to civilized society. Implicit in these developments was the association of manliness with authority, and authority rested in the power of colonists. Bederman insists on using co-mingling of race and gender in order to describe a nation’s culture. Particularly at the turn-of-the-century, society considered these two factors as determinants for civilization. However, by the 1920s explicit references to civilizing others had largely faded, replaced by modernization.\(^1\) Philippine discourse similarly replaced civilization with references to modernization.

Colonialism created a complex set of conditions. In *White Women’s Rights*, Louise Newman describes how the interactions of class, race and gender complicate imperialism compared to an interpretation limited to the political domain of international diplomacy. Newman explains how elite white women carved out new identities for themselves as

---

missionaries, explorers, and educators.\textsuperscript{2} What occurred in the Philippines thus involved a further mingling of cultural identities, in which elite American and Filipino women emerged into the public sphere demanding feminist objectives of suffrage and professional equality while pursuing social welfare projects for the poor.

The increased number of Filipinos who joined the ranks of the broad middle class may be directly attributed to American imperialism. Education, civil service, and to a lesser degree positions in commerce served as an entrance to the middle class. These people not only benefited from the new economy, but also interacted with Americans on a more regular basis than other groups in the Islands. As a result, they tended to view the colonial presence in a benign manner than did Filipinos directly involved in politics.

Middle-class identity in the Philippines resulted from associations of like-minded people. Similar to class formation in America, Filipinos considered social status rather than strict economic achievement as criteria for entering the broad middle class.\textsuperscript{3} Within a colonial environment, relationships among their peers, both American and Filipino, added to the complexity of class association mirroring the shifting relationships in the United States among white ethnics. While colonial structures created pathways to the middle class, cultural expectations shaped identities creating a class-consciousness that transcended imagined boundaries.

As a twice-colonized people, Filipinos projected a set of characteristics based on a blending of cultures. Their identity reflected the totality of their experience, including race.


\textsuperscript{3} This broad interpretation included small business owners, professionals, and clerks in contrast to the rich or those engaged in manual labor. Distinctions based on national origin became less of an issue for members of the middle class. Wiebe, 129.
However, the color line in the Philippines was not merely black and white. For Filipinos it included complexity based on national origin, culture, and legal citizenship. Their status as citizens evolved quite apart from other Asian nations. From 1898, Filipinos were allowed entry into the United States as non-citizen U.S. nationals. However, with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, they were re-classified as foreign nationals, even though complete independence would not occur for another ten years. This virtually halted Filipino immigration except for the territory of Hawaii. Still, the distinction as U.S. nationals for nearly forty years differentiated Filipinos from their Asian neighbors and tightened their bonds with America.

Hispanization and Americanization in the Philippines shaped concepts of nationhood. As a result, attempts to apply terms such as transnational, transmigrant, or diaspora are problematic. Filipinos empathized with regions, localities, language, and traditions. For example, the use of both Spanish and English distinguished elite Filipinos from the rural population. A common identity based on language was difficult since within the Islands there were various languages, not dialects, including Tagalog, Ilocano, Visayan, Pangasinan, and others. Similarly, the uniqueness of their position in history suggests that traditional ideas of race are not useful for Filipinos. It is too complex based on tradition or culture. Filipino identity formed as a result of contributions by various nations. Therefore, it became somewhat easier to associate by class since national identity remained under construction.

---


In spite of the Philippines’ colonial status, middle-class Filipinos often viewed Americans’ motives as altruistic. That particular term, expressing an unselfish sentiment, describes the sentiment held by Filipinos rather than terms such as uplift or civilizing employed by earlier proponents of annexation. The relationships between individual Filipinos and Americans, of course, depended upon their particular personalities. However, unless an American publicly expressed an extreme political position, especially regarding independence, the relatively light colonial presence engendered a friendly relationship that persisted throughout the era.

Filipinos distinguished between political and personal freedoms, creating a benign understanding of colonialism. Certainly, some felt offended by the colonial presence and especially bristled during celebrations of Occupation Day, August 13th (the anniversary of American forces entering Manila). A newspaper article referenced an opinion that “the entire Filipino people should be in mourning on that day inasmuch as it marked the conquest and subjugation of the Philippine Islands by the force of arms of a stronger power.” The author, Pedro de La Llana, disagreed and believed others joined in his opinion. He wrote from a middle-class perspective that focused on the positive efforts of Americanization including progress, development, and the creation of opportunities. The relative merits of the colonial regime mitigated political dependence. De La Llana detailed the progress of the Philippines including popular education, increased business relations, and development of the nation’s natural resources. He asserted that the Americans, unlike the Spanish before them, made possible the Islands’ development for the benefit of the Filipinos. De La Llana praised the current

---

government “which, despite the past errors of some of its officials, and the deficiencies of its present make-up, can still be considered one of the best governments in the world.”

De La Llana drew a sharp distinction between “the absence of this political freedom” and a government that guaranteed individual rights and liberties. He believed American motives were altruistic, a metaphor frequently cited during the period. “The spirit animating America,” insisted De La Llana, “judging by her history and traditions, is that of service to mankind. She has proven this fact on more than one occasion and to mention instances of past altruistic deeds would be superfluous here.”

His point of view stood in contrast to the frequently cited complaints by Filipino politicians over colonial administration. The middle-class perspective recognized the benefits that related to their priorities; individual liberty, development, and improvement.

Some Americans poisoned their relationships with Filipinos by publicly opposing independence. Dean C. Worcester personified colonialism during the first twenty-five years of the American Era. He served longer than any other member of the Philippine Commission, holding the position of Secretary of the Interior for much of that time. Worcester loved the Islands, building a number of homes and instilling in his family long-term links to the Philippines. However, his frequent statements against Philippine independence fostered strenuous opposition to him and his ventures. In one notable instance the city council of Cebu denied him permission to live in that city as well as attacking the business operation of the Visayan Refining Company. Worcester claimed that a competitive mill, the Madrigal, was

---

9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Dean C. Worcester to The Special Mission to the Philippine Islands, 4 August 1921, TLS, folder: Papers 1921-22 Concerning Wood-Forbes mission, box 1, Dean C. Worcester Papers.
nothing more than a “spite mill,” encouraged by local politicians to ruin their profits. “The Bishop of Cebu urged his parish priests to take stock in it,” according to Worcester, “and to instruct their parishioners not to sell copra to us.” Americans known for their strident political positions alienated the broader Filipino public, limiting their relationships.

Memories of the American period focused on education, development, and economic progress, issues dear to the Filipino middle class. Little long-lasting animosity existed in their collective memory. For example, Bonifacio Salamanca suggested that economic ties were but one aspect of a unique relationship between America and the Philippines. There was “no antagonism of great consequence,” he wrote, “in contrast to the French in Vietnam and the Japanese in Korea.” While many Filipinos fondly recalled educational efforts, Jose Diokno believed the goals were contradictory. People tended to replace the brutal images from the Philippine-American War with notions of a “kind patron.” He alleged that indoctrination existed in which the “colonial curriculum worked to instill a binational loyalty in the Filipino child – a loyalty to an emerging Philippine nation and to its protector, America.” Filipino memories of the colonial regime changed over time. In the end, the shared experience of war may have eradicated some of the more hostile emotions as colonial subjects.

Some Filipinos perceived American intentions in the Islands as altruistic, in spite of the colonial structure of the government. This allowed Filipinos to interact with Americans as equals based on class association rather than national origin. Imperialism in the Philippines

___________________________

12 Ibid.


14 Jose Diokno, Former senator, nationalist spokesman, Manila; quoted in Denton, 44.
affected the political process rather than social identity. For many middle-class Filipinos, the American regime’s emphasis on education and development coincided with their expectations for progress. Particularly in the cities, Filipinos and Americans shared a vision of social advancement that shaped their identities. As a result, Filipinos felt more in common with their class counterparts than with the majority of the population.

The middle-class identity emerged most particularly in Manila. Structural changes in the economy increased career mobility, as laborers migrated from the provinces to the city in search of better jobs. Increased access to education facilitated movement into skilled positions, especially in clerical and technical fields. Significantly, moderately educated Filipinos obtained government positions as a path to the middle class. They replaced Americans in the colonial bureaucracy and in professions creating an urban middle class of as much as one-fifth the population of Manila. This change occurred earlier in the Philippines than in any other colonial dependency.¹⁵

Filipinization created a unique condition that allowed individuals with minimal levels of education or skill to move into a higher socio-economic realm. From 1900 to 1941, the middle class of Manila doubled on a proportionate basis. During the first decade of colonial administration, relatively few Americans applied for positions within the expanding bureaucracy. Filipinos entered this void whenever allowed. Throughout the Harrison administration (1913-1921), wholesale changes occurred at all levels, accelerating the indigenization of civil service positions.¹⁶


¹⁶ Ibid., 137-8.
Education facilitated Filipino movement into entry level, middle class jobs, specifically, clerks, technicians, and professionals. For example, the desperate need for teachers allowed individuals with less than a high school education to obtain jobs and later, improve their skills through government funded evening courses. Ultimately, civil service and public education provided a basis of Filipino upward mobility into the middle class. While occupation helped establish a status level appropriate for class distinction, an individual’s income quantified their position.

Relatively few Filipinos earned a salary high enough to be considered middle class. In 1925, most Filipinos subsisted on a meager income. The average daily wage for agricultural laborers varied from 0.60 to 0.70 pesos, while industrial laborers earned between 1.40 and 1.50 pesos. Of those individuals categorized by income for 1924, fully 98% earned less than 1,000 pesos annually. The entry-level salary of a graduate from the Normal School offers a useful comparison. The Bureau of Education hired these graduates at a starting salary of 1,200 pesos in 1927. Therefore, an annual income in excess of 1,000 pesos serves as a reasonable base level for a middle-class salary. Only 1.5% of the total number of wage earners received an annual income of between 1,000 and 10,000 pesos. This distribution illustrates the truncated nature of the Filipino economic structure. The vast majority of the population remained poor while a relatively narrow upper class participated in the economic growth of the Islands. In the Philippines the middle class remained a minority enhancing their distinctiveness, compared to balance of the population.

---

17 Ibid., 138-9.
18 “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.
19 Service Manual, 121.
20 “Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Philippine Islands,” 1926.
Filipinos interacted with Americans by adopting new customs while retaining traditional views of their world. In some cases, this meant treating their American colleagues as surrogate family members with expectations of help, or favors. Others considered them as mentors. While Filipinos and Americans shared common middle-class aspirations, they approached relationships differently, based on cultural practices. In the Philippines Americans distinguished their relationships as associates or friends. For Americans, an associate represented a formal relationship based upon a common interest, whether in business, the professions, or education. Therefore, Americans found it natural to form relationships with like-minded Filipinos, encouraging the image of class associations. Friendships, on the other hand, reached into the personal lives of individuals and their families. From that perspective, few Americans extended their relationships with Filipinos beyond the level of associates to intimate friendship.

Complicating these dynamics, Filipinos formed particular bonds as compadres, which included reciprocal responsibilities intrinsic to the relationship. Within the middle class these relationships persisted beyond the actual time spent working together. These bonds explain why many individuals retained fond memories of their experiences and friendships between these two peoples.

The experiences of two Filipinos, Alfonso Cinco and Santiago Artiaga, demonstrate how cultural expectations complicated the meaning of friendship between Filipinos and Americans. Alfonso Cinco held a modest position as a clerk of the court during the late 1910s. New to the middle class, he perceived his relationship with his American friend based upon traditional cultural expectations. Santiago Artiaga studied engineering at the University of Michigan (1904 graduate), experiencing the broader elements of American culture. His successful career as an engineer and administrator positioned him within the upper bounds of the middle class.
Exploring episodes of Cinco and Artiaga’s careers illustrates both the convergence and limits of a shared identity.

Americans and Filipinos often worked together forming relationships that appeared differently from each other’s perspectives. Alfonso Cinco’s reliance upon judge William Connor as both mentor and associate in the court system provides one such example. Cinco, a court clerk in Samar, worked for the colonial regime for several years, developing a relationship with Connor, who received a promotion and placed Cinco in charge of his property. He entrusted Cinco with the shipping of his personal effects as well as the disposition of furniture after he left the island. Having stored his remaining property at the Constabulary headquarters at Catbalogan, Connor asked Cinco to ship some boxes to his new home in Manila. He asked Cinco to inventory the items and take responsibility for his property. Cinco agreed and suggested that Connor sell his furniture instead of renting them to his replacement. He greeted Connor cordially “hoping that in the near future you would be in the line of the ablest sons of the mother-country, America.” Cinco provided a list of the articles including beds, desks, dressers, bookcases, dining table with six chairs, rockers, and several smaller pieces. Connor’s request elicited in Cinco a feeling of obligation that moved their relationship beyond associates at court to a personal level of mutuality. Cinco understood that their relationship extended into his personal life, consistent with the Filipino compadre tradition.

Tragically, the influenza outbreak of 1918 reached Samar, forever altering the fate of Cinco. In response to Connor’s inquiry on his furniture, Cinco divulged his family

---

21 William M. Connor to Alfonso M. Cinco, 29 March 1918, TL, folder: Correspondence with Alfonso M. Cinco 1917-1924, box 1, William M. Connor Papers.

22 Alfonso M. Cinco to Hon. William M. Connor Jr., 11 April 1918, TLS, folder: Correspondence with Alfonso M. Cinco 1917-1924, box 1, William M. Connor Papers.
circumstances. He wrote Connor on black striped stationary that his wife died on 13 November 1918 of influenza. Cinco explained how in spite of being under the care of a number of doctors, she passed “from this stormy life” leaving him to care for their little children Pabling, Carmencita, Ponching, Pipang, Pining and the new born baby named Mamita. He hired “lots of muchachas and muchachos to care for the little ones” but the children, especially the youngest, missed their mother. Cinco considered hiring a nurse, however a salary of 40 or 50 pesos a month would leave him with a balance of 100 pesos, something he could ill-afford. “Some of my relatives did advise me to marry right soon while my children are small but I have found that this is the hardest problem for me to solve,” Cinco confided, “a real mother of children that are not hers, so I am placing this matter aside.”23 He struggled over the loss of his wife, but eventually moved to the task entrusted to him by Connor. Cinco advised that some furniture had sold while the balance remained in the office. He suggested that if Connor reduced the prices it would be easier to sell the various items.24

Connor expressed his condolences a short while later and decided to wait for the proceeds of the furniture. Significantly, he engaged in Cinco’s domestic situation as he tried to dissuade Cinco from marrying so quickly.25 Connor affirmed the broadened relationship, by advising Cinco on a family matter. No longer simply an acquaintance from the court, Cinco understood that their relationship had become personal and enduring.

Cinco contacted Connor a few years later, seeking help from his compadre. It seems as if Cinco interfered with a political squabble and paid the consequences. He explained to Connor

---

23 Alfonso Cinco to Wm. M. Connor, 24 December 1918, TLS, folder: Correspondence with Alfonso M. Cinco 1917-1924, box 1, William M. Connor Papers.

24 Ibid.

that an ex-governor, Jazmines, filed a petition for damages, 10 pesos, against a poor individual. Judge Capistrao dismissed the case, Jazmines complained to the Superior Court, and Capistrano was dismissed. Cinco publicly sided with Capistrao incurring the wrath of Jazmines. Jazmines persuaded an internal auditor to investigate Cinco. “I am now under prosecution,” declared Cinco to Connor, “which will probably fall into criminal action.” The auditor recommended his removal and prosecution finding certain delayed deposits, which they interpreted as a misuse of funds. Cinco petitioned both the auditor and the Attorney General in Manila without success.

He turned to his compadre to intervene, and save him from ruin, an expectation based on mutual obligations.

Cinco appealed for help from Connor, noting how at the time of his suspension, he and his wife had only fifteen pesos available to survive. “I am the poorest man of numerous family in town,” Cinco pleaded, “When Mrs. Cinco died I had a great pain and have been suffering much for the little ones…[and]…for this reason I have decided myself to marry again and have to date nine children in all.” It was for this reason that he requested Connor’s help. “What shall I do?,” asked Cinco, “I have been in a moment of madness…that I am surrounded by little creatures who are crying for their growth and education.” He asked Connor for “mercy,” especially in light of the precarious situation of his children, and a direct appeal to the Governor General.

Connor’s request to Cinco transformed an informal association into one of mutual obligations. Their relationship as associates allowed Connor to request help in matter of property, something that meant more to Cinco than was probably implied by Connor. Yet

26 Alfonso M. Cinco to William M. Connor, 12 September 1924, TLS, folder: Correspondence with Alfonso M. Cinco 1917-1924, box 1, William M. Connor Papers.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.
Connor also felt an obligation to respond to Cinco’s family matters that encouraged an expansion of their relationships. The intersection of these cultural expectations demonstrates how complex a simple situation could become, intertwining the expectations of two individuals who shared a middle-class identity. Cinco applied the traditional notion of *compadres* in dealing with his American friend. Bonds of friendship entailed reciprocal responsibilities that signified personal relationships for Filipinos. Conner’s entrustment of his property reinforced this notion to Cinco, as did advice about family matters. Both men engaged in a traditional relationship familiar to Filipinos, however, it appeared different from each of their perspectives. Connor assumed an obligation to help based on his personal desire to assist an associate. Cinco expected his help as a surrogate family member. While these two men shared a middle-class identity, their distinctive cultures complicated their relationship.

Santiago Artiaga’s education in the United States shaped his professional career and formed an upper-middle-class perspective similar to his American contemporaries. Artiaga gained the opportunity to experience life first-hand, in America. As one of the initial *pensionados*, men and women who studied in the United States as part of the Americanization program, he embraced American values when he studied engineering at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Artiaga developed life-long ties to both the university and Professor Mortimer Cooley. He remained active in Michigan’s alumni association, corresponded with his friend, and donated his personal papers to the university archives.

---

29 Karnow, 21.

30 Initiated in 1903, the *pensionado* program funded the education of hundreds of Filipino students at American universities. Kramer, 204.
Santiago Artiaga was born to Mariano and Gregoria (Francisco) on 23 May 1878 in San Juan del Monte, Rizal. They had two children, Santiago, Jr., and Salud. Artiaga graduated from the University of Michigan in 1904 with a degree in civil engineering. As an early participant in the pensionado program at Michigan, both he and a number of professors took particular interest in one another. He spent most of his professional career in Manila serving as city engineer and teaching at the University of Santo Tomas. Artiaga held the position of Dean, College of Engineering, University of Santo Tomas from 1924 to 1927. Later, he lived in Mindanao from 1936 to 1941 serving as mayor of Zamboanga and then Davao. He held the position of Governor, Province of Bukidnon, Mindanao, from October 1939 to March 1941.

Artiaga’s upward mobility within the middle class affirmed his devotion to development projects as a means for social improvement. He advanced his career incorporating his technical outlook as an engineer into public service projects. For example, upon arriving at Bukidnon, Artiaga submitted a report to the Governor on several proposed actions intended to improve both industry and tourism. Artiaga emphasized the importance of infrastructure improvements that would “give the people access to fertile lands suitable for agriculture, that will draw in settlers and bring about the increase of population and other material benefits tending to enrich the province.” He requested increased allocations for electric and telephone repair since little maintenance had been performed since their original installation. “It will only be a question of time,” Artiaga predicted, “when all the telephone equipments will need to be condemned for

31 Finding Aid, TD, folder: Papers Jan-March 1940, Box 1, Santiago Artiaga Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

32 Governor Santiago Artiaga, 1947, TD, folder: Biographical Material, box 1, Santiago Artiaga Papers.
useless.”

Utility revenues paid only salaries and minor purchases with few provisions for repairs or equipment upgrades.

A photograph of Governor Artiaga and his staff illustrates the all-Filipino administration of Bukidnon Province by 1940. Artiaga gained a few pounds by then, but remained fit in appearance. Relatively short compared to his fellow Filipinos, he exhibited facial characteristics of a mixed heritage, probably Spanish and Chinese, with few overt Malay features. Artiaga’s intelligent face consisted of a narrow nose, symmetrical eyes and full mouth. His close-cropped dark hair showed signs of graying at the temples, reflecting his sixty-two years.

Artiaga’s proposals illustrate how some Filipinos embraced middle-class values that equated progress with development. Looking forward, Artiaga proposed developing a mountain resort at Malayblay for residents of Mindanao and the Visayan provinces. He envisioned a mountain retreat similar to the vacation destination of Baguio. Artiaga associated improved roads, wider distribution of electric lighting, an efficient telephone system, and good hotel accommodations as pre-conditions for tourism. He recommended a number of projects meant to entice tourists including a swimming pool at Atugan, and a rest house and marina at Pimamaloy Lake.

In 1940, interior Mindanao remained undeveloped, offering builders such as Artiaga an opportunity to overcome nature’s barriers. Artiaga traveled the route of the Bukidnon-Cotabato-Davao road on an inspection trip and reported his experiences. Through this lens, it is possible

33 Artiaga to Office of the Governor, 26 December 1939, TL, folder: Papers, 1936-1939, box 1, Santiago Artiaga Papers.
34 Photograph, 5 December 1940, folder: Photographs of Artiaga, box 1, Santiago Artiaga Papers.
35 Ibid.
36 Santiago Artiaga, Report to the Governor, 11 January 1940, TD, folder: Papers, Jan-March 1940, box 1, Santiago Artiaga Papers.
to discern how Filipinos felt about their country’s potential. It is a familiar narrative, since the sense of adventure in overcoming nature to benefit society resonates as an American as well as a Filipino story. In spite of the two-day journey, which covered approximately 150 miles, Artiaga remarked how much he enjoyed the undertaking. To him the project epitomized the classical definition of civil engineering, “Harnessing of the forces of nature for the benefit of man.” Indeed, for Artiaga the most important project of the Commonwealth Government was the construction of highways. “These highways will hasten the settlement and economic development of Mindanao,” he believed, “leading to increase of population, and utilization of its rich resources for the benefit and aggrandizement of the Filipino nation.” Artiaga acknowledged the fine work of the engineers and workers tackling the road, all of whom were Filipino. He emphasized the importance of development anticipating a population potential of 80 million in Mindanao. For Artiaga, this development offered a form of national defense and economic security.37

Unlike most of his Filipino contemporaries, Artiaga formed his opinions from experiences in America rather than through contacts with colonials. As a result, his relationships appear nuanced, blending American and Filipino culture. Artiaga maintained connections with the University of Michigan. He developed a relationship with Dean Mortimer E. Cooley of the College of Engineering after which they maintained a regular correspondence over a period of two decades, interrupted only by World War II. Artiaga’s correspondence was professional with just enough personal touches to create a degree of warmth. He discussed his children, but only to a point that Americans would find appropriate. Artiaga sent a box of cigars to Cooley each year at Christmas, a friendly gesture, yet one without obligations. Artiaga’s fond memories of

37 Ibid.
Ann Arbor moved him to create a close association with Cooley without the expectations of mutual responsibility.

During Artiaga’s tenure at the University of Santo Tomas, he was accorded the opportunity to open the 1922 term with a reading of a dissertation, a traditional honor for selected professors. He confided to Cooley that, although his position as city engineer absorbed much of his time, he completed the project after office hours. “The result, however, was very satisfying for I received many congratulations for the discourse,” according to Artiaga, “and especially because the chosen subject is new and not yet cultivated in this country.” He explained the subject matter and then moved briefly into a personal realm. Artiaga mentioned that his oldest daughter, at thirteen, entered her first year of high school. He expressed his wish that in four years she too would follow is example and attend the University of Michigan.”38 Artiaga conveyed a family matter without imposing an obligation on Cooley to intercede on his daughter’s behalf.

The experience of Santiago Artiaga suggests that the pensionado program profoundly affected his future career. He garnered both technical expertise and a spirit of development as one might expect from a major American university. His attachment to Michigan differs little from other proud alumni. However, to label Artiaga as Americanized would be unfair. He absorbed cultural traditions and applied them to his own, middle-class mentality. The interaction between Filipinos and Americans aligned along class distinctiveness. Therefore, economic position, educational level, and social status determined the relationships among like-mined individuals. Middle-class Filipinos held more in common with American colonials than the Igorrotes or Moros from the remote provinces.39

38 Santiago Artiaga to Dean Cooley, 18 July 1922, TL, folder: Correspondence with Mortimer E. Cooley, 1914-1932, box 1, Santiago Artiaga Papers.

39 Coffman, 66-7.
Frequent contacts between Filipinos and Americans reinforced this confluence of identity. Hispanization included middle-class formation, but for a narrow segment of the population. Filipinos associated more closely with elites and developed particular relationships, including *compadres*, which persisted as part of their culture. But without question American imperialism created opportunities for an expanded middle class. As Filipinos obtained positions within the expanding bureaucracy and public education, they associated middle-class status with Americanization, supplementing earlier notions from Spanish traditions. American colonial emphasis on education and self-sufficiency served as a blueprint for upward mobility. Therefore, Filipinos believed that their occupations conferred equal middle-class status.

Filipinos formed relationships with Americans based on class associations that grew stronger and more frequent over time. However, the meaning of these relationships depended on cultural perceptions as well as class associations. Distinctions between associates and friends, notions of shared obligations, and the lines between professional courtesy and intimacy complicated how Americans and Filipinos interacted with one another. The expanding middle class brought many Filipinos and Americans into daily contact, without always understanding each other. Filipinos who achieved middle-class status felt more at ease within the cosmopolitan environment of Manila than the villages or the mountains. They inferred a level of social equality based on class, unfamiliar to most Americans. Since most middle-class Americans lived apart from blacks or immigrants in the United States, their experience with Filipinos developed as a new dynamic. Race constituted an important factor in determining the appropriateness of social interactions.

This next section examines how race influenced social identity in the Islands. In the Philippines, race and gender constrained relationships between Filipinos and Americans.
Socially acceptable interactions depended upon degrees of intimacy, creating a dual system of tolerance. Close personal relationships between Americans and Filipinos remained exceptional throughout the period. Americans, more than Filipinos, viewed racial mixing as a transgression of social propriety. Within public spaces, however, gender-specific organizations including clubs and fraternal organizations evolved into inclusive social groups. Racial separation within these groups receded over time, solidifying middle-class identity.

While race influenced both Filipino and American relationships, anecdotal evidence suggests it meant more to Americans. This should come as no surprise since the two cultures possessed different attitudes towards racial mixing. Few Spanish women moved to the Philippines during the centuries prior to American occupation, and mestizo unions were quite common throughout the Islands, including among many prominent families. Similarly, few Chinese women moved to the Islands. Through the 1920s, virtually all male Chinese immigrants sought Filipina partners, resulting in a sizable population of Chinese – Malay mestizos.

Mixed-race couples, in contrast, triggered stronger negative responses among Americans. The imperial fantasy, imposing power onto dependent people, relied upon the absolute separation between white colonists and racial others; “going native” transgressed virtually all visions of accepted behavior. As historian Edward Said points out, the imperial setting required an absolute divide between races to maintain power distinctions. Racial divisions were an accepted way of life among most of the Americans who moved to the Philippines. Within early-twentieth-century America, whites strongly disapproved mixed-race relationships. During the

40 “Don Pedro Sanz and his Family,” nd, photo, folder: Misc. persons, box 4, Dean C. Worcester Papers.
41 Frank G. Carpenter, Through the Philippines and Hawaii (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, & Co. Inc., 1930), 35.
1920s, fears of widespread miscegenation fostered a wave of laws restricting marriage. Virginia’s 1924 statute prohibited a white from marrying a black, Asian, American Indian or Malay. It expanded the definition of a black person from one-sixteenth black to anyone who had even one black ancestor, making it one of the most restrictive laws in the nation.43

Mixed marriage or partnerships engendered public scorn. Newspaper accounts of fraternization between Philippine Scouts and American women, at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, created a sensation. Angry citizens viewed these relationships as overt transgressions of racial boundaries.44 Similarly, in the Islands mixed-race relationships between Americans and Filipinos violated social taboos. However, some men who married Filipinas defended their choice. In response to an account of a mixed-race marriage, a former soldier voiced his personal opinion. “The writer is a squaw-man (isn’t that awful?),” he wrote, “and has been one of ‘those horrid things’ for about ten years (no hope, eh?).” The writer referred to a recent letter to the editor that caught his attention. In that article, a soldier came to the Philippines to fight the Moros in Mindanao. Soon after his arrival he received a “dear John” letter ending his relationship with a woman back home. “That gave me a tilt toward the life I am leading,” he wrote, “and I honestly believe in all cases where Americans are either ‘querida endowed’ or married to native women, you would find their experiences more or less the same.” The writer recognized that racially mixed relationships engendered public disapproval. However, he placed the blame not on his decision, but like so many others, on the decision of an American woman back home who forced him into the arms of a Filipina. In the end, the writer asked for toleration. “We know society points with scorn at our class but as the law permits the marriage of


44 Kramer, 278.
Americans and Filipinas,” he declared, “why not leave us alone that we may be able to munch our apples in peace.” While middle-class society disapproved of mixed marriages, they accepted the reality that soldiers often developed relationships with Filipinas. Virtually any American who crossed that line risked social embarrassment at the least, and questions on their very sanity.

Americans in the Philippines viewed mixed marriages through the lens of class as well as culture. While they accepted inevitable transgressions by current or former soldiers, middle-class marriages across racial boundaries constituted an unpardonable breach of propriety. George Kerr, manager of Philippine Cutch in Mindanao, informed his friend, Sigmund Saxe in New York, of an event that troubled him deeply, nearly the same as the death of a good friend. Kerr related his shock that a young American at the firm crossed racial boundaries. “Going straight to the point,” said Kerr, “he married a Filipino girl last Saturday night.” To him, this transgression constituted “Hari Kari.” “Think of it, not a ¾ American mestiza but just a real native.” He attributed this action to the effects of the tropics. The young American had apparently become “a victim to that strange and insidious effect of the climate which too frequently ends in suicide or the mad-house.” As the young man left on a recent leave, his friends hoped the time away would ease the strained emotions. The previous year, the doctor had recommended hospitalization in Manila to treat his malaria. To Kerr, the stress and illness proved a potent mixture leading to his decision to wed. “About ten days ago he came to me and asked my advice about marrying the Filipino girl and naturally and properly I talked to him like a father,” noted Kerr. A few days later the young man informed him he planned to marry that

---

46 George Kerr to Sig. Saxe, 13 June 1935, L, George A. Kerr Papers.
Saturday night. Nonetheless, Kerr wrote, the love struck man would realize that his Filipina wife could never be accepted as a proper American’s wife. His future was “damned.” “He may last a year or two but no more.”

Kerr drew an important distinction: if Hannen’s wife was only one-fourth Filipino, they may have been accepted in American society. However, the unambiguous nature of their racial mixing allowed little room for Kerr’s acceptance.

Mixed-race couples aroused strong emotions among Americans. Betty Halsema, the daughter of Baguio’s mayor, explained that American men who married Filipinas early in the American Era were often soldiers who ‘went native’ with lower-class Filipina women. And what of their children? Later, fathers pushed their daughter into marriages with white men, Halsema related, even soldiers at John Hay. Apparently, race mattered more than class for parents of mixed-race offspring. “Mr. Murphey was furious,” according to Halsema, “when his beautiful daughter wouldn’t marry an American but married a prominent Chinese-Filipino mestizo (loaded with money).” Halsema maintained that, at the time, most of the mixed-race couples consisted of white men and native women. “American women who married Filipinos,” she observed, “were usually nurses or professors (the ones that stayed) and their husbands met them in school in the U.S.”

Americans carried their beliefs on mixed-race relations with them to the Philippines. While marriage between the two peoples remained frowned upon, social gatherings grew in frequency during the period.

Gender determined the degree of social interactions in a private setting. On occasion a level of trust warranted familiarity between Filipinos and Americans. Compared to the racial polarization prevalent in the United States, the degree of social contact was more fluid. In

---

47 Ibid.

America during the 1920s, race permeated society separating blacks and Asians from whites, eastern and southern Europeans from northern stock, and immigrants from natives. In the Philippines, in contrast, male social mixing within private settings countered prevailing sentiments of segregation by race and ethnicity. Male socialization occurred at various levels of intimacy within the middle class.

American and Filipino men often invited each other to their homes. For example, William Connor, his wife, and son received an invitation from T. Yu Biao Sontua to his home at 286 Avenida Taft for a social call. At the time, Connor lived in Manila’s Military Plaza. This well-to-do Filipino extended a rather important invitation: “Tengo el honor de invitar a Vd. A una cena de confianza en mi casa en la calle Avenida Taft No. 286 para el dia 14 del actual.” For a Filipino to invite someone to his home was an important expression of camaraderie and even trust. It represented familiarity as well as an element of confidentiality normally limited to close friends. Similarly, Americans invited their Filipino associates to social gatherings. Joseph Heilbronn celebrated the anniversary of his business with annual dinners at home. On occasion of the sixth such event, both American and Filipino associates attended. It was said, “The sala and dining room were gracefully adorned with palms and flowers, and two tables were spread with such good things as Manila could offer.” The guests included Governor Harrison who “assisted at the piano in the entertainment of the guests. Invited guests toasted the success of the company.” Betty Halsema related her father’s experience as Mayor of Baguio, illustrating the nature of family relationships away from Manila. “Dad’s two best friends were Miguel and Gov

49 Gerstle, 107.


51 “It’s a Long Way to Pay Day, But...” The Manila Times (29 August 1915).
Ventura,” Betty recalled, “men he had known in Pampanga in the early days. I remember their being at our house for meals but never their wives. (I doubt if wives came with them to Baguio.)” The Halsemas’ closest social circle included Americans from the city, the Heale’s and Herolds. Evenings generally consisted of dinner, conversations, and occasionally bridge. Male fraternization in a colonial setting proceeded within defined class limits. Members of the middle class held a similar status allowing men to share one-another’s personal space. Unlike strict adherence to racialized boundaries in America, class association mitigated national differences. Therefore, the perceived equality by class status allowed Americans and Filipinos to engage in mixed race socialization to a degree that would be unacceptable in the United States.

American and Filipino women rarely mingled in private settings, largely influenced by prevailing cultural attitudes. Betty Halsema claimed her mother knew many of the Filipino women, but not socially at home. She stated that it was not until World War II when these acquaintances grew into friendships. American and Filipino women seldom engaged in personal relationships. “It just wasn’t done,” according to Betty, “Mother wasn’t a snob or a racist but one simply didn’t think of making friends among the Filipinas.” While, some Americans who lived for a time in remote areas developed long-term friendships with Filipinos, this was not the case for the Halsemas. The American character of Baguio probably reinforced these tendencies. Baguio assumed an American identity from its construction as a summer capital. As such it retained more social constraints, consistent with the United States in comparison to the cosmopolitan nature of Manila.

53 Ibid.
Americans insulated their children from Filipinos whenever possible. So even when Betty was a young girl, and somewhat isolated, she refrained from playing with local children. “Our folks did not disapprove of our playing with Filipino children,” she recalled, “but Mary Icard is the only one I knew well and saw often.” However, the children were discouraged from learning Tagalog. “Mother did not want us – at least me – to learn dialect,” Betty cautioned, “because Mrs. Aaron, who spoke Tagalog, said the general overheard conversations contained much earthy sexual language.” Filipinas probably held similar reservations about American women. As Betty observed, “I think there were few opportunities to know Filipinos well – the Filipinos were always so polite and deferential and also kept us at a distance of sorts.”

Both American and Filipino women maintained a distant relationship within a private environment. Interactions among this diverse group of individuals developed according to class, culture, and race. Filipino visions of identity privileged class status, rather than race. The essence of Hispanization relied upon mixed marriages resulting in a large mestizo population. Filipinos subsequently viewed male-female relationships across racial lines with an attitude of acceptance. Middle-class Americans, however, retained their strong opinions about the inappropriateness of such unions. Social mixing within gender boundaries offers instructive differences. Colonial strictures of racial division appeared weak within the male, middle-class world. Many men felt at ease inviting either Filipinos or Americans into their homes as part of a developing affinity. These associations moved into semi-formal relationships that stopped short of intimacy. Women usually refrained from such private meetings. As both mothers and guardians of family culture, Americans and Filipinas maintained control over their family units, limiting interactions between themselves or their children to members of their own race. The relational dynamics changed as

54 Ibid.
these men and women moved from private to public settings. Women and men responded to the modernization of Philippine society to different degrees based upon their traditional public persona.

Gender provides another lens to examine how women and men responded to the modernizing influences of the American Era, illustrating the boundaries of socialization. Within gender-specific organizations, Americans and Filipinos worked together as equals. Over time, Filipino women and men gained control over these organizations consistent with Filipinization projects within the colonial bureaucracy. The imposition of American culture increasingly pushed Filipinas out of domesticity and into public arenas of work and associations. Middle-class women’s entry into the public sphere became evident in education, professional associations, and the club movement. Filipinas and Americans worked together, ignoring racial distinctions that fostered segregation within the private sphere. Filipino women exemplified the blending of cultures. By the 1930s, the effects of Malay, Spanish, Chinese, and American influences had crafted a distinctive identity for the Islands’ women. Dr. Flora A. Ylagan, one of the founders of the National Teachers College, explained these dynamics. She asserted that Filipinas absorbed elements of each culture, moving between these identities created conflicts. “One western standard is difficult enough to blend with the East,” she declared, “but when there are two western cultures of entirely distinct nature, the old Latin of Spain and the new modern standards of America, it makes adjustments still more difficult.” In part it created a generational divide since older traditions often conflicted with ideas, embraced by the young, from the public schools. Filipinas needed to learn each custom, Ylagan claimed, adapting to particular
situations. The blending ultimately yielded a distinctive Filipino identity, retaining old traditions while acquiring the social skills needed in the 1930s.\footnote{Flora A. Ylagan, “Presenting the Filipino Woman,” 1936, TD, RG-104, Papers of Joseph P. and Charlotte Heilbronn, box 1, folder 5: Monographs, MacArthur Memorial Archives.}

The availability of coeducation transformed how women viewed their position in society, particularly about the choice of attending convents and private schools, or one of the newly promoted public schools. Tarcila Malabanan, who earned her A.B. at the University of the Philippines, assessed the implications of this choice.\footnote{“The Filipina Woman from the Public Schools,” by Tarcila Malabanan, \textit{Philippine Review} Vol. 1, No 3 (March 1916): 74-75.} As a young woman who finished high school and college, she developed a rapport with her male colleagues, creating a broader view of the world. This attitude frequently led to the charge of Americanization, but Malabanan disagreed. She believed that modern thought referred to a worldwide trend in contrast to the \textit{“semi-medieval atmosphere”} of an earlier period. Malabanan insisted that the educated Filipina woman retained her uniqueness and had not developed into an American. \textit{“Each race possesses certain inherent qualities,”} she declared, which may be \textit{“modified by education.”} Her Asian roots and Latin culture remained part of her identity, resisting a transformation into an Anglo.\footnote{Ibid., 77.} Few women or men attended institutes of higher education at the time, yet these attitudes influenced the broader population by creating wider opportunities for women.

Filipino women defy simple stereotypes as either Asian or Occidental. Already in 1919 the Philippine Congress debated woman suffrage, a first in Asia.\footnote{Emma Sarepta Yule, “Filipino Feminism,” \textit{Scribners} (June 1920): 738.} However, women’s independence and equality status began much earlier. Upon arrival in the Islands, the Spanish found that women shared both the rights and duties of the home and upon the death of her
husband, a wife inherited half of their joint property.\textsuperscript{59} While the Spanish - Catholic tradition established a partnership position for women, Filipinas assumed control over their homes. In addition to managing the house and its expenses, the woman saw to the education of the children and often helped her husband in his business.\textsuperscript{60} Within a social setting, women may have been equal to men, but often receded into the background. A married woman generally left her husband and his guests alone. The young daughter may have acted as hostess instead. In other aspects of the family, the Filipina anchored the moral compass. The mother provided the principle source of direction for both sons and daughters and was highly respected within the family.\textsuperscript{61}

On the farm, women assisted in various tasks. They carried goods, harvested crops, and worked in the fields. However, men generally carried out the heavier work, such as road building or plowing. Filipino women seldom tended the garden, leaving the planting of vegetables and flowers to others. Home industries included weaving, embroidery, and lace making.\textsuperscript{62} Women often managed the family business including rice mills and coconut oil mills. Their business responsibilities stemmed in part from the equal inheritance laws from the Spanish period. Sisters and brothers shared equally in the property passed down from their parents.\textsuperscript{63}

Increased education facilitated an expanding Filipina presence in the nation’s economy. Women traditionally engaged in retail trade as market vendors at the tienda (shop). By 1939, women participated in the broader economy, especially in white-collar positions as clerks and

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 739.

\textsuperscript{60} Ylagan.

\textsuperscript{61} Yule, 744.

\textsuperscript{62} Yule, 741.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 743.
typists. Women both owned and worked in a number of manufacturing industries, largely in tailor shops, textiles, printing, shoe, and button firms. However, the greatest numbers were employed in firms listed as embroidery and dressmaking as well as cigar and cigarette manufacturing. In each case the number of men and women in these two categories were nearly equal. Women most frequently worked in domestic and personal service roles such as maids, amahs, and lavanderas. By 1939, women participated in most of the professions. They exceeded the number of men employed as teachers, nurses, pharmacists, chemists, and religious workers. Furthermore, women participated in significant numbers as dentists, college instructors, musicians, physicians, and physician’s attendants. As Filipinas gained experience in their careers, some rose to prominent positions. For example, several women held positions in the judiciary, including a judge in the Municipal Court of the City of Manila. For many Filipinas, previous traditions and present conditions blended into a new opportunity in the Philippines.

Middle-class women embraced early feminism including suffrage, expanded employment, and career advancement. Professional organizations aided women’s advancement into public-sector positions, contributing to their independence. The Association of University Women promoted professional development, political initiatives, and social reform. On one occasion, meeting at the home of Pilar Herrera, the association expressed its gratitude to the Assembly for its passage of the suffrage bill. At the meeting they welcomed Maria Pastrana and Francisca Reyes upon their return to Manila. Pastrana obtained her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan and served as an instructor in botany at the University of the Philippines. Reyes attended the Sargent School for Physical Education in Boston and obtained a position, leading the UP’s

64 Census of the Philippines: 1939, Table 15.
65 Ylagan.
women’ department of physical education. The Association focused its efforts on educating women regarding their political rights. To that effect, they prepared literature to stimulate interest on the suffrage movement, since some women in the provinces seemed indifferent to the topic. University women encouraged high cultural standards among Filipinos. The Association sought to censor certain popular phonograph records. They expressed alarm over the increased popularity of records in Tagalog, and more specifically over the indecent songs and lyrics. They formed a working committee to encourage public modesty and communicate their suggestions to the Governor General.

Women utilized professional organizations in order to promote political and social programs. As middle-class women expanded their roles in society, they modified traditions in the personal lives. Educated women often postponed marriage, allowing them to reexamine their priorities. For those who decided to remain in the home, her education enhanced the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere for the family. Filipinas considered education as an important means to develop their identity, not simply as a path to success. The career of Concepcion Felix (Felix – Calderon) illustrates how Filipinas combined professional status with traditional concerns for social welfare. Considered by some as a pioneer feminist, Felix served as president of the Association Feminista de Filipinas, the first professional society of women in the Philippines (established 30 June 1905). She completed her law degree at the Instituto de Mujeres at the age of 21 in 1905. Under her direction the association focused on social issues including providing milk to nursing mothers, separate prisons for women, maternity leave, campaigns against vice,

67 Ibid.
68 Malabanan, “The Filipina Woman from the Public Schools,” 78.
and recreation centers for women. Her speech before a group of male university students was repeated in 1967 during the United Nations conference on women’s rights. Felix channeled her activism into broader organizations including the Woman’s Club of Manila.⁶⁹

The club movement developed along patterns similar to those in the United States. American women engaged in associations throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By 1900, many clubs promoted woman suffrage and social justice issues. Anne Firor Scott argues in *Natural Allies: Women’s Associations in American History* that women’s associations were central to American social and political development and helped move their issues into the public. Through these groups women contributed to the expansion of democratic participation leading to the successful suffrage campaign.⁷⁰ She notes how the General Federation of Women’s Clubs created an umbrella organization whereby clubs focused on community development issues.⁷¹ Clubs provided a forum for progressive politics, promoting working women’s rights, and child welfare. American and Filipino women in the Philippines followed a similar course charted by their associates in the United States. By 1919, over fifty women’s clubs in the Islands engaged in settlement work, health care, and prevention of infant mortality.⁷²

The Woman’s Club of Manila, the oldest and largest club, provided service opportunities for prominent women expanding their public presence in the Islands. Carrie Chapman Catt, during her return from the orient, met with a dozen American and Filipina women on 15 August

---

⁶⁹ Narda Navato – Camacho, “A National Tribute to Dona Concha Felix,” 9 February 1984, TD, folder: F352.4, American Historical Collection, Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines.


⁷¹ Ibid., 126.

1912 at the Manila Hotel. These twelve women formed the Society for the Advancement of Women (29 August 1912), later, the Woman’s Club of Manila, in order to promote woman suffrage. The organization supported civic development by uniting in one organization “all creeds, all races and adopt as their watchword the ideal of public service for the common good.”\textsuperscript{73} Mrs. Charles Lobingier became its first president, while Concepcion (Felix) Calderon, one of the charter members, served as Vice-President and Treasurer. Soon after organizing, the club founded a day nursery, whose success fostered additional nurseries throughout the densely populated areas of Manila. Mrs. L. B. Arnold, an army wife, assumed the presidency after Lobingier returned to America. Many early members of the Woman’s Club were connected with the military, especially those living at Military Plaza, Fort McKinley, Corregidor, and Cavite. Throughout this period they operated as a service organization without the benefit of a physical building.\textsuperscript{74}

Social concerns led women to focus on issues consistent with traditional roles as mothers and moral guardians. Settlement programs, health care, and legal aid sought to ease the life of poor women. Bessie A. Dwyer chaired the Woman’s Club Penology Committee, which helped secure matrons at the Luneta Police station, teachers for the San Lazaro Hospital, and payments for prisoner’s work at the Bilibid Prison. In 1914, the Woman’s Club founded, with the Bureau of Labor, a “Woman’s Free Employment Agency” and made arrangements with the Director of Civil Service to certify women eligible for government positions.\textsuperscript{75} The Woman’s Club of Manila joined the Federation of Women’s Clubs, U.S.A. in 1915, delegating members on their


\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
visits home to its annual meetings. They promoted clubs in the provinces and legal aid for indigent women. During the Great War, the organization launched food production drives, Red Cross projects, managed the Liberty Loan Drive, and endorsed abstinence for wines and liquors.76

The Woman’s Club joined with the Manila Y.M.C.A. in fighting vice at suburban cabarets, and received the support of the Director of Health. They succeeded in 1918, when the government abolished the dancing feature in cabarets. That same year, the Club petitioned the Legislature to add venereal diseases to the list of contagious diseases and elicited the cooperation of all the provincial clubs to support a consistent moral stance against vice, including the prohibition against cockfighting.77 These anti-vice campaigns only moved dance halls out of view by shifting them to Manila’s suburbs. The organization changed its focus in 1921 by amalgamating with the provincial clubs into the National Federation of Women’s Clubs of the Philippines, thereby severing its close association with the American umbrella organization. While the Woman’s Club achieved considerable success with social issues, their original political aim of suffrage remained unfulfilled.

Certain aspects of civil law discriminated against women. Perhaps the most important unachieved right for women in the 1930s was that of suffrage. Ironically, while Filipino politicians aggressively pursued political independence, the legislature opposed suffrage for women. After two decades of struggle, the National legislature granted suffrage in 1933. However, the Commonwealth Constitution effectively rescinded the vote by requiring a plebiscite of 300,000 affirmative ballots for its passage. Women’s organizations universally

76 Ibid. 91.
77 Ibid., 94.
supported its passage, including the National Federation of Women’s Clubs, the Young Women’s Christian Association, the Catholic Women’s League, the Asociacion de Damas Filipinas, the Filipino Nurses’ Association, and the Philippine Association of University Women.  

The Federation of Women’s Clubs aggressively campaigned to pass the plebiscite. In 1937, they sponsored a radio broadcast on station KZRM, radio Manila. Josefa Llanes Escoda, secretary of the Federation, delivered a special appeal to the women of the southern provinces to actively promote the campaign. She introduced a number of speakers beginning with Dr. Rafael Palma who expressed optimism on the plebiscite’s passage. He argued that Filipino women must obtain both social and political responsibilities. Father William Fletcher, speaking for Archbishop Michael O’Doherty, stated that the Roman Catholic Church generally avoided interfering in any political matters, but made it clear that the Catholic Church is not opposed to woman suffrage and “has never pronounced against it.”

After decades of efforts, woman suffrage was confirmed in 1937.

Gender offers a means to trace how Filipinos responded to the modernizing influences of the American colonial presence. Women entered the public sphere through individual efforts as well as professional associations and clubs. They used many of the same routes that proved successful in the United States. In particular, women benefited from an expanded education program in the Philippines by entering the middle class in careers as nursing and teaching as well as achieving professional status. The colonial environment brought together middle-class American and Filipino women facilitating an exchange of aspirations. Significantly, Filipinas

78 Ylagan.

pursued their professional goals independently of either American control or male direction. Women felt at ease in joining groups that welcomed members from different cultures within a socially compatible class. Still, they limited these interactions to the public rather than private realm. Filipinas traditionally controlled the home, and any incursions into their domestic space threatened this hierarchy. Since Filipinas began from a traditional Latin culture, these changes appeared more radical. A blended Latin and American culture allowed professional Filipinas to combine social welfare concerns with feminist objectives. Middle-class women moved into a public space left vacant by their male counterparts, who favored manly pursuits in the military, politics, and business.

This section turns to male comaradary and masculinity in the Philippines. Power relationships determined how Americans and Filipinos worked and socialized together in public. The distinction between manliness and masculinity illustrates the complexity of gender in an imperial setting. Class distinctions shaped cultural interpretations of acceptable gender roles. Working class Filipinos entered military organizations subject to power relations of discipline and supervision, while the middle class mingled with their American associates. Masculinity in the Islands reflected a range of beliefs from the stereotypical vision of top-down control, epitomized within the military, to the contingent dealings of politicians and businessmen. Masculinity encompassed traits common to all men. By the 1930s, the term referred specifically to aggressiveness, physical strength, and male sexuality. Americans valued the masculine traits of Filipinos as seen by their inclusion in military organizations such as the Constabulary, Scouts, and the Navy. However, most of these recruits came from the countryside, or working class. They required supervision; consistent with the view held by Americans that they were

---

80 Bederman, 19.
adolescents. Middle-class Filipinos were perceived as having attained a higher level of civilization, capable of independent thought that distinguished them as manly, not simply masculine. While military units remained segregated throughout the period, middle-class men developed an equal social relationship as seen in fraternal organizations.

Military organizations exemplify masculinity within racial boundaries. From the onset of the era, tropical conditions created a perceived testing ground for American colonists. The medical lapses of nervousness called “philippinitis” challenged preconceived notions of manliness as well as colonial power. Therefore, white officers who maintained their American identities were seen as worthy of controlling their subordinates. Filipinos worked within these segregated organizations in spite of implicit racial discrimination because of the financial benefits and increased status among their peers.

The Philippine Constabulary illustrates the pervasive nature of supervision within a military organization as they monitored the broader population. Filipinos served under American officers in the national police force. Moreover, the Constabulary operated most effectively when Filipinos served in their home district. In 1911, events in the Mountain Province serve as an example of family pressures exerting their influence on the organization. Increased insurgency in Mindanao generated a call for units from around the Islands. Constabulary officers Owen Tomlinson and J. W. Gallman agreed that fifty Ifugao soldiers achieved a high level of competency and could serve anywhere in the Islands. However, this posed a potentially serious problem for future recruitment. From the beginning, it proved difficult to fulfill the recruitment quotas for the unit. “In order to secure men who would be of real service,” Gallman explained,

“it was found necessary to agree to allow them to serve, as far as practicable, in the stations near their homes.” While the soldiers offered no objections, their relatives resisted, pleading with the officers to bring their men closer to home. The Constabulary accommodated family requests and allowed local men to serve in their districts.

The Constabulary served as a means of surveillance that reached into the remote areas of the Islands. Owen Tomlinson retained records of people in the several districts illustrating not only close police work, but also how this supervision complemented imperial notions of control. According to common beliefs at the time, the “lesser races” acted as children compared to whites. Therefore, any savage acts were part of their nature. Maintaining close supervision of the population, therefore, was an act of parental control. Tomlinson’s “Biographical Sketches” represent police files of hundreds of people in the Mountain Province. Examples from the Kiangan District illustrate the degree to which the Constabulary retained intelligence on the local population. For example, Tellay, a native of Nanulditan, “was issued a gun in 1908 and since that time has been very efficient in apprehending criminals and maintaining order.” Another entry listed Dulingayan, formerly a schoolteacher who inherited his wealth from his father. “Dulingayan is the most notorious gambler in Ifugao. He was convicted by the Justice of the Peace in November, 1911, for gambling and sentenced to two months in jail and to pay a fine of 60 Peso.” Some brief entries simply described a person’s position. “Guimpayan. Native and resident of Ambabag. Appointed Cabecilla in November 1909, when Kiangan was made a settlement. Belongs to the middle class and is a hard worker, loyal to the government and assists

82 Lt. Governor Infugao to General H. H. Bandholtz, 1 November 1911, TDS, folder: 1911-1912, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.

83 Bederman, 93.
in carrying out orders.” Tomlinson’s extensive files monitored local leaders, criminals, and former resistance fighters.\(^{84}\)

The Constabulary altered its strategy, ending the strict racial distinctions between officers and policemen. During the 1910s, Filipinos gradually entered the officer ranks as openings became available. Manpower requirements during the Great War dramatically altered the leadership of the Constabulary. Few Americans remained as officers within the unit after 1918.\(^{85}\)

The Philippine Scouts retained the service of American officers throughout the period. The Scouts expanded from small unit formations at the turn of the century to a highly regarded element of the Regular Army in the Philippines.\(^{86}\) During the 1920s and 1930s, their numbers grew from 5,600 men in thirteen battalions to 8,200 men in four infantry and one artillery regiment as well as three independent battalions. More importantly, it accelerated the inclusion of Filipinos into the officer corps and added a number of younger recruits into the enlisted ranks.\(^{87}\)

The majority of the Scouts served at Fort William McKinley including the 45\(^{th}\) and 57\(^{th}\) Infantry, 12\(^{th}\) Medical, and 14\(^{th}\) Engineer regiments. The mounted troopers, the 26\(^{th}\) Cavalry and 24\(^{th}\) Field Artillery, were stationed at Fort Stotsenburg. Filipinos considered service in the Scouts as a particular honor. By the 1930s, the relatively few openings elicited stiff competition for a position in the Scouts.\(^{88}\) Edwin Ramsey, former cavalry officer, recalled that the average

\(^{84}\) Owen Tomlinson, D, folder: Biographical sketches of the Subprovince of Ifugao, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.

\(^{85}\) "But Nineteen Americans Left with Constabulary," The Manila Times, July 2, 1918.

\(^{86}\) Coffman, 338.

\(^{87}\) Linn, 110.

\(^{88}\) Coffman, 338.
length of service for the 26th Cavalry was thirteen years. This provided a highly trained and disciplined unit, worthy of its elite reputation. Filipinos received family support throughout their enlistments. Many sergeants recommended relatives of fellow non-commissioned officers for the few available openings. Once selected, a new recruit’s family often accompanied him to report for duty. However, the frequently cited reason for the Scouts excellent reputation was the nearby presence of family. Married men and their wives and children usually lived in barrios near the post. This provided a stable family environment and enhanced the troopers’ morale. American officers responsibilities to their troops extended to the barrios. Periodic inspections ensured their homes met acceptable standards of cleanliness and sanitation.

Those Filipinos who served in the Army achieved a relatively high income, both during and after service. The cost of training and equipping these soldiers represented a substantial investment involved in the enlistment, equipment, and training, although at a somewhat lower salary than an American soldier. The Army medical department reported that a Filipino soldier who received a disability allowance of 200 to 300 pesos earned an income equal to or higher than what ten families earned in the district. The Scouts remained a popular career for Filipinos who served with distinction during the opening months of World War II.

Interest in the American Navy began early in the American Era. As the United States entered the Great War, the Philippine Legislature resolved to enter into the conflict with America and offered both manpower and material. Hundreds of Filipinos enlisted in the Navy and

---


90 Coffman, 339.

91 “Report of a Tuberculosis Survey of Troops in the Philippine Department,” 1923, TD, Americans and Recruits, Philippine Islands Research, Otis Historical Archives.
received training at Cavite. Throughout the early twentieth century, Filipinos elected to serve under strictly segregated conditions to gain social status and financial benefits.

Young Filipinos entered the Navy for a variety of reasons. As an island nation many lived near the water and found the prospect of a life onboard an American ship both romantic and adventurous. However, most young men probably joined the service for more practical reasons. A Filipino sailor obtained a level of importance within his hometown. The uniform provided an overt sign of his status in the Navy and generated local interest. As P.C. Morantte related his cousin’s experience, “Whenever he came home to our town on leave he always was the focal point of interest. His friends and relatives feasted him, held dances in his honor, and he was never overlooked in special invitations to the homes of the best families in our town as well as in the neighboring towns.” However, the benefits of belonging to the Navy extended into financial realms as well.

Navy pay offered a strong incentive for many Filipinos. His pay equaled or exceeded that of the highest paid official in the small towns outside of Manila. For example, Morantte’s cousin received $75 dollars a month, more than the town’s president salary of $50 dollars. That income flowed into the family coffers which allowed them to purchase land, livestock, and a comfortable home that raised the prestige of both the sailor and his family. These men often wrote home and described their experiences. Many found treatment by their American counterparts fair and “sent home snapshots of themselves with their American friends, sometimes lady friends.” These tales generated increased interest for Filipinos throughout the 1920s.

93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
During the 1930s, most Filipinos served in rather menial positions in the Navy. The Navy’s 1,713 Filipino sailors served as mess men, stewards, and cabin boys.\(^{95}\) In comparison, some 440 African American sailors served in the Navy, again, mostly as mess men.\(^{96}\) Many sailors complained about their status and desired advanced training to improve their prospects. Some commentators viewed this treatment in racial terms equating Filipinos with members of the “colored race.” Indeed, African American sailors faced many of the same restrictions and hoped to serve in areas of greater responsibility. The manpower requirements of the war changed that policy. Filipino sailors accessed training for skilled positions and served as yeomen, gunner’s mates, pharmacist’s mates, radiomen, machinist’s mates, and boatswains.\(^{97}\)

Filipinos who served in American military organizations validated the imperial notion of power. The segregated structure within the Constabulary, Scouts, and Navy recognized the value of Filipino’s masculinity without the need to move forward into the independence associated with manliness. While race underlies this premise, the primary rationale for separating Americans and Filipinos lies in the structural composition of the military that valued discipline and supervision. These military organizations drew their recruits from the broad working class of the Islands. Filipinos benefited financially from their service and gained respect within their family and villages. However, they lived apart from their American officers and any interaction occurred within defined boundaries.

Middle-class Filipinos developed an entirely different dynamic and frequently socialized with Americans. Examples of Freemasonry and the Knights of Columbus illustrate the degrees of sociability and how Filipinos shaped these organizations over time. Manliness, in contrast to

\(^{95}\) Ibid.

\(^{96}\) Coffman, 294.

\(^{97}\) Morantte, 13-14.
masculinity, described males who approached the idealized civilized status of independent, yet restrained action. Both manliness and civilization were linked within a similar discourse. Once a man cast off unrestrained savage behavior, he moved towards a perfected stage of manliness similar to the process that transformed humanity to a civilized society.\(^9\) As accepted manly pursuits, fraternal organizations implicitly recognized the equality between Filipinos and Americans within a public setting. Freemasonry existed among parts of the Philippine Spanish and British communities in the middle of the eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century several Filipinos joined lodges in the Islands, the first being Jacobo de Zangroniz Zobel, a historian and member of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid.\(^9\) Much of the early history remained secret due to the nature of Spanish Masonry and its relationship with the Catholic Church.

Freemasons in England and the United States acted as largely benign institutions that emphasized the cosmopolitan nature of the community. Especially for the British, masonry reinforced masculinities around the Empire.\(^1\) Core principles valued diversity under the umbrella of Masonic ideals. It allowed men of different religions to gather within a fraternal organization that promoted a universal brotherhood.\(^1\) However, Freemasonry operated differently on the continent of Europe. France associated masons with the Jacobins and the

---

\(^9\) Bederman, 27.


\(^1\) Ibid., 69.
Revolution. Freemasons in Spain remained a secret society unlike England. These conditions influenced the nature of Masonry in the Philippines, which spread clandestinely in the Islands during the Spanish period. By the early 1890s many men associated with Philippine independence had joined the order. There may have been a hundred lodges with 25,000 members in the Islands, of whom a large portion joined the revolution against Spain.

The Spanish-American War transformed the nature of Masonry into a more public, American form. American soldiers organized lodges as early as 1898. As Masonry moved into the open, its popularity increased as seen by the number of lodges formed by 1917. These included the Grand Lodge (organized in 1912), as well as its subordinates Manila Lodge No. 1, Cavite Lodge No. 2, and Corregidor Lodge No. 3. Officers remained American or European while Lodge No. 1034, Perla del Oriente, included Filipinos as officials. The Perla del Oriente Lodge received its charter from Edinburgh, Scotland (7 November 1907). Grand Master Jordan installed its members in Hong Kong the following April. Some of its first officers included Manuel Camus (Master), Francisco Aguado (Depute Master), Jose Fournier (Senior Warden), and Vincente Verzosa (Secretary). American and Filipino Lodges merged in 1917 and arrived at informal agreements to alternate Filipinos and Americans as Grand Masters every other year.

---

102 Coleman, 60-62.
103 Juan Causing, Freemasonry in the Philippines (Cebu City: Juan Causing, 1969), 24.
104 Coleman, 70-73, 88.
107 Causing, 113.
Masonry provided an attractive venue for Filipinos seeking advancement in government service or connections within the business community. Members of the Mt. Arayat Lodge of Perfection considered newly recommended members at their August 1913 meeting. They reflect the constituency of Masonry at the time. Alfonso Zarate SyCip, a merchant and member of Cebu Lodge No. 1106 was recommended by Martin M. Levering and C. J. Milliron. James Robertson recommended Leslie Fernandes Taylor who studied at Cambridge University, England. James Romulus Lewis, a salesman with the Pacific Commercial Co. was recommended by Milton E. Springer and Geo. C. Mason.108 For most of its members, Masonic lodges offered an alternative social organization.109 Masonry in the Philippines transformed from a rather secretive organization during the Spanish period to one quite public. Newspaper columns and radio broadcasts covered their meetings and gatherings. It offered a number of Filipinos the chance to expand their network of associates, including Americans, on an equal basis.

The Knights of Columbus (K of C) provided a Catholic men’s organization whereby both Americans and Filipinos joined together to assist the Church. Organized in Connecticut, this fraternal organization was embraced by Filipino elites who assumed control over time. The first Council of the K of C in the Philippines formed in early 1905, named as Manila Council No. 1000. At its inauguration all thirty-five charter members were Americans. Most founding members worked for the civilian government, many of whom were Irish. The Council’s first Grand Knight was Richard Campbell, an attorney, and its Chaplain was Father J. I. Monaghan.110 Manila Council No. 1000 admitted two Filipinos for the first time in 1907, Antonio Opisso and

108 “Mt. Arayat Lodge of Perfection,” 1 August 1913, D, folder 2, box 18, James Alexander Robertson Papers.
110 Ocampo, 13-14.
Anastocio Quijano. Two additional Filipinos joined in 1908 after which time only few participated, as the Knights remained mostly an American organization. This changed dramatically in 1917 when the Knights initiated dozens of Filipinos to the Council. By 1918, Filipinos predominated the Council membership in part due to the exodus of civil employees under the Harrison regime.\textsuperscript{111}

Initially, Filipino members came from the ranks of government service. They were colleagues of Americans who belonged to the K of C and invited Filipinos to join. Once the organization took on a more Filipino character, members of the professional, social, and economic sectors joined, changing the composition to primarily members of the middle and upper classes. For example, the first Filipino Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Cayetano Arellano, and Philippine Commission Member, Jaime C. de Veyra joined Council 1000 in 1917. This shift to members of the \textit{ilustrados} fostered an elite image among its members creating a popular nickname of \textit{Caballeros de Colon} rather than Knights of Columbus.\textsuperscript{112}

From its inception members provided receptions and accommodations for visiting American military. They organized living quarters for nearly one thousand sailors during the visit of the U. S. naval fleet in 1909 including beds, lavatories, and showers. For these efforts they received grateful praise from the Navy. The K of C expanded throughout the Islands by opening branch centers, rather than forming new councils, in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao.\textsuperscript{113}

Some felt that other Catholic organizations would be more effective as a counterforce against Protestantism and Freemasonry. Bishop Peter J. Hurth supported the \textit{Defensores de la Libertate}, believing the Knights of Columbus was stigmatized due to its American origins and association

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 36.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 39.

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 43-48.
with American Jesuits. Language played a role with Spanish being the official language of Defensores while the Knights retained English.\textsuperscript{114}

During the late 1920s, membership grew by attracting younger college professors, scientists, lawyers, writers, businessmen, doctors, and government administrators.\textsuperscript{115} Fr. George J. Willmann initiated basketball tournaments sponsored by the K of C as a youth development activity. They utilized the Ateneo’s basketball court in Ermita attracting underprivileged boys from Manila. Expanding their programs, the Knights formed a number of neighborhood clubs modeled after the successful CYO (Catholic Youth Organization), popular in American cities.\textsuperscript{116}

The Knight of Columbus served as a vehicle to pursue a national agenda of activism. For example the Knights initiated a convention to focus Filipino leadership on strengthening the Church. Jose M. Delgado, Grand Knight of San Pablo Council, proposed the idea before the Manila Council of the Knights of Columbus. He not only found support among his fellow Knights, but also keen interest from the Apostolic Delegate, William Piani, and Archbishop Michael J. O’Doherty who suggested it occur in conjunction with the Manila Carnival.\textsuperscript{117} In spite of decades of operation, by 1941 the Knights remained a rather small organization in the Islands with a total membership of only 300 men.\textsuperscript{118} Until the 1950s, the K of C remained the domain of elite Filipinos, attracting a broader segment of the middle class only after this period.

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 57-58.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 60.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 67-69.
\textsuperscript{118} Ocampo, 79.
Class status determined the degree of interaction between men in the Philippines. As seen in the military organizations, working class Filipinos served under American supervision in segregated units. While separate units followed patterns established by other imperial nations, it remained consistent with America’s segregated military where African American soldiers and sailors served under white officers. The Constabulary proved exceptional reflecting the broader trend of Filipinization. Middle-class Filipinos interacted with Americans to a limited degree in both private and public settings. Membership in fraternal organizations such as the Masons and Knights of Columbus affirmed a vision of equal status among its members. Over time, Filipinos assumed control over these organizations shifting their emphasis to a Philippine agenda. The leadership transition in the Knights of Columbus illustrates how local elites transformed an American creation into a distinctive Filipino service organization. Unlike the cosmopolitan nature of the Masons, the Knights embarked on an aggressive religious agenda.

Filipinos and Americans interacted with one another based on perceived cultural differences within an imperial structure. Class, race, and gender determined the boundaries of this interaction in both private and public settings. Filipinos most often viewed the imposition of American institutions as part of a modernizing effort that treaded lightly on their society. As a result, they considered American motives to be altruistic in spite of the Islands’ colonial status.

Cultural differences prevented Filipinos and Americans from developing close relationships throughout the period. Conflicting notions of friendship such as a professional association, compared to the intimate compadre, influenced the degree of sociability among individuals. Traditional gender roles added to these conflicts. Filipinos viewed racial mixing within social groups based on their mestizo traditions of available marriage partners. Americans transported their repugnance of mixed-race marriage with them to the Islands. However, cultural
traditions governed the degree of socialization between same-sex friends. Middle-class men often developed associations that extended into the private sphere while Filipino and American women remained apart.

The composition of social organizations reached a turning point during the late 1910s. Filipinos assumed control over institutions previously led by Americans. After 1917, Filipinos either led or achieved equal status in the Masons, Knights of Columbus, Philippine Constabulary, and Woman’s Club in the course of three to four years. A chain of events contributed to this shift, virtually eliminating the dominating colonial influence of Americans in a mixed social setting. First, the Jones Act of 1916 settled the political question in favor of eventual Philippine independence. Second, Governor-General Harrison embarked on an aggressive Filipinization campaign within the government. Finally, America’s entry into the Great War turned the nation’s attention from its insular positions towards the wider world. While these changes had little direct effect on social organizations, they altered the expectations of individuals regarding their future. Americans in the Philippines grasped the tenuous nature of their colonial status while Filipinos transposed political decisions into social relationships.

Filipinos participated in American organizations rather than rejecting them as unrepentant symbols of imperial control. They continued to follow the British and American styles of Masonry rather than the previous secretive and anti-Catholic forms from Spain. Amazingly, Filipinos embraced an American Catholic men’s organization, the K of C, in spite of the Islands’ Roman Catholic heritage. The transformation of public organizations corresponds to the broader acceptance of American culture within the Philippines. Filipinos selected from a cultural palette, and either embraced or discarded American visions based on their local appeal.
CHAPTER 9
LET ME ENTERTAIN YOU

Whatever success I have achieved with the Constabulary Band has been due as much to the loyal support of all classes of the people here as to any personal efforts of my own, for no man can do his best without the inspiration that comes from the aid and encouragement of his fellow men.

—Walter H. Loving

The American Era transformed Filipino identity, creating a close association forged through popular culture. The colonial presence strengthened itself in the Philippines during a period of worldwide fascination with American popular culture. The extent of this transformation was stronger and deeper there than elsewhere because of both the imposition and acceptance of America’s modern reputation. Active participation of Filipinos as performers and audience members facilitated cultural change in the Philippines.

This dissertation traces the experience of social groups shaping interactions between Americans in the Philippines and those Filipinos who communicated with them on a regular basis. This study began with an exploration of the built environment to illustrate the physical character of the colonial regime. As overt signs of American imperialism, the buildings and landscape reminded all residents of the presence of a foreign power in the Islands. Similarly, the imposition of English and public education served to alter the identity of Filipinos through colonial control. More importantly, the physical presence of an expatriate community in the Islands allowed Filipinos to interpret popular culture directly through their American associates. The result of these contacts transformed the Filipino identity.

Filipino adoption of American popular culture serves as a lasting legacy to the imperial presence in the Islands. The complex relationships formed between these two people fostered changes in each of their identities. Americans in the military, civil service, business, and missions replicated familiar traditions in order to feel at home in a strange environment. They
used popular culture to maintain their identity as Americans. This in turn affected Filipinos as they experienced American popular culture directly, through contact with colonists and their favored institutions, reinforcing messages learned through mass entertainment. Filipinos’ experience with their American neighbors transformed their identity through these relationships allowing American popular culture to strengthen its hold in the Philippines.

The history of American imperialism is more than policy, capitalism, and oppression. It constitutes how individuals saw themselves as part of the colonial process. George Lipsitz reminds us in *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* that popular culture opens windows to longings and struggles of real people.¹ New entertainment venues popularized during the early twentieth century represent a transformational change in how people interacted with one another. Vaudeville houses, theaters, and cinemas opened up social space as a part of everyday life, no longer needing special occasions for gathering.²

The period of American colonial control in the Islands corresponds directly with the change from Victorian to consumer values. Lipsitz contends that popular culture is something viewed from the outside. Both performers and the audience do not consider themselves part of a theoretical divide that differentiates “high” from “popular” culture through some commercial representation. Therefore, when we examine culture the notion of change, or transformation, becomes a more useful analytical tool.³ While artistic performance and content offer intriguing possibilities of exploration, they are beyond the scope of this study. Instead, the social space

---


² Ibid., 7.

³ Ibid., 13.
created during the production and consumption of various forms of entertainment illustrates the shifting boundaries of individual identity.

Manila became the center of cultural consumption in the Islands. While New York City developed as a producer of culture, Manila more closely resembled centers of entertainment such as the Uptown neighborhood of Chicago, at the intersection of Broadway and Lawrence, where the Aragon Ballroom, Uptown Theater, and Green Mill nightclub attracted patrons. Similarly, Manila became a location of conviviality for both Americans and Filipinos. Residents listened to the music of the Philippine Constabulary Band, danced at the Santa Ana Cabaret, dined at Tom’s Dixie Kitchen, and cheered their favorite boxer at the stadium. The social space formed within a colonial structure created a particular dynamic allowing individuals to shape the transformation of Philippine culture.

This chapter traces the exchange of popular culture over three distinct periods, as seen through music, entertainment, and sport. The early years of occupation witnessed overt impositions of language and institutions onto a Spanish / Filipino tradition. However, both American and Philippine culture was dependent on European models. Since few American performers traveled to the Islands, Filipinos built upon existing skills and became the primary performers at musical venues. From the late teens through the early thirties, American culture flourished in the Islands following the broader expansion of music, film, and literature around the world. Nightclubs and restaurants that projected American images thrived; building on expatriates’ desire to enjoy authentic elements of home and Filipinos’ adoption of modern entertainment. Finally, with the promise of independence came a desire to assert a new identity based on European and American contributions as well as Filipino distinctiveness. The political autonomy of the Commonwealth period emboldened Filipino producers of culture to create
musical compositions regardless of their perceived origins. In that way, the audience came to value the contributions of multiple cultures as part of an emerging Philippine identity.

America’s colonial presence in the Islands created a foundation upon which modern forms of popular culture developed. Hispanization established traditional European culture as part of Philippine identity. Americanization altered the nature of that identity by imposing colonial policies and establishing institutions designed for the new arrivals from America. English language instruction reached a small segment of the Filipino population during the first decade of occupation. Popular entertainment, on the other hand, reached out to an increasingly connected audience through physical venues and mass media. Music offers an instructive aspect of distinctive cultural transformation. The small American community attracted few foreign entertainers to the Islands leaving the task of interpreting popular culture in the hands of the local population. Filipino performers easily adapted to these formats as a result of their mixed-race culture. Musical instruction during the Spanish period allowed Filipino musicians to segue into American formats. A European cultural base allowed Filipinos to expand their repertoire to satisfy the tastes of American colonials, thereby, rapidly shifting the cultural identity from traditional to modern.

Spanish colonial control imparted a strong Western European character into Filipino identity. Hispanization infused the Islands’ customs via Catholicism, the rule of law, and popular culture. Spanish musical heritage served as the basis for popular entertainment. Upon arrival in the Islands, Spaniards found a lively folk tradition of Filipino music. Early instruments included bamboo flutes and drums. Vocal music traditions consisted of work songs that described pounding rice, rides to the farm, and harvesting tuba. However, European music

---

heavily modified styles in the Islands. While folk traditions derived from self-study, locals assimilated musical knowledge through both instruction and examples of new arrivals.⁵

Filipino music originated from a mixture of sources. Originally, people played the gong, flutes, and bamboo pipes. Later, Spanish influence fostered variations of the guitar and violin. Spanish and European diatonic scale expanded the fine-tone oriental scale. The combination of rhythmic Malay music and expressive minor cadences of Spain created an expressive palate of joy and sorrow.⁶ Filipino music includes a combination of languid modulations.⁷ The two-steps, polkas, and similar airs of European origin, were easily adopted and assimilated throughout the Philippines. These trends are particularly evident in the popular Samboanga song, “No te Vayas” or Zamboanga as used by Americans. For Filipinos, both the song’s title and lyrics are in Spanish, reflecting the town’s military character at the end of the Nineteenth Century.⁸

Formal music instruction provided an opportunity to assimilate European music into Filipino culture. Catholic Orders included music instruction as part of their mission. For example, in 1742 a music school for boys, “Colegio de Ninos Tiples,” was established at the Cathedral of Manila. Recollects, Augustinians, and Franciscans supplied many of the vocal and instrumental musicians during this period.⁹ Toribio Varas organized an orchestra at the San Agustin Church in Intramuros in 1870, which rose to popularity in Manila. The orchestra entertained residents of the city with interpretations of both ecclesiastical and classical music,

---

⁷ Romualdez, *Psychology*, 64.
⁸ Ibid., 66-67.
⁹ Zaide, *Catholicism*, 164.
especially from Italian, German, French, and Russian composers.\textsuperscript{10} European composers dominated concert programs in the Philippines, as in America, well into the American Era. For example, the Ateneo’s concert featured “Il Cai’d,” “C. Chaminade-Arabesque,” “Lucia de Lammermoor,” “Rigoletto,” “Sinfonia Aroldo,” and finally “Marcha Nacional.”\textsuperscript{11} Music offered a continuing link between past and present. In spite of the American administration’s emphasis on English, European influence remained an integral part of Filipino culture. American music remained dependent upon European artists and styles as well. Its adaptation into the Islands, therefore, appeared as a natural progression within a fully developed genre.

Music education in public schools had a subtle impact. Similar to the required English language program, music classes taught lessons of citizenship and discipline. Since most Filipino students attended school for rather limited durations, an exploration of their primary texts reveals the expectations and messages imparted to these young children. Popular songs learned in the primary grades helped create a mass audience in the 1920s and 1930s that was already familiar with American music. Basic English language skills allowed students to participate in American entertainment even if they never advanced beyond early education.

Music constituted a portion of classroom teaching in the Islands as it had back in America. However, texts designed for Filipino students recognized cultural difference by modifications of their content. For example, Silver Burdett publishers of New York printed a Philippine edition of \textit{The Progressive Music Series}. Book One was designed for first, second, and third grade

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 169.

\textsuperscript{11} “\textit{Solemne Entrega de Titulos},” 2 July 1911, program, folder 2, box 18, James Alexander Robertson Papers.
music instruction. Norberto Romualdez, member of the Philippine Legislature and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, helped compile the 1914 version.

The Philippine edition was quite different from those supplied to American schools. Notably, the first forty pages included a number of Philippine folk songs in English with smatterings of local language verses. While many traditional songs retained their musical composition, the lyrics were modified because references to seasons, flowers, birds, and many activities in temperate climates appeared unfamiliar to Filipino children. Songs such as “My Philippines” fostered a national sentiment. Others emphasized work, such as the “Rice Planting Song.” Indeed, many of the tunes focused on rice. The music collection utilized traditional childhood melodies, new compositions, and European folk songs, especially those from England and France. The publisher ignored songs originating from Spain or Italy.

Filipino students probably struggled to appreciate some of the songs. The “Mulberry Bush” and “Snowflakes” created strange images for the tropics. Yet, other tunes sought to educate as well as entertain. For example “Mistress Mary” was advised to “drink pure water” encouraging children to drink boiled water for better health. Students in the Philippines learned American patriotic songs encouraging their cultural ties with tunes about “Washington’s Birthday” and particularly “America,” the book’s concluding song.

Public school students obtained broad exposure to American music as part of the colonial administration’s efforts to educate Filipinos. Thus, American imperialism created a subtle transformation of Filipino identity through music education. Songbooks designed to indoctrinate

---

12 Romualdez, Progressive, title page.
13 Ibid., 3.
14 Ibid., 76.
15 Ibid., 85 and 142.
immigrant children in America served to imbue children of the Islands with messages that fostered Americanization. New songs filled with strange imagery blended with traditional music experienced in their homes reinforced the notion of a new identity based on American as well as Spanish and folk traditions. Cultural blending moved in multiple vectors in the Islands, however, not simply imposed by the colonial regime.

The famous Philippine Constabulary Band illustrates the complexity of cultural exchange in the Islands. The band, formed at the request of Governor William H. Taft, consisted of Filipino musicians, originally trained by the Spanish, and for most of the era directed by an African American conductor. It quickly gained popularity in the P.I. and developed a reputation for musical excellence in America. The Constabulary Band epitomized the contingency of American imperialism being neither monolithic nor absolute.

Taft’s selection of the band’s conductor proved essential for its success. Walter Howard Loving led the Constabulary Band, creating a hybrid performance group, from 1902 thru 1916, again in 1920 thru 1923, and later from 1937 until his internment in 1942. As an African American in the Philippines, he applied his musical talents in an officially sanctioned organization that symbolized American development. Loving was born in a small town thirty miles south of Charlottesville, Virginia, on 17 December 1872 to former slaves Alex and Emily Loving. His mother died in 1874. After spending the next eight years with his father, Loving moved to Washington, D.C. and lived with his older sister, who worked for Theodore Roosevelt. Loving joined the choir of the Second Baptist Church, studied cornet, and graduated from M Street High School in 1892.\textsuperscript{16}

Loving enlisted in the Army, first with the 24th Infantry Regiment in Fort Baynard, New Mexico, where he played cornet and eventually learned violin, saxophone and other woodwinds. He was discharged in June 1898 and two months later joined the 8th Regiment, U.S. Volunteer Infantry, Colored, and was honorably discharged six months later. Intending to develop his classical training, Loving enrolled in Boston’s New England Conservatory of Music, leaving early to once more enter the Army. He then joined the 48th Infantry as Chief Musician and proceeded to the Philippines. Promoted to second lieutenant with the 48th Infantry, Loving peeked the interest of William H. Taft during a concert at San Fernando. Taft envisioned a national band in the Islands similar to the Marine Corps Band back home. The Enabling Act of 1901 created the Philippine Constabulary Band, and Loving promptly applied for service.\(^{17}\) As part of Loving’s request for a commission, he noted his knowledge of Spanish including the ability to speak it fluently.\(^{18}\) He gained a commission as Lieutenant in the Constabulary, officially assigned to conduct the band on 8 December 1902.\(^{19}\)

Walter Loving achieved a commission in the Constabulary when virtually all other officers were white Americans. Loving honed his musical education and performance skills, served his country in the Army, and developed relationships with Roosevelt, Taft, and commanding officers thereby advancing his career. His physical appearance complimented his talents. Loving’s solid frame enhanced his military bearing. His well-proportioned facial features, medium skin tone, and serious eyes added to his dignified stature.\(^{20}\)

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 6-8.

\(^{18}\) W. H. Loving to Theodore Roosevelt, 14 October 1901, DS, folder 2, box 113-1, Walter H. Loving Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

\(^{19}\) Richardson, 8.

\(^{20}\) Photograph, folder 22, box 113-1, Walter H. Loving Papers.
Loving applied his skills as a conductor, musician, and composer gaining considerable respect for his work. His transcription of “Note Vayas de Zamboanga” proved popular for the American expatriates in the Islands. Loving’s interpretation included romantic lyrics in both Spanish and English. However, most Americans preferred a bevy of bawdy verses under the title “Monkeys Have No Tails in Zamboanga.” These demeaning lyrics left many Filipinos resentful of the implication that Americans associated residents of Mindanao with monkeys. Loving’s version contained only respectful lyrics engendering praise from the Filipino community.

Filipino musicians under the direction of an African American conductor impressed a curious world with their skills. The Constabulary Band quickly gained a reputation for musical excellence. Loving selected Filipino musicians with experience in Spanish military bands. The band performed at World’s Fairs in 1904, 1909, 1915, and 1939. In May 1904, at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, these musicians took the stage on a warm evening and began their first piece, Rossini’s “William Tell Overture.” Suddenly, the electric power failed plunging the entire fair into darkness. However, the Philippine Constabulary Band continued to play from memory, never missing a note. Audiences around the country marveled at the skill of these Filipino musicians, comparing them to the Patrick Gilmore Band. John Philip Sousa, famed conductor of the Marine Band, praised their musical skills with glowing tributes.

---


23 Richardson, 3.

24 Ibid., 10.
The band’s reputation grew from both performance and well-placed support. William H. Taft remained a strong supporter of the organization throughout his career, and he invited them to escort his carriage from the White House to the Capital for his oath of office in January 1909. Traditionally the Marine Band held this honor but for this moment “Taft’s Own” paraded in front to the astonishment of Washingtonians. Afterwards, the band performed at the first White House reception becoming the only organization from outside the country with that honor. The band remained in Washington performing at a number of venues.

The Philippine Constabulary Band opened the Inaugural Grand Concert on Friday morning 5 March 1909, with the Haydn Male Chorus of Utica, N.Y. Loving selected an array of both classical selections and popular songs starting with Verdi’s “Grand March from Aida” followed by its signature piece, Rossini’s “William Tell Overture.” European, especially Spanish, selections dominated the program with the exception of Myddleton’s American sketch, “By the Suwanee River.”

Gaining in popularity, the band built upon the success of the Washington concert series. They toured America after playing for Taft’s inauguration, impressing audiences around the nation. Loving intended to use the tour to purchase a complete set of new instruments for the band and orchestra, found a nucleus for a conservatory of music in Manila, and generate interest of well-known philanthropists and music lovers in the United States. The band’s popularity grew and it became the most popular musical organization in the Islands performing at both public and private functions.

25 Ibid., 11.
27 M.L. Hersey to Secretary of Commerce and Police, 31 May 1908, TD, folder 4, box 113-1, Walter H. Loving Papers.
Major Loving directed his farewell concert after fourteen years as conductor of the Constabulary band. At the conclusion of the concert, he received a gold watch on behalf of the Manila community along with a loving cup. Loving’s farewell address in 1916 demonstrated his respect for the people in the Islands. “Whatever success I have achieved with the Constabulary Band,” he wrote, “has been due as much to the loyal support of all classes of the people here as to any personal efforts of my own, for no man can do his best without the inspiration that comes from the aid and encouragement of his fellow men.” He remained optimistic for its future: “With its membership drawn from a race which possesses the essential traditions and temperament of musicians; with the experience gained by contact with great musical organizations abroad… there is no reason why the band should not progress in the future as it has progressed in the past.” Loving moved to Washington where he served with the Army’s intelligence arm during the Great War. However, he returned to the Islands in 1920 on special duty in order to rehabilitate the Band.

The Philippine Constabulary Band exemplified the American cultural presence in the Islands. The colonial regime appropriated Spanish traditions as the basis for the organization’s distinctly American identity. Americans frequently minimized the value of existing expertise, attributing Filipino success to their particular tutelage. Loving facilitated the transformation of Spanish-trained musicians into a Filipino performance group sanctioned by the American administration. Their musical ability carried the band’s reputation beyond the Islands and onto a world stage. The effect of the band’s novelty as “brown” musicians led by a “black” American

---

on audiences in the United States contributed to its initial popularity. Yet, their musical abilities garnered praise and recognition as a military band capable of interpreting both classical and popular music, thereby reinforcing the notion that America’s presence created a serious musical orchestra.

The colonial administration promoted economic development through inclusive public entertainment venues that recognized the equal status of both Americans and Filipinos. Fairs offered popular attractions for visitors to cities as seen by the extravagant productions of world fairs. However, smaller affairs served similar purposes without the elaborate construction and promotion. The Philippine carnival united business development with popular entertainment throughout the American Era. The Manila Carnival (1908-1939) combined elements of an industrial exhibition, state fair, and festival into an annual event that promoted the Philippine’s commercial and social status in Asia. First held in 1908 under the direction of Governor Forbes, it became an annual event meant to celebrate U.S. – Philippine relationships. Located on Wallace Field, east of the Luneta, the Carnival, typically held in late January, expanded in both size and sophistication over the decades. It consisted of parades, shows, fireworks displays, athletic tournaments, and the crowing of the Manila Carnival Queens.

Carnival organizers intended to show how Filipinos and Americans cooperated in the Islands. Parades included floats from business and civic organizations. Young Filipinas competed for the honor to represent their region as Miss Luzon, Miss Mindanao, and, the ultimate honor, Miss Philippines. From its beginning in 1908, the committee selected Queens of the Occident and Orient, representing both the American and Filipino population. Marjorie Radcliffe Colton of Galesburg, Illinois, sister of George Colton, Collector of Customs became

31 Linn, 119.
the first Queen of the Occident. The 1920 Queen of the Occident was Virginia Harrison, nineteen-year-old daughter of Governor General Francis Harrison. Her counterpart, Queen of the Orient, was the sixteen-year-old daughter of Senator Cerferino de Leon of San Miguel, Bulacan, Trinidad Roura de Leon. Trinidad eventually married Manuel A. Roxas, future president of the Philippines. Crowning separate Carnival Queens elicited a lively debate in the local press regarding the features of each new queen. The practice recognized the distinctive difference between the two peoples while acknowledging their equal status in a public setting.

The Philippine Carnival offered a popular venue for social activities. By 1920, streetcars carried visitors to the main entrance, a domed central arch flanked by a pillared arcade. Attractions included sideshows and concessions from the region as well as the United States and Europe. Electric lights illuminated the fair including the distinctive Meralco Tower. Beacons drew crowds from Manila mimicking great international expositions, though on a smaller scale. Performers from both the Islands and America entertained the visitors with dance music at the pavilion, while fireworks in the Manila sky dazzled the audience.

The lights of the Carnival served as a backdrop for entertainment and social gatherings. Couples danced at the elaborate nightly balls on the mammoth floor of the open-air auditorium to music furnished by the Constabulary and other military bands. The elaborate setting included ballastered stairways, railed walkways with coach lamps, strings of lights above the wooden floor, and tropical plants. The Carnival welcomed visitors to the “Pearl of the Orient” with a cosmopolitan experience that promoted the Islands.

---

33 Ibid.
The Carnival partly served as an industrial fair, showcasing Philippine agriculture and manufactured products. Booths from each province contained examples of agricultural goods. Commercial exhibits created a comprehensive view of the production and potential resources across the archipelago.\textsuperscript{34} From its inception in 1908 through the 1930s, promoters utilized entertainment in order to further the economic development of the Islands.

Throughout the Carnival’s history, the venue recognized contributions of both Americans and Filipinos. The inter-scholastic cadet corps from several Manila schools competed at the carnival 4 February 1923. Viewers packed the grandstands at Wallace Field to witness the competition. Seven schools competed that year including Manila North High, UP High, Ateneo de Manila, North School, Rizal High, South High, and National University High. Although smaller in overall student population, the Ateneo fielded a large battalion, ultimately winning the Carnival Cup for that year. Led by their drum and bugle corps, the students circled the parade ground in column of squads, their immaculate blue and white uniforms contrasted with the verdant green of the field. They performed the manual of arms followed by a parade in close-line formation, similar to that utilized by the regular army.\textsuperscript{35} Competitive events typified programs that brought diverse organizations together before the Manila audience.

Government sanctioned institutions such as the Constabulary Band and the Carnival remained popular throughout the American Era. Their success derived from hybrid compositions as well as their appeal as unique entertainment venues. Each organization occupied a public space within the social landscape of the Islands based on the notion that no single culture retained an authentic or dominant position of representation. Instead, they

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.

reinforced the formation of a particular social identity linked to the emerging nation. Each organization embedded itself into the new popular culture of the P.I., gaining popularity with both Americans and Filipinos. While distinctive from the Spanish regime, neither replicated an American institution directly into the Islands. For the colonial administration, novel venues and musical organizations offered examples of America’s support for a new national identity.

Commercial endeavors occupied portions of the Island’s social space that appealed to more limited segments of the population. The number of Americans in the Philippines, although small, generated demand for familiar touches of home. Thousands of bureaucrats, teachers, businessmen, and military families formed a critical mass that warranted commercial attention. As such, patrons frequented those establishments and venues that satisfied their entertainment desires. Their choices ranged from the familiar to the exotic, from sedate to rowdy. Manila’s commercial entertainments touched the imagination for residents and visitors. As a result, Filipinos consumed American popular culture directly from the venues created for colonial tastes. While American culture increasingly gained favor throughout the world, Manila’s expatriate community strengthened its appeal in the Philippines.

The illusion of Southern hospitality thrust “Tom’s Dixie Kitchen” on top of Manila’s attractions. Whether from accounts of occasional visitors or long-term residents, this eatery achieved universal acclaim as one of the must-see destinations of the Islands. Customers imagined it as an authentic slice of America. Thomas Pritchard founded Tom’s Dixie Kitchen after a circuitous route took him to Manila. Born in Granada, West Indies, on 11 July 1883, Pritchard worked as a merchant sailor on an American flagged ship and later with the Army transport service, which brought him to Manila in 1911. Pritchard filed for American citizenship, taking advantage of the policy whereby after three years of such service sailors
automatically became citizens. He married Mary Beatty, from Iloilo, and raised three children, Thomas, Rosemary, and William. Pritchard became friends with many prominent Americans and Filipinos, including Manuel Roxas.36

Pritchard discovered the key attributes that comprised a successful entertainment venue in Manila: location, reputation, and illusion. He located the restaurant in Plaza Goiti adjacent to the commercial center on Exchange, near enough to the hotels, clubs, and neighborhoods of expatriates. From its modest beginning at No. 126 Plaza Goiti, Tom’s Dixie Kitchen expanded by the late 1920s. In addition to the grill, it offered accommodations for banquets, parties, and catered to private homes and clubs. Music and dancing began at the grill at 8:30 PM each night.37 Pritchard attracted business customers during the day and partygoers well into the morning. By 1939, Tom’s Dixie Kitchen expanded again, adding the Oriental Grill for larger catering and banquet functions. Tom Pritchard remained general manager while Fred San Juan assisted and Joe Kremstien managed the grill.38

For many, Tom’s Dixie Kitchen capped off an evening out in Manila. Customers moved there after a night at the Manila Hotel, the Army-Navy Club, or the Santa Ana Cabaret. Breakfast at Pritchard’s figured prominently in the letters and diaries of Americans during the period. They believed in the image projected by the owner and his restaurant as seen by the comments of Mary Hammond. Tom, she declared, was “a black man from New Orleans.” “His place was the only place in the whole city,” she claimed, “that served bacon and eggs, ham and eggs, pancakes, waffles, and sausage.” Hammond noted how “Eating breakfast at Tom’s cured

36 Supreme Court, Manila, G.R. No. L-1715, 17 July 1948.
37 “Philippine Department Athletic Meet, 1929, Souvenir Program,” RG-17, Department of the Philippines (1928-1929), folder 1, MacArthur Memorial Archives.
anybody’s homesick blues.” America didn’t seem quite as far away after eating sausage and biscuits.

The Philippines challenged some Americans to act within accepted limits of propriety. While sausage and biscuits satisfied the longings for home of many, others found solace in vices widely available in the Islands. The thin line defining acceptable norms of entertainment blurred the farther one moved from the city center. Reformers failed to eliminate the temptations of alcohol and sex in the tropical outposts of empire.

Imperialism limited Progressive-styled reform impulses. The military regulated prostitution rather than eliminating the institution. Reformers failed to generate much interest in temperance in spite of anti-vice campaigns by the Woman’s Club of Manila and the Y.M.C.A. They succeeded in shifting locations of vice outside Manila’s center, but failed to abolish either prostitution or the saloon culture. In America, middle-class reformers sought to reform, reshape, and restrict working-class recreation. They believed the saloon symbolized a rejection of middle-class values and the temperance movement targeted these institutions. While America experimented with Prohibition, no such program existed in the Philippines. However, alcohol and drunkenness remained as both a real and perceived threat. Imperial identity required the appearance of masculine self-restraint. Those who exceeded the occasional excess among friends risked a great deal.

The military epitomized manliness in an imperial environment and, as such, came under increased scrutiny for soldiers’ alcohol abuse. From the beginning of occupation, reformers attempted to curtail the use of alcohol. In order to encourage troopers to engage in a more

---

39 Hammond, 354.

acceptable lifestyle, Episcopalian Bishop Charles H. Brent founded the Columbia Club in Manila. Starting in 1904, this club offered an alternative to the bars and brothels of the city.\textsuperscript{41}

Alcohol provided both a real and imagined issue for the Army. Temperance reformers criticized the practice of selling beer on posts as contrary to the civilizing mission envisioned for the Islands. However, drinking maintained its socially accepted status for both officers and enlisted men. While officers enjoyed the comfortable surroundings of the Army and Navy Club, soldiers generally congregated in Angeles or Santa Ana for their recreation.\textsuperscript{42} Forcing the men to drink off-post often led to the consumption of native brews at unsupervised bars. The number of alcohol related court-martials reported in 1909 ranged from 50\% to 80\%.\textsuperscript{43}

Individuals isolated from other Americans faced many temptations. American officers in the Constabulary usually resided in remote regions with relatively few American and European neighbors. Their loneliness contributed to either “going native” or getting drunk. In so doing, they not only ruined their individual careers, but also cast a shadow on the integrity of their peers. Some officers such as Owen Tomlinson weathered the solitude fairly well. Others, in spite of promising beginnings, fell into an abyss. The following anecdote illustrates the conflicts of maintaining an image of imperial manliness under the temptation of alcohol.

Captain J. W. Gallman of Ifugao impressed his superiors early on, but, by 1912 he had turned into a hopeless alcoholic. Dean Worcester, Philippine Secretary of the Interior, confided Gallman’s situation to Owen Tomlinson since it affected his immediate prospects for promotion in the Constabulary. Initially, Worcester discussed the situation of “using intoxicants.” Gallman “gave fairly plausible explanations of his over-indulgence in bubub at the Ifugao canaos,” as

\textsuperscript{41} Linn, 129.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 115.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 133.
well as his intoxication on whiskey at Bontoc. Worcester made it clear that drunkenness was unacceptable after which Gallman assured him with a promise to completely abstain from alcohol for the balance of the year.\textsuperscript{44}

Worcester traveled to Baguio a short time later, intending to meet with Gallman. Instead, Gallman “was on a record drunk.” Apparently, it began on Saturday when “he fell in with Hibbard, a saloon man who is now running the Baguio Hotel. On account of some favor which Gallman had done him in the past, Hibbard offered him unlimited free drinks and he proceeded to avail himself of the opportunity.” Gallman repeatedly missed dinner engagements with Governor Eckman. He reportedly rode to Joe Brandt’s saloon on Sunday morning where Brandt “also offered him unlimited free liquor,” including six whiskeys in the first hour. Eckman saw him again on Tuesday, “so drunk he could hardly sit on his horse.” Further, General Bell’s wife “noticed he was boiling drunk.” After sleeping Tuesday night in the Governor-General’s stables, Eckman attempted to make Gallman sober up, but failed. Worcester finally found him at the Baguio Hotel Thursday night, after Gallman spent the day in an automobile, intending to call on General Bell, as he “merely rode around Camp John Hay.” Obviously, Worcester was furious that Gallman broke his promise. Rather than appreciate the contacts with some of the best people in the Islands, “He chose to leave this class of people,” according to Worcester, “breaking his engagement with them, and to consort for the best part of a week with three saloonkeepers, namely Hibbard, Clarke, and Brandt.” Worcester remained livid stating “During this period he disgraced himself in ways without number. Every young officer in the school knows that a Captain in the Constabulary has been running about the town drunk for a week.” Worcester dropped Gallman fifteen files in the list of Captains, eliminated him from consideration for a

\textsuperscript{44} Dean Worcester to Owen Tomlinson, 1 April 1912, TLS, folder: 1911-1912, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.
Governorship, and registered him at the San Lazaro Hospital in Manila to undergo a cure for drunkenness. 45

Ultimately, these punitive measures failed to dissuade Gallman, which led to Tomlinson’s promotion. Tomlinson assumed duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Ifugao, Mountain Province, stationed at Banaue, effective 3 January 1913 receiving 4,000 peso per annum of which 1,600 came from the Mountain Province and 2,400 from the Philippine Constabulary. 46 Unlike the remote provinces, Manila remained under the watchful gaze of society.

Nightclubs drew crowds of Americans, Filipinos, and others pushing the boundaries of propriety. The Santa Ana Cabaret rivaled Tom’s Dixie Kitchen in popularity throughout the period. Reformers forced it out into the suburbs but patrons gladly followed. At the time, American reformers believed that alcohol fueled the passions of the poor, a perceived cause of urban violence. 47 The efforts of missionaries, women’s clubs, and the Y.M.C.A. in the Islands only shifted the locations of popular entertainment venues away from the central city. Virtually all visitors to Manila felt compelled to visit John Canson’s nightclub.

John Canson, founder of the popular Santa Ana Cabaret, appeared rather inscrutable to some. Born in 1876, his place of birth was disputed as between New York City or Italy. In fact, he was an Italian citizen. Canson married Hilaria Sikat on 15 February 1904 in Bayambang, Pangasinan. He became a naturalized Filipino citizen in 1922. 48

45 Ibid.
46 Special Orders, No. 17, PC, 22 January 1913, TD, folder: 1913-1914, box 1, Owen A. Tomlinson Papers.
48 Supreme Court, Manila, G.R. No. L-45152, 10 April 1939.
Volunteers at the age of sixteen and took a discharge in 1901 after which he served in the Manila Police and later the Army Quartermaster Corps.\(^{49}\)

Canson and two other Americans, Eddie Tait and Frank Churchill opened the Santa Ana Cabaret in 1910. First located in downtown Manila, they moved the cabaret to the outskirts, due to pressure by local reformers, on H. Santos Street, opposite the Manila Racing Club. It contained two sections, a family section and a bailarina half separated by a partition of shrubbery. Guests frequently witnessed Canson greeting families to his signature spaghetti dinners.\(^{50}\) The Santa Ana proved popular with the military for a number of reasons, Canson never watered the drinks and the bailarinas never rolled their customers. Canson invested in real estate and gold mining shares accumulating a great deal of wealth prior to the war. Politicians frequented the Cabaret including Manuel Quezon, who became a close friend of Canson.\(^{51}\)

Americans and Filipinos flocked to the Santa Ana in spite of its notoriety. It attracted a broad cross-section of customers regardless of race or ethnicity. While certain reformers claimed it fostered illicit sex, most people viewed the cabaret as within acceptable social boundaries. Still, Canson’s reputation as a host came quite close to the line of tolerance. From a popular song in the Islands, “Philippinitis” (no name or date): “And then John Canson also helped / Cop this land of the banana; / He like da music, he lika da fun, / That’s how we got Santana;”

To experience life in the Philippines as a white, middle-class American involved engaging in simple pastimes - listening to the Constabulary Band, sausages and biscuits at Tom’s Dixie Kitchen, spaghetti and dancing at the Santa Ana Cabaret, and certainly an occasional drink.


\(^{50}\) Ibid.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., 101.
Nothing exotic or tropical about it, but an extension of what the broad middle class might find familiar. From their singular perspective, American men and women excluded the exotic from their social space preferring the common elements of popular culture that reinforced their identities as “normal” Americans. Difference constantly surrounded Americans in the Islands so they mostly avoided the tropical spices available for their already flavorsome melting pot. Imperialism imposed institutional changes that created a mass audience of Filipinos. English language instruction and its use in the colonial government facilitated the adoption of popular culture through performance and reception. The Philippines attracted a sizable expatriate community whose tastes for familiar culture quickly established new venues that brought Filipinos into direct contact with music, food, and entertainment from across the Pacific. Both government policy and social contact created a shift in middle-class Filipino identity with the introduction of American popular culture.

From the late 1910s through the early 1930s, American culture dominated popular entertainment in the Philippines. Mass communication extended its reach beyond Manila’s center, allowing the broader Filipino population to participate in the Americanization of the nation’s culture. This occurred in spite of two conflicting forces at work in the Islands. On one hand, America’s imperial presence strengthened the worldwide reception of American popular culture. Audiences embraced music, literature, and especially film crafted in America rather than from European predecessors. Sport and athletic competition reinforced the arts by creating a common cultural perspective. On the other hand, Filipino politicians eventually realized political independence and Philippine sovereignty. Filipinization programs increasingly replaced Americans in civil service positions with Filipinos. However, nation-building steps moved independently from popular culture. Imperialism in the Philippines remained contingent, since
political autonomy moved together with cultural dependency, as seen by the dominating presence of American entertainment. These combined forces helped to create a new national identity in the Philippines that anticipated independence by embracing the culture of the colonial regime.

After the Great War, American artists displaced Europeans as the favored producers of mass culture. Ann Douglas’s *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920’s* explores the decade when America captured the economic and cultural leadership in the West. She argues that the nation’s cultural emancipation from European influence and America’s identification of a racial heritage helped move it from a Victorian past into modernity. The writers and performers of the 1920s first realized that entertainment constituted America’s largest business and most likely export. These shifts occurred over a relatively short duration. Prior to the Great War virtually all aspects of American culture depended on England. However, American producers turned out nearly seven hundred full-length films a year, virtually eliminating foreign competitors. By the mid-1920s, American films captured 75% of the world market, as measured by the number of films shown. Movies provided only one example of the worldwide fascination with America. Mass-produced media, including records, radios, movies and, more generally, popular entertainment, from music to baseball propelled American culture to a dominant world position. These trends influenced the changing patterns of cultural identity in

---


53 Ibid., 20.

54 Ibid., 191.

55 Ibid., 347.
the Philippines by strengthening perceptions of America’s monopoly as a modern culture, at the expense of its Spanish heritage.

America’s presence in distant lands unevenly influenced entertainment topics. The proximity of Haiti to the United States may explain why the military occupation there fostered cultural interchange. Mary Renda claims in *Taking Haiti* that the cultural transfer from Marines to Haitians was mirrored by the absorption of Haitian themes into popular American culture. She observes that, in the 1920s and 1930s, representations of Haiti appeared in numerous plays, radio dramas, short stories, songs, novels, travel books, paintings, sculpture, dance, and household decorations. Of note, Eugene O’Neill’s play *The Emperor Jones* fascinated American audiences in the 1920s sparking a keen interest in Haiti. Haiti provides one facet of a more general interest by the American consumer.

Americans absorbed elements of their nation’s empire into popular culture. Kristin Hoganson examines the broad implications of America’s formal and informal imperialism in *Consumers’ Imperium*. She maintains that consumption of imported goods constitute power as much as the cultural influence imposed on foreign territories. For example, travel clubs created an escapist vision of foreign travel leading consumers to see the world as providers of entertainment. Travel lectures on the Philippines described the developments achieved under American tutelage while retaining its exotic appeal. The Philippine exhibit at the St. Louis World’s Fair drew considerable crowds to examine near-naked tribemen while they virtually

---


57 Ibid., 187.

ignored the cultured images promoted by Filipino elites. Yet, these examples illustrate only an occasional interest in the Philippines generated by particular events. In contrast, the limited physical presence in Haiti generated a disproportionately large representation in music and literature as compared to the P.I.

Popular music themes provide insight as to the producers and audience interest in the Philippines. The popularity of hit songs offers a means to judge the extent of cultural influence between America and the Islands. In America, popular music focused on romantic themes, rather than political commentary or imperialism in the Philippines. Conversely, the appearance of popular songs from America in the P.I. suggests that residents of the Islands embraced American popular culture. A quantitative measurement of music’s popularity combined multiple sources of data. During the early decades of the twentieth century, sheet music and record sales served as measures. Starting in the 1920s the frequency of a song’s play on the radio entered the calculation. Therefore, a combination of these factors helped compile the charts as seen in Joel Whitburn Presents a Century of Pop Music.

Examining the Top Forty, number one hits by decades from 1900 through 1939, reveals no titles based in the Philippines. Songs set in the South, Ireland, and Spain, dominated themes that elicited romance, sorrow, and nostalgia. Leading titles for each decade were:

- 1900-1909  “Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet”
- 1910-1919  “Casey Jones”
- 1920-1929  “My Blue Heaven”
- 1930-1939  “Cheek to Cheek”

Only Hawaii gained mention on any of these lists with “Sweet Leilani” garnering the number two position during the 1930s. The hit songs in any given year may suggest greater interest at

---

59 Kramer, Blood, 284.

60 Joel Whitburn Presents a Century of Pop Music (Menomonee Falls, WI: Record Research Inc., 1999).
some level. Examining the Top Forty every fifth year from 1900 through 1940 reveals little interest in the P.I. Over time, songs about Hawaii occasionally appeared as hit songs, perhaps due to its romantic image and relatively easy access from the West Coast.\textsuperscript{61} However, popular music themes ignored America’s venture in the Philippines.

From the late 1910s through the early 1930s, audiences enjoyed American music and entertainment in the Philippines. However, few American performers traveled to the Islands; live performances were almost entirely Filipino. Some Americans living in the Islands participated in plays, concerts, and festivals, but in general, the best musicians of the era were Filipino. The occasional theatrical troupe scheduled a tour on Manila as seen by the plays of the Frawley Company. They arrived on the ship \textit{Empress of Asia} a day late, which did not bode well for their engagement at the Grand Opera House, Plaza Goiti.\textsuperscript{62} Their performance was overshadowed by off-stage events. It seems that a number of thieves, likely squatting among the theater’s rafters, robed the troupe of their personnel effects. Items reported stolen included silk stockings, soap, “Mary Garden” perfume, a pearl and diamond stick-pin, a coral cameo ring, an ivory hand mirror, and other pieces of jewelry.\textsuperscript{63} The Frawley’s probably avoided encores in Manila.

Live theater was rare in Manila, with few plays to entertain the population. Milton W. Meyer, an American musician trained at the University of the Philippines, recalled that prior to the 1940s, Manila’s drama repertory was negligible, consisting of a local company that


\textsuperscript{62} \textit{The Manila Times} (2 April 1918).

\textsuperscript{63} “Frawleys Make Good Picking,” \textit{The Manila Times} (18 April 1918).
employed expatriates as actors. Vaudeville enjoyed a brief period of popularity during the 1920s. Audiences packed the leading vaudeville theaters including the Tivoli during afternoon and evening performances. Stars included “Dimples,” Isabel Rosario Cooper, who charmed Filipinos and Americans alike with her mestizo beauty. She traveled to America in the late 1920s hoping to secure roles in Hollywood films that never materialized. Dimples returned to Manila but by then Philippine tastes, like American, migrated to film.

Filipino musicians developed their skills from both traditional performance and formal education. Community traditions of music evolved from earlier folk tunes as well as Spanish music. Traditions from the Spanish period included small orchestras in each barrio that infused Spanish music with a Malay quality. Speaking at the Ateneo, his Alma Mater, Norberto Romualdez asserted that the Filipino displays a certain degree of reserve, an inclination toward the spiritual, love of the abstract, and a fondness for the sowerful music of Spain.

Expanding during the early twentieth century, formal music instruction allowed Filipinos a dominant role in high culture. The University of the Philippines created the Conservatory of Music in 1916, incorporating classical music education as a separate curriculum. Manila became a center of classical music with a number of organizations including Asociacion Musical de Filipinas, the Manila Chamber Music Society, the Manila Monday Musical Club, and a number of university and college associations. These groups provided frequent concerts.

---


67 Romualdez, Psychology, 75.

throughout the year. One of the finer performances occurred when Alexander Lippay, of the Conservatory of Music, conducted the symphony orchestra. Local guardians of culture often complained that newspapers provided too much attention to film and failed to inform the public on these concerts of classical music. Even public school officials expressed concern over the cultural impact of Jazz on traditional music. Some members of the Bureau of Education believed that schools should discourage jazz as a form of music. Charles Griffith remarked that jazz comes out of New York and lacked wholesomeness. He complained that the songs are responsible for “calling up emotions to the adolescent boy and girl which had far better be sublimated.” Especially offensive were “Red Hot Mama,” “The Naughty Waltz,” and “Last Night on the Back Porch.” Audiences, however, ignored the critical disputes between high and popular culture, as they enjoyed both classical and modern music.

American popular music dominated entertainment venues throughout Manila. Exceptions such as “Zamboanga” had more to do with experience than appreciation for Filipino music. Mary Hammond, an Army wife, recalled an evening out in the city when dances at the Officer’s Club often ended at midnight. Many, including the Hammonds, moved to the Army-Navy Club, and then the Manila Hotel whose orchestra played until 2:00 AM. “Regardless of where we danced,” Mary noted, “no dance was ever over until the Zamboanga song was played.” She explained how “Anybody who had ever lived in Zamboanga got out on the floor and whooped it

---


70 Ibid.

up for that song.” Of course, Hammond referred specifically to her American compatriots when she spoke of these dancers.

During most cultural interactions, the Americans imposed a color line. Americans remained among themselves, rather than mix with Filipinos. Many of the popular clubs, including the Manila Polo Club, Manila Golf Club, and Army and Navy Club refused to accept Filipinos as members, though they could attend as guests. Popular cabarets often reserved the best tables for white customers. Restaurants and supper clubs seated whites at tables along the dance floors, while “browns” were seated at the rear. No laws stipulated segregation, but these social practices offended not only Filipinos but also many of their American friends. Similarly, while no rules prohibited Filipinos from staying at the Manila Hotel, neither were they encouraged to do so. The social line was a color line. Filipinos who were predominantly of Spanish blood, including the Elizalde, Sorianos, and Zobels were welcome at the private clubs.73

Formal and informal segregation eventually declined as accepted norms of social interaction. These more inclusive practices appeared in new clubs and existing institutions. Clubs such as the Wack Wack Golf Club and the Los Tamaaos Polo Club formed as alternatives to their segregated counterparts.74 Bill Shaw, an American, founded the Wack Wack country club as an inclusive venue for recreation. Shaw tired of the situation at the Manila Golf and Country Club where Filipino guests of his were turned away. The newly organized club developed between 1931-1934 under the idea that all nationalities were welcome.75 Shaw’s name is one of few Americans memorialized on street names in present-day Manila along with

72 Hammond, 354.
73 Romulo, 24.
74 Ibid., 26.
Taft, MacArthur, and Harrison. By 1935, public clubs and services were free from overt discrimination. Although the majority of the Manila Hotel’s guests continued to be American, Filipinos not only resided at the hotel but also frequently used its facilities for dining and entertainment. Filipinos gained an equal status in this most prestigious institution by their physical presence.

Mass media, especially radio and film, expanded the reach of American popular culture to the broader Filipino population. As in America, these forms of entertainment helped erase regional difference. According to historian William E. Leuchtenburg, radio and the movie created a nationalized popular culture within the span of a decade. As audiences heard the same music and saw the same performances, their class and regional differences diminished. Radio reached an increasingly connected American audience. In 1922, only 0.2% of American homes owned a radio. By 1930, that number increased to 46%, and then to 81% in 1940. Radio programs originated from both studios and ballrooms, where musicians performed for an expanding audience. Late night broadcasts from New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles beamed the rhythms of national headliners including Benny Goodman, Bob Crosby, and Glenn Miller to a willing audience of American youth. As in America, radio and cinema helped transform the regional nature of Philippine identity into one that thrived on American popular entertainment.

---

76 Romulo, 58.


Radio delivered American music across the Philippines, expanding its reach beyond the limited audience for live performance. By 1933, American consumer products were widely available including Vicks Vapo Rub, Chesterfield cigarettes, and significantly RCA Victor radios.80 Local radio stations first appeared in June 1922. By the late 1920s, five stations broadcast out of Manila while KZRC in Cebu served the southern provinces. Radio Manila (KZRM), Manila Radio (KZIB), KZRF, KZEG, and KZRH served metro Manila with news, music, and coverage of local events. All but KZRF broadcast in English.

Radio stations followed American patterns of utilizing staff musicians to perform songs for regular broadcasts. Ramy Escudero sang Bing Crosby’s “Please” on radio station KZIB in June 1933. First published in 1932, “Please” remained a number one hit in the States for six weeks. Filipino artists performed current songs (published in 1932) on KZIB such as “My Woman,” “How Deep is the Ocean,” “Just Another Night,” and “Have You Ever Been Lonely.”81 Radio accelerated adoption of popular tunes from America to the Islands. While many Americans heard live music at popular venues in Manila, relatively few Filipinos, the middle class, shared these experiences. Radio transformed the popular music scene by transmitting hit songs to anyone owning a receiver. Certainly, the purchase price of a radio limited the mass market to those Filipinos with disposable income. However, those who listened to the radio heard Filipino performers singing and playing new music. It really did not matter who owned the station or who composed the tune. Filipino performance of American music appeared normal, embedding the two into the Islands’ popular culture.

Cinema achieved a prominent position in the Philippines providing contemporary drama, unavailable through stage productions. Jose Jimenez opened the first movie theater in 1903, on Azcarraga (Intramuros), ushering in the movie industry in the Islands.\textsuperscript{82} Movies in both English and Spanish catered to the diverse audience in the Islands. During the 1910s, cinemas featured a number of serials. The Lux ran the seven part, “The Angel Factory” starring Helen Chadwick and Antonio Moreno. At the Ideal audiences viewed, “My Little Boy” and the second episode of “The Red Ace.” Meanwhile, the Siena showed “The Birth of Democracy,” “The War Fleet of the United States,” and the comedy, “The Lucky Vagabond.”\textsuperscript{83}

Hollywood production companies soon dominated the box office. Virtually all American movie studios distributed their films by the late 1920s including MGM, Fox, Paramount, Universal, First National, United Artists, and Warner Brothers.\textsuperscript{84} Average daily attendance in Manila reached between 25,000 and 30,000 in 1925 and totaled 125,000 for the Islands. People spent a million pesos a month at the 250 “cines.” A few cultural guardians complained. “They do nothing else in their spare time,” one wrote, “and sometimes what should be their working hours.”\textsuperscript{85} By the early 1930s studios released their films in the Islands at virtually the same time as in America. In June 1933, films shown at Manila cinemas included: “The Big Cage,” Clyde Beatty and Anita Page, “Sweepings,” Lionel Barrymore, “State Fair” Will Rodgers, and “Today We Live” Joan Crawford and Gary Cooper.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{83} \textit{The Manila Times} (1 April 1918).
\textsuperscript{84} Litiatco, “The Silent Drama,” 94-95.
\textsuperscript{86} \textit{The Philippines Free Press}, Vol. XXVII, No 24 (June 17, 1933): 26.
Cinemas and the movies imparted lessons of identity as informal education. They reinforced the divisions between the two peoples while transmitting a shared sense of culture. Military families often attended the movie theater in Zamboanga since it offered more current films than on base. Americans and Filipinos remained apart. “The theatre was segregated,” Mary Hammond recalled. “Natives sat downstairs and whites sat upstairs.”

Movies provided an important link to home for members of the Army. “We didn’t feel quite so stuck out in the boondocks as long as we were able to see some of the same movies folks back home were seeing.” In spite of the separate seating arrangements, most of the Filipinos and Moros loved the films. “They probably learned more English from American made films than they did from books and teachers,” claimed Hammond. “They went wild over westerns like *Cimarron*. They cheered the good guys in white hats like Ken Maynard, Tom Mix and Hoot Gibson. They booed the bad guys in black hats. They roared at comedians like W.C. Fields, Harold Lloyd, Jimmy Durante and Buster Keaton.” In short, the audience absorbed the films and leading characters into their culture.

Changing patterns of Hollywood’s themes likely explain the empathetic reaction of Philippine movie patrons. By the early 1930s, American films transmitted messages that affirmed positive contributions of women, immigrants, and minorities reinforcing the hope of an inclusive American society. Lary May argues in *The Big Tomorrow* that these shifts contributed to the formation of a tolerant national identity. Producers acquiesced to audience demands of

---

87 Hammond, 110.

88 Ibid., 111.

shunning aristocrats in favor of a bottom-up narrative. May contends that the transition from silent to sound technology facilitated this shift. Newer film companies such as Warner Brothers, Disney, and Columbia targeted the vernacular tastes of a mass audience. Appealing to populist sentiments enhanced their appeal to the lower-income audience. These egalitarian tendencies undoubtedly reinforced notions of American exceptionalism to Filipinos and Americans alike. While a few Spanish films helped retain traditional links to the past, Hollywood nearly monopolized the audience’s attention.

American film and music reached a growing segment of the Philippine population, transmitting a vernacular image of the colonial regime. Popular entertainment expressed a broad spectrum of ideas that played to the varied tastes of the audience. Public education’s English language program created a receptive population to these presentations, allowing Filipinos to engage in their meaning. Radio and cinema expanded the reach of American culture to a wider audience. The frequency of listening or viewing American entertainment instilled a foreign identity into the normal lives of residents. Yet, the messages embedded in popular entertainment remained complex as seen in the emergence of competitive sports in the Islands.

Sport and games served as both entertainment and a disciplinary project in the Islands, consistent with broader imperial practices. Athletic competition played a key role in British imperialism defining success in sport as a measure of a man’s worth. Team sports such as rugby, cricket, and soccer helped transmit English values to colonial societies. They imparted lessons of discipline as a means to restrain violence. This control distinguished participants’

90 Ibid., 17.
91 Ibid., 61.
actions from savage, uncontrolled behavior. Army commanders in the Philippines recognized the monotony of overseas service and sought to increase morale by focusing on sports. As early as 1907, General Leonard Wood sponsored the first field day that grew into the annual Military Tournament where each regiment engaged in competitive sporting events including baseball and boxing. These annual programs attracted thousands of spectators. Public demonstrations of military competition imparted lessons of imperial discipline.

Competitive sports, such as baseball, basketball, and boxing increased in popularity. While British sports of rugby, cricket, and soccer offered competitive possibilities among colonial teams throughout the empire, the singular nature of the P.I. limited cross-colony competition. Newspapers reported the latest events of professional teams in America, but while important to the Americans in the Philippines, Filipinos focused on local teams and competitive sporting events in the Islands. Therefore, military sporting events provided a substitute for the professional baseball and football programs in the United States. They fulfilled a disciplinary need in both public and private education. As Filipinos watched the soldiers engage in competitive sport, teachers encouraged student athletics, incorporating games in their curriculum. Competition between schools, towns, and provinces soon became popular engendering a spirit of healthy sportsmanship. It was said, “Baseball has emptied the cockpits where legislation has failed to do.” Moreover, the competition between schools created common interests around the Islands.

---

93 Ibid., 22, 32.
94 Linn, 116.
95 “Before and After in the Philippines,” by Frederick Ford, Boston Evening Transcript, 11 March 1914.
supported athletic programs. He believed that competition encouraged students to participate in physical education. 96

Sporting events and military displays added to the visible American presence. Under the direction of Leonard Wood, the Department of Mindanao emphasized organized sports as an opportunity to compete and demonstrate military athletics to the local population. Sport developed the physical condition of the troops, enhanced morale, and reinforced messages of team cooperation. At first the Army’s field days took place twice a year, later turning into an annual event. More than sporting events, the field days offered competition in military skills of entrenchments, fording streams, and marches. After 1908, the annual competition in Manila proved so popular that local businessmen combined the Army’s field days with an annual carnival creating one of the biggest social events of the season. 97

Military athletics separated team events by race. The 1929 Athletic Meet, a combined competition encompassing the entire Philippine Department, illustrated the wide-ranging activities that served as training, competition, and public relations. The event began on Monday, 16 December 1929 and filled the next four days with an array of individual and team competitions. American and Scout Troops competed in separate events such as track, field, swimming, baseball, and boxing. Track competition included the 100-yard dash, discus, high jump, 120-yard high hurdle, and one mile run. Volleyball, basketball, and baseball pitted teams from selected bases, including the opening baseball game between Stotsenburg and McKinley. Boxing generated a great deal of interest and competition. Monday’s venue concluded with a special boxing program during the evening as well as Tuesday and the final program on


97 Coffman, 76-78.
Thursday. Some events, such as the inter-post baseball game between Stotsenburg and the 31st Infantry were held in Manila. This location provided access to a wider audience. Wednesday’s baseball game was held at the diamond for Ateneo Manila vs. Rizal High School. Wednesday evening concluded with vaudeville of Filipino talent followed by a dance for visiting officers and ladies at the McKinley Club. The meet’s competition concluded with the department boxing championship finals, which occurred at 7:30 PM on Thursday at the Manila Stadium.98

Boxing gained a wide audience throughout the Islands at both military matches and professional fights. Military units engaged in fierce competition since these championships heaped praise of their officers and fellow soldiers and sailors. Images later portrayed by James Jones in From Here to Eternity captured the essence of boxing during the inter-war years. However, individual competition between Americans and Filipinos created complex issues of power and masculinity. For Americans, boxers personified marshal qualities and national power.99 Yet, Filipinos and Americans frequently fought one another challenging the unambiguous status of colonial power. A fight for the lightweight title on 10 August 1920 provides one such example. The main event featured Kid Denco against Jerry Monohan for the lightweight championship of the Orient. Monohan, an Irishman from the Rock (Corregidor), fought the popular local, Dencio Cabenela.100 Audiences surely cheered their favorite boxer. Dencio won the fight defeating Monohan in a decision by two points.101 The audience found

98 “Philippine Department Athletic Meet, 1929, Souvenir Program,” folder 1, RG-17, Department of the Philippines (1928-1929), MacArthur Memorial Archives.

99 McDevitt, 61.

100 “Lightweight Title Will be at Stake at the Stadium Saturday,” The Philippine Herald, 10 August 1920.

101 The Philippine Herald, 15 August 1920.
fights between Filipinos and Americans far more interesting than when both fighters were white. Promoters listened to the audience without concern for conflicting colonial masculinities.

Equestrian events reinforced elite imperial traditions throughout the period. Polo assumed an important facet for recreation throughout the Islands. W. Cameron Forbes not only played, but also built the Manila Polo Club where the civil government team frequently beat the Army. While polo remained the purview of white males, residents and visitors alike enjoyed horseback riding and mounted competition.

The American Army loved equestrian events. The regulars in the Philippines continued their involvement in this sport throughout the era and combined demonstrations of military expertise with horsemanship. During December 1934, the American Chamber of Commerce helped finance the “Army Relief Horse Show and Military Tournament” sponsored by the Philippine Department, Major General Frank Parker, U. S. Army, Commanding. The show and tournament funded the Army Relief Society, which supported Filipino widows and orphans.

The tournament both entertained and demonstrated military skills of the Scouts, Regular Army, and Constabulary. The Philippine Scouts (PS) opened the program with an exhibition drill set to the music of the 57th Infantry (PS) Band. A pack artillery unit of the 24th Filed Artillery (PS) unloaded, fired, and repacked a 2.5-inch gun from their mules, followed by an exhibition of wall scaling, and tent set-up by the 45th Infantry (PS). In keeping with the spirit of the day, the Scout’s 26th Cavalry presented a musical ride demonstrating pinwheels, circles, and lines at the trot and gallop. One of the more complex events allowed the 14th Engineers (PS) to construct a temporary bridge and demolish it after a troop of cavalry crossed over. The regulars expanded

102 Coffman, 87.
103 “Army Relief Horse Show and Military Tournament,” 22-23 December 1934, Program, folder 22-6, box 22, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.
the show with a demonstration by the 60th Coast Artillery. They used a 3.00-inch anti-aircraft gun, machine guns, and searchlights to defend against “a night bombing raid on Rizal Stadium.” The 28th Bombardment Squadron provided the realism by dropping flares over the stadium while the defenders simulated the defense. Captain Mateo Cainpin commanded members of the 45th Infantry (PS) in a reenactment of “The Fall of the Alamo.” Chosen as a symbol of combat and courage, the finale illustrated Texans, “Fighting for what they held to be their rightful independence,” as well as “the attacking Mexican troops fighting for the integrity of the domain of their nation.”104

Hundreds of horses and riders participated in the show. Categories included jumpers, polo ponies, ladies’ mounts, native ponies, races, and hunters. Riders represented a cross-section of American and Filipino officers, enlisted men, and civilians (men and women). For example, one contest judged how well polo ponies, regularly played, responded to commands. Sixteen riders and their horses including Major C. H. Gerhardt on “Ruth”, Juan Elizalde’s “Tommy”, and Jacob Zobel’s “Camberra” competed for the first place trophy. Ann Parker entered her horse, “Ampere”, in the jumper course. The competition concluded with an all-military contest of pair jumping, primarily between horses and riders of Headquarters and Fort McKinley.105

Pageants communicated the mutual commitments of Americans and Filipinos to the defense of the Islands. The military tournaments and competitions emphasized Filipino participation in imperial institutions. Participation by elite Filipino horsemen affirmed the cooperative rather than dominant nature of colonial development. Military events in the Islands provided a substitute for professional sports in America, which emphasized the cooperative

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.
contribution of the nation’s immigrant population. Filipinos witnessed an imperial spectacle as a distinguishing feature of sport. The audience received important messages on the distinctive relationships formed between the two peoples. Filipino inclusion, especially the Scouts, in military events reinforced the perceived bonds of brotherhood.

Popular entertainment solidified American culture in the Islands. As America shed its dependence of European creativity, so too did the Philippines. However, the shifts meant more than simply a preference for particular composers and performers. Popular culture accelerated the replacement of traditional Spanish identity to a modern America. The timing of these transformations was critical to the depth and extent of these changes. Acceptance of American popular culture in the Philippines corresponded with a worldwide trend, enhanced by the physical presence of an expatriate population, and a colonial government. Americans and Filipinos embraced music and film produced thousands of miles away. These familiar products helped Americans feel at home even though they lived at the western edge of the Pacific. Simultaneously, their egalitarian content delighted Filipino audiences, especially since local artists performed much of the music. The Philippines’ colonial status resisted a direct imposition of American identity. Imperialism fostered disciplinary lessons, as seen through Army tournaments, which reminded residents of America’s military projection and responsibility in the P.I. Military pageants substituted for professional team sport creating a distinctive feature to entertainment, an imperial popular culture.

With the approach of the Commonwealth period, political independence fostered the assertion of Filipino identity via mutual participation in popular culture. Politicians resolved the structural issue of governance by 1935. However, the important question of national identity remained unresolved. Could an independent Filipino nation emerge from a twice-colonized
people? Popular culture illustrates the complexity of ties and conflicts between the past, present, and imagined future. Political independence allowed Filipinos to reclaim European culture within their new identity as a nation-state.

After years of congressional debate, the Tydings-McDuffie Act of March 1934 formalized Philippine independence. The inauguration of President Manuel L. Quezon during 1935 marked the beginning of the Commonwealth government, in which the United States limited its control to the Islands’ defense and foreign affairs. Philippine independence was resolved early, thereby avoiding national liberation movements that developed in response to persistent imperialism in countries such as Algeria. National independence proceeded in the Philippines without the need of cultural liberation. American popular culture celebrated independence of a colony as intrinsic to American ideology. As American imperialism was lightly imposed, decolonization assumed a milder form in the Philippines. Already in the 1930s, cultural assertiveness diversified the composition of popular culture in the Philippines long before it changed in America.

Signs of cultural pluralism emerged as Manila’s music scene opened up to include, and in some cases demand, local content. Music composition, education, and performance achieved increased diversity while resisting hegemony. Music viewed as “serious” drew from a discreet community. Three music schools provided a range of formal education for the musician; Academy of Music of Manila, Ermita; the Conservatory of Music, University of the Philippines; and St. Scholastica College, Manila. Talented musicians often traveled overseas in order to complete their formal training.

---


European influence reemerged as seen in formal music education of the Manila conservatory. Located at 44 A. Mabini, Manila, the Academy of Music of Manila opened in May 1930. Organized along European traditions, it sought to prepare students for a professional career, improve musical proficiency to interested individuals, and promote music in the Philippines. The Academy’s expert faculty, mostly European, offered instruction in all major branches of music. Alexander Lippay directed the conservatory and taught piano, composition, conducting, harmonic analysis, and music theory. Born of Italian and Hungarian parents in Venice, Lippay studied at the University of Vienna. He moved to Manila to direct the Conservatory of Music, UP in 1925.

The faculty’s men and women brought together a cross-section of European and American ideas. Europeans, including Adolfo Bellotti (Genoa), Regina Feldman (Zurich), Harry Ore (St. Petersburg), Clara Loehmer de La Paz (Cologne), and Michael Wexler (Latvia), learned their craft at conservatories across Europe. They contributed a cosmopolitan perspective to the academy. Wexler, for example, taught violin, viola, and chamber music. He was born in Latvia and studied at the Imperial Music School in Mitau. Wexler led the State Conservatory in Vladivostok from 1919 until 1923, performed in Japan in 1923, and opened his own studio in Kobe. He performed in over 50 concerts throughout Japan before moving to Manila. American and Filipino instructors enhanced the diverse collection including Carmen Macleod Kleinman (Manila), Victorina Logregat (Manila), Emma Griesel Moore (Fairmont, Nebraska), and Lorine Chamberlin Nash (Tacoma, Washington). Nash instructed piano, ear training, dictation, harmony, ensemble playing, and accompanying. She studied piano and voice at the Busch

---


109 Ibid.
Conservatory in Chicago. Young, thin, and blond, Nash performed in America prior to moving to the Islands where she worked as staff pianist at Radio Manila.\footnote{110} The Academy of Music continued a European tradition of conservatory education as a primary means for serious musicians complimenting the comprehensive approach at the UP. The staff’s broad experience fit within the instruction model of education that Filipinos expected from foreigners.

Education strengthened the musicianship of Manila’s repertoire of performers. The audience recognized their skills as serious performers as a result of this cosmopolitan instruction. In fact, the number of skilled musicians at any given time remained limited. Many musicians performed with classical organizations while holding side jobs at clubs and cabarets. For example Alexander Lippay conducted an orchestra, which performed Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony in January 1934. The group consisted mostly of members of the Philippine Constabulary Orchestra reinforced by other string musicians.\footnote{111} Correspondents noted that as formal music gained a larger audience, the number of skilled musicians failed to grow proportionally. Writing on the Manila Symphony Society’s season, Hilarian Rubio claimed the symphony drew mostly from the Philippine Army Band. “Other societies organize concerts using principally the same Army musicians,” Rubio stated, “with the addition of time-worn players.”\footnote{112} Talented performers found multiple venues to display their abilities.

During the 1930s, orchestras found regular work as hotel entertainers. Tirso Cruz and his orchestra performed nightly at the Manila Hotel’s Fiesta Pavililion, an open-air room for dining and dancing. One of the favorite orchestra leaders of Manila, Cruz and his musicians helped the

\footnote{110} Ibid.


hotel garner a reputation as one of the more popular places to dine or dance in the city. Others combined their skills with classical and popular performance.

Concert musicians often supplemented their formal instruction by working in popular entertainment venues. Ernesto Vallejo, for example, became one of Manila’s popular musicians. Born in December 1909 to a musical family, his father led the Army and Navy Club Orchestra for seventeen years. Ernesto excelled at violin but as a teenager played guitar at the Zorilla Theater, the Army and Navy Club, and the Columbia Club. He obtained a scholarship, and in 1923 moved to New York to study under Franz Kneisel and later Sascha Jacobsen. After six years of instruction, Vallejo performed his graduation concert in Town Hall, New York City, and afterwards repeated it at Manila’s Opera House in September 1929.

The ability to combine production and performance opened possibilities for cultural blending. Nicanor Albelardo, a composer and musician, utilized Filipino folk songs as the basis for many of his compositions. One such piece was “Nasaan Ka Irog,” an important contribution to the acceptance of folk tradition. Albelardo attended the Chicago Musical College in 1932, where he composed a number of pieces including “Panorunos,” and his unfinished “First Symphony.” His sonata for violin was first played at “Punch and Judy Theater” in Chicago. Increasingly, Filipino performers gained authority through their talented musicianship, formal education, and heightened demand. They joined with the audience in determining selections, which occasionally included early folk songs adding legitimacy to Filipino cultural identity.

113 Romulo, 64.
In the Philippines, audiences accepted racial integration. Performers could be Asian, European, or African. Certainly, the advent of political independence contributed to a cultural assertion of things Filipino. But that is insufficient to explain the totality of the change. Respect for performers based on their musical talents created a plural culture in the Islands different from that in America. A presentation of Handel’s *Messiah* in December 1940 underscores the complexity of performance in Manila. Col. W. H. Loving conducted the Philippine Army Band and white soloists Rachel Hughes, Desiderius Ligeti, and Diane Christenberry. The concert with a chorus of 160 voices occurred at the Central Student Church on December 15th. These white soloists, led by an African American conductor, with the music of a Filipino band, demonstrated the acceptance of racially mixed performances within a public venue.

Audiences in America experimented with plural performances only on the radical fringe of culture. In Lewis Erenberg’s study of swing from the 1920s to the late 1940s, *Swinging the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture*, he argues that during key moments in history both the audience and creators interact in ways that determine the substance of the performance. During the 1930s, black and white musicians exchanged elements of their identity through popular music. When Benny Goodman’s orchestra finally caught on at Los Angeles’s Palomar Ballroom in 1935 a racial divide fell. Not only did Goodman utilize the arrangements of black composer Fletcher Henderson, but he also included black musicians Teddy Wilson and Lionel Hampton in his quartet. Young audiences during the Depression rejected the sweet music of Paul Whiteman in favor of hot music. However, most bands remained segregated, and

---

117 Erenberg, *Swinging the Dream*, xv.
118 Ibid., 82.
even the most popular black orchestras of Duke Ellington and Count Basie appealed to a particular urban vernacular culture.\textsuperscript{119} In contrast, orchestras, cabarets, and restaurants in the Philippines developed a decidedly tolerant public space that embraced a multi-cultural identity.

During the Commonwealth period, American popular culture appealed to an increasingly connected audience. New entertainment venues in Manila built upon the successful experiences of popular establishments. As a result, American popular music expanded its appeal to a wider audience. An evening at the Santa Ana Cabaret retained its allure through the late 1930s lending credence to its moniker, “Largest Cabaret in the World.” Its large dance floor, accommodated hundreds of patrons, comparable in size to the Aragon in Chicago or New York’s Roseland Ballroom, with utilitarian design rather than elaborate ornamentation. A curved ceiling covered the expansive wooden dance floor while surrounding tables accommodated guests as they relaxed between dances. Vic Hernandez, the “Trumpet King,” and the “Swingsationals” performed popular music for American and Filipino couples. Patrons wore some of their best clothes for the occasion with men in white jackets while women donned evening dresses. It served as a gathering place for visitors as well as residents of Manila, regardless of nationality.\textsuperscript{120}

Manila’s restaurants supplied a plentiful banquet for hungry patrons. “Tom’s Dixie Kitchen” offered an American menu of steak, chicken and cooked vegetables under the mantra of cleanliness and courtesy.\textsuperscript{121} The “Ideal Café” served American and Chinese food. Located in the heart of town, 107 Plaza Goiti, the Ideal dispensed beer, wine, whisky as well as coffee and lunch.\textsuperscript{122} Entertainment possibilities continued to expand during the late 1930s. The “Magic Glo

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 70.


\textsuperscript{121} Bamboo Breezes, (12 March 1932): 6.

\textsuperscript{122} Scandal, Vol. III, No 21, (5 October 1935): back cover.
Café,” located at 56 Plaza Goiti provided a new cocktail lounge. Its Art Deco interior featured mirrored walls, indirect lighting of its multi-tiered ceiling, a small bar, and booths. Guests enjoyed their drinks in a completely air-conditioned environment. By this time, few overt signs of racial separation remained in public venues.

Increased accessibility to mass-produced American music asserted its influence in popular culture. Live entertainment remained popular providing work for Filipino musicians. Artists blended new songs with older favorites as seen from the June 1933 repertoire of the Palace Stars of the Variety Revue Company. Their selections of Manila favorites included “Black-Eyed Susan Brown,” “St. Louis Blues,” “Dondo Estas Corazon,” “Lies,” “Just Friends,” and “You’re My Everything.” Most selections played in 1933 were first published in 1932 or 1933 affirming the rapid adoption of music from America to the Islands.

Political independence created an environment that accepted a distinctive Filipino identity as a natural progression of the nation’s Spanish and American heritage. Music programs at various concerts reflect the shifting musical tastes. For example, the Silliman Glee Club performed for the school’s friends and alumni at the Iris Theatre, Bacolod on 29 November 1934. Lopez performed a violin solo, “Aire Varie No. 12,” by De Berlot. Most compositions featured European and American composers including light classics from Dvorak, Handel, and Brahms. Selections reflected Filipino culture including Abelardo’s “Song of the Traveler,” based on Rizal’s Poem, and “Our School,” with lyrics by Dr. Paul Doltz of Silliman.

---

125 Joseph Hayden to Dr. Kabayao, 3 December 1934, TL, folder: Memorabilia 1934-35, box 48, Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers.
By the late 1930s, state functions incorporated music that reflected the broader heritage of the Philippines. Manila’s Masons welcomed Paul V. McNutt, the new High Commissioner, and his wife to the Islands with a reception on 5 August 1937 that included speeches, music, and dancing. The selection of musical numbers offered light classical pieces with a Spanish flavor. Jose Mossesgeld Santiago-Font, accompanied by Genoveva Perlas performed “Ave, Signor” by Boito. Consuelo Salazar sang Hernandez’ “Dahil sa Iyo” and Rizalina B. Exconde performed her violin solo of another Hernandez composition, “Awit ng Puso.”¹²⁷ The prominent Spanish and Filipino musical selections reflect their acceptable status for such an important event.

Historians often discount political independence of the Commonwealth period as merely symbolic. I disagree and find a significant change in attitude by both Americans and Filipinos in the Islands. Americans began to respect the contribution of Filipino culture within the mixture of colonial traditions. Compared to their compatriots in the United States, Americans in the Philippines tolerated plural cultures. By the late 1930s, artists and entertainers incorporated Filipino themes as legitimate components of high culture rather than quaint folk songs that represented an earlier era. Popular culture relied less on formal declarations than on a perceived idea by Filipinos that American music, sports, and entertainment held value; something to emulate. As performers, athletes, and producers of various forms of entertainment, Filipinos shared in its production rather than simply observing what some foreigners imposed on their nation. Participation served as a key factor in shaping the popular culture of the Philippines.

Imperialism transformed the lives of both Filipinos and Americans in the Islands. American popular culture shaped Filipino identity, creating a social bond that persisted beyond

¹²⁷ “Reception to Bro. and Mrs. Paul V. McNutt,” 5 August 1937, D, folder 5: Correspondence, July to September 1937, box 1, RG-1, Military Advisor to the Philippine Commonwealth, MacArthur Memorial Archives.
the colonial era. At the start of the American Era, administrators imposed policies intended to
Americanize the population. English language and public education helped create an audience
that embraced American music, film, and entertainment. Over time, Filipinos added American
culture to their Spanish and Malay heritage changing the totality of their national identity. They
incorporated modern American ideas into their traditions forming hybrid practices that defined
their character. Significantly, the Filipino acceptance of American popular culture occurred
during a period of worldwide enthusiasm for American entertainment. The presence of an
American community in the Islands strengthened these changes. When Filipinos saw a movie or
heard a popular song, they related it to their experiences with soldiers, teachers, businessmen,
and missionaries.

Americans in the Philippines created a demand for familiar forms of entertainment.
Entrepreneurs satisfied those needs by building cabarets, restaurants, and theaters that catered to
American tastes. Filipinos shared in the consumption of popular culture as patrons and
performers. The physical presence at these venues deepened the feelings by middle-class
Filipinos that they experienced authentic American culture. More broadly, cinema and radio
reached out to the larger population with music and entertainment emphasizing an egalitarian
society. While initially contentious, America’s decision to grant political independence affirmed
the essential messages of liberty and freedom embedded in the nation’s cultural identity.
Political decisions validated the inclusion of American culture into Filipino identity. By the end
of the American Era, Filipinos embarked on a path towards cultural independence.
CHAPTER 10
4 JULY 1946

Heaven watch the Philippines, / Keep her safe from harm. / Guard her sons and their precious ones / In the city and on the farm. / Friendly to America / Let her always be. / Heaven watch the Philippines / And keep her forever free. / And keep her forever free.

—Irving Berlin, *Heaven Watch the Philippines*

Manila lost its luster after the military dependents shipped home. In 1941, the clubs and restaurants operated without their regular patrons since many European civilians left the Islands concerned over the prospects of war. To defend against Japan, a trickle of equipment and new recruits arrived from America, but planes sat on the runways without running in their engines while equipment remained covered in cosmolene. Without funds or time to prepare, the Commonwealth Army remained more a hope than a reality. When war came to the Philippines on 8 December 1941, it shattered the fragile construct of modern democracy in Asia.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor stunned Americans at home and abroad. News of the early morning attack on December 7th reached the Philippines in the middle of the night on 8 December 1941. Radio transmissions from Hawaii reached both Army and Navy command centers in Manila and Cavite soon after the attack began. Shortly thereafter, units went on alert and waited. Radio Manila broadcast the attack on Pearl, informing the public as they awoke on that fateful day. Some B-17 bombers took-off from Clark Field and flew patrols while fighter pilots sat under the shade of their P-40’s wings at Nichols Field.1 The Navy issued helmets to nurses at Canacao.2 Apprehensive parents saw their children off to school while they left for another day at work.

---


2 Dorothy Still Danner, interview 1072.
Japanese planes from Formosa arrived over Clark around noon, overwhelming its meager defenses and destroying most of the aircraft during the first wave. Over the next few days, air raids targeted military installations across the Islands. Planes struck Cavite on 10 December, destroying the Navy Yard and its precious supplies and repair equipment. Without air cover or a base of supply, Admiral Thomas Hart ordered the Asiatic Fleet south, away from the unprotected waters of the northern Philippines. The main Japanese invasion began on 22 December at Lingayen Gulf. Army units resisted Japanese forces however possible, including a cavalry charge by Lieutenant Ramsey’s G Troop, Twenty-Sixth Cavalry (Philippine Scouts) at Morong.\(^3\) General Douglas MacArthur concentrated his forces on the Bataan peninsula, shifting troops stationed south of Manila, through the city, and around the bay, while forces in central Luzon executed a dogged retreat. MacArthur declared Manila an open city as of midnight, 24 December, in hopes of sparing the capital any further bombing attacks. By early January a strengthened Corregidor and Bataan waited for American relief.

Japanese army units seized Manila, arrested American sympathizers, and interned civilians. Most American and Allied civilians followed orders to report with clothes and supplies for three days. Instead, over 5,000 Americans were interned for the duration of the war, with Santo Tomas University receiving the majority of these early arrivals. Japanese forces advanced down Malaya, capturing Singapore on 15 February 1942. A loose collection of American, British, Dutch, and Australian ships (ABDA) formed to defend Java and the Dutch East Indies. The battle of the Java Sea on 27 February 1942 devastated ABDA ships in spite of valiant efforts of their crews.\(^4\) The heavy cruiser USS \textit{Houston} survived as she had many times

\(^3\) Ramsey, 66.  
\(^4\) Winslow, 11.
before earning the nickname “The Galloping Ghost of the Java Coast.” Her luck ran out on 1 March as the *Houston* and HMAS *Perth* engaged a Japanese fleet near Sunda Strait. Japanese invasions on the oil-rich islands proceeded quickly, and Java surrendered on 7 March 1942.

From this point forward, Japanese air, sea, and land forces isolated the Philippines.

Americans and Filipinos on Bataan fought harder and longer than the Japanese invaders expected, thwarting their timetable of conquest. Critical shortages of food and ammunition soon limited the effectiveness of Bataan’s defenders. Still, they held on, frustrating Japanese commanders. President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered General MacArthur to leave the Islands not wishing to provide the Japanese with so valuable a prize. MacArthur, his wife and son boarded Lieutenant John D. Bulkeley’s PT boat on 11 March for Mindanao, then by plane to Australia. MacArthur promised the Filipino people, “I shall return.”

Bataan surrendered on 9 April 1942, and Corregidor fell on May 6th, ending the formal American defense of the Islands. This was the worst defeat in U.S. history. After the fall of Bataan, some 75,000 men endured a sixty-mile march to San Fernando only to be stuffed into boxcars for Camp O’Donnell. Probably 10,000 Americans and Filipinos died during the Bataan Death March and another 15,000 to 25,000 within the first few months of captivity. Thousands more died in hell ships and slave labor camps in Japan and throughout Asia. Surviving military prisoners received brutal treatment at Cabanatuan, Billibad, and O’Donnell. A few escaped, joining bands of guerrillas in the hills of Luzon, sending word of Japanese atrocities to MacArthur. American and Filipino soldiers and sailors did the best they could, with what they had, delaying Japan’s conquest of the Philippines.

---

5 Ibid., 195.

The Japanese interned over 5,000 American civilians along with British, Dutch, and other allies for the remainder of the war. Most lived at Santo Tomas University, just east of Manila, or Camp Holmes in Baguio. Several thousand internees from Santo Tomas moved to Los Banos in 1943. Authorities released some of the more elderly prisoners only to arrest them again as American forces returned to the Islands in 1944.

With Manila and Baguio declared as open cities, little physical damage occurred during the Japanese invasion. Quezon and Osmena evacuated, leaving the Japanese to select other politicians with whom to collaborate. The Filipino population, however, failed to embrace Japan’s vision of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Many helped their American friends by providing food and supplies when they could. Others formed guerrilla units and actively opposed Japanese control, supplying vital information to American forces. With the exception of notable collaborators, the majority of the Filipino population’s ambivalence frustrated Japanese authorities. As the war continued, allied attacks on shipping and victories in the Pacific strangled supply lines, including those to the Philippines. In 1944, guerrilla activities accelerated and food supplies dwindled causing extreme food shortages for Filipino civilians and allied prisoners.\(^7\)

MacArthur opposed Washington’s plans to by-pass the Philippines and attack Formosa. He insisted that American pledges and national honor demanded Philippine liberation by deed rather than by default.\(^8\) As a result, MacArthur led a massive assault on Leyte in October 1944. The naval battles, air attacks, and ground campaigns resulted in decisive American victories, followed by landings on Luzon on 9 January 1945. American forces moved toward Manila from

Lingayen Gulf with the concerted assistance of Filipino civilians and guerrilla units. In February 1945, Japanese units remained in Manila murdering civilians and destroying any remnants of the American regime. They blew-up the Army and Navy Club, Manila Hotel, and Elks Club among others. American artillery and aircraft bombed parts of the city, notably Intramuros, to support infantry assaults on the Japanese. The Battle of Manila killed nearly 120,000 civilians and destroyed the city. Meanwhile, a series of rescue missions freed prisoners throughout Luzon. Troops moved into Santo Tomas and Billibad as fighting continued in Manila. Raids at Cabanatuan (survivors of the Death March) and at Los Banos (both military and civilian) liberated their expectant prisoners. Japanese forces retreated to northern Luzon where fighting persisted until the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945. The population, economy, and infrastructure of the Islands lay in ruins.

The Philippines gained its independence on 4 July 1946. Although the country lay in ruins, a formal transition of power proved too important a concept to postpone. Any delays carried psychological and political implications for both nations. Filipinos’ tenacity achieved this moment after their long quest for liberty. Americans limited their role to tutelage and promised unequivocal freedom to their students of democracy. While some practical observers urged caution and a period of rebuilding after the war, most believed independence affirmed America’s noble mission in the Pacific.

The independence ceremony relied on symbolism rather than the physical structure of empire as a backdrop for the participants. Preliminary events began on July 2nd with concerts, receptions, religious services, and state functions. The formal ceremony commenced just before 8:00 AM on the 4th of July. A Philippine Army cavalry troop escorted the President and Vice-President of the Philippines, Manuel Roxas and Elpidio Quirino, from Malanacanan Palace. The
High Commissioner, Paul McNutt, similarly left his residence with a cavalry escort of the American Army.\footnote{Official Program – Proclamation and Inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1946), 30.}

On the morning of 4 July 1946, Manila residents surrounded a temporary grandstand on the Luneta just in front of the Rizal Monument. Speeches by Senator Millard E. Tydings, General MacArthur, and McNutt opened the ceremony. MacArthur spoke of how the Americans and Filipinos, despite great differences, developed a kinship that endured over the decades. Philippine independence, according to MacArthur, recorded the end of mastery and empire by the strong over the weak.\footnote{Friend, 262.} The band played the “Star Spangled Banner” as the American flag moved down the standard. Immediately thereafter the Philippine flag moved up the pole accompanied by the Philippine national anthem. While the crowd remained standing, first Quirino and then Roxas took their oaths of offices. One thousand college students sang the “Philippine Independence Hymn” to close the formal ceremony.\footnote{Official Program, 32-33.} These simple events affirmed America’s pledge to the Philippines signaling the end of imperialism to the world.

This dissertation drew from the experiences of people who lived and worked in the Philippines – for some of these individuals that included facing World War II in the Islands. The following notes explain how they fared during their ordeal.

William L. Archer spent much of the first four months of the war undisturbed. Around April 10\textsuperscript{th} he noticed a number of Japanese ships off the coast of Negros, near Dumaguete. At the time Americans had two options; surrender to the Japanese or hide in the jungle until the
Americans returned. He chose the latter. Archer moved past the mission school, Silliman, towards the hills. He lived there until a submarine evacuated him in 1944.

Santiago Artiaga remained in Manila in spite of daily bombings by the Japanese in late December 1941. He donated blood for the soldiers but no longer served in any government position during the occupation. He decided to remain in Manila rather than leave, believing that God would decide when his life would end. Artiaga survived the war and worked with the University of Michigan Alumni Club of the Philippines during the 1950s.

Dorothy Still Danner treated the wounded at the Navy Yard until the devastating air attack on December 10th. She moved to Santa Scholastica and was arrested by the Japanese. Danner was interned at Santo Tomas on March 8, 1942 and then moved to Los Banos in May 1943 where she continued to treat the sick. Paratroopers of the 11th Airborne and Filipino guerrillas liberated the three thousand prisoners at Los Banos on 23 February 1945.

Eusebius Julius Halsema died on 15 March 1945 at Notre Dame Hospital, Baguio as a result of injuries sustained from a bombing raid. Friends, family, and admirers gathered for his memorial service on 15 March 1947, the second anniversary of his death. Filipino city officials served as pallbearers and brought his remains to Baguio Cathedral and then to his final resting place, Baguio cemetery.

Joseph R. Hayden returned to the University of Michigan in 1935. From 1943 to 1945 Hayden served as advisor on Philippine affairs on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur.

Charlotte Heilbronn left the Philippines on 13 June 1941 for America. Joseph P. Heilbronn, her husband, had died in 1939.

Walter H. Loving and his wife Edith spent the first part of the war interned at Santo Tomas where he composed “Beloved Philippines.” Along with other elderly prisoners, they received
paroles and lived under supervision in Ermita until February 1945, when Japanese soldiers arrested them. They killed Walter Loving, shot on the Luneta near the Manila Hotel.

Milton Meyer continued his studies at Yale. His younger brother was interned at Santo Tomas. Meyer’s parents decided to move to the hills providing medical assistance to the Panay guerrillas where they died in December 1943. MacArthur’s troops liberated Santo Tomas on 3 February 1945.

Joseph A. Mulry, S.J. nearly survived his internment at Los Banos. Father Mulry died on the operating table of the camp hospital on 15 January 1945 from a stomach ulcer caused by malnutrition.

Thomas Pritchard was not interned. He supplied food to many of his friends at Santo Tomas. Pritchard successfully petitioned to become a Philippine citizen after the war.

Jerry and Patsy Robinson, along with their brother and parents spent the war interned at Camp Holmes in Baguio. Lewis Robinson knew the threat of war was real, but felt he could control their lives and set aside money to fly his family back home if war became imminent. It never happened.

James D. Tyson returned to the Philippines in late 1940 after leave in America. Tyson, his wife, and nine-month old son, James William, were interned in Baguio, first at John Hay and then in early June 1942, Camp Holmes. The Japanese moved the internees to Bilibid in Manila ahead of the advancing Americans. Troops liberated them on 6 February 1945 and they eventually sailed into San Francisco Bay in May.

The American Era in the Philippines provides a unique opportunity to explore concepts that shaped American imperialism. In my view the nature of imperialism in the Philippines is understood not only in the policy decisions of governments but also in the experience of
particular social groups who lived there. Therefore, this dissertation emphasizes the cultural and economic interchange between American colonists and Filipinos from 1901 until 1940. American colonialism in the Philippines fostered complex cultural relationships as seen through individual identity. To some extent Americans developed a hybrid worldview by living within the Philippines while maintaining connections to America. Filipinos viewed American colonialism from the perspective of their Spanish traditions, a facet often undervalued by the new regime.

America embarked on a pattern of establishing military and administrative control followed by a period of cultural and economic imposition, similar to European powers. However, expansionists pressed for Philippine acquisition somewhat late in the process of this “new” imperialism similar to Germany, Italy, and Japan. Progressive ideas tempered imperial objectives. The same impulse that drove Progressive Era reform at home shaped American foreign policy in the Philippines to uplift others.

Americans who first moved to the Islands shared a popular belief in the superiority of a uniform American identity. This is seen clearly in the administrators, educators, and civil servants who considered themselves experts. Following tendencies of many progressives, they sought to change others based on their own notions of civilization. This worldview consistently ignored other cultures including immigrant contributions at home and Spanish traditions in the Islands. Public officials transplanted domestic programs such as education, reform, and public health into the Philippines in hopes of replicating America’s democratic institutions. English language instruction exemplifies these programs. Filipinos generally supported English as a common language that unified diverse peoples offering a window to modern ideas, while Americans found it convenient as an administrative and educational tool that disciplined the
population. Meanwhile, Filipino politicians resisted city planning and infrastructure projects, a
distraction from independence.

Policy decisions in Washington altered the administration of the Philippines in two
important ways. First, the Jones act of 1916 promised political independence after a reasonable
period of tutelage. In spite of its vague timetable, the decision empowered Filipino elites to
direct colonial plans for the balance of the era. Second, Harrison’s Filipinization program
displaced American civil servants by replacing them with thousands of Filipinos. This shift
created an increasingly powerful Filipino middle class of educated men and women. The
remaining Americans became frustrated as locals challenged their claims to expertise.

The military and religious organizations demanded their leaders maintain distinctive
identities. Army and Navy officers lived apart from both enlisted men and the local population.
They provided a visible sign of national prestige and commitment to the Islands. The physical
presence and periodic exhibitions reminded residents of American sovereignty. Therefore,
officers and their families remained distinctly American. Interestingly, religious leaders faced a
similar situation. Both Protestant missionaries and Catholic priests sought balance in their
ministries between empathy and respect. Religion remained a contentious area of identity.

Many Americans who lived in the Islands engaged in commerce. Trade served as a natural
domain for foreigners as it had over the centuries. Filipinos retained ownership of large tracts of
the countryside supported by Washington’s policies that limited American investments,
especially through tariff structures. These Americans developed an identity as Americans in the
Philippines, an important distinction. They lived in the Islands while confining social contacts to
their peers by means of restrictive clubs and associations.
Class boundaries strongly influenced the degree of participation. Elite and middle-class Filipinos believed they had more in common with their American associates than with the masses in the countryside. Consequently, Filipinos equated modern with America, a global trend strengthened by a physical presence. These tendencies meant relatively more to Filipino women, who emerged from a sequestered Spanish culture to increase their presence in fields of education, public health, and the professions.

Filipinos actively engaged with Americans, often welcoming modern ideas and programs that broke with Spanish colonial traditions. The effects appear most clearly in popular culture, where American entertainment built upon Spanish, Malay, and Chinese customs. European traditions prepared Filipino musicians to perform American music. Mass entertainment permeated society through live venues, cinema, and radio. Political independence during the Commonwealth period facilitated shifts from Filipino performance to production. A distinctive identity, based to a large extent on popular culture, developed in the islands that altered colonists and Filipinos vision of their world, complicating the meaning of colonialism.

This dissertation focuses on the experience of colonialism in the Philippines. The interactions between Americans and Filipinos illustrate how worldviews changed within an imperial setting. Filipino agency and federal intervention constrained Philippine colonialism. Americans attempted to impose their own values, believing that democracy, culture, and economic institutions could and should be transplanted on this distant shore. However, racial identity, class-consciousness, and paternalist motives thwarted some of these goals and tended to limit the interactions between Filipinos and Americans to narrow fields of interchange.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Material

Benavides Library, University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines
   Filipiniana Collection

Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
   Santiago Artiaga Papers
   John Chrysostom Early Papers
   Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers
   Owen A. Tomlinson Papers
   Dean C. Worcester Papers

Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina
   James Alexander Robertson Papers

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
   Herbert Welsh Collection

Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
   W. Cameron Forbes Papers

Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
   America Magazine Archives
   Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus
   Joseph A. Mulry, S.J., Collection
   John Briley Walsh Papers
   The Woodstock Letters

Lopez Memorial Museum, Pasig City, Philippines

Knights of Columbus Philippines, Intramuros Manila, Philippines

MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk, Virginia
   James J. Halsema Papers
   Papers of Joseph P. and Charlotte Heilbronn
   Douglas MacArthur Records

Manila Hotel, Manila, Philippines

Morrland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
   Walter Howard Loving Papers

National Library of the Philippines, Manila
Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington Navy Yard, D.C.
   Navy Department Library
   Charles W. Gray Papers
   Glenn Howell Papers

Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
   James Francis Driscoll Collection
   Graham Taylor Papers

Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine, Washington, D.C.
   Philippine Islands Research
   William S. Osborn Collection

Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines
   American Historical Collection

Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York
   Philippines Health Services
   Philippines Public Health Education

Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville
   William M. Conner Papers
   William Atkinson Jones Papers
   George Alexander Kerr Papers

United Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey
   Records of the Foreign Missionary Society

University Library, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines

Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton
   William L. Archer Oral History
   John B. Brush Oral History
   Dorothy S. Danner Oral History
   Burton S. Pearsall Oral History
   J. D. Tyson Oral History

Newspapers and Journals

*Bamboo Breezes*, 1932 – 1940.

*Boston Evening Transcript*, 11 March 1914.

*New York Sun*, 5 February 1916.


Cablenews-American, 24 October 1912.


Manila Times, 1913 – 1924.

Philippine Herald, 10 – 15 August 1920.

Tribune, Manila, 5 January 1927.

American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines Journal, 1921 – 1922.

Billboard, 26 February 2000.

Colliers, 5 September 1936.


Music Quarterly, April 1938.

Our Navy, August 1945.

Philippine Free Press, 8 April; 10, 17 June 1933.


Scandal, 5 October 1935.

Scribners, June 1920.

Published Primary Sources


“Injustice of American Opposition to Philippine Independence Address of Dr. John R. McDill” Speech at Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, October 23, 1913. <http://www.hti.umich.edu/cgi/t/text> (6 January 2006)


*Overland Monthly*, May 1908. “Philippine Railroad Progress.”


Secondary Sources


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kenneth F. Kasperski was born in Cicero, Illinois. He graduated from Morton East High School and then received an associate’s degree from Morton Junior College. Growing up in the Chicago area, he developed a fervent hope in the ability of the Cubs to once again win the World Series. He earned his B.S. in mechanical engineering at the University of Illinois in 1967.

Upon graduating, Kenneth embarked on a career that spanned engineering, business, and scholarship. He utilized his engineering skills to pursue tangible solutions to quantifiable problems within industrial America, first at Amphenol Corporation, and then, Spraying Systems Company. Wishing to direct others to achieve their own objectives, he earned an M.B.A. at Keller Graduate School in 1981. Kenneth applied his engineering and business skills while traveling throughout the United States, Europe, the Pacific, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. He established new business units in Southeast Asia, India, and China, sparking a desire to understand America’s role within these diverse cultures. Kenneth returned to academia, graduating with an M.A. in history from Loyola University, Chicago, in 2006.

Kenneth moved from his home in Saint Charles, Illinois to Florida where he completed his Ph.D. in history at the University of Florida, in 2012. His major field is early twentieth-century America with a minor field of European history, specifically, new imperialism and modern capitalism in the long nineteenth century. His research interests include Progressives, empire, and imperialism. Kenneth and his wife, Diane, have four children, Carrie, Janet, Joseph, and Kate, as well as four grandchildren, Justin, Kyle, Tori, and Aidan.