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DANGEROUS INTERCOURSE: RACE, GENDER AND INTERRACIAL RELATIONS IN  
THE AMERICAN COLONIAL PHILIPPINES, 1898 - 1946

BY

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## ABSTRACT

“Intercourse with them will be dangerous,” warned the Deputy Surgeon General to all U.S. soldiers bound for the Philippines. In his 1899 pamphlet on sanitation, Colonel Henry Lippincott alerted troops to the consequences of becoming too friendly with the native population of the islands. From the beginning of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, interracial sexual contact between Americans and Filipinos was a threatening prospect, informing everything from how social intercourse and diplomacy was structured, to how the built environment of Manila was organized. This project utilizes a transnational approach to examine a wide range of interracial sexual relationships -from the casual and economic to the formal and long term- between Americans and Filipinos in the overseas colony from 1898–1946.

My dissertation explores the ways that such relations impacted the U.S. imperial project in the islands, one that relied on a degree of social proximity with Filipinos on the one hand, while maintaining a hard line of racial and civilizational hierarchy on the other. This twinned but contradictory approach to imperialism created multiple meanings and implications for interracial intimacies, as interpretations varied between imperialist and anti-imperialist, colonist and colonized. These relations cannot simply be looked at as apolitical or as instances of cross-cultural acceptance, or even simply as sexual vice, but rather must be seen as routes through which both Filipinos and Americans in the Philippines could secure political, social, economic and cultural power in the new colonial order. More importantly, I argue that these uneven relations between colonist and colonized often helped to solidify American conquest over the islands, from legitimating American claims of benevolence to helping ensure the longevity of U.S. colonial rule and influence in the Asia-Pacific region.

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## INTRODUCTION

### **Dangerous Intercourse: Colonial Times and Contemporary Considerations**

“You have an island as beautiful as your women,” stated William Howard Taft, the leader of the Taft Commission to the Philippines and the soon-to-be president of the United States. He was speaking to a delegation of Filipino representatives on the Philippine island of Marinduque in 1901, his speech a part of larger efforts to demonstrate America’s “benevolent” intentions and to secure the cooperation and loyalty of Filipinos around the archipelago in the cause of the U.S. imperial mission.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, a prominent Filipino intellectual traveling with Taft’s party, likewise stated in 1901 at a Commission dinner, “We found that Americans were not slow in making the acquaintance of our women; what was more, they did not smile only on the pretty ones, as was the wont of that class which formerly set up first claim to women’s smiles in this country.”<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Filipinos fighting for their independence and the approximately 100,000 American troops that were deployed to take control of the islands were engaged in a bloody war that would last well into the next decade of colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> Americans ignored the Filipino declaration of an independent Philippine Republic in June of 1898, instead pronouncing themselves as the new leaders of the nation after the defeat of the previous Spanish colonizers. So began the romance that is the United States and the Philippines colonial

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<sup>1</sup> James Leroy, Secretary of the Taft Commission, “Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands,” March 14, 1901, 17. James Leroy Papers, Box 1. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Spoken at a Taft commission meeting with a Filipino delegation representing the island of Marinduque, on the prospects of establishing their own civil government on the island.

<sup>2</sup> James Leroy, Secretary of the Taft Commission, “Manuscript of Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippine Islands,” 1901, 5-6. James Leroy Papers, Box 1. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Spoken at a dinner with Taft commission members and Filipino delegation of leaders on commission visit to Lingayen, Pangasinan, in the Northern Philippines.

<sup>3</sup> Statistics from, Brian M. Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899 – 1902* (University Press of Kansas, 2000); Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Rosskamm Shalom, *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance* (South End Press, 1987).

relationship, a relationship wherein interracial intercourse and suggestions of social and sexual attraction veiled and sanitized various types of violence occurring across the archipelago.

In this dissertation, I examine interracial intercourse between Americans and Filipinos during the period of formal U.S. colonial rule of the Philippines. Interracial intercourse, by which I mean the social and sexual relations that occurred between Americans and Filipinos in the colonial geography, took many different forms. Socially, Filipinos and Americans mingled and danced together in spaces like formal parties known as *bailes*, worked together in clubs, schools and charitable organizations, and even lived in close quarters as Filipinos came to be employed as cooks, drivers, maids, etc. in American homes. Filipinos and Americans traveling together for the Taft Commission for example, attended luncheons, *bailes* and meetings together and often shared close living quarters during their trips.

Sexual intercourse too took on many different forms, from the short term and the economic, as in the sexual economy, to the more long term and formal, as in cohabitation and marriage. While some instances of intercourse, such as Commission leader Taft's seemingly positive appraisal of Filipina women's bodies and the suggestion of interracial sexual attraction, could be framed in a way to flatter and win support for the American presence and governance in the islands, other types of intercourse proved more of a hindrance to the consolidation of U.S. control. American soldiers brawling in red-light districts over women, for example, undermined American professions of their good intentions. Real and imagined interracial intercourse informed everything in the colonial Philippines, from how the built environment was organized to how politics and diplomacy were structured, and has been an understudied aspect of American colonial rule in the Philippines.

Interracial intercourse between Americans and Filipinos occurred immediately upon the arrival of the first U.S. troops in 1898, with the American military government taking its cues from the recently defeated Spanish regime in terms of how to approach interracial intimacies. For example, American officials often maintained rather than eradicated established red-light districts previously established and maintained by Spanish colonial authorities and quickly became acquainted with the social mores and practices regarding intimate sexual relationships. So, while Americans and Filipinos came to know each other through the violence of the Philippine American War (1899 – 1913) and military occupation, some Americans and Filipinos came to know each other in different ways. Army surgeons and medical personnel took note of the prevalence of interracial sexual intercourse very early on in the military occupation, one reporting that American soldiers had become, “Habituated to the repulsiveness of the native women.” This army surgeon was worried about troop efficiency being obstructed by the rising contraction rates of syphilis and continued his report for the year 1899 saying that, “sexual immorality is more common, with a notable increase in venereal disease.”<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, American troops deployed to the Philippines were often encouraged to familiarize themselves with the women of the islands, and lost no time in getting to know their “little brown sisters” in various settings from dance halls, saloons, public gatherings, private homes and in red light districts, much to the chagrin of their more moralist and purist countrymen and women.<sup>5</sup> Colonial officials and American tourists traveling in the “new possessions” often remarked upon the prevalence of interracial intercourse with a sense of

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<sup>4</sup> War Department, Annual Report of the Surgeon General, 1899. Report of Major Herbert W. Cardwell, 136.

<sup>5</sup> *Navy Guide to Manila and Cavite: A Practical Guide and Beautiful Souvenir*, (Manila, 1908). Advertisements in this guide book encouraged men to mingle with their “little brown sisters” in local Manila and Cavite businesses, such as saloons and dance halls. For more on moral reformers and the Philippines during the colonial period, see, Ian R. Tyrrell, *Woman’s World/Woman’s Empire: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (UNC Press Books, 1991); Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2010).

disquiet and urgency.<sup>6</sup> Scientific racism and theories of eugenics were reaching heights of popularity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, informing ideas about interracial sexual relationships and bolstering the spread of anti-miscegenation laws around the continental United States.<sup>7</sup> While miscegenation laws were not imported to nor usually enforced in the Philippines, the racist logic and fears behind such laws did find new life in the overseas colony. Colonial government reports lament the “presence in a large majority of the towns of the archipelago of dissolute, drunken and lawless Americans, who are willing to associate with low Filipino women.”<sup>8</sup> One American bemoaned in his account, “Here was another American living with a native woman...Every civilian I had thus far met were married or living with native women.”<sup>9</sup>

Dubbed “dangerous intercourse” in the Surgeon General’s sanitation pamphlets for troops bound for the islands, interracial sexual intercourse occurred predominantly between American men (both white and Black) and Filipina women, and to a lesser degree between white American women and Filipino men.<sup>10</sup> American men in the Philippines had the same gendered privilege in the islands as they did in the domestic homeland, and while more American men than women travelled to the Philippines, this dissertation will demonstrate that the predominance of certain types of couples was not simply due to numbers nor was it a natural consequence of attraction. While heteronormative patriarchy in general guaranteed (and continues to guarantee) white men sexual access to women of color both in the Philippines and in the United States, the colonial

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines; or, Life in Our New Possessions*, (1916), 126 – 127; “Degenerate Americans, He Says,” *The Manila Times*, March 20, 1908, vol. x, no. 136, 6; Henry Parker Willis, *Our Philippine Problem: A Study of American Colonial Policy* (New York, Burr Printing House: Henry Holt and Company, 1905); also discussed at length in chapter 1, 2, and 3.

<sup>7</sup> Peggy Pascoe. *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Paul A. Lombardo, ed., *A Century of Eugenics in America: From the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1900-1903, Bureau of Insular Affairs (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), 495.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert D. Fisher, *Philippine Diary* (Vantage Press, 2005), 85.

<sup>10</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1899. Report of Colonel Henry Lippincott, 132.



geography allowed these men greater access to sexual experimentation with and exploitation of the native Filipino population, often with less legal and social consequences.<sup>11</sup> Domestic and sexual violence as well as non-heteronormative or queer sexual encounters, which I also explore in this dissertation, could be even more dangerous for the reputation of the imperial project in that such “unmentionable liberties” with Filipinos not only put into question the idea of American moral superiority, but could very well have led to its implosion.<sup>12</sup> Thus the control of certain types of interracial intercourse – or at least the control of how they were depicted and came to be discussed more publicly - could be more urgent and important than the control of other less explosive types of relations.

What these encounters and relationships meant and signified to individuals was mutable and varied, causing fears over miscegenation amongst most Americans, but also understood as a gauge by which to measure the new colonial regime’s relative commitment to social equality. As this dissertation will explore, both Filipinos and Americans understood the stakes of controlling the discourse around and framing of interracial intercourse, and often used this knowledge to influence the direction of the new colonial regime. For example, while American soldiers and civilians were quick to accommodate to established systems of intercourse, colonial administrators were equally quick to proclaim that any such relations that might occur between Americans and Filipinos would be morally exemplary in comparison to what was framed and

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<sup>11</sup> On the nature of intermarriage in the United States, see the work of, Peggy Pascoe. *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). For interracial colonial intimacies and gender, see the works of, Ann Laura Stoler. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> While the bulk of the relationships and encounters examined here are heterosexual in nature - due to the marginalization of sexualities considered transgressive both in reality and within the archives- queer sexual encounters are discussed as well. “Unmentionable liberties” was a veiled reference by American colonial officials to such an encounter. In this case, the officials were discussing a scandal involving a U.S. military Captain and the rape of several of the men in his unit as well as certain male members of his domestic staff. Letter from Major General Leonard Wood to Harry H. Bandholtz, May 12, 1910, Bandholtz Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

understood as immoral interracial intercourse under Spanish rule, with public official stances or discussions on the subject favoring marriage rather than uncommitted liaisons.<sup>13</sup> Despite the unofficial declarations made by the American colonial government of its commitment to equitable relations with Filipinos, the nature of intercourse between colonizer and colonized resembled rather than differed from the previous Spanish models, as American men quickly garnered a reputation for licentiousness and notoriety.

We can also understand the earlier examples of Commission leader Taft's seemingly positive appraisal of Filipina women's bodies and Pardo de Taveras reference of interracial relations as similar attempts to control the direction of imperial rule. Gaining support for the American presence in the islands depended in many instances on differentiating U.S. rule from that of Spain and projecting a more altruistic approach to incorporation. Indeed, according to President McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" proclamation, Americans had come to the Philippines "not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights."<sup>14</sup> While a degree of social integration was implied in this proclamation or "friendship" and more egalitarian relations, at its core was the racist idea that American tutelage would compel Filipinos to shed their own "inferior" cultural traits to emulate the "superior" qualities of the colonizer. In large measure, the American policy of "benevolent assimilation," and the appearance of social equality under the American regime was supported by various instances of social and sexual interracial intercourse. With comments like Taft's suggestion of interracial sexual attraction, colonial administrators hoped to foster relationships and curry favor with their new colonial "wards"

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<sup>13</sup> For example, see; "Marry for Keeps Here," *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 333, July 25, 1907, 1; John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines: Or, Life in Our New Possessions* (American tract society, 1905), 127.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in : Paul A Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 156.

through superficial gestures that might signify intimacy and amiable relations. While Taft's comment attempted to smooth relations with Filipinos by suggesting attraction, Pardo de Tavera's mention of American-Filipino "acquaintances" may have also been a veiled attempt to discipline the new colonial regime as well, the reference to these relationships perhaps a reminder of the Filipino desire for social equality as well as a subtle indictment of known American sexual transgressions.

The colonial policy of "benevolence" and instances of interracial intercourse between Americans and Filipinos were mutually supportive of each other, with intercourse not only supporting claims of benevolence, but "benevolence" also advancing the frequency and normalizing of interracial sexual relations. For example, control over intercourse could not be maintained through the restrictive and racist measures found and practiced in the U.S., lest it reveal the duplicity of American declarations of friendship and social equality. What was admissible racist policy for the domestic homeland, therefore, would not necessarily translate to the Philippines.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, as some historians have even argued, racism and imperial aspirations were not compatible for such reasons.<sup>16</sup> I will demonstrate, however, through an interrogation of interracial sexual contact, that this simply was not the case. While imperialism in the Pacific was unable to rely on the export of American segregation and anti-miscegenation laws that would belie its commitment to some social equality, it relied instead on the everyday racism of Americans to police sexual encounters, define and limit citizenship, and structure innovations in imperial rule. Thus the policy of benevolent assimilation simultaneously supported the façade of

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<sup>15</sup>There are a few examples of U.S. based state miscegenation laws being applied on a case by case basis to certain interracial marriages in the Philippines. At the time writing, the author of this dissertation knew of only one such case, wherein a Manila court awarded a Moro woman known only as "Mariang" half of her American husband's estate upon his death, despite objections by the brother of the deceased, who argued that the marriage was invalid due to Kentucky state miscegenation laws, the U.S. residence of his brother. "Moro Widow Will Benefit," *Lincoln Evening Journal*, Nebraska, July 5, 1939, 3.

<sup>16</sup> See for example, Eric Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

social proximity with Filipinos on the one hand, while its insistence on civilizational and moral tutelage maintained a hard line of racial and gendered hierarchy on the other.

In the following chapters, I contend that instances of interracial intercourse in the American colonial Philippines cannot simply be looked at as apolitical or as instances of cross-cultural acceptance, or even simply as sexual vice, but rather must be seen as routes through which both Filipinos and Americans in the Philippines could secure political, social, economic and cultural power in the new colonial order. Second and more importantly, I argue that these relations between colonizer and colonized - imbued as they were with gendered and racial power and rooted in imperialism - helped to solidify American conquest over the islands. Even marital relations that might seemingly unsettle American authority in that they could jeopardize ideas of racial superiority and help Filipino families potentially secure positions of power, had the potential to legitimate American claims of benevolence, ensuring the longevity of U.S. colonial rule and influence in the Asia-Pacific region. As this project will show, however, the presence of interracial intercourse was not synonymous with anti-racism or anti-imperialism, but rather depended on and reproduced violent racism and the oppressive logics of empire. Moreover, it is especially those forms of intercourse typically considered romantic, companionate, loving, or even simply friendly that I locate the everyday violence, policing, and racism that allowed for and sustained the equivocations of benevolent assimilation. While I do not mean to discredit the capacity of individuals to subvert or challenge imperial rule and power through politicized actions involving interracial intercourse, I simply frame these actions within the larger structures of imperialism, wherein individual choices were influenced and limited by the desires of elite foreigners, newly imposed governmental rules and a variety of institutionalized constraints.

Despite the contradiction in U.S. actions versus purported intent, it is the romantic idea of a historic U.S.-Philippines relationship characterized by benevolence and goodwill that seems to remain the most compelling in the popular American imagination, with recent Pew surveys reporting the Philippines as one of the top five “American Friendly” countries in the world, and USAID reports boasting that the nation is “the oldest democracy in the Asia-Pacific region,” motioning to its early American “influences” as the source of this achievement.<sup>17</sup> To deconstruct this entrenched understanding of United States-Philippines relations, it might not be enough to look at relations, institutions and events already understood as violent, as these oppressive systems under U.S. imperialism have already been explored by scholars exploring American empire, and yet romantic notions seem to persist. The present study adds a different dimension to the social and cultural histories of U.S.-Philippines relations that don’t necessarily examine obvious physical violence other types of violence that were more easily obscured under pretenses of benevolent imperial rule. By examining relations typically understood as positive and even loving, relations that intuitively suggest positive interactions and obscure violence, it is my hope that the romanticism surrounding U.S. –Philippine relations can be broken down more effectively. As this project will demonstrate, it is not just the disembodied notion of a figurative interracial “romance” that continues to sustain exceptionalist ideas about the nature of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, but actual romances, attractions, and sexual relationships.

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<sup>17</sup> Bruce Stokes, “Which countries don’t like America and which do,” Pew Research Center Fact Tank, July 15, 2014. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/07/15/which-countries-dont-like-america-and-which-do/> accessed on July 20, 2014. According to this “survey,” the Philippines topped the list of most America friendly countries, the article reporting that, “Asians are also pro-American. In fact, the Filipinos are the biggest fans of the U.S.; 92% express a positive view.”

See also, “USAID Philippines Country Development Cooperation Strategy, 2012-2016,”<sup>4</sup> which states that the Philippine is, “Asia’s oldest democracy,” as well as its stance that the Philippines is, “located in the world’s most economically dynamic region, and blessed with incredible human and natural resources, the Philippines should be much more stable, prosperous and well governed than it is. Indeed, at the 20<sup>th</sup> century’s midpoint the Philippines was still the ‘pearl of the orient,’ with the highest per capita GDP in Asia.” Accessed at [https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1861/CDCS\\_Philippines\\_FY2012-FY2016.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1861/CDCS_Philippines_FY2012-FY2016.pdf), on April 30, 2011.

## Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

My project builds on scholarship that examines the intersections between race, gender, sexuality and imperialism. In the large body of scholarship about the U.S and the Philippines, the topic of interracial sexual relations between Americans and Filipinos is most often addressed as a contemporary post WWII issue of sex-work and the military, with scholarship anchored during the American colonial period typically overlooking interracial sexual intimacies, or focusing on issues of prostitution and the military. Most notably, the work of scholars such as Mary Elizabeth Holt, Nerissa Balce, Richard Coloma, Paul Kramer, Ken Deboise and Andrew Abalatin, whose works explore colonial prostitution and interracial relations in the Philippines have helped in the framing of this research. Holt and Balce, for example, describe how images and representations of sexualized Filipina bodies by American and European travelers prior to and in the early period of American colonization informed justifications of colonial occupation.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, Kramer, Deboise, and Abalatin discuss American efforts to control sexually transmitted diseases and the systems of prostitution left behind by the Spanish empire.<sup>19</sup> While Kramer is concerned with early prostitution in the southern Philippines, his interest is more in highlighting how American efforts to control sexual vice were influenced by and modeled after British imperial methods. Deboise and Abalatin's work similarly focus only on prostitution, fleshing out how the American colonial administration dealt with sexually transmitted diseases in U.S. military garrisons, as well as their involvement in the sanitization of the pre-existing sexual economy. I believe that a more comprehensive anti-imperial critique of U.S. empire in the

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<sup>18</sup>Mary Elizabeth Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas: Nineteenth Century Representations of the Philippines in Western Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo De Manila University Press, 2002); Nerissa S. Balce, "The Filipina's Breast: Savagery, Docility, and the Erotics of the American Empire." *Social Text* 24, no. 2 (2006): 89–110.

<sup>19</sup>Ken De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse: Epidemic Disease in the Colonial Philippines*. (Princeton University Press, 1995); Paul Kramer, "The Darkness That Enters the Home," From, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*. Ann Laura Stoler, ed., (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006); Andrew Jimenez Abalatin, "Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity: A Comparative Study of Colonial Indonesia and the Philippines, 1850-1940." Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, Aug. 2003.

Philippines may be garnered by examining less understood sites of empire. Hence the present study goes beyond the military, the sexual economy, and those areas already associated with colonial injustice and domination. Other literature on women and gender during the American colonial period in the Philippines tend to overlook sexual relationships, focusing instead on American women teachers and their Filipino servants and pupils or the educational efforts directed towards Filipinas as American-style nursing schools were created.<sup>20</sup>

As the literature on interracial romantic or sexual relations in the colonial Philippines is limited, this project has been deeply influenced by scholarship that examines colonial “intimacies” in other imperial settings. The works Ann Stoler, Durba Ghosh, Anne McClintock, Emmanuelle Saada, and other scholars on European colonialism, sexuality, intimacies and interracial families have helped significantly in the framing of this research. Considerations on the differences between U.S. imperialism and other forms of Anglo imperialism through the lens of intimacies have also been aided by this scholarship. The present study is deeply indebted to and draws significantly from these works. At the same time, it is also very consciously trying to move away from the concept of “intimacy,” which is necessarily laden with ideas of sentiment and emotion.<sup>21</sup> While considerations of attachment and love are important in a study of romantic and sexual relationships, the idea of “intimacy” can often lead to the neglect of the possibility that sexual relations – for example, sex within the context of rape or the sexual economy - can often be devoid of love and sentiment. An “intimate” framing of interracial relations, I believe, can also often detract from the perspective and motivations of the colonized population and even

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<sup>20</sup> For example, see : Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> For example, see the concept of intimacy as laid out by Ann Laura Stoler, as well as the critical commentary in the article, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies.” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (December 2001): 829–65.

worse romanticize and depoliticize some of these relationships as positive outcomes of empire. Further, as this dissertation will show, the presence of tender feelings in colonial intercourse would not necessarily change how any relationship between individuals acquired meaning, was interpreted or utilized, or how it functioned for the imperial agenda. For these reasons, I understand and frame the social and sexual contact between Americans and Filipinos as “intercourse,” in the hopes of comprehending and including a broader range of interactions.

Similarly, the overarching idea of “dangerous intercourse” allows for a more comprehensive and broader reading of interracial sexual relations and the different stakes and consequences for those that chose to transgress the sexual color line. The 1899 health and sanitation circular created by chief surgeon to the U.S. army, Colonel Henry Lippincott for example, warned of the consequences of too familiar relations with Filipinos. “Intercourse with them will be dangerous...All kinds of venereal diseases are very prevalent among the natives in the towns.”<sup>22</sup> He further he recommends avoiding the native people of the islands, who he warns, are “notoriously careless of all sanitary laws, and are infected with numerous diseases.” This dissertation expands how “danger” was understood, asserting that perceived danger was not limited to bodily contamination or harm, nor was it experienced in a standardized manner or degree. The “danger” varied from person to person, from American to Filipino and from man to woman. For Americans, intercourse with Filipinos was discussed as dangerous primarily in terms of physical harm. As many Americans who came to have sexual relations with Filipinos came to find, however, was that while intercourse may or may not have physical repercussions, it would most certainly endanger their standing within “proper” white social circles, even potentially jeopardizing ones livelihood. Intercourse, especially within relations viewed as more committed or companionate, may have shaken American belief in the morality of their countrymen, but

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<sup>22</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1899. Report of Colonel Henry Lippincott, 132.



could also present dangerous contradictions for an American colonial regime justified by supposed racial and civilizational superiority.

As postcolonial studies scholars have shown, relationships between colonized and colonizer were inherently violent, inflicting not only physical and bodily harm, but also mental and emotional.<sup>23</sup> Filipinas often faced everyday violence and racism from their American husbands that had repercussions that reached far beyond the home. For example, while American men who married Filipinas were often ostracized from the larger American community because they had “gone native,” they too expressed and shared the racist views of their countrymen. These racist ideas and understandings of the Philippines and its people were made visible via everyday slights and violence within their interracial marriages, even as companionate attachment towards lovers and spouses was also expressed. In defending their decisions to transgress the sexual color line, Americans often cited the “snobbishness” of their compatriots, while simultaneously describing their partners as exemplary wives despite their color and uncivilized ways. Indeed, expressions of interracial love, sexual attraction or friendship demonstrated no more anti-imperial or anti-racist ideology than the expressions of overt racism that helped to justify colonial occupation.

In scholarship about intimacies and intercourse in different colonial geographies, relations between colonizer and colonized are typically described as sites where native and indigenous populations might be able to negotiate the changing imperial climate, securing perhaps positions of increased status for themselves or some type of remunerative support. This

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<sup>23</sup> See for example, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: J. Currey, 1986); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999); Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 3rd ed. (London: Earthscan, 2003).

project recognizes that these purported benefits were only a part of the realities of interracial relations. Filipinos engaged in sexual relations with Americans could also face dangerous circumstances and consequences, ranging from bodily harm, injury and death to defamation of character, financial ruin, and abandonment (and abandonment of mixed-race children). The “benefits” that could potentially be secured via interracial intercourse were not without serious drawbacks, dangers, and everyday expressions of racism and violence.

Based on international archival and interdisciplinary research conducted in English, Filipino and Spanish, as well as upon oral interviews, my project offers a new site from which scholars of U.S history, ethnic studies, gender and sexuality studies, area studies and others can contemplate how putatively private domains can structure the public, and how international diplomatic relations and imperialism cannot be understood without discussions of sexual relationships and families. This research is the first book length project to comprehensively focus on interracial sexual relationships in a U.S. overseas colonial geography. As such, I believe that this study will not only be able to flesh out inter-imperial similarities and differences through the lens of intercourse, but also illuminate intra-imperial similarities and differences, allowing us to interrogate U.S. overseas imperialism in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and elsewhere in new and demonstrative ways. Further, by looking at the formation of what I identify as Asian/Pacific Islander American families in the Philippines, this project challenges ideas of who the subject of inquiry is within the field of Asian American Studies, as imperialism rather than conditions of immigration or diaspora created the conditions of living simultaneously Asian and American lives in the Philippines. Finally, this scholarship will also complement existing studies that focus on interracial families and relationships in the context of domestic imperial expansion, such as the work of Juliana Barr, Linda Gordon, Ramon Gutierrez, Peggy Pascoe and others.

## **Chapter Descriptions**

This dissertation unfolds in five chapters, arranged chronologically and thematically. Chapter 1, “Imagined Intimacies: Interracial ‘Gateways’ and the Politics of Proximity, 1898-1907,” considers two areas of colonial interracial encounters – the ubiquitous saloon frequented by U.S. soldiers and formal society parties known as “bailes” – and seeks to understand these spaces as “gateway” locales. That is, both spaces were viewed, particularly by American colonists, as dangerous spaces of interracial social intercourse that could potentially facilitate the even greater danger of sexual intercourse. An interrogation of these two gateway locales, especially in the first decade of U.S. rule, illustrates how the mere spectre of interracial sexual relations constantly preoccupied the American colonial project, informing everything from city planning, to military regulations, to diplomatic relations. Chapter 2, entitled “Moral Policing American Empire: Social and Sexual Intercourse and the Limits of Reform,” takes up the time period from 1908-1917, examining various reform efforts centered around interracial sexual relations, from prostitution and the U.S. military, to the “social evils” of mixed race marriage and cohabitation. I contend that the disparate efforts by Americans and Filipinos to control sexual relations were in fact efforts to dictate the direction of imperial rule, efforts that often necessitated interracial collaboration for the success of reform efforts. Despite having divergent interests in the control and reform of “social evils,” collaboration between Filipinos and Americans were often needed to for successful campaigns. Chapter 3, “Men in the Bush: Interracial Intercourse in the Northern and Southern Philippines,” is a regional comparison of the so-called Philippine “frontiers” - northern Cordilleras and southern Mindanao - exploring how the interracial relationships in these regions differed from Manila, especially in the first decade of U.S. occupation. This chapter demonstrates how regional imperial control was solidified

through the presence of interracial intercourse. This regional discussion highlights the inextricable developmental links between Manila and its farthest points, as well as how initial imperial stability was predicated on interracial sexual relations.

Chapter 4, “‘The Chronicles of Sam and Maganda’: Imperial Fiction, Nostalgia, and the Politics of Exile,” examines imperial cultural productions, namely poetry, memoir, and fiction novels written in the 1930’s and 1940’s by expatriate American soldiers of the Spanish and Philippines-American wars. This section illustrates how these American men who stayed on indefinitely in the Philippines imagined themselves as having unshakable connections to and knowledge of the islands and their people through their sexual experiences with Filipina women. Using more interdisciplinary methods and sources, and framing these productions as “imperial fiction,” this chapter shows that, despite their claims to expert knowledge on the Philippines via their sexual escapades and mixed race families, imperial fictionists’ actual “knowledge” and understanding of people and events in the Philippine colony was often inaccurate and wholly imagined. Even their purported knowledge of those closest to them – their Filipina wives and families – was often unsound and erroneous, more often than not steeped in racist and sexist ideas about Filipinos and the Philippines. Lastly, chapter 5, entitled, “Making Mestizos: Filipino –American Mixed Race Children and the Discourse of Belonging, 1898 – 1935,” will focus on the population born out of interracial unions, Filipino-American mixed-race children, or American mestizos. Eventually surpassing the number of Americans that resided in the Philippines by roughly a margin of 3 to1, most American mestizos were abandoned by their American fathers and left in the care of their Filipina mothers.<sup>24</sup> I argue that these populations, both as a result of their own volition and through the philanthropic work of American

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<sup>24</sup> See chapter 5 for a comment regarding the problems of estimating the number of American mestizos in the Philippines during this colonial period.

orphanages and charities, were reframed from being symbols of U.S. disgrace in the islands, to quasi-American subjects that could take up the mantle of U.S. colonial ideology and U.S. imperial interests, even after the end of colonial rule and the advent of formal Philippine independence.

### **Contemporary Considerations in U.S. –Philippines Intercourse**

In 1982, the United States congress passed the Amerasian Immigration Act, legislation designed to give preferential treatment to the abandoned children of U.S. servicemen, Amerasians, born in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea (now Cambodia), and Thailand. Fueled largely by the unpopularity of the Vietnam War and a sentimental obligation to stigmatized Amerasians living in war torn areas hostile to Americans, the Act focused upon individuals born between 1951 and 1982 who now became eligible to apply for U.S. immigrant status if they could provide “reason to believe” that their father was an American citizen, relieving to a degree the burden of proving paternity. The Philippines was conspicuously excluded from the list of countries eligible for consideration under this act. In 1988, the Amerasian Homecoming Act, a similar legislative measure, expanded the Amerasian immigration Act to allow caretakers and family members to immigrate with Amerasian children. The Philippines, a country with a much longer history of extensive U.S. occupation and with an estimated 200,000 to 500,000 Amerasians, the largest number of any of the countries included in the legislation, was again excluded.<sup>25</sup> While political groups and activists have pointed out that Amerasians in the

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<sup>25</sup> Joseph M. Ahern, “Out of Sight, out of Mind: United States Immigration Law and Policy as Applied to Filipino-Amerasians.” *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal* 1 (1992): 105; Robin S. Levi, “Legacies of War: The United States’ Obligation Toward Amerasians.” *Stanford Journal of International Law* 29 (1993 1992): 459; Elizabeth Kolby, “Moral Responsibility to Filipino Amerasians: Potential Immigration and Child Support Alternatives.” *Asian Law Journal* 2 (1995): 61; Saundra Pollack Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. (New York: New Press, 1993); C. Gastardo Conaco, *Filipino-Amerasians: Living in the Margins*. (Quezon City, Philippines: University Center for Women’s Studies Foundation in collaboration with the Pearl S. Buck International and Agencies Collaborating Together with Amerasians, 1999).

Philippines face the same hardships as Amerasians from the included countries as well as suffer from an extensive U.S. military presence, the longer history of American occupation of the islands is typically only briefly referenced, regarded as part of a nebulous “colonial legacy.”

In this study, I argue that the exclusion of Philippine Amerasians from preferential immigration and the framing of contemporary issues of sexual tourism, exploitation and child abandonment as post WWII phenomena elides the long and continuous relationship of the US and the Philippines rooted in imperial occupation and colonization. More recently, the Obama administration has described a foreign policy plan that includes a pivot to Asia,” wherein 60% of U.S. naval forces would be relocated to the Asia-Pacific region, over growing fears about the Chinese economic and military expansion in the area.<sup>26</sup> Once again, the historic “friendship” or “romance” between the U.S. and the Philippines will be called upon, as will the large naval bases in the islands such as Subic Bay, which housed the largest overseas American naval base until the non-renewal of its lease in the late 1990’s. While the future of the “pivot” is uncertain, having drawn criticism from Asia as well as from within the U.S. for being an unnecessary and aggressive containment policy against China, it is not farfetched to assume that such a pivot would once again leave Filipina mothers to fend for themselves as they are left to raise a newer generation of mixed-race Amerasians without legal recourse or access to the resources of their American fathers.

The continued exclusion of the Philippines from consideration of reparative action for the over 100 years of sexual violence and irresponsibility that comes with militarized occupation lends itself to the fiction of American exceptionalism, or the idea that the United States has not been an exploitative imperial power. Often the idea of exceptionalism corresponds with ideas of

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<sup>26</sup> Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century". *Foreign Policy*. (November 2011).

friendly relationships with the colonized and ex-colonized, along with more “benevolent” or even humanitarian impulses justifying overseas interventions, rather than economic or militaristic motivations. And while to decry American empire has long been a part of Ethnic and American studies scholarship, as well as a growing body of recent modern U.S. historical scholarship in the wake of calls to internationalize the study of U.S. history, there is a disconnection between this academic understanding of U.S. imperialism on the one hand and persistent popular ideas about America’s past on the other.<sup>27</sup> This dissertation attempts to help bridge this disconnection is by exploring interracial intercourse, relations typically understood to imply friendship, caring and even love, between American colonists and Filipinos. As I hope to demonstrate, interracial colonial relations of a friendly, romantic, or sexual nature do not necessarily preclude immeasurable violence, racism or sexism; rather, in this colonial setting, they depend on them.

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<sup>27</sup> This is not to say that the academy agrees on the shape of U.S. empire, nor even the idea that the U.S. has indeed been and continues to be an empire. Some bodies of historical scholarship also continue to claim the absence of an imperial U.S. history, perpetuating ideas of American exceptionalism. See for example; Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire* (Harvard University Press, 2013).

## CHAPTER 1

### **Imagined Intimacies: Interracial “Gateways” and the Politics of Proximity, 1898 - 1907**

In William McKinley’s “Benevolent Assimilation” proclamation of 1898 following the defeat of the Spanish at Manila Bay, commanders of the occupying forces of the Philippines were told to convey to the public that, “we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends.”<sup>1</sup> While the idea of “benevolent assimilation” is now widely understood by scholars of the Philippines as a strategy of empire rooted in ideas of paternalism and racial hierarchy, the attempt to present the U.S. presence as one of “friendship” thinly veiled such racist ideologies. Friendship, or the appearance of it, was a necessary part of the imperial occupation if Filipinos were going to be convinced that American “benevolence” was a better idea than their immediate sovereignty. Further, the extension of “friendly” relations was a way in which to demonstrate a degree of social equality, suggesting that life under the U.S. would be different than what was experienced under the Spanish. For all their attempts to show themselves as sympathetic allies, however, U.S. officials in the Philippines were constantly faced with how to smooth over the everyday racism directed towards Filipinos by Americans. While friendship could easily be demonstrated with superficial social mingling or lip service, even these “safe” expressions were deemed unacceptable by some Americans who preferred strict racial divisions. The presence of more entangling romantic relations, which could be read as even stronger indicators of American willingness to engage as equals with Filipinos (especially in the case of legitimate marriages), were in turn deemed as more dangerous to the racial color line. For Americans invested in their whiteness, sexualized intercourse spelled the inevitable dangerous end result of too friendly

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<sup>1</sup> William McKinley, “Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation,” Dec. 21, 1898.



relations with the natives.<sup>2</sup> The prospect of friendship and equality was fraught enough as it was for many of the new colonialists, with segregation and racist attitudes towards non-whites being the law of the land in the U.S. Thus the idea of interracial romantic/sexual relations was, as one white woman put it, “a horrible fate.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed it seems that nowhere was the pretense of friendship and equality more exposed as pretense than around the issue of interracial intimacies. As we shall see, Americans in the Philippines were uncomfortable with social proximity to Filipinos as well as the disembodied spectre of interracial sexual intimacies. Racist reactions to social intercourse betrayed U.S. professions of friendship and “benevolence,” while the possibility of relationships beyond the social elicited more pronounced and public disapproval.

In this chapter, I will examine the racial tensions that arose between Filipinos and Americans as they began to live in proximity to each other, sharing public spaces and gathering at events throughout the city. Mounting concerns over interracial interaction, especially the spectre and eventual widespread reality of intimate bodily contact drove many Americans to attempt to isolate themselves from the Filipino community, and discipline those who would transgress the boundaries of “appropriate” intimacy. Central to understanding these tensions is the position of Manila, the newly acquired American colonial city. Due to the large number of Americans who resided in the city, not to mention the desire to present a shining example of what American influence could look like in Asia, interracial intimacies in the colonial city of Manila and how to properly handle them became quite a problem for U.S. administrators. On the

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<sup>2</sup> Such was also the case for Chinese in the U.S., with those who decried Chinese labor and immigration as the future downfall of the white race due to the possibility of intermarriage. See Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*, (2010).

<sup>3</sup> Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company), 1906, 110. While Mrs. Campbell Dauncey was speaking on behalf of white women in the Philippines in her quote, “but white women keep quite apart from the coloured folk, and it would be an unheard of thing to dance with one; while as to marrying a Filipino, no woman one could speak to would ever dream of such a horrible fate,” many men felt the same way, even though many more men than women had sexual relations with Filipinos. Even men who married Filipinas often wrote about their misfortune in “going native,” often blaming the supposedly debilitating effects of the tropics for their “maladies.”

one hand, interracial relations and proximity in the city could be a sign of American sincerity in their professions of friendship. On the other hand, too close a proximity to Filipinos could lead white onlookers to conclude that Americans had “gone native.” Further, a degree of social distance from people of color was the norm for white Americans, who had upheld “separate but equal” laws since the 1890’s.

To demonstrate the tensions over social proximity and the growing concern over the threat of interracial sexual intimacies, this chapter first makes the case for the importance of Manila in such a discussion. With the largest U.S. population in the islands, Manila was the site of multiple “gateway” situations and locales that put Americans in close proximity with Filipinos. I identify as gateways, those locations of interracial social intercourse that presented heightened anxieties about interracial sexual intercourse. While many sites or situations were spaces of interracial contact, the gateway locations that I am concerned with were more specifically imagined as places of romantic possibilities or where libertine behavior was more acceptable, such as dances, parties, bars and saloons. Further, the gateway locales examined here were typically publicly shared spaces as opposed to private households, spaces that interracial intermingling could be witnessed and testified to. Thus, the case studies that I have included in this chapter were not only spaces of social intercourse, but were popularly imagined by both Americans and Filipinos as locales that might facilitate the occurrence of interracial sexual intercourse. In the first decade of U.S. colonial rule, I locate the dialectic of “gateways” primarily in the debates around U.S. military drinking in army canteens and public saloons, and festive parties and balls.

After an interrogation of the colonial capital, this chapter turns to the drunk and disorderly conduct of American troops and how colonial officials attempted to reign in this

population – and the negative attention that they were garnering - by depicting hard liquor and intoxicants as a gateway to illicit sexual relations with foreign women. As this population of military personnel made up a vast majority of the Americans in the islands for the first several years of the U.S. occupation, their actions often reflected upon military and non-military American population alike. Lastly, this chapter will discuss integrated festive spaces, such as dances and banquets. Known as “bailes” in the Philippines, these spaces for merriment were often locations of dense power maneuvering by Americans and Filipinos alike, maneuvering that depended on interracial intimate contact and often belied friendly intentions on both sides. As these “gateway” interludes will illustrate, social proximity between Americans and Filipinos was at once a help and a hindrance to U.S. empire in the islands, with the imagined possibility of intimate sexual contact haunting and informing the actions of Americans abroad and at home. The convergence of racism, social intercourse, and the spectre of interracial sexual intercourse, was not easily navigated in the colonial Philippines. The need for a degree of social integration and friendliness coupled with the reality of American racism often revealed fractures and weaknesses in the plan of American “benevolence,” something that Filipinos were quick not only to notice, but to expose.

### **Manila, A City To Be Proud Of**

For those who are inclined to bow the head shamefacedly when they have to own that they come from Manila, what our Manilan friend has to say ought to do them good. It may help to impress them with the fact that Manila is not the hole that they sometimes think it is. Take it by and large and it will compare not unfavorably with any city anywhere. Judge it by what has been wrought in it during the last five years and there are few cities that can equal it. Today, without exception, we have the cleanest and healthiest town in the Orient...with our sewer and waterworks finished we shall be able to challenge any oriental city for such supremacy. What have we to be ashamed of...It is about time for the Manilan to hold up his head. Our city and what we have done, are doing, and are going to do are matters not for pride and not for shame. We have a right to look any man in

the face and be not abashed in acknowledging whence we hail. “Of no mean city am I.”<sup>4</sup>

Nowhere in the Orient have I found such conditions as exist in this great city of Manila. Here we have a good water supply, good transportation facilities by electric cars, second to none in rapid transit, plenty of food stuffs, ice, cold storage goods, and everything one could wish for...[compared to ] Colombo, Madras, Bombay, and Shanghai, Manila is... prettier, the social life higher, the people of the lower class better dressed and seemingly far more prosperous than either the natives of India, Ceylon, or China, and that’s saying a great deal and speaks well for American rule.<sup>5</sup>

In the first decade of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, Americans in the islands came to be quite self-conscious of the reputation of the colonial capital of their new possession in the Pacific. The city of Manila came to reflect the capabilities of the U.S. as a new “benevolent” imperial player and was expected to be a representation of what American civilization could potentially bring to the east.<sup>6</sup> Of the 8,135 Americans recorded to be in the Philippines in the 1903 census, over one half of those, or, 4,300 lived in Manila.<sup>7</sup> The same was to be said of other foreign populations who resided in the islands, with a majority of the Chinese, Japanese, British, German, French, and Spanish individuals residing within the city. Manila was typically the port of entry into the country by the military, civilians, officials, and tourists alike. With Manila, the “Pearl of the Orient” sat poised to compete with the likes of other European controlled port cities such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Shanghai for the title of best city in Asia. The U.S. desire to not only compete in the imperial arena but to also prove that American empire was a better and indeed “exceptional” form of rule over a foreign population fueled the need to have a model city,

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<sup>4</sup> “Manila A City To Be Proud Of,” *The Manila Times*, Vol. IX, No. 307, June 24, 1907, 4.

<sup>5</sup> “Glories in What the Americans Have Done,” *The Manila Times*, Vol. X, No. 138, March 23, 1908, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898 - 1921* (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> *Census of the Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1, (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1903), 42.

a city “to be proud of,” in the Philippines. As American businesses, foreign investment and tourism grew in the Philippines, this need became even more urgent.

In, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898 – 1921*, Christina Torres traces the physical making and remaking of the city during the Spanish and American colonial periods, showing how each sought to create, “a more comfortable lifestyle that would approximate standards in their home country.”<sup>8</sup> Of the Americans, Torres elaborates,

As the Philippines opened new opportunities to Americans from all walks of life, Manila had to be safe for them to settle there. The physical environment had to be conducive to the pursuit of the American lifestyle, had to protect them from disease and epidemics, and at the same time provide them with a community that offered opportunities for cultural activities. The American soldier, bureaucrat, businessman, pastor, or teacher had to be made to feel that Manila was his second home.<sup>9</sup>

Creating an “oriental America” in the Philippines also served as a way to demonstrate to imperial peers the benefits that America was bringing to Asia and facilitated the courting of international investment in the colony through business and tourism.<sup>10</sup> In addition to creating a facsimile of home, the remaking of Manila in the U.S. image also served to generate not only a familiar environment, but also an insular one that provided a degree of social distancing from both the foreign environment and the foreign population.

In proclamations of Manila’s healthy conditions, improving accommodations and “capable” natives, Americans were in truth extolling a certain social distancing from the dangers of the tropics and its natives. Moreover, they were perpetuating the idea that in a proper colonial city, Europeans and Americans should expect, and indeed, demand this sort of distancing as an important part of colonial living. Travelers need not fear claims that “Manila is a plague-spot,

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<sup>8</sup> Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila*, (2010), 36.

<sup>9</sup> Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila*, (2010), 212.

<sup>10</sup> Quote from Edith Moses, wife of the U.S. Secretary of Public Instruction, who stated, “thin clothing and excitement are helping us to bear the heat for there is a sense of exhilaration in the thought that we are at last in Oriental America.” from the book, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898 – 1921*, 68.

infected with cholera and all other Oriental diseases...naked savages, jungles and pest-holes.”<sup>11</sup>

With the American changes being made in the port city, such as the “\$2,000,000 sewer system nearing completion, a \$1,750, 000 up to date water system about ready for service, great harbor works and new wharves, good lighting, and modern street car system, first class streets ... excellent schools,” and inroads made against diseases, white travelers could rest assured that they would be safe from overexposure to native influences and indeed, safe from natives themselves.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the favorable reputation that Manila was gaining internationally, it was not free from occasional scathing reviews that continued to depict Manila and the country in general, as a tropical contagion zone, filled with all sorts of dangers to ensnare white travelers. Being in the tropics for too long, in close proximity to a perceived “savage” and “lazy” population could cause one to “go native,” succumbing to the immoral ways of the Filipinos.<sup>13</sup> The hotter and humid climate of the islands was also thought to contribute to the loss of vitality in white bodies, making one susceptible to feeble-mindedness and degeneracy. Indeed, “Oriental diseases” and tropical conditions were not only feared as invaders of the physical white body, but also for how they might impact the moral aptitude of individuals.

Pathogens and the hot climate made up only a part of the presumed dangers of the new colonial possession. As colonial geographies were believed to be locales of lesser developed civilizations, exposure to the tropical environment and local populations also supposedly put

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<sup>11</sup> “United States Knows Little Of Manila,” *The Manila Times*, Vol. XII, No. 64, Dec. 23, 1909, 1.

<sup>12</sup> “Calls Manila Eden of East,” *The Manila Times*, Vol. X, No. 138, March 23, 1908, 13, (reprint of article originally from the *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1908.)

<sup>13</sup> For more on the history of idea of tropical weather and a corresponding “degeneracy” in white bodies, especially as it pertains to the Philippines, see the work of Anderson and Debovoise; Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Ken De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse: Epidemic Disease in the Colonial Philippines* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

even the most resolute of constitutions in danger of moral corruption and capitulation to vice. Further, many international ports, many in existing European colonial cities, had questionable reputations, due to the prevalence of prostitution, gambling and drinking in these cities. One Manila resident lamented the sordid notability of the city while simultaneously confirming it in his letter to the opinion section of the *Manila Times*,

The contentious blatant chorus of missionaries and their genus, would be reformers, and itinerant exponents of morality [lament] the immorality of Manila is becoming nauseating...Why do these people single out Manila as a hotbed of every vice? Why is Manila such a lair of sin?...The truth is that Manila is not an immoral city...we have fewer drunkards, fewer gambling dens, and the social evil is better controlled than hundreds of other cities and towns... saloons are rigidly closed at midnight, and in fact, outside of the redlight district...the town is dead to the world at nine at night.<sup>14</sup>

Moral entrapments and social vices were of particular concern to reformers, purists, missionaries and others who were worried about the wellbeing of Americans in the Philippines.<sup>15</sup> Social vices such as drinking, gambling, and prostitution often made headlines and were used as fodder by anti-imperialists and Filipinos alike to demonstrate the irony of American engagement in such evils during their purported mission to bring civilization and virtue to the islands.<sup>16</sup> American residents in Manila such as the one quoted above often had no recourse but to insist that vices, while present in the city, were far better controlled, localized and contained under American rule than other more notorious port cities. The more regimented and cordoned off nature of pursuits deemed immoral were in turn, a testament to the better imperial system of the Americans.

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<sup>14</sup> "The Public Forum: Moralists Moralizes," *The Manila Times*, Vol. ix, no. 302, June 18, 1907, 1.

<sup>15</sup> See also: Paul Kramer, "The Darkness That Enters the Home," from, *Haunted by Empire*, 2006.

<sup>16</sup> For more on anti-imperialist and social purist efforts centered around the Philippines and vice, see Roland Sintos Coloma, "White Gazes, Brown Breasts: Imperial Feminism and Disciplining Desires and Bodies in Colonial Encounters," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of Education*, 48:2, (2012), 243 – 261. See also, Henry Parker Willis, *Our Philippine Problem: A Study of American Colonial Policy*. (New York, Burr Printing House: Henry Holt and Company, 1905), 254. Willis describes debates over "what amounts to licensed and recognized prostitution, practically carried on under government supervision."

A key component of this “better” imperial system wherein vice was supposedly properly regulated was the spatial arrangement of the city. A system of social distancing became the de facto form of controlling such social vices, with gambling dens, “houses of ill repute,” dance halls, and other evils being pushed to the borders of or just outside the city limits of Manila, facilitating the sanitation of the city for moral white bodies.<sup>17</sup> Thus in a controlled and regulated environment where gambling and sexual entertainment could be gotten by those with determination, but could go relatively unseen within the city limits, Manila could garner the appearance of a “safe” colonial city. Appearing to be a “proper” colonial city, Manila could thus be held up as an example of American integrity and imperial capacity, while at the same time its sanitized appearance could ward off criticism and critique from those inclined to question the U.S. position in the Pacific.

The task of creating a degree of social distance from the supposed dangers of the tropics and the peoples who populated them proved to be a complicated endeavor, as Americans, in addition to vying for approval and praise on a global stage, were also trying to win approval from their new colonial “wards.” In effect, the American project in the Philippines required a two-fold and often conflicting strategy of how to win the approval of both white and Filipino audiences. While Americans and Europeans needed to be assured of safety and distance from tropical “dangers,” Filipinos needed to be convinced that an American regime would be better for them than a Spanish one, characterized by friendship, opportunity and equality rather than conquest and exploitation. As Americans in the Philippines already faced Filipino opposition culminating in the outbreak of the Filipino-American war, the need to justify their presence in the islands through their beneficent acts and intentions became even more challenging to negotiate. Thus,

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<sup>17</sup> Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, (2010), 1898 – 1921.*



while social distance from the Philippines and its people needed to be assured to a white audience, a degree of social proximity needed to be presented to a Filipino audience. To reconcile these two conflicting approaches to empire, American colonial officials in the Philippines worked strategically to both avow and disavow intimate relations with Filipinos, often demonstrating a willingness to mingle and socialize with Filipinos in public while retaining a discourse of racial superiority within Anglo circles. While certain types of strategic proximity and social intimacies with Filipinos could be engaged in and handled without incident, other types of intimacies pushed the limits of what was considered “proper” or “moral” relations with the so-called native “wards.” As we shall see in this chapter, the dilemma of how to handle interracial intimacies, from the social to the sexual, played a large part in the balancing out of these two conflicting modes of empire in the colonial capital.

As the population of Americans in the Philippines changed and grew to include civilians, missionaries, entrepreneurs and others, so changed the concerns over interracial intimacies in Manila. In the first few years of the U.S. occupation of the islands, the population of Americans was mostly military men and officers, along with U.S. commission members and other colonial officials. These initial populations set the tone for interracial social relations, with soldiers getting into drunken street brawls over Filipina women, and Commission members displaying a willingness to mix with the native population by dancing with Filipina women at formal balls and parties. As we shall see, interracial intimacies in the capital of Manila, for their visibility and the challenges they presented to the colonial project, often did not go unremarked on or acted upon. Rather, such intimacies in the “city to be proud of,” had to be strategically controlled, with acceptable social intimacies made into spectacle that would bolster American legitimacy on the archipelago, and unacceptable relations pushed to the literal fringes of the city.

## American Soldiers, “A Saturnalia of Drunkeness”, A Gateway to Prostitution

At the onset of the Philippine-American war, the U.S. sent over 100,000 troops abroad to fight for continued possession and control of the islands, making this the largest group of Americans to have resided in the Philippines at any one time during the American colonial period.<sup>18</sup> During this early period of American occupation, prior to the businessmen, teachers, families and others who would soon come to the islands, the figure of the American soldier was the ubiquitous representation of America in the archipelago. As recorded in 1900 by Daniel Williams, the secretary of the second U.S. Commission to the Philippines, army life in Manila was “an ever-present reality, the city being a huge military camp swarming with khaki-clad soldiers...Among Americans the military element predominates. There are more Captains, Majors, and Colonels here than we had any idea existed before our coming.”<sup>19</sup> The colonial administration deemed the large population of U.S. soldiers a necessity to maintain military control over the archipelago during a time when America was actively engaged in fighting those Filipinos labeled as “insurrectos.” Local police forces too were originally comprised of discharged soldiers who were now tasked with keeping the peace, Manila itself having three separate police units.<sup>20</sup>

Much to the chagrin of American colonial officials who were attempting to build a favorable reputation for U.S. rule in the islands, soldiers in Manila were notorious for their drunken and raucous ways. While military and civilian officials did what they could to remedy

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<sup>18</sup> Statistics from, Brian M. Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899 – 1902* (University Press of Kansas, 2000), James Leowen, *Lies Across America, What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (The New Press, 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Roderick Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission* (McClurg, 1913), 56.

<sup>20</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the U.S. Philippine Commission, Division of Insular Affairs, War Department*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 118.

The American colonial administration also believed that a Filipino police force would be inadequate, as they were thought to be less strong and capable than American men. In reports concerning criminality and law enforcement, Americans voiced concerns over the potential arrest of their countrymen, saying that an American would not submit to an arresting officer were he Filipino.

the damaging behavior of soldiers to the purported goal of the Imperial project, their position as a needed presence for the protection of American interests tempered the extent to which they were reigned in. Further, as competing interests arose between U.S. based temperance reformers and Philippine based colonial officers and Commission members, the problem of how to respond to drunken soldiers became a power battle, with U.S. temperance supporters using the issue as a way to advance prohibition laws both at home and abroad, and colonialists – with their “unique” knowledge of the tropics - attempting to retain control over their servicemen, and hence their entire colonial project in southeast Asia. As we shall see, the simultaneous considerations of needing a large military presence as well as needing to build a favorable reputation for separate audiences coalesced into a system of control over U.S. servicemen that often let their transgressions slide, or reframed their boozy behavior as the result of native influences.

Manila newspapers often reported the latest incidents of American soldiers involved in drunk and disorderly conduct, arrested in houses of prostitution in “known vice districts,” caught fighting in the streets over Filipina women, or charged with the battery and/or murder of native Filipinos.<sup>21</sup> One American, reporting on the state of colonial policy in the Philippines in 1905 described the, “lack of control over the drink evil which was so notable during the early occupation of Manila by Americans. It is an undoubted fact that the excesses of our soldiers in this regard were extreme, and had a disastrous influence upon our prestige with the natives.” He continues to describe the scenario, saying that, “so slender was the restraint upon retail liquor selling that at one time nearly every shop upon the principle street in town was given over to the

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<sup>21</sup> See, “Local Notes,” *The Manila Times*, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1899, 4; “A Timely Order,” *The Manila Times*, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1899, 4; “Soldiers and the Liquor Traffic,” *The Manila Times*, July 11, 1899, 2; “She Loved a Corporal...And Her Chinese Husband Found Her Out,” *The Manila Times*, July 29, 1899, 5; “Colored Soldiers Outrage Women,” *The Manila Times*, Sept. 2, 1899, 1.

traffic, and the city seemed surrendered to a saturnalia of drunkenness.”<sup>22</sup> The reputation that was being garnered by these soldiers did not escape the attention of other Americans in the islands, who bemoaned the sordid image that was coming to be associated with all U.S. citizens in the Philippines. Colonial officials and U.S. Commission members in particular were worried that this reputation would not only make Filipinos wary of their presence in the archipelago, but also that it would reach the ears of other Americans and Europeans abroad. Their fears proved to be not unfounded, as the news of drunken American soldiers quickly became a cause celebre, with the discussions of what to do about these citizens abroad and the prohibition of liquor in general coming to a head. Prohibitionists from various American organizations in the U.S. formed a coalition to abolish the government’s role in provisioning alcohol to servicemen, using the flashpoint case of the Philippines as a way to influence both domestic and overseas U.S. policy.

Commission efforts to control namely native-made liquors as well as the locations of saloons coincided with efforts in the United States by temperance groups to ban the sale of liquor in military canteens, post exchanges, and any other areas used for military purposes. In December of 1900, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and the American Anti-Saloon League petitioned to add an amendment to the Army Reorganization Bill that would ban the sale of liquor in military canteens, an amendment that passed both the house and senate and came to be enacted in early 1901. Not only was alcohol immoral, they believed, but it also lead to American committed crimes against Filipinos, crimes that could diminished the U.S. reputation not just in the Pacific, but around the world. These reformers cited such atrocities committed in the Philippines by American servicemen in the early years of the U.S. occupation. “The story from Manila of the effects of alcohol upon our troops there and their example to the natives is

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<sup>22</sup> Henry Parker Willis, *Our Philippine Problem*, (1905), 251.

most pitiful. The incident told me the other day by a man who knew it was true, that when Filipino children play ‘American’ they stagger, imitating the drunken soldier, brings the question home to us,” reported one woman present at the hearings.<sup>23</sup> The Reverend W.F. Crafts, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, gave a statement before the senate to promote the passage of the amendment saying that, “there is abundant testimony that the difficulties in pacifying the Filipinos have been not a little due to the outrages committed by drunken soldiers.”<sup>24</sup> Reformers took advantage of the reputation that hard-drinking Americans were garnering in the Philippines to promote a ban on liquor as the duty of a great nation tasked with the stewardship of a child nation.<sup>25</sup> It was not only a matter of American reputation in the Philippines that the bottle was jeopardizing, they argued, but the entire the colonial project being attempting in the archipelago.

While the American Anti-Saloon League and the W.C.T.U. rallied around the cause of prohibition, military officials, soldiers, doctors, chaplains and colonial officials in the Philippines openly opposed any measure that would outlaw the sale of beer and spirits on military premises. Testimonies collected from officers all around the archipelago touted the benefits of the army canteen, most agreeing that the ability to get good American beer on the military base prevented soldiers from patronizing saloons and bars outside the garrisons. These native bars, they argued, presented an evil far worse than beer in the canteen, as they served native liquor which was believed to be more corrupting than American intoxicants. It was these more native concoctions,

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<sup>23</sup> Statement of Mary H. Hunt, at the Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors at the Army Canteens. December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1900, *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 8.

<sup>24</sup> Statement of Rev. W.F. Crafts, at the Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors at the Army Canteens. December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1900, *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 17.

<sup>25</sup> Regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors at the Army Canteens. December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1900. *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 3 – 10.

military officials believed, that led to the unacceptable behavior of the servicemen as well as the resulting undesired image of the U.S. military. American intoxicants offered on base could prevent both the unwanted behavior and resultant negative reputation, cordoning off soldiers from the supposed dangers that lurked just outside the military garrison.

The commanding officer in San Mateo, Philippines, reported that the provisioning of beer in the army canteen and post exchange stores had achieved their purpose, which was to, “supply the men with good cold beer rather than have them drink the pernicious native drink called ‘vino,’ which has been a positive curse to our men in these islands, making some men almost maniacs when taken to excess, and if persisted in often causing death or insanity.”<sup>26</sup> A commanding officer in Lubao offered his opinion that, “where the soldiers can purchase beer freely, the use of the native Filipino drink, ‘vino,’ which is poison to the American, is reduced to a minimum.” The testimonies further laud the purported health benefits of army canteen beer by claiming that native spirits would compound the susceptibility to disease in an already dangerous and unhealthful tropical climate. In Bulacan, army surgeons and officers described an increased “vitality” in their garrison, where, “much of this improved state is on all sides ascribed to the use of beer.”<sup>27</sup>

The U.S Commission members, in agreement with the testimonies from military officers around the archipelago, favored the provisioning of imported beer and wines in the army canteen over the alternative – American soldiers drinking native concoctions in public bars and saloons open to Filipinos. To demonstrate their commitment to curbing the drinking and subsequently impaired behavior of servicemen as well as to attempt to keep U.S. prohibition efforts from the

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<sup>26</sup> Statement of the commanding officer at San Mateo, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1900, *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 36.

<sup>27</sup> Statement of the commanding officer at Bulacan, regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors at the Army Canteens. December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1900; *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 35.

U.S. out of the Philippines, the Commission swiftly enacted regulations and bans on gambling and drinking in certain areas and to forbid the sale of liquor to soldiers in quarters.<sup>28</sup> On December 14, 1900, before the amendment in the U.S. was passed by the senate, the Commission to the Philippines enacted the “Manila liquor license act,” requiring licenses for the sale of liquor in saloons, bars, theaters, hotels and restaurants. This liquor act also forbade the sale of native alcoholic beverages such as vino, tuba, and anisado, to soldiers of the U.S. Army and Navy.<sup>29</sup> The ban on specifically native intoxicants illustrates the tempered response to soldier debauchery, implying that it was the poisonous effects of native made liquor that was driving the troops to degeneracy. The Liquor Act further stipulated that bars and saloons could no longer be located at or have entrances on the principal streets of the town, furthering efforts to sanitize the city of Manila and relocate the undesirable aspects of empire to less visible places.<sup>30</sup>

Despite their different stances on the issue of alcohol being sold on military premises, the position of American servicemen as more or less inculpable was something that both reformers in the U.S. and military personnel in the Philippines could agree on. Proponents of banning liquor affirmed their respect for the servicemen and highlighted the youthfulness of the troops sent abroad. “The constituency which we represent does not malign the soldier,” stated Anti-Saloon League National Superintendent Reverend E.C. Dinwiddie, “we recognize him as not simply the hireling of the Department, but as typifying the will and might of our people, and we have the right to demand from him the clearest brain, the steadiest nerve, and the best American

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<sup>28</sup> “A Timely Order,” *The Manila Times*, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1899, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Act No. 59, section 24, *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the U.S. Philippine Commission*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 96.

<sup>30</sup> The main shopping street in town for Americans was known as the Escolta. This was the primary business street where a number of American businesses and restaurants were established.

manhood.”<sup>31</sup> Women in the W.C.T.U. and church groups described these men in their testimonies as their dutiful sons, who were innocent before they entered military service, being temperate in their behavior and habits. The emphasis on the generally young age of many of the army men reveals that U.S. reformers and military officials imagined or strategically positioned them as impressionable and innocent, susceptible to vices if lead down the wrong path. This further lifted attention away from the choices being made by American servicemen, redirecting attention and blame towards Filipinos and Filipino made alcoholic beverages.

Commanding officials and officers in the Philippines often placed the blame for soldier misconduct on the effects of the “poisonous” vino, and other native alcohols, as evidenced in the testimonies above. In addition to vilifying “impure” native liquor and saloon keepers, military officials in the Philippines challenged prohibition efforts by depicting bars and saloons outside the army cantonments as illicitly linked to houses of prostitution. In positioning “vino” and non-army bars as gateways to sexual licentiousness, opponents of the liquor ban in the military canteen made their stance more urgent and righteous. One army surgeon testifying on the reported benefits of the army canteen stated that, in the tropics, the sale of beer and light wines was “instrumental” in preventing the abuse of stronger liquor and engagement in other vices that tended to follow from alcohol abuse. Elaborating on these “evils which follow the free use of spirits in the tropics,” he presented reports on the fourteenth infantry in Manila. Army doctors reported that the “improvement shown in the figures for venereal diseases and alcoholism in this regiment was due to the establishment of a canteen.”<sup>32</sup> By implication, this doctor was stating his

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<sup>31</sup> Statement of Rev. E.C. Dinwiddie, National Superintendent of the Legislative Department of the American Anti-Saloon League; *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 26.

<sup>32</sup> Statement of Capt. Edward L. Munson, Assistant Surgeon, United States Army; *Miscellaneous Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, 1900-1919*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 75.



belief that the abolishment of the canteen would flush more soldiers into the waiting arms of immoral saloons and Filipina women, resulting ultimately in the ineffectiveness of the military due to incapacitation by venereal disease.

The dangers of sexual relations with Japanese, Chinese, Filipina and white prostitutes in the Philippines became a potential bargaining chip for colonialists in the islands who were trying to limit U.S. reformers interference in their affairs, especially within the military. By offering up this dangerous form of intimacy as a “greater evil” than the provision of beer and light wines in the army canteen, U.S. officials in the Philippines were demonstrating the presence of a “shared” concern with their compatriots at home. The social distance they desired from dangerous female bodies in the tropics offered a chance for colonialists to reconnect with U.S. temperance coalitions on an issue that they could both agree upon, thereby detracting attention from the drunken actions of young American soldiers. Regardless of sides in the liquor debate, reformers and colonialists alike framed American troops in the Philippines as inculpable, impressionable, and at the mercy of the tropics and dangerous Filipinos and all the harmful influences that they could inflict upon the white body.<sup>33</sup> This positioning of the young and innocent American soldier, especially against the image of the seedy saloon keeper and the prostitute, effectively mitigates the stories of debauchery and drunkenness on the shores of America’s latest colonial possession, redirecting blame and efforts of control toward “native people” and native liquor.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See for example, the work of Laura Wexler, that examines closely the staged and managed iconography of the youthful innocence of American troops abroad through photography and other mediums : Laura Wexler. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Native here includes Filipino, Chinese, mestizos and even Spanish, but as referred to in these reports, all the non-white inhabitants of the Philippines could drink liquor like “vino” and not be effected to the extent the American soldier would be, either because they were considered to be not prone to alcoholism, thought to dilute their drinks with water, or thought to possess other innate qualities that acclimated them to locally made alcohols.

While testimonies given by military officials in the Philippines described the “worse evils” of prostitution and sexual vice that they believed would increase should the military canteen be abolished, the anti-canteen coalition limited their testimonies to the problem of drinking in the life of impressionable young men, despite the fact that some of these coalition members were also anti-prostitution. Prostitution was put aside for the moment as a strategic move for anti-canteen agitators in order to build a broad anti-liquor coalition. As Ian Tyrrell describes in, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire*, the anti-canteen coalition had more supporters in comparison to anti-prostitution campaigns, campaigns more associated with suffrage and feminist issues. Tyrrell points out that, “though the aggregate numbers of petitions was less than for the canteen, the social purity campaign came strategically after the anti-canteen victories and built on that issue’s momentum and the electoral fear it created.”<sup>35</sup> Roland Coloma too, points out that white feminist’s campaigns to discipline desires in the Philippines were not met with enthusiasm by many of their countrymen, as it was their “freedoms” that were being encroached upon. What neither Tyrrell nor Coloma specifically reflect upon is that the language of American women’s social purity campaigns, before and after the canteen issue, did not shy away from naming American men as immoral, complicit, lustful, and as perpetrators of sexual vice, quite unlike the approach taken in the liquor ban campaigns.<sup>36</sup> The failure of these purity campaigns to draw larger coalitions of support, and the labeling of these causes as “feminist issues,” was also likely linked to the unwillingness of American men – at home and abroad – to relinquish their privileges or to be represented as morally corrupt, even

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<sup>35</sup> Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 141.

<sup>36</sup> See: “Immorality in Manila,” *Washington Post*, March 9, 1902, 11. This article, an editorial piece by Margaret Dye Ellis of the WCTU is quoted at length in Roland Coloma’s article, cited below. Also see: “Morals in the Philippines,” *Washington Post*, Nov. 17, 1900, 8. In this article, the NWC points to American officials being complicit in the prostitution reported in the Philippines.

if this was the case. Thus, the tempered language in anti-canteen testimonies can be seen as a strategic move for women's groups in particular to not ostracize powerful allies needed to exercise control over the U.S. military and its beer business.

Indeed, this particular battle over liquor and the military canteen came sandwiched between and overlapping with multiple social purity campaigns focused on prostitution. Just a month before the army canteen amendment was passed in congress, the *Washington Post* described what was in effect a form of regulated prostitution by the United States government in the Philippines and additionally reported that the National Council of Women was investigating the validity of these accusations in an attempt to force government eradication of any such licensed "social evils."<sup>37</sup> As described by Roland Coloma in his article, "White Gazes, Brown Breasts: Imperial Feminism and Disciplining Desires and Bodies in Colonial Encounters," American women saw it as their duty to address and "discipline the desire and sexuality of their colonial male counterparts."<sup>38</sup> Coloma describes the efforts of the U.S. based National Council of Women and the WCTU in disciplining white men in the tropics in regards to sexual desire and prostitution to be in general a failed campaign, as their demands and concerns were ultimately overridden by colonial and military officials in the Philippines.<sup>39</sup> These officials, he states, were keen to downplay the extent to which the U.S. government and military were regulating or allowing institutions of prostitution in order to maintain their moral justification of imperialism in the islands. They claimed that, contrary to reports in the news, there was no such thing that could be construed as a form of legalized prostitution sanctioned by the U.S. government in the

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<sup>37</sup> Roland Sintos Coloma, "White Gazes, Brown Breasts," (2012).

<sup>38</sup> Roland Sintos Coloma, "White Gazes, Brown Breasts," (2012), 248.

<sup>39</sup> See chapter 2 of this dissertation for a more comprehensive detailing of moral reform groups in the Philippines, that included not only white American women and religious groups, as the scholarly literature so prominently focuses on, but also, elite Filipina women, Filipino men in positions of governmental power, military doctors and chaplains, etc.

Philippines. In addition to the presenting a morally superior front, these men selectively ignored the anti-vice protests of women, thereby protecting what they undoubtedly believed to be their rights and privileges in the sexual economy.

### **Bailes and Diplomacy: A Delicate Dance of Power**

The battle to gain and maintain legitimacy over the islands was not only fought back and forth across the across the Pacific Ocean, in the realm of court rooms and telegrams, between colonial officials in the Philippines and American reform groups at home. The project of benevolent assimilation also required the support of Filipinos themselves, and required a posturing of friendliness and equality. Maintaining a visage of social distance for Americans invested in their superiority while simultaneously trying to enact a social proximity to Filipinos was quite often a complicated dance of skirting around issues, strategic displays and pageantry. And while these efforts to win Filipino “approval” first started with a bloody war that resulted in the estimated deaths of over 4000 Americans and over 20,000 Filipinos, both sides were able to start over again with a dance.<sup>40</sup>

Called “bailes” in the Philippines, these integrated dances or festive balls were held not infrequently during the early American period in the Philippines and beyond. The ultimate social entertainment, bailes were often lavish affairs, with music, food and entertainment awaiting the attendees. A weekly occurrence in Manila, well-to-do Filipinos hosted these parties in their homes or in social clubs. Smaller provinces outside of Manila held bailes for the community as well, often in churches, school buildings or club houses if available. Aside from the entertainment that these events provided, bailes were also often spaces where first impressions

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<sup>40</sup> Manfred F. Boemeke, Roger Chickering, and Stig Förster, *Anticipating Total War: The German and American Experiences, 1871-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). For war casualties, see also: John M. Gates, “War-Related Deaths in the Philippines,” *Pacific Historical Review* 53 (Nov. 1983): 367-78.

were made, guests were welcomed, courtesies were exchanged and intentions were sorted out. Commission members in particular detailed their experiences at bailes, and other festive events as most every town that they traveled to arranged a welcome or send off party for the visiting American diplomats. Often overlooked as a site of purely social amusements or entertainment, these bailes were more than events for donning finery and dancing. Rather, I will argue, these dances and festive events – especially during the first few years of the colonial period - were spaces where Americans and Filipinos could employ interracial social intimacy and proximity to prove or discern loyalties, build relationships that could translate into political collaboration, and delicately contend for power in a shifting colonial order.

In 1902, a young American girl living in the Philippines with her father wrote to a girlfriend back home, describing her life in the tropics. “You asked me if I had been to any dances, or boat riding,” she started. “It seems to me these people are giving ‘bailes’ and dances all the time. There is hardly a week passes that I don’t go to some party. And often times during the ‘fiesta’ times, three and four balls are given a week.”<sup>41</sup> A few months later she wrote again to her friend, describing her joy in receiving the news that her father had been given a post as a judge in Manila, explaining that, “the social life there will be much better.”<sup>42</sup> Perhaps one of the most descriptive, albeit Eurocentric account of a baile comes from the letters of Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, and Englishwoman who recounted her nine months spent in the islands in series of detailed letters, later published as a book of her travels through the region. She recounts one baile in the smaller city of Iloilo in her letter dated January 8, 1905. Dauncey first describes the decorations hung in the Spanish club where the baile was held and the types of dancing that occurred, beginning with the Spanish Rigodon and leading into the waltz. While Dauncey seems

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<sup>41</sup> Bertha Schaffer Letters, July 21, 1902. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>42</sup> Bertha Schaffer Letters, Dec. 6, 1902. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

disdainful of both Americans and Filipinos, it is Filipinos who receive the brunt of her criticism, as she describes them as overzealous party throwers and prima donnas who like to perform, albeit badly.<sup>43</sup>

In Manila, she describes another ball, given at Malacanan Palace. This particular “gubernatorial party” was hosted by the appointed governor general of the Philippines, Luke. E. Wright. Dauncey describes the scene in the ball room as being quite a grand affair for ostentatious display: “The crowd was pretty mixed, of course, but ‘Manila at a glance’ included one or two who looked like gentle-folk, and there were certainly a great many pretty dresses, which, I am told, the wearers import from Paris Recklessly...in the official Rigodon, with which the ball began, I noticed how well the wearers moved.”<sup>44</sup> At another baile, the mixed company leads her to a tangential discussion of racial politics and the limits of social integration.

One can see from a glance, at any gatherings, where the people of various shades of white and brown keep very much together. Some of the Eurasian women are quite pretty, but they spoil their little round faces with thick layers of powder over their nice brown skins, and use perfumes that nearly knock one down. The white men are friendly with many of the Mestizos, and dance with their pretty daughters, and are even occasionally foolish enough to marry the latter; but white women keep quite apart from the coloured folk, and it would be an unheard-of thing to dance with one; while as to marrying a Filipino, no woman one could speak to would ever dream of such a horrible fate. That is where the real impassable gulf is fixed. The Americans profess not to recognize any distinction, however, for, as I explained before, they announce that they consider the Filipino of any class as their social and every other equal...this sentiment, apart from any political utility it may possess, is a noble one, but it does more credit to the heart of the Americans than to their wisdom.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to providing a description of the limitations of professed American social equality, Dauncey also alludes to the gendered nature of participation in such expressions of social equality. In this description, white men could be participants in the imperial goal of

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<sup>43</sup> Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company), 1906.

<sup>44</sup> Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (1906), 123.

<sup>45</sup> Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (1906), 62.

expressing friendship and social equality whereas women were more limited. Unlike women, men would simply be chided by the American community as “foolish” if they attempted to cross the “impassable gulf” of race by marrying Filipinas. White women, on the other hand, had more at stake should they attempt to participate in interracial intercourse. Indeed, while Dauncey’s assessment of the baile could simply be read as an example of the greater intolerance of white women than men, she herself does not accuse them of such. Also, it was quite common for many American men to toe the color line than participate in appearance of integration. Rather, the implication here is that the “fate” of white women as opposed to men might be in greater peril should they transgress the color line socially or otherwise.

Dauncey’s characterization of the limits of social integration both at bailes and within the U.S. colonial endeavor in general reflected a widely shared sentiment held by white people in the islands. The population of Americans and Europeans in the islands mostly favored a social distance from Filipinos, even while they professed to have the best intentions of the people in mind. Dauncey further highlights the inconsistency between American professions of equality and actual practices of social integration in her description of the segregated American club, where members play bridge and mingle exclusively amongst themselves.<sup>46</sup> The interracial social intimacy afforded by the baile or festive ball was indeed a point of contention for many white people in the Philippines. As society events, bailes would undoubtedly be attended by well to do white women in the Philippines like Dauncey, Mrs. Taft, and others, whom, afterwards would disdain the “unnatural” prettiness of the Filipinas and disparage men who danced with them. Indeed, the racist attitude of American women in particular with regards to festive balls and dances became quite a problem for the American Commission in the Philippines, which received

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<sup>46</sup> Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (1906), 57-58.

complaints from Filipina women (often the organizers of bailes) and had to contend with public challenges to the “snobbishness” of American women.

In early 1906, *The Independent* published an article written by self-proclaimed feminist and pacifist, Elsie Parsons, wife of U.S. congressman Herbert Parsons, upon their return from the Philippines with the Taft Commission. Parsons admonished the “snobbishness,” or racial animosity, of Americans towards Filipinos, as evidenced by their disdain for mixing at bailes and festive events.<sup>47</sup> She begins by describing the gulf between the “native aristocracy” of wealthy and cultured Filipino and mestizo families in Manila, and the Americans. “It is not difficult to see at once that this barrier is raised up by the Americans, and, moreover, the American women.” In her description of bailes and balls, Parsons, confirming Dauncy’s observations, recounts that “no resident American women danced with Filipino partners except in the case of one square dance, where the ranking American woman present was officially bound to follow Secretary Taft’s example, he dancing with the hostess and she with the host.” Parsons criticism was in line with her critical opinions about the social conventions of the time, especially as they related to contemporary racial ideologies and ideas of proper women’s roles.<sup>48</sup> She further reported that an American newspaper in Manila published its hopes that first daughter Alice Roosevelt, a most anticipated guest to the islands, would not be seen dancing at parties with any “gugus” while visiting.<sup>49</sup> The U.S. Commission in the Philippines was acutely aware of the mounting racial tensions surrounding the intimacy at bailes and as such, took it upon themselves to match their

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<sup>47</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, *The Independent*, Feb. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1906. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>48</sup> Parsons reputation as an liberal feminist, non-conformist and anti-racist at the time was bolstered by her interest in indigenous life and folklore. She was a student of anthropology and pursued ethnological studies of many Native American tribal groups.

<sup>49</sup> The term “gugu” was a perjorative term use to describe native Filipinos. It is thought to have been coined by American soldiers during the Filipino-American war.



words to their actions.<sup>50</sup> Leaders of the Commission made sure to dance with the Filipino hosts of the bailes they attended, turning dances into political demonstrations of their goodwill and willingness to mix, albeit superficially. As these were conspicuous events, bailes became sites of spectacle, where an interracial dance could have ramifications for the larger colonial pursuits of Americans in the islands.

In addition to being sites of overt spectacle, bailes and other festive events also became sites of discipline, with white American women disciplining brown bodies and white men, and white men in turn disciplining white women who they felt were endangering their “benevolent” mission in the Philippines. The idea of white women disciplining colonial subjects and white male sexual desires is not a new idea.<sup>51</sup> White women’s discipline of Filipinos and white men has most recently been explored by Richard Coloma, who highlights women reformers’ efforts to control brown and white bodies through legislation on prostitution and prohibition. These formal methods of discipline, however, did not form the extent of white women’s influence within the colony. In addition to institutional reforms sought by women in the United States and the Philippines to control brown and white bodies in the tropics, informal modes of discipline were often deployed by white women in the islands to assert their position of presumed racial superiority. Using social spaces and informal networks of “gossip,” white women could express their disapproval of interracial intimacies and shun from “polite” society those who would transgress what they believed to be proper racial boundaries. Specifically within the spaces of

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<sup>50</sup> The issue of mixing at bailes and the racial tensions surrounding these events were written about in both American news and news in the Philippines. The secretary of the Taft Commission to the Philippines, James Leroy, kept copies and records of such articles. These can be found in his papers at the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>51</sup> For further examples, see the works of: Antoinette M Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Roland Sintos Coloma, “White Gazes, Brown Breasts,” (2012); Vicente Rafael, *White Love*, (2009); Philippa Levine, Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, (2002); Mary Louise Pratt, , *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London: Routledge, 1992).

balls and dances, these women could become disciplining agents through their unwillingness to mix socially and their overt spurning of those whose intimacies they disapproved of.

As Mrs. Campbell Dauncey observed, bailes were spaces where white men could come into potentially dangerous physical contact with Filipinas, some of these intimacies resulting in interracial sexual relationships, such as marriage. While these men could be informally disciplined, labeled “squaw men,” and shunned socially, white women took special offence at the possibility of such intimacies between Filipino men and white women. Perhaps because these American women saw themselves as the protectors of morality and white virtue in the islands, white women that became intimately involved with Filipino men were doubly shamed and shunned. This was in fact, already the case in the United States, where, as Martha Hodes illustrates, white women were held to far different standards than men in cases of interracial intercourse. To uphold the one drop rule as well as the socioeconomic power of white men after slavery, she describes, white women’s sexual transgressions of the color line were deemed betrayals of the white race, while white men could more or less do as they pleased with women of color with minimal reprimand.<sup>52</sup>

The double standard for crossing the sexual color line was vividly displayed in 1905, when white women took it upon themselves to publicly shame the American wife of Antonio Torres, an aspiring Filipino lawyer who had been a student in the United States for the past few years. The son of a Justice of the Supreme Court in the Philippines, Torres met and married his wife while he was abroad for his studies. Upon their arrival in the Philippines, their marriage became a topic of discussion and debate, especially around the white Mrs. Torres. Manila newspapers too took part in the discussion, publishing articles about the couple and the “coming

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<sup>52</sup> Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999).

ostracism of this little lady by the American women in Manila.”<sup>53</sup> According to the *San Francisco Argonaut*, former Commission leader Secretary Taft, “took particular pains to lead out for a waltz the little American girl from Washington...the bride of Antonio Torres.” The secretary of the Commission noted this in his journal as well, describing Taft’s decision to publicly dance with Mrs. Torres as a purposeful attempt to “show that he disapproved of the race prejudice now being displayed here more strongly even than in the full days of military rule.”<sup>54</sup> *The Argonaut* further described the tense atmosphere of the baile, reporting that the American women were making hostile remarks about Mrs. Torres, saying that she should be “properly snubbed,” as well as “[indulging] openly in depreciatory remarks about the Filipino people in general, though at the moment accepting the hospitality of a wealthy Filipino with a fine house.”<sup>55</sup>

The incident involving Mrs. Torres reflects several simultaneous attempts at discipline. Where white women were disciplining what they considered inappropriate interracial intimacy through their public spectacle of disdain for Mrs. Torres and Filipinos in general, Secretary Taft was in turn attempting to discipline white American women through his own public spectacle of dancing with the object of their animosity. By looking at these multiple attempts to discipline, we can further see that the actions of white women at the baile are positioned within the constraints and realm of men’s jurisdiction. In publicly dancing with Mrs. Torres, Taft was indeed attempting to shame the white American women into compliance with the larger goals of the colonial enterprise. Through dancing with Mrs. Torres, Taft turns the actions of white women and their disapproval of interracial intimacy into instances of mere frivolity, isolated incidents of women’s idle gossip and pettiness.

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<sup>53</sup> “The Taft Tour’s Gayer Side,” *San Francisco Argonaut*, Oct 9, 1905.

<sup>54</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, August 10, 1905. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>55</sup> “The Taft Tour’s Gayer Side,” *San Francisco Argonaut*, Oct 9, 1905.

By recognizing the simultaneous attempts to discipline at the baile, we are also able to contextualize white women's actions in the Philippines more completely. While most Americans in the Philippines admonished the interracial intimacies of white men with Filipinas, these relationships were at the same time begrudgingly tolerated. Sexual access to women of color via institutions of prostitution were tacitly accepted and indeed regulated by the U.S. government for the safety of white men. These men were fighting Filipino "insurrectos," and attempting to broker deals with the Filipino elite over how to "best" run the country. Because of their position on the islands and their gender privilege, white men were subjected to the least amount of discipline, being in many ways above reproach. Men with as much clout as Taft could dance with whomever they pleased at bailes and still retain their power and reputations in the morning. Moreover, as demonstrated in the earlier discussion of temperance reform, many Americans would characterize their colonial brothers as victims of temptation rather than as guilty of immoral behavior.

While white women could shun their countrymen for being too intimate with Filipinas, these men and their interracial dalliances were tolerated to a degree, for various reasons ranging from their presumed "innocence" to the greater power and privilege men held generally. Coupled with the fact that the population of American women was far smaller than that of men, and their organizing power was yet limited, there were recognized boundaries to the power of white women to discipline. Despite the limitations, however, white American women still believed themselves to be the protectors of white health and virtue in the Philippines, and Mrs. Torres' intimacy with a Filipino man betrayed the sanctity of white womanhood.<sup>56</sup> Thus the figure of Mrs. Torres became a lightning rod for white American women, as one of their own ranks had

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<sup>56</sup> For more about the subject of white women as upholders of the white race, especially in cases of empire in foreign lands, see note 47.

demonstrated herself to be a deviant through her relationship with a Filipino man. Despite her husband's wealth and position in the Philippines, and despite the legal sanctity of her marriage - as opposed to most American men who would have relationships with Filipina women without marriage - the interracial relationship of Mrs. Torres was judged irredeemable and unforgivable.

Not just spaces for Americans to demonstrate their intentions and attitudes to the Filipino community, bailes were also spaces for Filipino elites to demonstrate their own intentions. Bailes were often hosted by Filipino elites to celebrate different occasions, such as the welcome or departure of American diplomats. As these spaces of festivity were often the first or last encounters of Filipino hospitality, it was also a space where Filipino elites could demonstrate their own power, status, culture and intentions. The lavish decorations, food and ostentatious displays of wealth through finery were mainstays at most bailes in Manila and further afield. An opportunity for Filipino elites to demonstrate their own positions of power, their wealth, and their familiarity with Anglo culture, the intimate space of the baile was a formal arena of imperial politicking and local resistance. In the face of popular discourses about the supposed savage, uneducated, and impoverished Filipino, the hosts of bailes presented an oppositional narrative, presenting themselves as, in many ways, better than their American guests.

The U.S. Commissions to the Philippines often involved a whirlwind tour around the archipelago, American members of the party whisked from province to province for the purpose of reporting back to the President of the United States on the state of their new "possessions" in the east. In the detailed journals of James Leroy, the secretary to Taft Commission, bailes and festive events planned by Filipina women dominate the itinerary. From Baguio to Iloilo to Negros and back, the Commission members were invited to the homes of their Filipino hosts who were often members of the elite within the local communities. In fact, so numerous were the

invitations to parties, that the Commission had to turn down many offers to be hosted, in order to stick to their itineraries and complete their fact finding mission in a timely manner. In the towns near Iloilo, for example, Leroy describes how there had been, “a great deal of rivalry over entertaining the Commission, Iloilo, Jaro and Molo each wanting to give a banquet and a ball. In the arrangements, Jaro was to have only a ‘breakfast’ on Friday, and the people of that town were considerably disappointed and wanted the Commission to stay for them to give a ball.”<sup>57</sup>

By examining the space of the Baile, it becomes clear that what was a fact finding mission for these American Commission members was for Filipino hosts a chance to pursue their own agendas, and advance their own interests in the face of colonial occupation. Americans often wrote of the lavish parties thrown by Filipinos, judging them to be a reflection of the native love of frivolity and leisure, furthering the racists notions that native peoples of the tropics were lazy and indolent. While throwing a lavish party for American guests was misread as a sign of Filipino’s love of leisure and frivolity, the opportunity to host American colonial officials in one’s home can be further read as resistance towards and engagement with U.S. colonial plans for the Philippines. As Filipina women were typically the planners of parties and festive events such as bailes, the site of these intimate gatherings can also be read as a site of native women’s demonstration of their own investment in the political matters in the archipelago. In fact, Leroy also describes how many women attended town meetings where the American commission members would be giving speeches as to the future of the occupation, attending in their finery and again presenting themselves as civilized and cultured, contrary to popular American beliefs. Elite Filipina women, like their male counterparts, were delicately vying for power and influence

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<sup>57</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, Manuscript of the Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippines, April 10, 1901. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

in the new colonial order within areas that were typically understood to be the realm of women; entertainments and the home.

While the described zeal to host American colonial officials could be attributed to simple curiosity about these new conquerors or gratitude for the hand they had in ousting the previous Spanish colonizers, I argue that the fervor to entertain Americans was deeply motivated by a desire to demonstrate to Americans that their presence in the islands was in fact, not needed. By inviting Commission members into their communities and homes, elite Filipino men and women were “sizing up” the new colonial occupiers and reminding these Americans that they were in fact, guests in the islands, guests who were being graciously taken care of and catered to by the very people who supposedly needed tutelage and American “benevolence.” In this reversal of roles, Filipinas revealed the irony of the U.S. mission in the islands. In their lavish homes and through their displays of generosity, Filipinas demonstrated that in these islands, it was they who constituted the elite population and wielded authority and power.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to using these intimate spaces to demonstrate their own civility and generosity, Filipina women used ostentatious displays of wealth to convey their positions of power and privilege to U.S. colonial officials and their wives. In descriptions of balls and bailes, Americans often comment upon the fine dress of Filipina women in particular. Leroy notes of one baile that, “The best gowns of Iloilo also soon appeared, in a large turn-out of ladies, who made quite a show of jewels.” At another baile in Negros, Filipina women attended in all their finery, “with painted skirts and jewels galore.”<sup>59</sup> The immense wealth of the mestizo families who often threw parties in Manila was recounted in *The Independent* in 1906, detailing the

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<sup>58</sup> See also the Ph.D. Dissertation of Genevieve A. Clutario, which describes the enormous wealth of Filipina elites as opposed to many of the American women who came to the islands. Fashion and ostentatious displays of wealth were often utilized by well-to-do Filipinas to demonstrate their economic superiority to their colonial counterparts.

<sup>59</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, Manuscript of the Travelogue Account of Trip to the Philippines, march 23, 1901. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

considerable “comfort and luxury” of their lives. “Their houses are large and well...they have carriages, in some cases automobiles, jewels and lavish wardrobes. One or more members of a family have usually travelled abroad, and perhaps lived for some time in Europe.”<sup>60</sup> The relative wealth of Filipinos versus Americans was often put into sharp contrast at bailes and balls, as Filipino elites often invited not just U.S. colonial officials to their parties, but also often invited military officers, American schoolteachers, and other American civilians in the islands to attend their parties.<sup>61</sup> The irony present in these stark differences in wealth and status was not lost on some Americans who commented on the snobbishness of women from the U.S. who often took pains to snub their Filipina hostesses, often times quite conspicuously so.<sup>62</sup> It did not go unnoticed by elite Filipina women that American women were openly hostile to sharing “women’s realm” with them.<sup>63</sup> This became a source of anxiety for not only Filipinos, in that it demonstrated an American belief in their superiority over their Filipino hosts, but also for American colonial administrators who were ever attempting to demonstrate U.S. “benevolence.”<sup>64</sup>

The realm of formal entertainment, while it was most often seen as a sphere of women’s influence, was also often a top concern for men, both Filipino and American. Elite Filipino men who were dealing with American colonial officials often shared the sting of rejection with their

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<sup>60</sup> Elsie Clews Parsons, “American Snobbishness in the Philippines,” *The Independent*, Feb. 8, 1906.

<sup>61</sup> See Mrs. Campbell Dauncey’s description of the attendees of the bailes she attended. Also, See Harry Hill Bandholtz papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Colonel Bandholtz was a military officer turned Governor General of Tayabas province who received many invitations to attend bailes in Manila, as did many of the constabulary officials who worked under him. Many American teachers also wrote about their experiences attending bailes during their time off, either in Manila or in the provinces they were assigned to.

<sup>62</sup> “The Taft Tour’s Gayer Side,” *San Francisco Argonaut*, Oct 9, 1905.

<sup>63</sup> “In Women’s Realm” was the name of a column in the *Manila Times Newspaper* that began to appear regularly in 1907. In this column contributed to by the American society ladies, most of whom were in Manila, they publicized things that they believed would be of importance to the well-to-do and aspiring well-to-do population of white women in the islands. For example they wrote of fashion trends, luncheons and events that they were hosting, times that house calls and visits could be made in their homes, tips for housekeeping in the tropics, and American recipes that could be made by substituting local ingredients for hard to find American ingredients. Many of these women were wives of colonial officials, higher ranking military officers, or entrepreneurs.

<sup>64</sup> See note 64.



wives and other Filipinas who were often left out of the event planning for visiting dignitaries from the U.S. They further shared in the interests of Filipina women in reminding their American guests that it was they who were the elites within the native population. Thus in August of 1905 when the daughter of then U.S. President Roosevelt paid a visit to the islands, the racially fraught issue of who was fit to entertain whom came to a head. The visit of Alice Roosevelt to the islands became a flashpoint event that highlighted the racial tensions between Americans and Filipinos. So sought after was the opportunity to host the young Miss Roosevelt that she was nicknamed “Princess Alice” by the press in Manila. Her visit and questions over her hosting and entertainment were so incendiary that they were brought up in the highest levels of American governance in the islands.

In his “Memorandum of what occurred at the dinner of the governors or provinces,” held at the Hotel Metropole in Manila on August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1905, secretary of the U.S. Commission James Leroy recounted a heated debate that transpired between American colonial officials and Filipino governors of various provinces.<sup>65</sup> In attendance at this formal dinner were 18 provincial governors, many of whom were Filipino, several U.S. congressmen, members of the U.S. Commission to the Philippines, and several elite Filipino political figures. Not long into the dinner, Filipino representatives brought to the table complaints against American bigotry and racism. Arsenio Cruz Herrera, a Filipino politician, began a longwinded and unexpected (according to Leroy) tirade against American governance on the islands. His complaints were numerous, all serving to bolstering his main point that due to American abuses, “the present government here has lost the confidence of the Filipinos.”<sup>66</sup> According to Leroy, the Americans present and even some Filipinos disagreed with Herreras’ depiction of the current administration

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<sup>65</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, “Memorandum of what occurred at the dinner of the governors of provinces at the Hotel Metropole on Monday noon, Aug. 7, 1905.” Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann-Arbor.

<sup>66</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, “Memorandum,” (1905), 2.

under Governor-General Wright, dismissing the complaints of Herrera as a tiresome “harangue,” and “plainly beyond reason in its violence.” When the Americans attempted to refute the charges that Herrera brought against American government in the Philippines, reassuring him that American perpetrators of violence and other abuses against Filipinos would be dealt with, Herrera brought up an issue that was harder to explain away, that is, the issue of American bigotry as demonstrated through their lack of willingness to mix socially with Filipinos. In particular, he accused Commission members of not entertaining Filipinos in their homes and further complained that “Filipinos were elbowed out of the entertainment program for the visiting congressmen.”<sup>67</sup> Also voicing the complaints of Filipina women, Herrera brought up the issue of American women’s snobbishness, describing how Filipinas were left out of the planning of entertainments for the visiting Alice Roosevelt, and were made to feel that they were “not wanted to have anything to do with the reception of American ladies.” In particular, he accused the wife of the current American Governor General, Luke Wright, of being racist towards and excluding Filipina women.<sup>68</sup>

Herreras’ concerns about American racism being visible through their unwillingness to mix socially in integrated formal entertainments were not unfounded. It was common practice for American women to avoid dancing with Filipino partners at bailes, although the “ranking American woman present was officially bound to follow Secretary Taft’s example, he dancing with the [Filipina] hostess, and she with the [Filipino] host.”<sup>69</sup> Americans sympathetic to the racial prejudices faced by Filipinos also wrote of the discontent felt by their Filipina friends. Parsons, for example, wrote a newspaper article in which she reported that, as far as she knew and according to the Filipina women that she was in contact with, “not a single Filipina lady was

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<sup>67</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, “Memorandum,” (1905), 5.

<sup>68</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, “Memorandum,” (1905), 6 - 7.

<sup>69</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, “Memorandum,” (1905).

invited to meet Mrs. Roosevelt or the ladies of the party at any of the dinners given in their honor.”<sup>70</sup> Parsons also criticizes the racist sentiments expressed in the Manila presses, one Manila paper going as far as to say that it hoped that Alice Roosevelt would not be seen dancing with any “gugu’s” at any of the festive events that she would be attending. Apparently however, the concerns brought up by Filipinas and Sr. Herrera, far from being “plainly beyond reason,” were taken seriously by American officialdom, with Filipinas invited to host a ball for Miss Roosevelt, and wives of American officials now being expected to set an example for other American ladies by dancing with their Filipino hosts at parties. As Leroy recounts, William H. Taft, then the U.S. secretary of War conducting a diplomatic trip around Asia, invited the Filipina society ladies to host a baile for “Princess Alice,” a baile that he and Mrs. Wright attended. Taft made sure to dance with the Filipina hostess, while Mrs. Wright – presumably having been disciplined and asked to adjust her public behavior - danced with one of her Filipino hosts.<sup>71</sup>

Bailes and banquets were integral gateway spaces in the new colonial order. Here, Americans could demonstrate their willingness to associate with Filipinos and hence prove their “benevolence.” Likewise, elite Filipinos could use intimate festive space to negotiate positions of prominence for themselves within the new colonial scheme, their ostentatious displays of wealth and hospitality a reminder that it was they who wielded power and prestige in the islands. While they were spaces where both Americans and Filipinos could attempt to advance their own agendas, these intimate spaces were also perceived by whites as potentially dangerous gateway zones of interracial contact. American men in particular were seen to be in danger of succumbing

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<sup>70</sup> Elsie Clews Parsons, “American Snobbishness in the Philippines,” *The Independent*, Feb. 8, 1906.

<sup>71</sup> James Leroy Papers, Box 1, Aug. 10, 1905, 1-2. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Presumably, Mrs Wright, who had been singled out for her hostility towards Filipinos and unwillingness to mix socially in the accusations of Arsenio Herrera, had been told to adjust her behavior and make a show of publicly dancing with a Filipino in attendance at the baile.

to the temptations of the tropics through their physical contact with the “dusky belles” of the islands as they danced the rigodon and the waltz. Well-to-do American women avoided this “contamination” by snubbing their wealthy Filipino hosts and avoiding Filipino men as dance partners. This chapter has attempted to illustrate, through the discussion of Manila, liquor regulations and bailes, that the spectre of interracial intimacies was a constant preoccupation of the many Americans involved in the making of the imperial project in the Philippines. The U.S. administration often staged spectacles of social proximity for the purpose of advancing colonial goals, such as proving friendly intentions to the native population of the islands, while fears of interracial contact and contamination ultimately guided the efforts of American society, including officials, the military, and society women alike. In the following chapters, this project will explore American and Filipino efforts towards and responses to such intimacies that moved beyond the realm of an imagined or potential danger, as relations took on corporeal forms through marriage, cohabitation, and illicit sexual relations.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Moral Policing American Empire: Social and Sexual Intercourse and the Limits of Reform, 1898-1917**

The first decade and a half of American rule in the Philippines saw many changes in the city of Manila and across the archipelago. Filipinization, a process that sought to place Filipinos rather than Americans in positions of governmental importance – an act to demonstrate that Americans were taking steps towards eventual Philippines independence – began in 1916, under the watch of Francis Burton Harrison, the American appointed Governor General. Over the years, the population of Americans in the islands expanded and diversified to include teachers, families, businessmen, missionaries, and foreign tourists and other travelers. As the population of U.S. citizens in the city of Manila grew to include more civilians mixed in with the ever present, albeit declining military troop population, significant efforts to turn Manila into a shiny example of American benevolence were intensified.<sup>1</sup> For many, this vision of Manila was one in which interracial social intercourse was best kept superficial, and interracial sexual intercourse had no place at all. Others, however, namely those that partook of and benefitted from the sexual economy, would beg to differ.

As this chapter will demonstrate, the expanding and diversifying nature of the American population in Manila and the changing political environment did not necessarily spell the end of the sexual privileges of white men in the city. Despite the Filipinization of governmental

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<sup>1</sup> A significant U.S. military presence did remain in the islands in an effort to quell the imperialist actions of Japan, as well as to maintain strength in the face of ongoing “insurrecto” attacks well through the first decade of U.S. occupation. American troops in the islands dwindled as the Philippine scouts grew- which was comprised of mostly Filipino soldiers. By the early 1920’s, American troops numbered at almost one third of what it used to be in 1902. 1902 saw about 22,000 American soldiers. American Troop presence has remained on U.S. controlled bases until 1992, when ownership of the bases was finally returned to Philippine hands, with Philippine leaders refusing to renew the base agreement with the U.S. For more statistics on the American troops, see; Richard Meixsel, “*United States Army Policy in the Philippine Islands, 1902 – 1922.*” Kansas State University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1985.

positions and the influx of a critical mass of moral crusaders to the islands, changes that would seemingly lead to the rolling back of American men's sexual ribaldry in the islands, little changed in the way of interracial sexual intercourse. The few instances of change that resulted from the efforts of the "moral police" – a population that included American and Filipina women's organizations, American church groups and clergy, moralist Filipino officials, the Young Men's Christian Association and others – were hard won. Those that benefited from the climate of sexual impunity and libertinism often challenged the efforts of the moral police, and the moral police themselves often had conflicting motivations for wanting to limit interracial sexual contact. Even in cases of actual criminal conduct that involved circumstances of interracial sexual intercourse (as opposed to non-illegal sexual behaviors dubbed by reformers as immoral), white American men often had little to fear, as their race and gender, along with the conditions of empire, spared them from strict censure.

While drastic impediments to American men's sexual privileges in the colony were not necessarily effected by the moral police, the atmosphere of sexual nonliability was unsettled, as a greater social concern within the Philippines took root. American officialdom in the Philippines previously tolerated interracial sexual intercourse, whether it was illicit or not, for its supposed necessity in appeasing restless military troops and because the predominantly male colonialist population was by no means outspoken against the situation. With the increased presence and efforts of reformers and moralists in Manila, transgressive interracial sexual relations beyond prostitution – cohabitation, marriage, the *querida* system, and even "too familiar friendships" – were recast.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Americans and Filipinos who came to be enforcers of "proper" social

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<sup>2</sup> "Let us oppose...too familiar friendships, immodest clothing, popular amusements..." is a quote from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the Philippines, Minutes of the Second Annual Convention, Dec. 31, Jan 4<sup>th</sup>, 1926, 17-19.

conduct assembled all of these instances of interracial intercourse under the category of “social evils,” a reclassification that left the environs of Manila more tense and reticent than before.

In the body of literature that examines the gendered politics of empire in the Philippines, especially as it relates to interracial sexual contact, much of the focus has been on white American men and women attempting to either regulate or eradicate systems of prostitution in the islands. Richard Coloma has written about the imperative of white women to “save white men and brown women from each other,” while Paul Kramer has demonstrated the inter-imperial concerns that weighed down upon regulation/reform efforts regarding prostitution during the Philippine-American war.<sup>3</sup> Literature that looks at relations beyond the sexual economy to include marriage, cohabitation, and other types of intercourse are often limited to a few case studies or passing mention. For example, Mary Elizabeth Holt includes a description of one particular interracial marriage that attracted incendiary attention in 1907 within her larger study of American and European representations of Filipinas. Other literature that explores America-Filipino intercourse tends to look at Filipino men and their romantic relationships with white women in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Much of the existing scholarship, in addition to omitting the numerous interracial sexual liaisons outside of the sexual economy in the colonial site of the Philippines, also neglects to observe paradigms of social reform that include Filipino participation, focusing instead on those of white American women and men.<sup>5</sup>

To address the above concerns, this chapter will look first at the different forms of legal policing that existed around interracial intercourse in the colony to get a sense of what

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<sup>3</sup> Roland Sintos Coloma, “White Gazes, Brown Breasts,” (2012); Paul Kramer, “The Darkness That Enters the Home,” from, *Haunted by Empire*, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> See for example, Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’s Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Roberto Ballangca, *Pinoy: The First Wave, 1898 – 1941* (San Francisco: Strawberry Hills Press, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> Mary Elizabeth Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, (2002).

individuals were risking or how they were protected if they chose to engage in such intercourse. Namely, I will look at the U.S. military and its participation in the regulation of sexual economy, and the prosecution of American crimes, all of which involved elements of interracial sexual intercourse. Prior to the reclassification of all interracial sexual relations under the category of “social evils,” the issue of prostitution and the U.S. military was a particular concern for moralists in the U.S. During the earliest years of the colonial occupation, most Americans in the Philippines were in those enlisted in the military. While service men in the islands had different types of relations with Filipinos outside of the sexual economy, it was the U.S. military’s regulation rather than eradication of prostitution that garnered the most public outcry. The concerns around the issues of prostitution would go on to inform the debates and concerns of the moral police in the islands for some time.

In this section, I will also highlight crimes that involved interracial American-Filipino couples, crimes that actually fell under the formal jurisdiction of the local authorities rather than the informal jurisdiction of concerned moralists. From the murder of Filipina spouses by their American husbands to covered up scandals of interracial sexual violence, this section will flesh out how such “crimes of passion” were dealt with by the American administration, as well as what kinds of problems these types of crimes posed to the proclaimed moral authority of the imperial regime. Further, an examination of how these crimes were handled by the colonial government will demonstrate out how race, gender, and sexuality factored into punishments and perceptions of innocence or guilt. The four cases that I examine illustrate the contours of sexual impunity, and what factors made a difference in the way crimes were viewed and sentences doled out.



Next, the focus of this chapter shifts to highlight forms of extra-legal policing that became the duty of the moral police rather than that of a governmental mechanism or branch. Reform groups in the Philippines became concerned with the preponderance of interracial cohabitation, marriage, the *querida* system, and, as described in chapter one, social intercourse.<sup>6</sup> This section will emphasize the non-legislative and non-institutionalized methods that American and Filipino reformers used to police those that would transgress the sexual color line, relying instead on the everyday acts of racism and public forums of debate to regulate and exclude.

Last will be a consideration of public dance halls in Manila and the collaborative efforts to shut such establishments down. In these anti-dance hall campaigns, opposite or conflicting motivations to engage in moral reform often undergirded alliances between Filipino/as and Americans. Reform efforts were not solely the work of the white American community, nor were its aims solely informed by imperial logics of racial supremacy and inferiority. Rather, the objectives of numerous reform groups varied, their motivations reflecting and informed by their respective position within the imperial regime in the Philippines. For example, while white American women often sought to preserve the sanctity of the white racial body in the tropics, Filipino officials who participated in reform movements were fueled by nationalist desires for self-determination, seeking actions that undermined U.S. power and foreign perceptions of the Filipino people and nation. Thus, while motivations for collaboration reflected competing

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<sup>6</sup> “Querida” is a term that was used to describe the non-marital or extra-marital relationships popularized by the Spanish during their occupation of the Philippines. In addition to describing these sorts of intimate relationships, “querida” was used to reference the Filipina or native woman involved in such a relationship rather than the man. Characteristics of the “querida” system typically involve the dominant usually male partner providing some sort of remuneration for sexual and other domestic services. Remuneration for these sexual and domestic services could involve payments, the purchase of a home for the partner, or the giving of gifts. Women in *querida* relations could also often be providing domestic services such as cooking, cleaning, laundering clothes, nursemaid, etc. The “querida system” continued in name and practice when Americans came to occupy the Philippines. The practice of taking mistresses (in some cases women were quite literally taken against their will, although others entered into *querida* relations as a form of exchange) in the Philippines is still widespread, no doubt influenced by the fact that divorce in the Philippines is not yet legal.

visions of the future of U.S. empire in the islands, joining forces under the platform of broad ideas like “morality” could obfuscate deeper agendas for the purposes of gaining temporary alliances and legitimacy. The different types of collaboration and reform partnerships, were often also to the detriment of the already marginalized Filipina women at the heart of dangerous intercourse.

Taken together, these sections will highlight that despite the growing number of individuals that would dictate the limits of behavior in Manila, those in power managed to sidestep the concerns of reformist Americans and Filipinos, while making only nominal or symbolic concessions to moralist demands. It is also my hope to avoid the pitfalls of scholarship that posits a racially tolerant colonial site of supposedly halcyon interpersonal relations – signaled by the commonplaceness of interracial sexual intercourse between white men and native women – which then becomes disrupted by the arrival of white women in the colony.<sup>7</sup> Even though the atmosphere of sexual impunity and libertinism shifted to one where interracial liaisons were best kept secret, the sexual prerogative of American men, particularly white men, continued to be the rule in the Philippines. While some instances of interracial intercourse were more threatening than others to presence of the U.S. in the islands and its legitimation, all of these relations were expressions of American power and privilege, a privilege of white manhood that beneficiaries would not soon give up.

### **“Dangerous Intercourse” : The U.S. Military and Prostitution in the Philippines<sup>8</sup>**

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<sup>7</sup> See, for example; Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester: Manchester UP), 1990. Ann Laura Stole presents a critique of Hyams work in, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*, where she points to his focus on the desires and fantasies of great white men rather than on the racial politics of sexuality. Focusing on the later, she states, would have shown the sexual actions of these British men to be coercive and racist acts rather than liberatory expressions, 175.

<sup>8</sup> See also Paul Kramers article, “The Military Sexual Complex: Prostitution, Disease, and the Boundaries of Empire During the Philippine American War.” *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, Issue 30, July, 2011, 2. Kramers focus is predominantly on the southern region of Mindanao and the attempts by U.S. military personnel to regulate prostitution there.

Perhaps nowhere is the interdependent relationship between U.S. empire and interracial sexual contact more clearly demonstrated than through the American military's tacit approval, and in many cases, development and regulation of systems of prostitution. As early as there have been U.S. military troops present in the islands, here have been sexual relations between American men and Filipina women. While not all of these relations were illicit liaisons within the sexual economy, prostitution and the problem of what to do about troops visiting "houses of ill repute" garnered one of the most protracted debates of the American occupation. From military officials spread across the archipelago to moral reform leagues and anti-imperialists in the U.S., the problem of prostitution in the new colonial possession was one that many were eager to weigh in on. Reformers and purist groups believed that anything less than the complete abolishment of prostitution was anathema to American values and the purported plan of bringing civilization to the supposedly savage population of the east.<sup>9</sup> Colonial military leaders, however, were quite hesitant to radically change any pre-existing forms of the sexual economy in the islands. They often dragged their feet in implementing any changes or turned a deaf ear to the complaints of civilian groups who got word of the "bad behavior" of Uncle Sam's garrison in the Philippines.<sup>10</sup> Their acceptance of prostitution and indeed, the regulation and maintenance of such systems mirrored the historical actions of the military with regards to prostitution in other colonial locales as well as in domestic sites where sexual recourse was deemed necessary.<sup>11</sup> The U.S. military, especially in the earliest years of the American occupation where military

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<sup>9</sup> Paul Kramer, "The Darkness That Enters the Home," from, *Haunted by Empire*, 2006.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Jimenez Abalakin, "Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity," (2003).

<sup>11</sup> Yu-Fang Cho, *Uncoupling American Empire: Cultural Politics of Deviance and Unequal Difference, 1890-1910* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2014).

governance preceded civil, often got to play by its own rules, doing whatever it saw fit to stabilize military hold over the “new possessions” in the east.<sup>12</sup>

During the time of the Spanish-American war, there was a surge in American military enlistments to fight in Cuba, however, as Brian Linn points out, the army was less interested in deployment to the Pacific, with Hawaii being the only locale that attracted some interest. After the fighting in Cuba, many volunteers wanted to return home, and long term deployment to the Philippines was not a very enticing assignment.<sup>13</sup> Little was known about the islands, and much of what was said of the islands depicted it as a backwards and heathen country full of dangers and disease. As military historian Richard Meixsel has described in his work, various accommodations and incentives to attract soldiers to serve in places such as the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Cuba were tested and applied to foreign tours of duty.<sup>14</sup> For example, in 1900, soldiers that went abroad could earn double time service credit, thereby lessening the time to retirement. Other incentives and accommodations included the promise of higher pay, and the provisioning of modern and comfortable barracks. Indeed, the presence of American soldiers in the pacific empire was so imperative, that by 1902 almost 30% of the entire U.S. army – or approximately 22,000 troops - were a part of the Philippine garrison.<sup>15</sup> As Filipinos and Americans alike both observed, it took little time for these men to become acquainted with their “little brown sisters.”<sup>16</sup> Sexual liaisons with the women in the islands, as we shall see, became a

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<sup>12</sup> Even after the switch to a civil government in 1901, the military still held much autonomy, regulating prostitution as they saw fit, especially as the Philippine American war continued throughout the islands.

<sup>13</sup> Brian McAllister Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Richard Meixsel, *United States Army Policy in the Philippine Islands, 1902 – 1922*. University of Georgia, MA. Thesis, 1988; Richard Meixsel, *Clark Field and the U.S. Army Air Corps in the Philippines, 1919 – 1942* (Manila, Philippines: New Day Press, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Richard Meixsel, *United States Army Policy*, 1988, see Appendix A, 115.

<sup>16</sup> The term “little brown brothers” was a label given to Filipinos by William Howard Taft, meant to convey a sense of friendship, even familial relations, between the two nations, albeit laced with patriarchal undertones that underlined Americas belief in its own superiority to Filipinos.

“perk” of service that military officials were hard-pressed to preserve. With the unsavory prospects of a tour of duty in the Philippines, the “lack of wholesome amusements” to entertain the garrison, and perhaps also a resignation to the idea that the soldier “takes his fun where he finds it,” the civil and military governments were both in favor of regulation rather than eradication of the sexual economy in the first decade of U.S. rule in the islands.<sup>17</sup> A system of regulation was also believed to be the best way to limit the health risks associated with prostitution, namely the contraction of sexually transmitted diseases, a belief that soon would soon be shattered by the skyrocketing rates of venereal disease.

One of the very first health reports written on the conditions for the American garrison in the Philippines mentions the already widespread problem of soldiers and their sexual promiscuity with Filipina women. The “habit of the men” in the military to cross the sexual color line was a preoccupation of medical officer and purist alike, who differed slightly in the reasons for their concern, but shared the same racist ideas regarding Filipina women. The chief surgeon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division of the Eighth Army corps, in his report to the U.S. War Department in 1899, described this habit of men stationed in Manila. “Having become habituated to the repulsiveness of the native women,” he wrote, “sexual immorality is more common, with a notable increase in venereal disease.”<sup>18</sup> Much to the chagrin of military and medical officers’ alike, American troops could not be effectively controlled in their off-base pursuits. Consistently rising venereal disease contraction rates troubled the war department, as soldiers being quarantined and treated in hospitals could not fulfill their active duties in the field. This “non-effective rate” of U.S. troops as caused by venereal disease topped the charts year after year, causing more men to miss their military duties than other infectious diseases such as malaria, dysentery, and diarrhea. Medical

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<sup>17</sup> G.E. Seaman, M.D., “Some Observations of a Medical Officer in the Philippines,” *Milwaukee Medical Journal*, Vol. 10, Issue 7, 1902. 188.

<sup>18</sup> Report of Major Herbert W. Cardwell, Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1899, 136.

reports bemoaned again and again that, “venereal disease still holds first place,” for hospital admissions and non-effective rates.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, unlike other infectious diseases that Americans were attempting to eradicate in the islands such as typhoid and malaria whose rates of infection eventually saw decline, rates for venereal diseases were harder to turn around. Infection rates in the Philippine garrison rose quickly in the first few years of occupation. In September of 1900, venereal disease constituted 8.97% of all sicknesses reported in the military, rising to a staggering 20.42% only seven months later.<sup>20</sup> In 1901, the assistant Surgeon General of the U.S. Army reported to Washington that the prevalence of venereal diseases, “furnishes ground for the greatest apprehension, and is an item not exceeded in importance by any other affecting the health and efficiency of the army in the Philippines.”<sup>21</sup> Through the 1920’s, syphilis, gonorrhea, and chancroids remained “in first place” for the disease with the highest hospital admission and non-effective rates.<sup>22</sup> These already high rates were also considered by some to be low estimates, as, by the admission of various medical officers in the Philippines, it was likely that men were either not reporting their illness in order to maintain clean medical records and reputations or seeking treatment in non-army facilities.<sup>23</sup>

Military action to control the infection rates due to interracial sexual contact in the Philippines was almost immediate upon arrival. Andrew Jimenez Abalahin, in his 2003 dissertation, details the various ways in which the U.S. military regulated the sexual economy, such as; the regular inspections of prostitutes, the creation of special military run vice towns whose purpose was to quarantine such dangerous intercourse, the regular inspection of the

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<sup>19</sup> Report of Major Herbert W. Cardwell, Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1899, “first place,” was used to describe the prevalence of venereal disease in most Annual Reports of the Surgeon General after 1910.

<sup>20</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1901, 171-172.

<sup>21</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1901, 132.

<sup>22</sup> A chancroid is a genital ulcer or sore that is sexually transmitted.

<sup>23</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1901, 172.

garrison, having churches take over the treatment and quarantine of prostitutes so as to distance the civil government from scandal, and the issuing of special medical prophylactics to troops.<sup>24</sup> In 1901, when the governance of the Philippines shifted from military to civil, the U.S. government in the islands continued many of the military measures, even copying some of the military methods of quarantine to use for vice districts in the city of Manila.<sup>25</sup> News of the U.S. colonial policy of regulating and licensing prostitution was quick to reach the ears of the Americans at home and in the Philippines, with many reform and purist leagues eager to take on this new issue as their cause celebre.<sup>26</sup> Colonial administrators like the military, were very strategic about how best to handle mounting concerns over interracial relations, concerns that often mirrored their own but were more often than not supplanted by the primacy of keeping the colony running as smoothly as possible. Prostitution, while it was not encouraged among the American military troops (although it was generally accepted), was believed to bring an amount of stability to an otherwise restless garrison. Further, more than a few American colonial officials as well as civilians partook in the sexual economy.<sup>27</sup> As it was predominantly American men in and running the colony, their privileges were unlikely to disappear easily.

Similar to the issue of drinking in the military, one method of downplaying the lasciviousness associated with prostitution and those that would seek it out – in this case, the U.S. garrison that was seen as integral to the mission in the Pacific – was to infantilize the troops,

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<sup>24</sup> Andrew Jimenez Abalagin, "Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity, (2003). See also the work of Ken DeBovoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, (1995).

<sup>25</sup> Andrew Jimenez Abalagin, "Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity, (2003).

<sup>26</sup> For example, the WCTU was quick to send a representative to inspect the vice situation in Manila, as noted by Abalagin. See also: Affairs in the Philippine Islands, 57<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Doc. #331, part 2, *Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines to the United States Senate*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).

<sup>27</sup> See the memoirs of A.V.H. Hartendorp for explicit accounts of his time spent in Manila redlight districts. His account further points to the prevalence of brothel visitation by many American men, military and otherwise. The memoirs of A.V.H. Hartendorp are detailed in chapter 4 of this dissertation, paying special attention to the discussion of his own sexual escapades in the archipelago. See also, Motoe Terami-Wada, "Karayuki-San of Manila: 1890 -1920," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 34, 1986. Also, see the various Medical Reports and Congressional Hearings in the U.S. on the affairs in the Philippine Islands, where prostitution is mentioned frequently.

making them the hapless victims of circumstance in the Philippine islands. The above noted resignation that the soldier would “take his fun where he finds it” pervaded reports about the health of the troops in the tropics. Concerned officers in the military implored the war department for addition funding to create recreation rooms and other forms of “wholesome entertainment.” Without more wholesome recreation, “the men, in seeking amusement drift into the neighboring barrios where they find the ever present American saloon, the native intoxicating drinks, the houses of prostitution, and the native clandestine prostitutes.”<sup>28</sup> One military chaplain reported that,

the demoralizing influence of the barrios is, as at other posts in the islands, playing havoc with the morals and physical condition of the men. This can only be offset, even to a degree, by giving them a large, well-lighted, attractive room for a loafing place, with all kinds of amusements. If a good magic lantern could be passed around among the chaplains with a large number of sets of slides for lectures, it would help.<sup>29</sup>

Here, promiscuity is transformed into boredom and unwitting circumstance, as if soldiers were being preyed upon by the seedy peddlers of vice. Ways to “entertain” away the urge to fornicate with foreign women was one of the most popular campaigns of reformers as well as the military. What’s more, the process of creating an aura of impunity around the American soldier was concomitant with the villainizing of Filipinos.

The rationalizing of high rates of venereal disease in annual official reports relied heavily on the depiction of the Philippines and its people, particularly Filipina women, as being overwhelmingly diseased and unclean. In army posts with high rates of infection, it was often noted that the post was not too far from or built within a native town.

Every post has its neighboring village, and in some instances the posts are built in the native town. Reference has been made in another place to the frequent occurrence of cholera epidemics in these villages and the dangers therefrom of

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<sup>28</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the Department of War, 1911, 105.

<sup>29</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the Department of War, 1911, 105.



infection in the post. The incidents of malarial fevers, alcoholism, dysenteries, and venereal diseases is certainly increased by the proximity of these towns.<sup>30</sup>

As venereal disease rates in the Philippine garrison grew to surpass those in the U.S., medical officials blamed “the abundance of native prostitutes,” the cheapness of said women, and “the prevalence of venereal diseases among them.” Further adding insult to the largely catholic country, the Philippines was often referred to as a place where, “there ain’t no ten commandments.”<sup>31</sup> The idea of “unclean” Filipina women was formally circulated to the troops, one example being the early 1899 efforts of the chief surgeon to the U.S. army, Colonel Henry Lippincott. Lippincott created a health and sanitation circular that was distributed to the army corps bound for the Philippines. In it, he recommends avoiding the native people of the islands, who he warns, are “notoriously careless of all sanitary laws, and are infected with numerous diseases.” Much in line with the contemporary ideology of the time that feared foreign contagion and expressed this through various racist depictions, he further states that “intercourse with them will be dangerous...All kinds of venereal diseases are very prevalent among the natives in the towns.”<sup>32</sup> While Lippincott’s circular initially reads as a warning against any type of social “intercourse” with native Filipinos, his final reference to venereal disease demonstrates both the odiousness of speaking publicly about interracial sexual contact, as well as the double meaning behind his use of the word “intercourse.” Lippincott’s warning, however, and the warning of others that would follow in his concern, were inconsequential, as American soldiers sought out “immoral pursuits” and entertainment off-base.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the Department of War, 1911, 136-137.

<sup>31</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the Department of War, 1911, 105.

<sup>32</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1899. Report of Colonel Henry Lippincott, 132.

<sup>33</sup> Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1899, 129; Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the War Department, 1901, 135.

Even those few Americans that would defend the virtue of Filipina women were guilty of simultaneously depicting them as sexually suggestive and dangerous temptations for American men lacking in amusements. For example, one medical officer noted in 1902 that venereal disease rates in the islands would be much higher if it were not for the Filipina woman, “who, as a class, I do not hesitate to say, are fully as virtuous as their American sisters.”<sup>34</sup> Just a few lines down in this report, however, he describes the Filipina as, “the dusky hued senorita who sells [the American soldier] bananas, and engages his fancy by the shy way she accepts his compliments, and the bewitching manner in which her full rounded breast peeps out from beneath her pinna chemisa, with never a suggestion, perhaps, as to the troubles *she* might bring him” [emphasis original].<sup>35</sup>

Both depictions, that of the diseased and unclean native woman as well as the romanticized notion of the “shy” Filipina maidens who pose sexual risks to otherwise unsuspecting American soldiers, belies one of the truths of the sexual economy for many Filipina women. Namely, prostitution for many women was just that; an economic system of support and necessity. Indeed, as Abalahin notes in his study, the influx of such a large military population to the Philippines drew sex workers from the surrounding areas of Asia and beyond to travel to the islands. In addition, the influx of currency that U.S troops brought with them inflated the number of Filipina sex workers, as more native women were willing to enter into prostitution at the prospect of higher incomes.<sup>36</sup> Even with the various regulations enacted concerning prostitution and the potential income losses to come from them, many Filipina and other women found ways to work around formally erected systems designed to probe their bodies and keep

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<sup>34</sup> G.E. Seaman, M.D., “Some Observations of a Medical Officer in the Philippines,” *Milwaukee Medical Journal*, Vol. 10, Issue 7, 1902. 188.

<sup>35</sup> “Pinna chemisa,” or, pina kamisa, refers to the pineapple fiber (pina) cloth blouse, known as a kamisa, worn by many women in the Philippines.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Jimenez Abalahin, “Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity,” (2003), 285.

them quarantined. For example, in the province of Calamba where venereal disease rates were reported to be as high as 50%, women who had tested “clean” in U.S. run inspections for venereal diseases shared their U.S. issued “health certificates” with other women, ensuring that their friends could also still earn incomes, despite American efforts.<sup>37</sup>

Filipina women were not the only ones taking matters into their own hands in the face of U.S. attempts to control their lives. Filipino men too tried to use or manipulate the sexual economy to bolster their own positions in the new American colonial regime. Abalagin describes how previous Spanish colonial prostitution regulations were immediately taken up by newly the appointed Filipino leaders. In fact, Emilio Aguinaldo, the new president of the Philippines, signed off on prostitution regulations for the provincial government of Cavite in early August of 1898. The new mandates came on the heels of the Spanish departure from the islands and made mention of “the foreign element,” (most likely referring to the large new population of American military troops in the city) who were complaining about the prevalence of venereal diseases. The regulations encouraged the local authorities to make the “most decorous publicity” of enforcing the new rules, “so that the diseases previously mentioned shall not continue to develop in the form observed by the foreign element,” and further instructed them to try to prevent scandals from occurring in brothels. Abalagin notes that, “the point seems to have been not only to see to it that disease was prevented but *to be seen to be so doing* by the Americans” (emphasis original).

Adding to this observation, I suggest that these Filipino officials, in wanting to be seen by the “foreign element” asserting control over prostitution, were also interested in displaying their capacity as successful leaders over the affairs of the country. By letting the American foreigners

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<sup>37</sup>Annual Report of the Surgeon General to the Department of War, (1901), 172.

observe the steps being taken to prevent disease and maintain hygienic conditions, these Filipino men were showing themselves to be capable of effectively running their own country without the help of a U.S. commissioned governing body. The emphasis on scandals being prevented in brothels further demonstrates that Filipinos were keenly aware that such issues would reflect upon their leadership, and moreover, would reflect upon the capacities of the Filipino population of the islands as a whole. Prostitution, already an institution associated with infamy, necessitated an even closer watch if Filipino leaders were to prove that they were “civilized” and capable of self-rule.

Prostitution in the Philippines proved to be both a necessity and a nuisance to U.S. imperial efforts. The sexual economy and control over it served many different purposes for the different populations who held a stake in the future of the islands. For the U.S. military, the need to maintain and control prostitution was indispensable to their mission of maintaining and controlling their position of power in the archipelago. Often not depicted as a part of the battle against vice, American military officials, doctors, and army chaplains all played a role in the shaping of colonial policy regarding interracial sexual contact, often agitating for prophylactic education, more “wholesome” amusements, and more segregated regiments. Filipino men too, had a hand in the design of interracial sexual relations, their actions often reflecting desires for national sovereignty. Often not advocating the complete eradication of vice districts and regulated prostitution like their more vocal counterparts – such as the W.C.T.U., or the Y.M.C.A –these actors expressed their dissatisfaction with the state of interracial intercourse in the islands, often opting for less comprehensive reform initiatives that would not necessarily destabilize national or imperial goals. Filipina women who worked within the sexual economy did what they could to curtail the effects of these initiatives. Despite the collateral issues that arose for the U.S.

military from widespread prostitution, such as high rates of non-effective soldiery due to venereal disease, prostitution was still understood to be an integral piece of military success. The abhorrence of interracial sexual relations with “repulsive” Filipinas was not enough to reign in the sexual appetites of soldiers. For many Filipinos, on the other hand, the sexual economy offered a way to undermine U.S. imperial rule and negotiate their own positions in the changing political climate. Even with the decline of a military population in the islands, interracial relations within the sexual economy continued to present tensions for U.S. imperialism abroad. As new, non-military populations came to the islands, in particular, women, families, businesses, and missionary groups, the idea of “dangerous intercourse,” found new life in vice eradication and reform efforts centered on-site in Manila. In the years to come, prostitution and interracial intimacies in general would continue to be a polarizing force in the Philippines, especially between the so-called “moral police,” and those they were policing.

### **Crimes of Passion – The Trials of Interracial Intercourse**

In 1907, a scandalous murder case involving lies, infidelity, and interracial sex rocked Manila to its core, causing ripples in the community for months to come on the topic of interracial marriage and relations. “Manila’s Case of Dementia Americana,” headlined the newspapers on the morning of Thursday, June 13<sup>th</sup>, detailing the slaying of an American named Charles A. Pitman by fellow American Chester A. Davis. Davis, the papers reported, was a former member of the Seventeenth Artillery turned Manila firefighter, and was recently married to a young Filipina, Inez Torres Davis. Mr. Davis, it was reported, had discovered that the rumors of his wife’s infidelity were apparently true and in a fit of jealous and blinding rage dubbed “Dementia Americana,” shot and killed her rumored lover.<sup>38</sup> The killing of Charles Pitman by Chester Davis was proof positive to American moral police in the islands that they

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<sup>38</sup> “Manila’s Case of Dementia Americana,” *The Manila Times*. vol.ix, no. 208, June 13, 1907, 1, 6.

were fighting a righteous war against interracial intimacies, and they seized the opportunity that this scandal had brought up to press their concerns upon the rest of the American community. This proved to be an easy task, as the trial of Chester Davis became a public spectacle, pulling in the rapt attention of the Manila public. Much of the media attention came to focus on Davis' Filipina wife Inez rather than on the murder committed, going over the details of her supposedly sordid life before and after she married Chester Davis. Indeed, in examining the media depiction of this sensation, it becomes clear that the American public sympathized with the two white men involved in this crime, despite the implications about their morality. Filipinas, on the other hand, through the body of Inez Davis, were depicted as sexually promiscuous and threatening to the health of white men in the tropics.

Mary Elizabeth Holt, in her book *Colonizing Filipinas*, describes this press attention on Inez Davis. In particular, the reports depicting her as childlike and naïve, but nonetheless libidinous and dangerous because of the dual factors of her gender and race.<sup>39</sup> *The Manila Times* of June 13<sup>th</sup>, describing Mrs. Davis as “notorious,” stated that, “her reputation was known to every member of the force both American and Filipino,” implying that she had sustained illicit sexual relations with numerous men. The presses even took to calling Inez Davis simply, “the woman,” “girl,” or “bride,” further anonymizing her and limiting any sympathy that she might garner by typifying her. This scandalizing and infantilizing of Inez Davis reveals the public sentiment that Mr. Davis was not entirely to blame for his actions, and perhaps may be the biggest victim of all in this sad course of events.

While Chester Davis was undoubtedly viewed by the media as an immoral man and a degenerate, Holt observes that this characterization was tempered in a way that it is not for Inez Davis. For example, the press was quick to speculate as to the sanity of Mr. Davis, and also

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<sup>39</sup> Mary Elizabeth, Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas* ( 2002).

spread the rumors that he may possess some other kind of mental incapacitation such as tropical neurasthenia, thus explaining why an otherwise good American man had become degraded in this manner. Even the press details about the circumstances of the Davis wedding evoke sympathy for Mr. Davis. Threatened by the mother of Inez to marry or face charges of seduction on account of Inez being six months pregnant, Davis can be presented as an American who “did right” by marrying his Filipina lover, despite his aversion to such a thing. “The morning of the day they were married,” the *Times* reported, “Davis either was or acted as if he was despondent and desperate at the thought of having to marry the girl, and while telling his troubles to Deputy Chief Samuelson he handled his revolver in such a way as to intimate that he might use it on himself.”<sup>40</sup>

The details about the private lives of Mr. and Mrs. Davis were also aired in the courtroom and the sympathy shown towards Mr. Davis in the press also found its way into the final ruling of the court. While the standard punishment for murder in the colony ranged from life imprisonment to execution, Davis received only a life imprisonment sentence. The judge found reason not to condemn him to execution, “the extenuating circumstances he decided, offset the aggravating circumstances in the case.”<sup>41</sup> In other words, while Davis was found guilty of the aggravated crime of murder, the extenuating circumstances surround his case – i.e. the sordid past and the present sexual debauchedness of his unfaithful Filipina wife – counterbalanced this, thereby affirming the idea that Mr. Davis was in many ways a victim, not solely responsible for the unfortunate course of events that his life had taken.<sup>42</sup>

The legal proceedings of the Davis case brought the topic of interracial intimacies into the public arena as the spectacle highlighted to many the dangers of miscegenation and created

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<sup>40</sup> “Girl says she loved Pitman rather than Davis,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 209, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1907.

<sup>41</sup> “Davis Sentenced to Life,” *The Manila Times*, June 29, 1907. 1.

<sup>42</sup> “Davis Sentenced to Life,” *The Manila Times*, June 29, 1907. 1.

the opportunity for extra-legal moral policing. American residents of Manila were soon writing to the public opinion sections of the *Manila Times* to vilify interracial marriages, prompting defenders of these relationships to write in urging readers to not take the Davis case as law. While some, like the anonymous “Mrs. Lingo Lyon” were quick to use the Davis case to argue that miscegenation was a social evil that should be eradicated, others, mostly men married to Filipinas and even one Filipina married to an American, wrote to the paper of their “happy” interracial marriages.<sup>43</sup> Holt points out, however, that while many men married to or in relationships with Filipinas were quick to defend themselves and their marriages, all but one chose not to identify himself publicly.<sup>44</sup> The closeted nature of interracial intimacies in Manila prevailed, with even most of those that would speak out in its defense not wanting to divulge their identities or acknowledge their own relationships in public lest they be labeled a degenerate “squaw man,” and be cast out from polite American society.

Social shunning, however, could prove to be the least of one’s problems if discovered to be in a clandestine relationship with a Filipina woman. For example, as more details of the Davis case were revealed through witness testimony, it was brought to the attention of the court that one of Chester Davis’s co-workers at the fire station was also a “squaw man.” Frank W. Schenck, a witness for the murder trial, was forced to divulge information regarding his own relations with Filipina women during his testimonial. “Schenck told the court that he had sustained illicit relations with Inez Davis prior to her marriage...During the cross examination Schenck admitted that he was a married man, or, as he put it, ‘as good as married under the Spanish law...’”<sup>45</sup> Being in a common-law marriage with a Filipina and having had numerous liaisons with other Filipina

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<sup>43</sup> “An American Woman on Marriage Between Americans and Filipino Women,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 314, July. 2, 1907. 6

<sup>44</sup> Mary Elizabeth Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, (2002), 146.

<sup>45</sup> “Davis Awaits Unknown Fate,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 401, June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1907. 6.



women, including the wife of the accused, elicited the ire of the Judge, who lambasted Schenck and further proclaimed that, “men who run with prostitutes are as low as the prostitutes themselves...a man that will associate with prostitutes does not deserve any protection. Men who behave need have no fear of the courts.”<sup>46</sup> The day after Schenck gave his testimony, he was suspended from his job at the fire station pending a review, on account of “rule 12 of section 6 of the civil service manual, which makes immorality sufficient cause for dismissal from the government service.”<sup>47</sup> One month after Schenck testified, having adding to the insinuations of Mrs. Davis’s lewd nature and in turn helping Davis seem more innocent, he was declared discharged from the city service.<sup>48</sup> Men like Schenck who were employed in more vulnerable and expendable government positions could be made example of in this way, no doubt another reason why many men chose to keep their “queridas” in secret. Indeed, other witnesses called in the Davis trial revealed that they too were guilty of being “immoral” in their nocturnal habits, one witness even pleading with the prosecuting attorney to shield his identity from the case, “for the sake of his wife and children.”<sup>49</sup>

Other “crimes of passion,” as I will refer to them here, similarly brought the scandalous sexual behaviors of American men in the Philippines before courts and juries, although none of them quite captured the attention of the public like the Davis case. Aside from demonstrating how such highly public spectacles corralled the interest of moralists and depicted the men and women involved in sexual arrangements that were dubbed “immoral,” these crimes also illustrate how some American men merited more leniency and forgiveness than others. As we shall see, the disparate types of sentencing and consequences as well as the varied interest of the American

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<sup>46</sup> “Davis Awaits Unknown Fate,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 401, June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1907. 6.

<sup>47</sup> “Schenck Dropped: Fireman Who Testified at Davis Trial is Suspended,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 402, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1907. 3.

<sup>48</sup> “Schenck Discharged,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 332, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1907. 3.

<sup>49</sup> “Davis Awaits Unknown Fate,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 401, June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1907. 6.

community often were determined not by the severity or gruesomeness of the crimes but by the race and gender of both the perpetrator and victim. For example, the typical punishment in cases of murder ranged from the death by execution to 20 years of jail time. The death penalty for the crime of murder was avoided in the case of the Davis trial, even though he had shot and killed another white American man. In this case, he was sentenced to life imprisonment rather than execution, his whiteness and the supposed depravity of his Filipina wife tempering his sentence.<sup>50</sup>

Aside from the salacious details that arose in the Davis case, part of the reason why it garnered explosive amounts of attention from the American community was, as an interrogation of various “crimes of passion” will show, was because both the victim and the perpetrator were white men. Similar crimes with non-white victims and/or perpetrators, for example, did not garner such protracted interest. For example, in 1917, an Irish American “oldtimer” murdered his Filipina wife of 10 years. James Kelly, the perpetrator of the crime, had married Praxedes Velasco in 1907, when he was 25 and she was 14. According to the newspaper coverage, the husband and wife had a “violent quarrel,” after which Kelly stabbed Velasco 17 times with a butcher knife. Shortly after the crime, Kelly turned himself in to the local secret service authorities in Manila and confessed what he had done.<sup>51</sup>

In the case of Kelly, there was no media spectacle over the crime, even though it was a more violent murder than the shooting involved in the Davis case. Indeed, Kelly’s repeated and violent stabbing of Velasco with a butcher knife was less interesting to the American press than the current debates going on about whether or not dance halls in Manila were immoral. The disinterest in his case was also reflected in the open and closed nature of his trial and sentencing,

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<sup>50</sup> Brief outline of sentencing parameters in the article, “Tomorrow at Eight’ O Clock,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 301, June 17, 1907, 1.

<sup>51</sup> “Kelly Kills Filipino Wife,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 184, May 23, 1917, 1.

as Kelly was arraigned and sentenced within the same morning, the day after the murder of his wife. According to the *Manila Times*, the couple had quarreled often for the past several years and separated for brief amounts of time, but would reconcile as neither wanted to give up custody of their four children. During his testimony, Kelly described the day of the murder, saying that his wife was irrationally “moody and ill-tempered.” Scared that she was going to leave him and not return, he sent his children to visit with a nearby relative of hers, believing that she would not leave the vicinity without the children in hand. As Kelly describes,

She then told me she didn’t care where I might send the children and even went so far as to say that she wouldn’t care a bit even if I threw them into the Pasig river, and that if she went away she would go to some other place. Then she spoke of the loss of her affection for me. This made me mad. I lost my self-control and consciousness, took a knife – and don’t know what happened next.<sup>52</sup>

Velasco’s supposed statement that she did not care about the fate of her children, whether accurate or not, reflect, I believe, not that she was uncaring towards her children but that she was frustrated by and desperate to leave her husband. Shortly after she had made the above statement about not caring for her children, she tells her husband that it is *him* that she has no more affection for. This, rather than the purported statement about the children, is what caused Kelly to become enraged. His anger over her lack of feelings for him rather than the comments about the children suggest that he understood her statement of indifference towards the children to be exaggerated statement made under duress as well. Ultimately, Kelley pleaded guilty to the charges, and, “in view of his confession to the court that he committed the crime while he was enraged, he was given a term of 14 years, eight months and one day in Bilibid prison and ordered to pay an indemnity of P1,000 to the heirs of the deceased without subsidiary imprisonment in case of insolvency.”<sup>53</sup> Despite the nature of the crime as demonstrating more intent to kill and

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<sup>52</sup> “Kelly Tells of His Crimes,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 185, Thurs., May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917. 1.

<sup>53</sup> “Kelly Tells of His Crimes,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 185, Thurs., May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917.1.

being more gruesome, 17 stabs as opposed to firing a single bullet in the case of Davis, Kelly's case was treated as if it was less horrific, his sentencing more lenient and public interest being almost inconsequential.

Another difference in the cases of Kelly and Davis, in addition to their disparate sentencing for the crime of murder and the amount of attention paid by the American community, was in who was passing their sentences. In the Davis trial, a white American judge presided and sentenced him to life imprisonment. In 1917, in the case of Kelly, a Filipino judge presided. Vivencio del Rosario was the arraigning and sentencing judge in the case of Kelly. Rosario had served in the Philippine Civil Service since 1902. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly why Rosario was lenient in the case of an American killing a Filipina. Whether he had nationalist leanings or was cooperative with Americans is difficult to discern, and the lines between the two were often complicated and blurry, especially as it concerned interracial sexual intercourse. While one could attribute the lenient sentencing to the cooperation and confession of Kelly, it could also perhaps have been that Rosario was sympathetic to Kelly, as he had, unlike many Americans that had sexual relations with Filipinas, actually settled in the islands and married. On the other hand, in the environment of impunity that generally insulated the American community, the sentence of 14 years for the charge of homicide may have been quite significant and harsh in comparison. It may also have been the case that Rosario did not wish to appear overly strict with the American, having his own career in mind, as the Governor General and many other high ranking officials were still American, and could potentially adversely impact his career if they felt that he was guilty of "judicial activism" or too closely identifying with the Filipina victim. What is more discernible from the sparse coverage of this trial is that this

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1,000 Philippine pesos is today roughly equivalent to \$23.00. Around 1917, P1,000 would have been roughly around \$2000 USD.

Filipina murder victim was less important and interesting to the American community than the white male victim in the Davis case.<sup>54</sup>

While the lives of white Americans like Davis and Kelly were often safeguarded even though they had committed the crime of murder, other Americans could not rely on their race or other circumstances to protect them. The case of Augustus Hicks, an African American charged with the murder of his Filipina mistress, demonstrates the discrepancies in legal treatment. Hicks lived in Cotabato, a town in the southern island of Mindanao. Between 1902 and 1907, he and his lover, Augustina Sola, a Christian Moro woman, lived together in an “illicit” common-law marriage. In November of 1907, Sola ended the relationship and went to live with a nearby relative. According to court records, she had “contracted new relations with another negro named Wallace Current, a corporal in the army,” only a few days after her split with Hicks. One evening in late December, Hicks and a companion called upon Sola and Current at the home of Sola’s brother-in-law. An argument between Hicks and Current ensued, followed by a scuffle. At some point, Hicks took out a revolver and fired a single bullet at Sola, fatally injuring her. She died within the hour. Although the details of the fight that broke out before the gun was fired are conflicting, Hicks and Current giving different descriptions of what had occurred, Hicks was charged with murder, and sentenced to death by execution. Hicks appealed this decision to the Supreme Court in Manila but the decision of the lower court was upheld.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> In March of 2014, Kelly and Velasco’s youngest child passed away at the age of 98. In the article about Irene Velasco Kelly’s life, it describes how she and her sisters were orphaned in 1917 after both of their parents “died tragically.” It is possible that Kelly may have committed suicide after his sentencing in 1917, but it is just as likely that the children were told a lie to spare them from the truth and potential shame of having not only a parent in jail, but also for having a father who murdered their mother. Rather than tell the children of the murder of their mother and the jailing of their father, being tragically “orphaned” would make more sense in the safeguarding of the children’s future. This sanitizing of the truth also further has protected the legacy of Kelly, obscuring the reality of his crime. “Military Salute to Former Guerilla Nurse,” *Kalatas Australia*, April 28, 2014. Accessed on August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014 at ; <http://kalatas.com.au/2014/04/08/military-salute-to-former-guerrilla-nurse/>

<sup>55</sup> The United States vs. Augustus Hicks, G.R. no. 4971, (Manila, Philippines, 1909).

As with Davis and Kelly, the dissolution of Hick's relationship with a Filipina woman preceded the crime that he would go on to commit. Unlike the previously described cases, however, Hicks was sentenced to death by execution, this sentencing affirmed by the Supreme Court. Hick's crime was similar to the murder committed by Davis, wherein both men had gone to the home of their victim with a firearm, and inflicted a single fatal gunshot wound upon said victim. Unlike Davis, however, who was looked upon with pity because his racial whiteness marked him as innocent, corrupted not by his own nature but because of the climate of the tropics and the influence of his prurient wife. Hicks, however, did not have the benefit of his race working for him in his trial and sentencing. Unlike white bodies in the tropics that supposedly needed protection for their physical and moral well-being, racial blackness garnered hostility in line with the racist attitudes of the time. For example, the sending of Black military regiments to the Philippines was met with hesitation and concern, many imperialist Americans claiming that they would be an immoral influence upon impressionable Filipinos.<sup>56</sup> Further, the idea that Black men were sexually licentious was not a new one, this notion making its way into imperial rhetoric and concerns. For example, more frequent rotation and early withdrawal of Black troops was orchestrated by Governor General Taft in 1902, who believed that these units got along "too well with the native women," this familiarity being "demoralizing" for Filipinos.<sup>57</sup> So while white men having sex with Filipinas was often overlooked and even catered to in the case of regulated military brothels, black sexuality came to be regulated more heavily in the islands.<sup>58</sup>

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Records obtained at, "The LawPhil Project, Philippine Laws and Jurisprudence Databank," accessed on August 21, 2014, [http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1909/sep1909/gr\\_4971\\_1909.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1909/sep1909/gr_4971_1909.html).

<sup>56</sup> Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 280; Willard B. Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees: Letters from Negro Soldiers 1898- 1902*, (University of Arkansas Press, 1987).

<sup>57</sup> Willard B. Gatewood, (1975), (1987).

<sup>58</sup> Stuart Creighton Miller. *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (Yale University Press, 1982), 193. See also : Cynthia L. Marasigan, *'Between the Devil and the Deep Sea': Ambivalence*,

These ideas of too close intimacies with Filipina women were also informed by imperialist fears that Black soldiers would feel racial solidarity with Filipinos, leading them in turn to desert their regiments and join the cause of Filipino “insurrectos.” Thus even though interracial intercourse between people of color in the U.S. was deemed relatively non-threatening, with efforts to police interracial sex focusing namely on encounters between white women and men of color, the imperial project in the Philippines had specific concerns about non-white interracial encounters.<sup>59</sup> Intercourse between African Americans and Filipinos were thought to be dangerous in a way that differed from those between white Americans and Filipinos, manifesting fears not only about sexual impropriety and immorality, but also of non-white racial solidarity and military mutiny. Along with different set of dangers that were attached to these examples of intercourse, African Americans in the Philippines also had to contend varying degrees of racism from the American community, many who chose to stay in the islands with their Filipina wives or otherwise also choosing to live outside of large American populations.<sup>60</sup> With all of these considerations, it is not surprising that Hicks’ sentencing was more severe and uncompromising in comparison to those of his white counterparts. Unlike the cases of Davis and Kelly where white American men got away with murder, Hicks was made to pay with his life.

Like the more urgent danger that was posed by supposed black sexual immorality, the next case highlights a similar intensified danger stemming from sexual intercourse considered deviant. In this case, the idea of a scandal involving non-heteronormative sexual violence was so

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*Violence, and African American Soldiers in the Philippine-American War and Its Aftermath* (University of Michigan, 2010), Ph.D.Dissertation.

<sup>59</sup> Peggy Pascoe. *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>60</sup> Cynthia Marasigan, ‘*Between the Devil and the Deep Sea*,’ University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Dissertation, (2010).

disconcerting and dangerous to the imperial project that colonial authorities had to secretly deal with the issue, hushing up the offense from the public as best they could. As the occurrence involved the U.S. military and was located in a region that was largely removed from the American community's purview, the concealing of this incident was more easily facilitated. What eventually happened to the perpetrator in this instance remains to be seen, but if one is to consider the deliberate covering up of this sexual crime, it is most likely that no sentence was ever served beyond a deportation back to the United States, and a quiet resignation from military service.

In 1910, complaints from members of the Philippine scouts in Palawan, an island off the southwestern coast of Luzon, began reaching the desks of American colonial officials. According to the complaints being made by Filipino scouts, an American scout commander in the region was taking, "unmentionable liberties with his muchachos and even his soldiers."<sup>61</sup> Captain Boss Reese of the U.S. military was accused of sexually violating male members of his household staff as well as Filipino scouts under his command multiple times, supposedly when he was possessed by "drunken rages."<sup>62</sup> Rather than confirm and publicly expose the rape of Filipinos by one of their own through visible disciplinary actions, American military officials attempted to control the flow of information regarding the offenses of Reese, court martialing instead (most likely for libel or slander), a scout who had filed a complaint with his department commander.

While the rape of Filipina women by both Black and white Americans in the Philippines often made fleeting headlines in the American presses, this case of deviant sexuality expressed

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<sup>61</sup> Letter to Major-General Leonard Wood, May 12, 1910. Bandholtz papers, Correspondence Box 2, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. "Muchacho," the Spanish word for a small boy, was one of the terms used to refer to a male household servant, typically Filipino or Chinese. These laborers were also called "houseboys," even though many were not children nor small boys, but adults, with their duties including cooking, cleaning, serving meals, serving as personal valets, etc.

<sup>62</sup> Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 103.



through violent interracial rape was deemed too dangerous to let loose upon the public imagination.<sup>63</sup> Upon examining the limited details of the case of Boss Reese, however, it may have been the case that the homosexual details of the crime mattered less to American administrators and military officials than the public scandal imperial disruption that might ensue were the case to become too public. In other words, were Reese's deviant sex acts the problem, or was the real danger in the publicity that his scandal might garner? While the amplitude of the scandal was of course attached to the deviance associated with homosexuality, it seems that the colonial officials who knew of the Reese case were able to compartmentalize and separate his acts from the consequences of those acts. The impetus to cover up the crimes of Reese suggest the gravity of the situation, although the correspondence between officials describing the scandal didn't necessarily reflect so much concern toward the sexual acts themselves as much as a concern over the continuing functionality of the scouts regiment, and the moral reputation of the U.S. regime in the face of growing Filipino nationalist demands.

For example, in the memorandum written by the Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, Harry H. Bandholtz to Major General Leonard Wood, he simply states that Reese has been accused of taking "unmentionable liberties" with his staff and scouts. He further reports that Reese tendered his resignation upon the charges against him, but that his resignation was "pigeon-holed," and not accepted by the superior officer. To allow Reese to resign amidst the charges of interracial same-sex rape would have been tantamount to a confession of guilt. The fact of Reese's resignation being blocked and not accepted by his superiors suggest that they would have kept him – a suspected sexual deviant – in his position until such a time when it was more convenient and less scandalous to find suitable replacement. Thus the prospect of Reese

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<sup>63</sup> "Colored Soldiers Outrage Women," *The Manila Times*, Sept. 2, 1899, 1; "Brutal Assault – Committed by Private of the 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry," *The Manila Times*, vol. 8, no. 487, Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1906, 1; "Violation Alleged," *The Manila Times*, vol. xii, no. 45, Dec. 1, 1909, 9.

being a suspected homosexual in a homo-social environment seems to have been of less concern to American officials than how his crimes might have been construed by Filipino Nationalists, who, as Bandholtz describes, are “daily becoming more loud-mouthed and blatant in their demands.”<sup>64</sup>

When the scandal threatened to leak out of the military’s control, a formal inquiry into the accusations against Reese was convened. It seems that even in this inquiry, Reese was treated leniently, and his removal from military service was still put off for the time being, as Bandholtz further reported to Wood in June of 1910 that, “practically all of the best scout captains will resign in a body if Reese is allowed to remain in the service.” The threat of mass resignation by the Filipino scouts signifies their disapproval of how the case had thus far been handled by Reese’s superiors as well as their distress about having to serve underneath someone who not only was guilty of sexually offending behavior, but was also labeled as a perverse deviant. The disquiet of the scouts was not unfounded, as American military officials handling the case were less concerned with the safety and apprehension of Filipino troops – as evidenced by their willingness to have Reese continue at his military post - than they were about the containment of the scandal. Had Reese been in command of American troops and accused of multiple acts of queer sexual violence, it is unlikely that he would have been kept in his command position for much longer.

Herein lies a crucial distinction that needs to be made in terms of how we understand the sexual transgressions of Reese. As Siobhan Somerville has demonstrated, the late nineteenth century development of ideas of racial difference are deeply intertwined with the creation of

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<sup>64</sup> Letter to General Wood, June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1910, Bandholtz papers, Correspondence Box 2, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

homo and heterosexual categories, their logics informing each other.<sup>65</sup> Western ideas of sexuality, as described in the case of Augustus Hicks, were imbued with racism that queered the bodies of people of color while simultaneously twining whiteness and heterosexuality, making the latter “normal” or standard. While this dissertation speaks largely to the ways in which Filipinas were often imagined by Americans as sexually available and often lascivious, racial logics also informed the queering of Filipino men. In this case, Filipino men in the Philippines were not viewed by Americans as particularly masculine, the racial imagery favoring rather, effeminate, queer or childlike depictions.<sup>66</sup> Even ideas of Filipino savagery were associated with a civilization being in its infancy, not signaling heteronormative masculinity.<sup>67</sup> Thus with the case of Reese, his transgressions against Filipino men could be marked as depraved, “unmentionable,” and queer, but were not necessarily as threatening to American administrators who were invested in *white* heterosexual masculinity. The rape of Filipino bodies imagined as queer need not even represent a homosexual act in the case of Reese, his sexual offences marking him as empowered and dominant over colonial wards marked as “other” both in terms of sexuality and race. The molestation of supposedly effeminate Filipino men, a non-threat to white heterosexual masculinity, was be tolerated more so than the scandal that might arise from it, especially as the case could provide Filipinos with more fodder for anti-imperial campaigns and press.

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<sup>65</sup> Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2000).

<sup>66</sup> See for example: Servando D. Halili, *Iconography of the New Empire: Race and Gender Images and the American Colonization of the Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: UP Press, 2003); Abe Ignacio, *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoon* (San Francisco, California: T-Boli Publishing, 2004); Alfred W. McCoy, *Philippine Cartoons: Political Caricature of the American Era, 1900-1941* (Vera-Reyes, 1985).

<sup>67</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

While the Reese case may have presented a problem for the American reputation in the islands, it did not threaten the imperial order wherein Americans were sexually dominant over Filipinos, rather, it reinforced this dominance. The Reese offenses, as all of the crimes discussed here, also illustrate the sexual impunity that was the general atmosphere for white men in the Philippines during the colonial period. White men like Davis, Kelly, and Reese could get away with murder and rape, emerging relatively unscathed and even protected by the American colonial administration. On the other hand, the sexual deviance associated with people of color like Augustus Hicks and the Filipino scouts made their lives and safety inconsequential for the U.S. imperial regime.

### **The “Social Evil”: Cohabitation, Marriage, Queridas, and the Problem of Policing**

In February of 1907, the largest American newspaper in the Philippines, *The Manila Times*, debuted a new regularly running section entitled, “In Woman’s Realm,” a testament to the growing number of American women and families who were settling down in Manila and attempting to create a U.S. simulacrum in the tropical soils of the islands.<sup>68</sup> In this news column, not only did women trade advice for how to survive in the tropics, such as how to cook American foods using local ingredients and how to dress for the humid weather, they also discussed their thoughts and opinions on contemporary issues. High on the list of disconcerting issues for these American women was the prevalence of interracial intimacies and other relationships between Americans and Filipinos that were deemed inappropriate. Thus with the growth of this new population and the resulting growth in concerns about morality and the social environment, interracial intimacies that were previously ignored, exploited and allowed to

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<sup>68</sup> “In Woman’s Realm,” *The Manila Times*, Vol. ix, no. 114, Feb. 21, 1907. 3.

Gleeck has also mentioned the beginnings of this news column as a significant moment for American women in the Philippines in his book. Lewis E. Gleeck, *The Manila Americans (1901-1964)* (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, Inc., 1977).

continue with little incident for the good of the empire came to be discussed and debated in public outlets and presses in Manila in a way that they had not been before. An explicit disapproval of and hard line against “dangerous intercourse” in policy was improbable for a colonial government bent on demonstrating a degree of social equality and “benevolence,” as demonstrated in the absence of any anti-miscegenation laws such as those so widespread in the U.S. The moral police, however, were not constrained by considerations of social equality for the good of empire, and declared that such intimacies were unquestionably debilitating and had no place in proper colonial society.

The changing population meant that American men who freely indulged in unequal and mostly exploitive sexual relationships with Filipina women (facilitated by their race, gender and imperial privilege) were now subject to a greater deal of scrutiny from their community. While the population of “moral police” – comprised of mostly well to do American women and members of missionary or church groups along with groups of concerned Filipino/as - was a relatively small population in comparison to the larger American community and military, they had the power to push for restrictions and regulations on the behavior of their countrymen, especially when broad coalitions were formed. That is not to say, however, that this population was able to affect every control on what they considered vice or immorality within the colony. As we shall see, the maintenance of a properly functioning colonial city required that American officials often ignore complaints or selectively engage reforms in a way that prioritized the security and longevity of the imperial project. Growing concerns over interracial sexual relationships beyond prostitution did not necessarily amount to growing sanctions or the formal regulation of such intimacies, revealing a gendered colonial structure that privileged white men’s sexual desires and colonial functionality while de-emphasizing the worries of reformers and

vilifying Filipina women and by extension, all Filipinos. Some white men who reveled in their sexual transgressions of the color line, as we have seen, could literally even get away with murder.

As the American population in Manila grew, so too did the efforts to beautify and promote the city as the up and coming rising star of the East. While some like the Manila Merchants Association did this by printing tour books and promoting and funding the annual Manila Carnival, others set themselves to the task of purification and proselytizing, aiming their efforts at the vice industries. American vice reformers in Manila took up several main causes, namely, the eradication of drinking, gambling, drugs and prostitution.<sup>69</sup> Prostitution, however, proved not broad enough to cover the range of interracial relations that reformers felt should be targeted, as querida relationships and other types of non-commercial interracial intimacies came under fire. Illegal sexual intercourse had to be differentiated from non-illegal sexual acts so that the local police districts would be aware of what came under their jurisdiction, and what did not, with prostitution falling under the former category, and co-habitation along with queridas under the latter. As Manila police could only legally respond to sexual acts that were deemed illegal, other types of interracial sexual transgressions came to be referred to as “social evils,” and came to fall under the “jurisdiction” of Manila’s “moral police.”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> A flourishing of tourist pamphlets, handbooks and guides sprang up toward the later part of the first decade of U.S. rule, many published by the Manila Merchants Association that would eventually come to be associated with the first overseas American Chamber of Commerce in Manila. Some of these merchant published guides included: Hamilton M. Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines*. (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1907); *Navy Guide to Manila and Cavite: A Practical Guide and Beautiful Souvenir*, (Manila, 1908); Daniel O’Connell and the Manila Merchants Association, *Manila: The Pearl of the Orient*, (Manila, 1908).

<sup>70</sup> Emanuel A. Baja, *Philippine Police System and Its Problems* (Manila: Pobre’s Press, 1933) 319.

“Morals Police” is how Baja terms the group that would police the problem of “immorality,” in general. From his description, this type of work was generally understood as work done outside of the actual police force by American and Filipina women. While the police would be responsible for scandalous acts perpetrated in public, or in annoyance of the public, “morals police,” he implies, would be more concerned with morality within private homes, 264-266.

Of the moral police constituents, white American women and American religious organizations took up as their greatest concern the well-being of white American men in the Philippines. In particular, the young men serving in the U.S. military who were so numerous in the islands in the first decade of the occupation were the primary recipients of this group's attention. While prostitution weighed heavily on the minds of these moral reformers, most intercourse – from the social to the sexual – was regarded as dangerous to the vitality of white American men, and the prestige of the American community in general. Like the military doctors and chaplains who had tended to the sexual ailments of white American men in the first few years of colonization, this group of new reformers would also frame their white countrymen as innocents deserving of protection and compassion. Even men who visited red-light districts and had Filipina mistresses, while considered a rough class of American by moralists, were often still given the benefit of the doubt by these groups. Many of these men were thought to suffer from what was called, “tropical neurasthenia,” a disease in which the tropical weather of the islands turned good American men into feeble-minded and weak men, susceptible to the advances of lascivious women. As Warwick Anderson describes the prevailing attitudes about this type of tropical incapacitation, “Whites near the equator seemed to become nervy and irresolute, their character dissolved under the strain, and their willpower failed.”<sup>71</sup> This idea of tropical nervousness and loss of vitality, coupled with the fact that many of the men who came to the Philippines via the U.S. army were very young made them choice beneficiaries of American reformist group efforts in the Philippines. These young “boys,” as they were affectionately dubbed, seemed in many ways above reproach for their sexual folly in the islands. In addition to the tropical climate and the perceived boyishness military men as a “happy-go-lucky” sort

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<sup>71</sup> Anderson, Warwick. *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Duke University Press, 2006).

shielded them from more deliberate scrutiny by many reformers.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, early American church and women's groups took it upon themselves not to berate or chastise too harshly these young Americans for their *queridas*, but to provide for them alternative wholesome amusements and activities amongst the company of their own countrymen *and* women.

Bishop Brent was one such moralist who believed in the need for alternate amusements for young American men in the islands. Brent served the Episcopal community in the Philippines from 1902 – 1917. He created the Columbia Club, a club that organized liquor-free dances and other events to “provide for the social and moral welfare of young men in Manila.”<sup>73</sup> Brent, like many imperialists of the time, believed that Filipinos needed American tutelage because they were as yet unfit to rule themselves. This ideology in turn justified his public disdain for interracial intimacies.<sup>74</sup> Brent often spoke out against interracial marriage, having even crafted a special 12 page sermon entitled, “Othello Preaches,” in which he detailed the evils of marrying outside one's race, drawing largely on his time spent in the Philippines.<sup>75</sup> Believing that the “tragedy of Othello is a piece of real life,” Brent used the ill-fated interracial marriage in the Shakespearean tragedy to outline his – and hence the Episcopal church in Manila's – stance on intermarriage.<sup>76</sup>

Apparently, in Brent's time spent abroad proselytizing in Asia, he had observed that intimate relationships between those from “the Eastern and Western hemispheres” were not suited to marriage, “especially if the Westerners be from the temperate zone and the Easterners

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<sup>72</sup> Evangelina Lewis Philippine Postcards Collection, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL. Popular postcards of the time depicted American Soldiers. Written on several postcards, these young men are described as: happy go lucky, and as “boys,” and that everyone is fond of them.

<sup>73</sup> Lewis E. Gleeck, *The Manila Americans* (1977), 68.

<sup>74</sup> Lewis E. Gleeck, *The Manila Americans* (1977), 77.

<sup>75</sup> Charles Henry Brent, “Othello Preaches,” from *Liberty and Other Sermons* (London and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., Boston: D.B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1906).

<sup>76</sup> Charles Brent, “Othello Preaches,” (1906), 173.



from the Tropics.”<sup>77</sup> Framing his beliefs within the doctrine of the church, and drawing from the example of the Shakespearean tragedy, Brent preached,

It remains true that ‘real differences of race never lose their separating force.’ They will always say, ‘Thus far, and no farther.’ Community of interests, natural or developed from capacity inherent in both parties, is the necessary foundation of all fellowship, intimacy or union of whatever sort...intuitively, one might say, men, as a general rule, make their selection of life partners from a restricted group, the delimitations of which run in concentric circles, the outermost being racial; within lie the national, the social and the religious...Love, in one sense, moves along the lines of least resistance. Hence it is normal and healthy that they who marry should make their selection from among those whose race, nationality, education and environment, social and religious, is akin to their own.<sup>78</sup>

Brent cites numerous cases of doomed interracial marriages that he had observed on his travels and, speaking specifically of the Philippines, stated that, “in considering the risk of intermarriage between American and Filipino we are basing our logic on large and indisputable experience, and are weighing in equal balances the happiness of two peoples.” His idea of the Columbia Club was inspired by these beliefs about racial separation, a belief that Brent did not limit to the institution of marriage. Indeed, Brent also attacked social intercourse as a gateway to illicit sexual liaisons.

To promote social intercourse is to promote marriage. Society is the hotbed of young love, and whoever is admitted on terms of equality may not be faulted if he count himself eligible for the highest prize...There is on the part of various earnest persons, though seldom among those who have lived in the Orient, a desire to promote close social intimacy between foreigners resident in Oriental countries and the natives. Many who advocate this would deprecate the thought of intermarriage. But freedom in the former promotes freedom in the latter, especially where young life is concerned.<sup>79</sup>

Brent’s vision of a socially and sexually segregated Manila and Philippines was shared by a large portion of the respectable American women residing in the islands, with whom he frequently teamed with in the pursuit of these goals. In February of 1907, the Women’s

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<sup>77</sup> Charles Brent, “Othello Preaches,” 175.

<sup>78</sup> Charles Brent, “Othello Preaches,” (1906), 169 – 179.

<sup>79</sup> Charles Brent, “Othello Preaches,” (1906), 169 – 179.

Auxiliary of the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) took up the charge of addressing the needs of the young men of Manila. In particular, they discussed the need for "systematic efforts to supply home influences" to these young men.<sup>80</sup> The Women's Auxiliary had gathered statistics on the living arrangements of the young men in Manila and, according to these numbers, found that only one in six was living in a setting with what they considered proper American influences. Most lived in military barracks, with Filipino families, or with their Filipina wives or mistresses. "This is a picture that needs no comment," the Women's Auxiliary declared, as they made plans to help the Y.M.C.A. expand its influence over these young men. This organization of American women found not only co-habiting or marriage to Filipinas to be a corrupting influence on young American men, but also viewed foreign influences and isolation from normative American ideals in general as degrading. By presenting these young men as hapless victims of the circumstances of living abroad in the tropics, reformers in turn presented themselves as charged with saving white bodies from the intrusion of foreign influence and foreign non-white women. So while legal forms of policing to ensure "morality" and the separation of the races could not be reproduced in the Philippines, the moral climate of white women's domesticity could be.

Undoubtedly the presence of these moral crusaders was felt by the U.S. male population in the islands, as some eventually began to self-censure their behavior (at least publicly) and that of others in the presence of white ladies. For example, public flirtation with Filipinas was discouraged at the Paco Fire Station in Manila, as "American ladies are always passing to and fro," and the fire chief did not wish to give the appearance of a scandalous establishment.<sup>81</sup> The intimate and sexual practices of American men in the Philippines, while having earlier been

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<sup>80</sup> "Needs of Manila's Young Men," *The Manila Times*, Vol. ix, no. 114, Feb. 21, 1907. 3.

<sup>81</sup> *The Manila Times*, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1907. Vol. ix, no. 209. 5.

overlooked, catered to, and for the most part allowed to go on with little consequence by the American colonial government, were now under the local jurisdiction of the moral police. In time, American and Filipino groups of moralists in Manila came to work together to contest immorality in general, their broader constituencies garnering more public attention and concessions.

### **Skirting the Issue: Dance Halls and the Divergent Interests of the Moral Police**

While hot button topics and issues like the Davis case and the problem of lacking “home influences” gave the American branch of the moral police an opportunity to publicly denounce interracial marriages and relations in general, they had many other opportunities to demonstrate their conviction and campaign strength, especially when in collaboration with Filipino/a moral reformers. The closure of public dance halls within the Manila city limits in the summer of 1917 was one such opportunity for an effective alliance. Legal and extra-legal policing coalesced in April of 1917 when the Filipino Mayor of Manila, Justo Lukban, along with a broad constituency of like-minded reformers, made it clear to the Manila press that they intended to do all in their power to shut down public dance halls in the city. Lukban expressed the opinion of the moral police when he stated that, “most dance halls now operating in the city are centers of immorality.” Similar to the taxi dance halls of America where Filipino men could go for entertainment, paying per dance with the employed dancers, dance halls in Manila flourished, only here, American men paid to dance with Filipinas.<sup>82</sup> Some institutions operated as a combination of cabaret/dance hall, where one could attend dance shows performed by Filipinas and also find separate dancing floors to dance with available partners for a small fee. Lukban, in his opposition to dance halls, was not denouncing dance as a form of entertainment, but

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<sup>82</sup> For more on Filipino men and taxi dance halls in the U.S., see: Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, ( 2006).

denouncing what he believed were fronts for prostitution and other illicit sexual relations. Requesting the help of the Philippine Health Service and the Philippine general Hospital, Lukban set out to prove that many of the women employed as dancers in the dance halls were also selling sex for money, often with their dance hall patrons.<sup>83</sup> When it was found that many of the dancers, called “bailarinas,” tested positive for venereal diseases, and that some dance halls were indeed fronts for brothels, the quest to close them down was also taken up by the American contingency of the Manila moral police. The Y.M.C.A. and its women’s auxiliary group, several church organizations, Filipino presses, and others collaborated on ways to help the cause of prohibiting the dance hall.<sup>84</sup> Women in particular, who were at this time seen as the keepers of the domestic realm, were sought out as natural allies in the crusade against the dance halls, the reputed ruiner of otherwise moral young women and men alike.

The ability of the dance hall to draw criticism from such a diverse group of people was in large part due to the ability of the dance hall to draw a diverse clientele. There were various types of dance halls, some that catered to mostly Filipino crowds, some that entertained a mixed group and drew many American military men, and other fancier cabaret type dance halls that the elite of Manila – white and Filipino - patronized. And while initially it was predominantly the Filipino and soldier patronized establishments that drew the most criticism, it was the eventually the more elite and American owned and patronized clubs that captured the attention of white moralists and prompted a coalition of moral police to action. In July of 1917, a few months after Mayor Lukban attempted to close down the first of the dance halls, Elwood Brow solicited the Women’s Club of Manila for support against the American owned Lerma Park cabaret and dance hall. The Women’s Club was an integrated organization in which elite Filipina women came to

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<sup>83</sup> “Lukban against the Dance Halls,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 163, April 26, 1917. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Popular Filipino presses like *La Vanguardia* and *El Ideal* frequently printed their support of Lukban his campaign to close the dance halls during this period of political agitation.

have a hand in shaping, especially after the first Filipina club president was elected in 1918.

Brown, an administrator of the Manila Y.M.C.A., wrote to the Women's Club imploring them to help in the struggle against dance halls.

The young Men's Christian Association desires, through you, to call the attention of the members of the Women's Club to the following fact – that largely by reason of the patronage and recognition given it by the American and European women of this community, the Lerma Park dance hall has come to have a certain air of respectability which the conditions there do not warrant. The members of your club probably do not know that many of the dancing girls employed at Lerma are women of ill fame; that it is definitely known that some of these women are a prolific source of venereal contagion; that many of the American and European young men who form the habit of visiting Lerma because it is “made respectable” by the presence of respectable women, wait until these women have gone...and straight away fall into temptation – not only to excessive drinking but to immorality as well.<sup>85</sup>

Brown's appeal to the Women's club counts on their investment in the respectability of racial whiteness in the city, and also presumes that they do not know about the “seedier” side of the establishment. In appealing to the “respectability” of the members of the Women's Club of Manila, Brown was putting their reputations on the line too in the case that they did not come to support the campaign for Lerma's closure. Brown's approach seems to have worked, as the “integrated” population of elite American, European, and Filipina women of the club readily agree that they did not want to be associated with any business even suspected of being an afterhours site of illicit interracial sexual relations even if they only visited the establishment to take in the entertainment on the cabaret side. It is harder to determine, however, if the Filipina membership of the club (many with Spanish ancestry) felt slighted at Brown's suggestion that it was the presence of American and European women at the Lerma – and hence not the presence of Filipinas, however elite they might be – that lent an air of respectability to the club. While it is likely that many of the Filipinas in the club did identify to some degree as European because of

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<sup>85</sup> “Bailarinas Are Diseased,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 235, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917, 1.

their whole or part Spanish ancestry, even the most elite and mestizo segments of the Filipino community were not necessarily considered equals by most Americans. This sentiment of racial superiority was undoubtedly present in the early years of the Women's Club, as evidenced by the solely white presidents of the club until 1918, when the first Filipina – former Manila Carnival Queen Pura Villanueva - was inaugurated as club president.<sup>86</sup>

Whether Filipina women had the same concerns as white American women did when they decided to support the Y.M.C.A. in boycotting the dance halls is debatable. Did the American women have in mind the welfare of the mostly Filipina dance hall girls? Did the Filipina membership share the concerns of Elwood Brown for the moral welfare of young American boys tempted into boozing and interracial sex, especially after having been essentially left out of his assessment of who constituted the “respectable” element of Manila society? The likeliest answer is that, while the mixed-race constituency of the Manila Women's Club united with men like Brown and Lukban in their support of dance hall closures, they had divergent interests in the issue, stemming from their different racial identities and imperial (colonial occupiers vs. colonial subjects) positionalities.

Brown undoubtedly sought solidarity with this club because of the social and political influence they had in the elite and white populations of Manila, also understanding that moral police groups would unilaterally oppose prostitution and the umbrella of “morality.” Brown's description of the susceptible white men who are easily seduced by the non-white women was certainly another reason for many members of the club to get involved, although it is doubtful that white and Filipina women shared the same degree of concern for white men's moral well-

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<sup>86</sup> Hazel M. McFerson, *Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002). The first Filipina president of the Women's Club of Manila was Pura Villanueva in 1919, who was from a prominent family from the Visayas. She was also one of the first Filipina queens of the Manila Carnival, in 1908.

being. Brown's description of the Lerma Club being a place where young white men who are otherwise virtuous, "fall into temptation," and "become infected constantly," by the supposedly disease ridden Filipina bailarinas may have, in fact, been an off-putting description for Filipina women in the organization. At the same time, elite Filipina women in the club may have cared little for and identified even less with the working class women who danced for a living in the cabarets and dance halls, preferring to distance themselves (at least socially) from the "notorious" bailarinas and other Filipinos who were thought to reflect poorly upon the merits of Filipino society. While many elite Filipina, especially those with European ancestry, may have identified with and counted themselves amongst the white population of the city, they likely understood the ways that public denigration of Filipina bailarinas would come to have consequences for them as well. For example, elite Filipinos objected to the display of "primitive" natives at the St. Louis world's fair, believing this to be an inaccurate representation of the people of the Philippines.<sup>87</sup> Whatever the impulses of elite Filipinas in this matter, it is reasonable to assume that they had more interest in reframing the discourse around bailarinas (and by extension all Filipinas) as women of loose morals than in the saving of white men's virtues.

The Women's Club of Manila, stating their resolution to "heartily cooperate with any movement having for its object the correction of the evils set forth in the letter aforesaid," pledged to write to the provincial governments where such dance halls were located, such as Rizal, Santa Ana, and Caloocan (all on the outskirts of Manila proper), asking that "steps be

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<sup>87</sup> Robert W Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

taken to suppress resorts having an unwholesome influence upon the community.”<sup>88</sup> In addition to boycotting Lerma Park, the ladies of the Women’s Club also resolved to have removed, anything American or European from these businesses. According to the Women’s Club resolution, many of the businesses in question had taken to displaying American flags, as well as the emblems of “other nations now joined in the war against Germany,” probably for the purpose of attracting American and European business. This association of white national emblems with lewd and immoral activity was not to be tolerated and the ladies of the club quickly decided to contact the Philippine Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the “consular representatives of the allied powers,” in order let them know of the improper use of their flags.<sup>89</sup>

This prompt desire to disassociate white national insignias and signs from the cabarets and dance halls surely aided in American pretenses of being bearers of civilization to the islands, as an American or European stamp upon an institution associated with prostitution was unquestionably a stain upon the reputation of whites in the archipelago. Further, the steps taken by the Women’s Club of Manila reinforced the idea of America’s benevolent mission, and obscured the fact that many of the dance halls were not only heavily patronized by Americans, but owned and operated by Americans as well. Thus the efforts of the moral police in the case of dance halls can be seen as aiding in the cause of U.S. empire overseas, as the concern over the physical and moral wellbeing of white men also translated into a strengthening of ideas of white respectability.

Not everyone in the colonial capital was as keen as the moral police to get rid of dance halls and the vice associated with them, as the male dominated presses were quick to point out. The boycott of the dance halls and cabarets – especially the American owned Lerma Club and

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<sup>88</sup> “Bailarinas Are Diseased,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 235, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917, 1, 3.

<sup>89</sup> “Bailarinas Are Diseased,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 235, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917, 1, 3.



Santa Ana Cabaret - called for by the Manila Women's Club was met with praise by some and hostility by others who defended the usefulness of the dance hall and cabaret in a community, they argued, with few other amusements. Many op-ed pieces and letters to the editor filled the American papers after the Women's Club declared its intentions to boycott the Lerma Park, a testament to the influence that these moral police had in the colonial society in Manila. *The Manila Times*, in fact, published its opinion on the matter, in support of the dance halls, in particular the "better class" of businesses such as Lerma Park and Santa Ana Cabaret. The American paper broke from the stance of the Manila moral police, stating that;

We believe the dance hall and the cabaret fill a legitimate need in this community. The dance hall furnishes amusement which can be made innocent, to hundreds of men who might find their pleasures in other resorts far more dangerous to the welfare and health of the community. It is as legitimate a factor of Manila society as is the cine...it is unfortunate that such an attack must necessarily hurt the capital invested in these enterprises...if it is at all possible to maintain a dance hall which does not present a menace to the community, the TIMES believes the institution should be maintained. There are hundreds of soldiers and sailors who find their only clean amusement in public dancing. Closing the dance halls is driving them to some other amusement far more perilous to the community.<sup>90</sup>

The *Times* continues by defending the Lerma Park and Santa Ana cabaret, describing in perhaps too great detail - as it might betray the reporters "objectivity" on the matter - the interior layouts of the respective clubs. The Santa Ana club, the author described, was designed so as to separate those who are attending a cabaret show from those who visit the club to dance with the bailarinas, versus the interior of the Lerma where such a separation of the two types of patrons is less structurally sound, consisting of a line of potted plants that separated the cabaret from the dance hall. For the *Times* writers, the spectre of interracial prostitution is not enough to warrant the destruction of "innocent" interracial intimacy through dancing. In fact, it is the spectre of prostitution, they argue, that necessitates the survival of the cabaret and dance hall, as without

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<sup>90</sup> "Dance Halls," *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 236, July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1917. 4

this amusement, the young soldiers and sailors would be “driven” to more immoral haunts. Ironically, men in support of dance halls played on and utilized the fear of interracial sexual intercourse to endorse businesses that foster such relations. It is clear from the defense of the American owned and patronized Lerma and Santa Ana clubs in particular that the immoral haunts being referred to are places with less of an American presence, most likely Filipino owned and patronized.

Other patrons and supporters of the dance halls wrote in with similar concerns for American men who might be “driven” to worse entertainments, questioning the logic of the Y.M.C.A. and Women’s Club actions. One writer asked the purpose of a boycott, insisting that if fewer women of good reputation visit the Lerma or Santa Ana, there will be fewer good women for the men to socialize with, and hence, they will more likely be “exposed to the lure of the bailarina.” He further states that, “If I were striving for the uplift of Lerma Park I should preach boycott to the bad bailarinas, not to the respectable women.”<sup>91</sup> Other men wrote in to the papers defending their patronage of Lerma and Santa Ana, saying that they visit these places only for the dancing, and not for any immoral or “filthy” purposes.<sup>92</sup> Others still wrote to defend the bailarinas, objecting to the way in which they were being portrayed as “loathsome” and “diseased.” Some of these men also betray an “objective” stance on the matter, as their descriptions of the jovial and chaste bailarinas demonstrates an intimate knowledge of the workings of the two clubs. For example, one man wrote to the *Times* describing his knowledge of bailarinas who are often propositioned for sexual favors from their white male patrons and have refused these advances time and time again. These men, he says, offer 30 or 40 pesos to the bailarina they desire, hoping for a girl to come home with them. “Why not get after some of the

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<sup>91</sup> “Campaign Not Wise Measure,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 236, July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1917. 1.

<sup>92</sup> “Says Word for Dance Halls,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 238, July 27<sup>th</sup>, 1917. 2.

men who are constantly besieging some of the girls with improper proposals,” he asks?<sup>93</sup> To this query and defense of the bailarina, a *Times* editorial revealingly replied that they too knew many “wholesome” and non-diseased women in the clubs.

This outpouring of responses from predominantly the white male community of Manila reveals a distinct gendered and racial divide in not only what types of amusements were deemed acceptable or not, but also in who was more concerned about the effects of too close interracial intimacies. While most Americans, men and women, could agree in theory that miscegenation with native Filipinos was undesirable, many of these same men had no problem in forming temporary intimate relations with Filipinas or having casual sexual relations with them. Many Americans, men and women, did not even condone social integration, and outright vilified those in sexual relationships with Filipinas. With the greater presence of reformers and social purists in the Philippines, and the success of American-Filipino reform coalitions, many men found their sexual and social privileges with respect to interracial intimacies threatened. As evidenced by the outcry against the women’s boycott described above, men could protest to the ebbing of their privilege, albeit in veiled ways that would obscure their own participation in “loathsome” interracial relations. Thus the criticism of the women’s boycott and defense of the dance hall are revealed in hypotheticals that question the effectiveness of regulation and disease screening, the blaming of the “bad bailarinas,” and the assertion that worse evils will be resorted to without the dance halls, all the while demonstrating their intimate familiarity with the establishments and women in question. In the presence of the moral police, in particular the effective interracial reform alliances, American men in the Philippines may have found the biggest threat to their sexual privilege in the islands.

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<sup>93</sup> “Fair Play for Bailarinas,” *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 238, July 27<sup>th</sup>, 1917. 2.

Even though the moral police of Manila was comprised of more than just the well to do American and Filipina women of the capital, it often took the support of these women to move moral and anti-vice campaigns along and give them legitimacy, as evidenced by the pleading letter of Elwood Brown to the Women's Club of Manila. The American owner of the Lerma Park cabaret and dance hall, A.W. Yearsley, feeling the pressure to defend his business from ruin, also made an appeal directly to the Women's Club of Manila, not the mayor or the Y.M.C.A., demonstrating the degree to which women's influence in the sphere of morality, and hence "proper" society, could impact lives and livelihoods. Attending a meeting of the Women's Club to plead his case, Yearsley presented a letter in which he;

outlined the history of Lerma and asserted his willingness to be bound by any suggestions for change which the club would make. He asserted his willingness to cooperate in any way in any steps which would improve his establishment and remove the ban the club had put upon it. Mr. Yearsley declared that it was his desire to run such a cabaret as would meet with the approval of every respectable element of the city.<sup>94</sup>

Unfortunately for men like Yearsley and the others who came to the defense of the cabaret and dance hall, the women's campaign drew too wide a range of supporters, including many from the Filipino community, who by this time in 1917 due to Filipinization efforts, comprised a majority of the Manila Board of Directors, judges, and other important officials.<sup>95</sup>

Filipino Mayor Justo Lukban, for example, was one of the first Manilenos to take action against the dance halls. Having already shut down a few smaller businesses suspected of being prostitution fronts and which were of less interest to the American community, Lukban was ahead of the Women's Club of Manila in terms of the campaign against organized vice, and was appreciative of their support and suggestions on how a more "wholesome" municipal run dance hall might be beneficial to the community. A conservative protestant, Lukban came to be known

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<sup>94</sup> "Y Directors Back Women," *The Manila Times*, vol. xix, no. 239, July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1917. 2.

<sup>95</sup> The top position of power was still the American Governor General, who in 1917 was Francis Burton Harrison.

as THE anti-vice mayor of Manila, cracking down on prostitution in the infamous Gardenia district of Sampaloc in 1918 through a mass deportation of prostitutes to Davao, an island in the southern Muslim region of the Philippines. As one anecdote about Lukban goes, his momentous decision to shut down Gardenia through the mass forced deportation of sex workers was spurred by having the problem of prostitution hit too close to home. As the story goes, Lukban was investigating how prostitution was spreading outside of known vice zones to more public places of recreation and socialization, like the Manila Bay facing Luneta when he witnessed his own lavandera being sexually intimate with an American sailor in a kalesa.<sup>96</sup> As Abalahin notes in his study on prostitution policy, the truth of this story is not necessarily as important as why this particular story and its details were used to explain his hasty decision to deport almost 200 women. “It was not just any woman, it was a woman, so to speak, “of his,” a member of his household...it was not just any man; it was an American sailor. In place of the lecherous friar of Spanish days preying on young Indias and siring fair-skinned mestizas...another white foreigner was invading not only the Filipino elite male’s country but penetrating his very household.”<sup>97</sup>

While Abalahin suggests that Lukbans’ actions were a way to cope with feelings of humiliation, I would like to suggest that there was perhaps more intent at subversive action against the American regime. That is, in the example of Lukbans’ morality crusade, we see decisive actions against the “social evils” that the U.S. lead commission government had paid lip service to, but intervened in sparingly. In Lukbans’ actions, we see an attempt to eradicate a sexual economy that was often deemed as a necessity, and to limit American men’s sexual entitlement to Filipina women. The longevity of the tale of Lukban witnessing his household laundry woman in flagrante with an American sailor also attests to the power of collective

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<sup>96</sup> A kalesa, or calesa, is a horse drawn carriage that was the popular mode of transportation in Manila before automobile travel became more popular and affordable.

<sup>97</sup> Andrew Jimenez Abalahin, *Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity*, (2003), 355.

memory to proliferate alternate interpretations and narratives in the face of colonial epistemologies. Alternate narratives of reform and alternate ways of understanding the decision of Lukban to deport women from the red-light district attest to a common anti-colonial investment in subtle forms of resistance, attempts to reframe imperial narratives about Filipina hypersexuality, and thwarting American men's sexual privilege in the islands.

Lukban's attempts to reframe the discourse about Filipina women and immorality, however, should not be confused with a corresponding concern for the well-being of Filipinas working within the sexual economy. Looking at his previous commitment to the eradication of the dance halls, his actions towards social purity and moral reform can also be read similar to those of Emilio Aguinaldo who sought to limit public scandals in brothels. Both men pursued action that they believed were in the interests of national sovereignty, these nationalist goals trumping the rights of the poorer Filipina women whose bodies and actions Lukban and Aguinaldo were controlling. In the case of both men, it was not necessarily that they were invested in these women nor identified with them as Filipinos united against a common imperial enemy. In fact, many of the women Lukban had deported in 1918 saw *him* as their more immediate enemy, as evidenced by the lawsuit that several women and their families filed against him for a violation of their rights. In the end, the court commended the efforts of Lukban to clean up the red-light district, but found his methods unlawful. Despite the ruling that the deportation was illegal he was only asked to pay a nominal fee of P100 to the court clerk. Americans critical of Lukban's actions - who were probably also those that partook in and benefitted from the sexual economy - were quick to paint his actions as an example of Filipino autocracy and despotic rule.<sup>98</sup> Thus in trying to control the discourse about Filipinas and

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<sup>98</sup> "Autocracy in Action," *The Manila Times*, Oct. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1918, 4.

immorality, a discourse that impeded the belief in Filipino “fitness” for self-rule, Lukban created a different set of concerns about Filipino fitness for independence.

## **Chapter Two Conclusion**

The examples of military regulated prostitution, interracial cohabitation, and the closure of Manila dance halls demonstrate the multivalent and complex nature of reform efforts in the colonial Philippines. By opening inquiry to include not only other types of intimacy besides prostitution, as well as having a more inclusive framework for which to interrogate the nature of reform efforts and their divergent interests, a more complex socio-political picture of colonial Manila emerges. The idea of colonial moral reform is one that usually conjures images of white women’s and religious groups proselytizing efforts in non-white colonized countries, saving white men from the dangers of interracial sex and saving colonized peoples from barbarism. A more inclusive framework challenges this understanding of moral reform, and its rootedness solely in notions of white supremacy and imperial logics. As this chapter has demonstrated, while American reformers (particularly women and religious organizations ) in Manila and their desires to protect white racial purity did make up an overwhelming portion of those involved in morality and vice campaigns, military officials, doctors, and Filipino men and women also agitated for changes in the realm of interracial intercourse. Looking at this larger pool of concerned individuals, a more diverse set of interests in controlling interracial vice or “social evils” becomes apparent, interests that can be seen to deviate from imperial logics of white supremacy and civilizational superiority.

Filipino men and women became involved in the attempts to control “social evil” in the islands, more concerned with illegal acts of prostitution and, it seems, the way this vice industry reflected upon not only Filipino women, but Filipino society as a whole. The discourse perpetuated by American occupiers that vilified the “diseased” Filipina and bailarina was one

that people like Lukban attempted to mediate in what ways their power would allow. Thus, on the body of the Filipina hinged the understood potentials for Philippine sovereignty and of Filipino capability for self-rule. Further, these acts of restriction upon the sexual economy did what the U.S. colonial government had no interest in; restricting the sexual exploitation of Filipina woman and the sexual privilege of white American men. As the recent work of Carina Ray on interracial intercourse in the British colonial Gold Coast has demonstrated, the sexual frivolity of white men in colonial outposts could become lightning rods for anti-colonial nationalism.<sup>99</sup>

By putting many different “reform” actors in conversation with each other, this chapter also highlights the different levels of concern about interracial intercourse. Filipino men and women, along with military doctors and chaplains, were less openly concerned with marriage and co-habitation than with prostitution. That is not to say, however, that this population was more tolerant of mixed relationships or more progressive, only that their interests lay more in the arenas. For example, military officials and chaplains were more concerned with disease prevention and military effectiveness, the logical stabilizers of colonial conquest and occupation. For Filipino/as, the more commonly understood vice of prostitution was more damaging to the reputation of Filipino society than were reputable (or at least legal) marriages. For others, however, racial contagion in general warranted concern over a range of interracial intercourse, from the social to the sexual. Mutual collaboration on reform efforts around vice and social evils” then, only thinly veiled competing interests for the future of Manila, with “morality” being an umbrella large enough to cover a range of divergent interests and encompass very different ideas about exactly *who* was being unseemly in their manner.

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<sup>99</sup> Ray, Carina E. “Decrying White Peril: Interracial Sex and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism in the Gold Coast.” *The American Historical Review* 119, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 78–110.



### CHAPTER 3

#### **Men in the Bush: Interracial Intercourse in the Northern and Southern Philippines**

In the early years of the American occupation of the Philippines, interracial Filipino-American couples were offered opportunities to “homestead” in newly formed agricultural colonies in Mindanao. These couples and other Christian populations were encouraged to settle in the southern region of the Philippines, furthering the colonial plan of outnumbering the local Muslim residents with non-Muslim residents. In the mountainous northern Philippines, anthropologists, colonial officials, military men, teachers, miners, and others often married or had sexual relations with Filipina’s, inciting the ire of nearby American populations, and inspiring gossip not just in Manila, but all the way to the shores of America. These men were often the hosts, tour guides, and translators for colonial administrators and tourists alike, facilitating American access to diverse indigenous communities. These tribal communities would then be pointed to as the prime beneficiaries of U.S. civilization, demonstrating the need for a long term American colonial presence in the islands.

From the northern mountainous Cordilleras, to the southern Islamic islands, this chapter explores the circumstances and opportunities for interracial relationships in areas where the American presence was lesser pronounced in the colony. In the northern mountain ranges, tribal communities seemed to Americans as facsimiles of native populations in the U.S., and provided possible missionary type opportunities to implement education, and preservation reforms. In southern Mindanao, Muslim Datu rulers rejected claims over their lands by the U.S. occupying forces. Americans were thus faced with the complicated task of gaining the cooperation of this population while at the same time objecting to their forms of slavery and polygamy. Further yet,

the colonial outskirts tantalized many Americans with the prospect of business opportunities to be sown and reaped out of the rich soils and plentiful natural resources. The disparate populations and geographies of the Philippines required different efforts on the part of Americans and these different so-called “frontiers” warranted different types of incorporation into the colony. While each area provided its own unique challenge to American rule, the remoteness of such sites all offered in one way or another a degree of isolation and privacy that was harder to come by in a city like Manila where a majority of the American and European population resided.

A review of interracial intimacies in the northern and southern regions of the colony will explore not only issues of the sexual economy as is foregrounded in the previous chapters on Manila, but will also highlight different types of interracial intimacies, such as long and short term liaisons and marriages. In addition, by centering sexual geographies outside of Manila, the idea of a “frontier” region or a “peripheral” space in the colony will be exposed as a fiction of the colonial enterprise, as both locations weighed heavily on the American imagination and represented make or break opportunities for American power in the islands. Both the northern Cordilleras and southern Mindanao had never been fully brought under colonial control by the previous Spanish occupiers. Removed from the larger population of Americans and Europeans in Manila, the north and south were imagined by colonists as places where few white people had dared to tread, wild and untamed lands removed from the center of American power.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> See the work of Gerard A. Finin, *The Making of the Igorot: Ramut Ti Panagkaykaysa Dagiti TAGA Cordillera - contours of Cordillera Consciousness* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo University Press, 2005); Frank Jenista, *The White Apo's: American Governors on the Cordillera Central* (Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1987); Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003). Many travel accounts of American tourists and colonialists remark upon how certain white men and women were reputedly the first white people to travel to and within the Cordilleras. Such acknowledgements also situate the American writer of these

mystique surrounding the north and south also lead colonists to imagine the regions as having immense potential for economic and civilizational development, spurring the desire for prompt incorporation to American rule. Native populations, cultures and the actual physical landscape in both Mindanao and the Cordilleras were unlike Manila in many ways, and yet both places informed and constrained the development of the American controlled capital.

The disparate populations and geographies of the north versus the south required different strategies for incorporation, efforts that we will see reflected in the types of intimacies that predominated in each region. For example, in the mountainous Cordilleras where travel was difficult and ideas of savage headhunters prevailed, men in relationships with Filipinas could secure connections to local communities and act as the literal translators and guides to American colonial administrators and travelers. In predominantly Muslim Mindanao, interracial couples were offered tracts of land to homestead on, thereby increasing the population of non-Muslims in the region. The following sections on the southern and northern Philippines will illustrate how such intimacies on the so-called “frontiers” were crucial components in the consolidation and stabilization of regional colonial control, strengthening the overall U.S. imperial project in the islands. To say that interracial intimacies created problems and challenges for the burgeoning colonial power would be true, however, an interrogation of colonial affairs outside of Manila also reveals how necessary these relations were in creating opportunities for empire building.

### **Rethinking “Center”/ “Periphery,” Decentering Manila**

Of the 5,774 Americans who were counted in the 1918 census, approximately half resided in Manila while the other 2,858 individuals were scattered across the archipelago of over

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travel documents as “adventurous,” positioning them as following on the heels of the “first” white people in the region.

7000 islands.<sup>2</sup> Solitary regiments, miners, and farmers outside the colonial capital could live for months at a time in their regions without seeing other Americans or Europeans. This kind of isolation from other white people worried many Americans who believed that the influences of a white community were needed to prevent one from “going native” or succumbing to the morally corrupt ways and habits of the natives. Others, however, found the remoteness from American populations desirable, in that it offered a reprieve from the judgments of the community and freer license to pursue the types of “amusements” and companionship that were slowly being restricted and regulated in places like Manila. This is not to say that provinces outside of Manila were completely neglected or unobserved by Americans in the capital. Indeed, the behavior of more isolated pockets of Americans worried Americans in Manila who understood that the actions of those scattered across the archipelago could reflect upon the U.S. population as a whole. For example, Americans living in Manila hoped for favorable press descriptions of the country, people and investment opportunities as their livelihoods often depended on increased tourism or global interest in the country. Negative press, on the other hand, was bad news for American and Filipino businesses.

In March of 1908, the *Manila Times* newspaper reprinted an article that appeared in the *Iowa State Register* entitled, “Degenerate Americans, He Says: W.E. McVicar Thus Refers To Those He Meet in Islands.”<sup>3</sup> In this article, American contractor McVicar describes his time spent in the Philippines; “ ‘This country (the U.S.) has never before sent out such a worthless, low class of people to any place as the Americans that I met in the Philippines...you get away from Manila and every American you meet is a discharged soldier.’ ” While McVicar’s interview does not specifically mention the civil status of the men in question, the local commentary on the

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<sup>2</sup> *Census of the Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1, (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1918), 31-36.

<sup>3</sup> “Degenerate Americans, He Says,” *The Manila Times*, March 20, 1908, vol. x, no. 136, pg 6.

reprinted article in the *Times* laments the truth in McVicar's assessment of the provinces saying that, "Americans fall into the 'costumbre del pais' and take a consort without the usual marriage ceremony."<sup>4</sup> Certainly the lesser incorporated areas of the colony were also understood to reflect upon Americans as a whole who resided in the Philippines, despite the prominence of Manila, and interracial intimacies did not present a desirable image of the U.S. in the islands. Thus provinces and the so-called colonial "frontiers" were at once a thorn in the side of administrators and a place of opportunities for individuals looking to hide from those that would dictate the limits of their behavior. For some, this behavior involved indulging in freer economic sexual relations with native women, and for others it meant having the ability to live in peace with their Filipina wives and mixed race children. Here in these locales, away from the judgment and rules of the white communities, interracial intimacies could take different forms, garner different consequences, and often be practiced more openly with less fear of reprove.

Unlike in Manila, the northern and southern Philippines could offer interracial intimacies a freer range of movement and possibilities. While interracial relations in Manila were often met with scorn and hostility, this same hostility was tempered in remote regions based on the fact that many of the men engaged in interracial relationships were often needed by the colonial government. Because of their familiarity with lesser explored or understood regions and their integration into local communities – often due to their marriages into native families - these men were the links that could bridge cultural divides between the native populations and other Americans. American colonial administrators, educators, military officials and others often had to rely on the help men married to or living with native women in order to accomplish imperial goals in lesser traveled regions. From offering accommodations more suited to white tastes to

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<sup>4</sup> "Degenerate Americans, He Says," *The Manila Times*, March 20, 1908, vol. x, no. 136, pg 6. "Costumbre del pais" means "costume of the country," in essence meaning that these men have gone native, or have become too much like the Filipinos.

translating native tongues, American men living on the fringes of the colony were the literal navigators for other white people travelling outside of Manila.

In addition to demonstrating the freer range of possibilities that some men had in their intercourse with native women, a critical non-Manila centered framework for examining the U.S. occupied Philippines will also illustrate the potential for success and career advancement that many men found through and because of their intimate relationships with Filipina women. Much unlike the possibilities for interracial couples presented in the previous chapters on Manila – where concerned Americans took measures to ostracize and shun those who crossed the sexual color line – interracial sexual intercourse in the north or south did not necessarily mean the end of one's career, in fact, quite the opposite was often possible. The shunning of men and women in mixed marriages and the disparaging of mixed race children may seem all too familiar to those with knowledge of the history of miscegenation laws across America in the late seventeenth century up until 1967.

Though the case of Manila, with its prostitution scandals and concerns over soldiers living with native women, is an important part of the story of dangerous intercourse, it is by no means the whole picture. By examining the Cordilleras and Mindanao, a broader range of relationships comes into view, all with different meanings and consequences for the American colonial government in the Philippines. As we shall see, American men who married into native families outside of Manila could often greatly advance their own careers, some rising to positions of prominence in the islands. Thus, in contrast with the colonial capital, men engaged in interracial relations were both greatly needed by the American colonial government and did not necessarily negate their chances for career advancement.

A rethinking of center and periphery as it relates to interracial intercourse in the Philippines calls into question the idea offered by Ann Stoler that intimacies in colonial settings became “dense transfer points of power,”<sup>5</sup> or that power can be transferred from one party to another in a linear fashion. In the case of interracial relationships in the Philippines, power does not seem to be linearly transferred from one party to another, but instead, gained or lost by both parties in varying and often unequal amounts. For example, while sex work in Manila may have provided Filipinas with steady incomes, the militarization of the islands and thus the American occupation became more stable through the variety of available “recreation” for soldiers. Here, power is gained in unequal amounts by Americans and Filipinas, especially in light of the American regulation of sex work in Manila and other parts of the island. While Filipinas were earning incomes, these livelihoods were dictated by the American regulations that violated the bodies of women and made them answer to American medical staff.

In the northern and southern Philippines, many of the examples of unequal distribution of power in interracial intimate relations will not prove to be so clear cut. The presence of many marriages and longer term relationships that were found outside Manila might at first glimpse seem to be without the exploitive conditions of previously discussed intimacies. We shall see however, that interracial love and marriage in a colonial setting cannot be understood outside the fact that one party was always a part of the colonizer group and one party was not. Add to a colonizer/colonized power dynamic the larger imperial framework and one will see that these relationships too, while perhaps a “nicer” picture of colonial relations, were equally imbued with

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<sup>5</sup> Ann Stoler uses this concept, drawn from Foucault, in several of her writings, see: Ann Stoler, *Haunted by Empire*, (2006); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, (2002); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

the same type of unequal power seen in Manila. While a marriage between an American and a Filipina might have secured some political privileges for the Filipino family, it also helped to legitimate the occupier's power.<sup>6</sup>

By comparing interracial intimacies in the colonial capital of Manila with the more outlying regions of the Philippines, this chapter will highlight not only what the various regions represented to a smoothly running colony, but also how the colonial government sought to strategically control or ignore individuals engaged in interracial relationships for the benefit of the imperial project. To say that interracial intimacies created challenges for the burgeoning colonial power is true, but these relations also brought about opportunities in disguise, opportunities that the American empire needed and strategically sought out to demonstrate that American rule was “exceptional” in comparison to other empires of the time in that it was based on benevolence, friendship and even love. By examining the northern Cordilleras and southern Mindanao, we will be able to get a sense of how location impacted the reception, treatment, and opportunities of interracial couples. Indeed, we shall see that what was good for Manila may not have been good for the colonial “peripheries,” and vice versa, as interracial intimacies proved both a help and a hindrance to American colonial power in the Philippines.

### **Southern Philippines - Mindanao**

Colonial policy in the southern Philippines differed from that in the north, especially in the first decades of the American era. Never fully brought under Spanish colonial power and ruled over by Muslim Datu leaders, Mindanao was a major obstacle for the consolidation of American authority. Few Spanish settlements for easy occupation existed and American

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<sup>6</sup> It may be helpful to note that such marriages existed in a range of most acceptable to least, although all were frowned upon. Most commonly acceptable took place between American men and Filipinas of already elite status, namely Spanish mestiza women who also were more likely to have whiter features. In such cases, political/social privilege may have simply continued in the shift from one colonial occupier to the next. Marriage to non-elites, especially tribal women such as the Ifugao or Igorot, and especially Aeta, or “Negrito,” who were likened to Africans/African Americans for their darker features, were the least desirable.



imaginings of Islamic cultures painted the Moros of the southern islands as barbaric and uncivilized.<sup>7</sup> Already busily engaged in fighting Filipino “insurrectos” on the island of Luzon who opposed American occupation of the islands after the ousting of the Spanish, the colonial government wanted to avoid the outbreak of hostilities with the Moro people of the southern islands.<sup>8</sup> As such, an informal policy of collaboration and accommodation with the Datu rulers of Mindanao was the rule during the Philippine-American war. In addition to formal acquiescence (on both sides) in the form of the Kiram-Bates treaty of 1899 which recognized some autonomy for the Sultan as well as recognition of American rule, other stop-gap measures were necessary to maintain the delicate balance of power in the southern Philippines. These stop-gap measures, similar to the Bates treaty, received much criticism from the American public who believed that the U.S. should not accept what they considered the morally corrupt ways of the Datus and Sultans, who were known to keep slaves as well as practice forms of polygamy. Also, an agreement that gave any autonomy to the natives in the Philippines was considered an affront to U.S. superiority.<sup>9</sup> In this moment of triaged concessions, the prospect of sexual relations between Americans and Moro women in Mindanao became a catalyst for both an exaltation and lamentation of U.S. imperialism in the islands. Paul Kramer describes the American concern over prostitution in Mindanao and the inter-imperial links that connected prostitution policy in the Philippines to that of British imperial sites.

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<sup>7</sup> For more on the history of Mindanao during the Spanish and American colonial periods in the Philippines, see: Cesar Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1999); Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, (2003); Samuel Tan, *The Filipino Muslim armed struggle, 1900-1972* (Makati, Philippines: Filipinas Foundation, 1977); Patricio Abinales, *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Quezon City, Ateneo De Manila University Press, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> “Moro” was the name applied by the Americans to both the Muslim inhabitants of the southern Philippines as well as the geographical region itself. “Moroland” as the region was described, comprised most of the island of Mindanao and the Sulu island chain that stretched to Borneo.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, (2003).

Kramer's, "The Darkness That Enters the Home: Prostitution: The Politics of Prostitution During the Philippine American War," starts by describing prostitution in the southern island of Jolo during the Philippine-American war period, 1899 – 1902. The system of prostitution on Jolo island came under the scrutiny of Major Owen Sweet of the 23<sup>rd</sup> infantry in the Philippines. Taking the opportunity to showcase resolute American objection to such social vices, Sweet took action against gambling dens, prostitutes, and saloons. In reports to his superiors, Sweet detailed his campaign to oust most women engaged in prostitution work save for the Japanese, and how he also took great care and discretion in ousting the local Moro women who were engaged in sex work. The extra caution in the ousting of Moro women was due to the fact that many were under the protection of the local rulers, men that the American military did not want to offend during this tenuous time. In doing so Sweet declared that his efforts showcased the "morality, discipline, and good administration" of U.S. colonial rule.<sup>10</sup> Sweet believed that in regulating miscegenation in the form of economic sexual relations, he was promoting American exceptionalism, showing that under American rule, such distasteful circumstances would not be allowed to continue and would eventually be eradicated. The decision to allow some Japanese women to continue their trade amongst the American troops while at the same time limit sexual interactions with Moro women, however, shows that the concern for eradicating vice was contingent upon the political climate of the southern Philippines as potentially volatile.

Knowing that the immediate cooperation of this region was vital to military success on the main island of Luzon, more concessions were made to the Muslim inhabitants of the southern regions so as to avoid engaging in a two front war. Kramer demonstrates how care was taken not

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Kramer describes Sweet's campaign and its relation to international considerations in more detail in his article on prostitution in the Philippines during the Philippine-American war; Paul Kramer, "The Darkness That Enters The Home," In *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (2006). See also, Paul Kramer, "The Military Sexual Complex: Prostitution, Disease, and the Boundaries of Empire During the Philippine-American War," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, July 25, 2011.

to offend the ruling Datus of Jolo in this situation by limiting sexual contact between American men and Moro women outside of garrison areas. While his article illustrates the inter-imperial similarities between the U.S. and British sites, as well as demonstrates the regional specificities of vice control in the early period of the U.S. occupation, there is a missed opportunity to point out the extent to which imperial occupation hinged on the sexual desires of American men as well as the persistence of Moro women. The example of Major Sweet's selective campaign against sexual vice indeed tells us more than the regionally specific actions taken against miscegenation. The inclusion of some Japanese prostitutes and the careful extrication of Moro women from the sexual economy in Jolo hints at demonstrate the primacy of white male sexual desire in colonial occupations. In the case of Jolo and indeed the entire southern region of Muslim Mindanao, the sexual desires of American men in the south could implode relations with native rulers, thereby jeopardizing the military occupation and pacification of the islands. Sweet understood that without sexual recourse within the camp towns, men would seek amusements elsewhere, perhaps in the homes of Moro women. Indeed, upon Sweet's deportation of most of the prostitutes in Jolo, he received complaints from the native Muslim population about "impure proposals to their women by the soldiers."<sup>11</sup>

In addition, the possibility that Moro women might evade and circumvent the restrictions placed upon the local sexual economy heightened the fears over potentially dangerous interracial sexual contact. Military reports, for example, hint at the difficulty in controlling the actions of Moro women and other Filipinas within the sexual economy, stating that the "cleaner" Japanese women who presented "less trouble," were "perfectly amenable to the directions given covering

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<sup>11</sup> Report of Lt. Owen Sweet, *Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate in Relation to Affairs in the Philippine Islands* (Washington: Government Printing Office, Vol. 2, 1902), 1864.

their cases, which could hardly be said of the various other women.”<sup>12</sup> Indeed, reports of Moro women operating outside military regulated systems of prostitution continued well into the next decade of American occupation.<sup>13</sup> Sweet’s decision to allow a handful of Japanese women to continue their trade shows both a knowledge that in one way or another, interracial sexual relations would prevail and second, that the U.S. efforts in the Jolo and the larger Philippines could be put into jeopardy by the sexual desires of American men and the possible evasion of restrictions by Moro women. So while the American public at home could express their disapproval of the regulation rather than the complete eradication of sexual vice in the southern Philippines, the example of Sweet’s campaign in Jolo shows that the concerns of moralist Americans were secondary to the “safe” satisfaction of men’s sexual desires. Here in Jolo, the regulated sexual economy involving Japanese women and the attempted exclusion of Moro women was needed to prevent a larger collapse of relations with the Muslim rulers of the Southern islands.

After the volatile Philippine-American war period, when the sovereignty of the Muslim Datus was less necessary to recognize and the Bates Treaty was abrogated, further plans to incorporate the Mindanao region into the American colonial enterprise were made by the government. The plans for what to do with Mindanao varied, with the Zamboanga Chamber of Commerce calling for a complete removal of Mindanao from the Philippines to use as an American colonial plantation and others urging for the settlement of undesired American populations there, including recent immigrants to America and African Americans.<sup>14</sup> While some

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<sup>12</sup> Report of Captain R.R. Stevens, *Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate in Relation to Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, Washington: Government Printing Office, Vol. 2, 1902, 1878.

<sup>13</sup> “Periscope: Measures Instituted to Diminish the Frequency of Venereal Infections and Results,” *Eclectic Medical Journal*, John Scudder, Ed. State Eclectic Medical Association, Ohio, Vol. 72, 1912. 46.

<sup>14</sup> Samuel Tan, *The Filipino Muslim Armed Struggle* (1977), chp. 7; Moshe Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar*

of these ideas were thoughtfully considered by the American colonial government, most were never implemented. A constant in many of these ideas for the future of Mindanao agreed that in order to extend tighter control over the region, the Muslim rulers and population in general had to be weakened and disempowered. Thus, in a process of “pacification” followed by settler colonization quite similar to the campaigns against the indigenous populations in the U.S., a period of brutal warfare against the local Moro population was followed by the conquest and settlement of land.<sup>15</sup> A policy of “amalgamation” was begun whereby the outnumbering of the local Moro population by non-Muslim Filipinos and Americans was the end goal. This “amalgamation” process included the resettling of large numbers of Filipino Christians and Americans from the northern and central islands to tracts of land in Mindanao. Ultimately, it was expected that a large influx of new settlers would weaken the ruling Muslim population in the south by eventually outnumbering them.<sup>16</sup> Settlement of the supposedly unoccupied lands was implemented with varying results over the next decade, and similar colonization plans would be continued by the Philippine government well after the American colonial period. This internal colonization of Mindanao furthered the imperial aims of not only purging the Muslim population, but also that of creating a large and productive population in the south for economic growth, and “solving” the problem of population density in Luzon and the Visayan regions.<sup>17</sup>

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(Lexington Books, 2002), 223; Rueben Canoy, *The Quest for Mindanao Independence* (Philippines: Mindanao Post Publishing Company, 1989).

<sup>15</sup> James Tyner, *Iraq, Terror, and the Philippines' Will to War* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 15.

<sup>16</sup> The idea of the “amalgamation of the Mohammedan and Christian native population into a homogeneous Filipino population,” as stated by Frank Carpenter, Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, 1914 – 1920, quoted in Peter G. Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920* (Quezon City, Philippines: Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines Press, 1977), 292.

<sup>17</sup> Karl Pelzer, *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics; Studies in Land Utilization and Agricultural Colonization in Southeastern Asia* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1945); Peter Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland* (1977).

Christian Filipinos and Americans were encouraged to settle on agricultural colonies in Mindanao and even provided initial monetary support.<sup>18</sup> Various public land acts encouraging non-Muslim settlement lead to the creation of the Momungan agricultural colony in Lanao Del Norte in 1914, a colony that was primarily settled by interracial Filipino-American couples.<sup>19</sup> The Momungan colony lasted as an agricultural colony from 1913 to 1923 when the Bureau of Agriculture formally abolished it and declared it a failed endeavor.<sup>20</sup> A 1930 memorandum to the Vice Governor General to the Philippines, Joseph Ralston Hayden, describes in hindsight the origins and purpose of the colony. Momungan, the report states, was created as a consolation of sorts to offer to the Americans in the Philippines, many of whom had lost their jobs during the period of Filipinization under Governor General Harrison.<sup>21</sup> As efforts were being made to place Filipinos in formerly American occupied government positions, it was felt that something should be done to appease the replaced American men who could find no other employment opportunities. The memorandum continues saying that,

Many of these Americans, if not all, lacked experience in agricultural work. They went to Momungan because they were convinced that they could go nowhere else. Having suffered setbacks during the first year after their arrival at the colony, and taking into consideration the fact that they were men unexperienced in agriculture, the result was clear: failure.<sup>22</sup>

Interestingly, this report makes no mention of the fact Momungan was settled mainly by American men engaged in interracial relationships with Filipina women. This is most likely due to the report having been prepared by the Filipino Director of Non-Christian Tribes, Ludovico

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<sup>18</sup> For more on this land policy and mention of the colony in Momungan see:

Karl Pelzer, *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics* (1945); Peter Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland* (1977); and Moshe Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession* (2002).

<sup>19</sup> See the advertisements scattered through the *mAGazine*, 7(10): 11. August 1933.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers, Box 28, Folder 7. "Memorandum on Agricultural Colonies," July 3, 1930. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>21</sup> "Filipinization" refers to the U.S. colonial administration's efforts to replace American colonial officials and workers with Filipinos for the purposes of preparing the native population for future independence. Highest ranking positions, however, remained occupied by Americans.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Ralston Hayden Papers, Box 29, Folder 7. "Memorandum on Agricultural Colonies," July 3, 1930.

Hidrosollo, who may have viewed interracial intimacies differently than white colonial officials, and perhaps not worthy of mention in this report, derogatory or otherwise. As we shall see, earlier reports or mention of Momungan rarely fail to point out this interracial demographic, most taking the opportunity to mention the “base natures” of the men who would chose to marry native women. For example, as one early 1917 report on the state of the colony describes,

...the condition of these men [that married Filipino women] was pitiable. There is no place in the social and economic organization of the country for Americans of that class and the government...established them on public lands...where they will have an opportunity to work out their own salvations under the control of the bureau of agriculture.<sup>23</sup>

This report, written by Charles Elliott, an American judge to the Supreme Court in the Philippines and former Philippine Commission member, shows a marked difference in how the inhabitants of Momungan were viewed. While Hidrosollo describes the colony as a consolation for Americans men that lost their jobs and had no other recourse, Elliott’s description marks these men as social outcasts for other reasons than their joblessness. For Elliott, their marriage to Filipinas marked these homesteaders as social as well as economic undesirables.

While these interracial couples secured land in new agricultural colonies, the colonial government achieved the dual ends of propelling their “amalgamation” plans to assimilate Muslims in Mindanao and obscuring the existence of unsettling examples of “dangerous intercourse” from places like Manila. The idea that Mindanao was a place that could be used to hide the dregs of empire became a durable idea that can be seen in other American and Filipino proposed schemes and plans for Mindanao. In 1919, the Filipino mayor of Manila, Justo Lukban,

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<sup>23</sup> Charles Elliot, *The Philippines: To the End of the Commision Government: A Study in Tropical Democracy* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs – Merrill Company Publishers, 1917), 373.

crippled the sexual vice industry in Manila by deporting prostitutes to Davao, a city in Mindanao, where consequently, prostitution thrived.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, Mindanao was thought to be not only a place where undesirables could be relocated but also a place where dangerous undesirables already existed. The prevalence and persistence of Islam, even throughout the Spanish occupation of the islands, conjured notions of wild and lusty Sultans, lascivious harems and ruthless raiding and slavery.<sup>25</sup> A poem written by a former Spanish-American war soldier illustrates this point.<sup>26</sup> Entitled, “A Darky’s Mournful Wail,” this poem tells the fictional tale of a “Dixie colored man” named Mose Faggin, an African American man who went to Jolo in Mindanao to meet the Sultan.<sup>27</sup> While in Jolo, Faggin converts to Islam, apparently swayed at the prospect of having his own harem and becomes the husband of four wives. “Now dis may soun’ good, but it ain’t so fine / ‘cause yoh ain’t see’d dem women folks ob mine / dey is allus’ quarrelin’ an fightin’ ober me / Till I don’t know if I’s a husban’ or a referee.”<sup>28</sup> The tale continues to describe the women as knife wielding and sexually inexhaustible. Eventually, Faggin can no longer “keep on luvin’ dem lak a good Moham,” and resolves to return to the U.S., where he will be “a one-wife husban’ – the cullud

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<sup>24</sup> Ken De Bevoise, “A history of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS in the Philippines,” In, *Sex, Disease and Society: A Comparative History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV/AIDS in Asia and the Pacific*, Lewis, Bamber and Waugh, eds. (Praeger, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> For more on the issues of slavery and U.S. responses to it in the southern Philippines, see: Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery*, (2003).

<sup>26</sup> This poem was mostly likely written by a white expatriate/ settler in the Philippines. I base this on several factors. First, it was mostly white men that wrote minstrel gags and poems such as this to depict black men. Also, most of the readership and especially the contributors of the mAGAzine were mostly if not all white veterans of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars. African American veterans rarely made the pages of the *American Oldtimer*, the focus being on the white expat community in the Philippines, and if they did their racial background was always expressly made known, as in the frequent mention of the “American Negro” that owned a popular American, “Toms Dixie Kitchen”, a restaurant frequented by many “oldtimers.”

<sup>27</sup> The name “Mose Faggin” is perhaps a reference to one of the most well-known African Americans in the Philippines during the colonial period, David Fagen. Fagen deserted the American Army and instead joined the troops of Emilio Aguinaldo and the “insurrecto” Filipinos fighting against the Americans during the Spanish American War and the eventual Philippine-American war. Accounts tell of his marriage to a Filipina and his eventual capture and execution by American forces.

<sup>28</sup> “A Darky’s Mournful Wail,” *The American Oldtimer*, vol.1, no.9 July 1934. 37.



Methodis' kind." The character of Faggin is presented in a minstrel fashion typical of the time and is womanizing and comedic. The Muslim Filipinas are depicted as doubly dangerous in that they are armed, as well as possess a dangerous and voracious sexuality.

"Mournful Wail" depicts Mindanao as a place that is favorable to racial blackness as Faggin is easily accepted by the Sultan and natives and can easily find four wives. It is further understood by the writer as a place of rampant and dangerous female sexuality. Filipinas are prescribed a racial inferiority in both their supposed sexual proclivities and willingness to associate with Black men. Published in a Manila newsletter / magazine that catered to the needs and concerns of "old timers," – those Americans who had been in the Philippines since the early days of U.S. colonization, mostly men and former Spanish-American war veterans - this poem reveals a strange irony in that much of the readership of this magazine were themselves married to or co-habiting with Filipinas. In addition to ascribing racial difference and inferiority to both Black Americans and Filipinas, the polygamous relations depicted in "mournful wail" also helped to establish what types of relationships were more unacceptable than others.<sup>29</sup> With this tale of Faggin and his harem in Jolo, the mostly white readership could differentiate their own interracial relations from that of a worse evil - interracial polygamy. The dual factors of racial blackness, a supposedly immoral influence for the "impressionable" Filipino wards and the specter of polygamy illustrate the levels of relative acceptance for the problem of miscegenation. If interracial intimacies could not be stopped, white-male//Filipino-female monogamous relations were preferred to black and /or polygamous ones that Mindanao represented. Lastly, the resolution of "Mournful Wail," suggests that the consequences of leaving a Filipina wife will be nominal and in fact preferred, even if leaving plural wives behind upon return to the U.S. Despite

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<sup>29</sup> For more on polygamy and slavery in the southern Philippines during the American period, see: Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery* (2003).

a lurid past of sexual and marital mishaps in the Philippines, a wife in the U.S. would still take one on as a husband. That the southern region was imagined as a place for unsavory and undesirable individuals away from the more surveilled colonial centers is clear, but the language that surrounded these plans for colonization often obscured this imagining.

Framed in the language of the frontier, American colonial discourse encouraged interracial couples to be “homesteaders,” securing a place for themselves to call home outside of the larger American community. As a lesser incorporated colonial site, the southern Philippines were framed as an internal colonial frontier, drawing heavily from rhetoric and ideas of the American west as a place for natural settlement. Like the American west, the southern and the northern lands were seen as lush and dangerous, overgrown with the possibilities of wealth but laced with dangerous natives, diseases and other entrapments. The men that would go to such locations were also seen similarly to men on the American west, coarse and adventurous, often tainted by their time with natives and outside of the proper influences of larger American communities. The fertile southern Philippines was seen as ideal for capitalist endeavors with many prominent Americans and imperialists trying to promote its political removal from the Philippines to become instead, the “Mindanao Plantation.”<sup>30</sup> “Young Man, Go South!” and other slogans advertising the settlement of Mindanao graced the headlines of many agricultural and business publications in Manila from around 1910 through the 1920’s.<sup>31</sup> As many young men were being discharged from the military and choosing to stay in the Philippines, occupational options such as farming in the “wild south” were presented to them as alternatives to drinking, fornicating and gambling in Manila. This romanticization of Mindanao as a wilderness but also a land of agricultural promise and the representation of individuals as “homesteaders” obscured

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<sup>30</sup> *Manila Times*, vol. xii, no.45, 9, 12. 1909

<sup>31</sup> *The Philippine Farmer*, vol.vii, no.1, 9 January, 1921

other invidious sentiment about those that were targeted as settler populations. This sentiment notwithstanding, the appeal of life as a homesteader with the added bonus of initial government support did attract enough interracial couples to fill the Momungan agricultural colony which had been carved out solely for them. Many couples undoubtedly took advantage of the homesteading public land acts as a chance to live more discretely and away from the judgment of the American community.

One such American to move to the Momungan colony in Mindanao was C.J.Walker who went south with his Filipina wife and daughter. Described as a “man who made good in Mindanao,” his story typifies the idea of an American bootstrap work ethic. According to the news article featuring his “success” story, Walker was able to buy a small parcel of land and some farming implements by borrowing money from the U.S. government, and turn this meager beginning into a rich and thriving farming industry in the tropical soils of the southern islands. Walker is stated to be the first colonist in Momungan who has managed to clear his debt with the government through his “hard work and strict economy, the two virtues essential in pioneering.”<sup>32</sup> The story makes no mention of how Walkers Filipina wife and mixed-race daughter may have helped in that respect, perhaps utilizing language, agricultural or cultural knowledge to aid in the development of their farm and their integration into the local community.<sup>33</sup> In this depiction of “pioneer success,” Walkers engagement in “dangerous intercourse” is overlooked to highlight a rags to riches trope, a trope that could be used to entice the further settlement of Mindanao with non-Muslims.

A later account of Momungan describes the vigor of the colony as stemming from the fact that it has a strong American population, as it was comprised of mostly former U.S. soldiers

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<sup>32</sup> *The Philippine Farmer*, vol. vi, no. 4, 31 April, 1920.

<sup>33</sup> *The Philippine Farmer*, vol. vi, no. 4, 31 April, 1920.

and their wives.<sup>34</sup> Written in 1920 by a Filipino journalist, this article praises the Americans for turning the former wilds of Momungan into a thriving paradise and goes on to state that one sure sign of the endurance of this settlement is that these men have mostly all married native women.<sup>35</sup> The author does not go on to explain why he believes this to be the case, but perhaps he views Americans who legally wed Filipina women as more anchored to the Philippines than those many other examples of men that simply cohabited with Filipinas, only to abandon these women and any children they might have upon their return to America. Since the latter example was more prevalent in the Philippines in general, it is likely that the author of the article saw these Momungan men as a more responsible and better class of American. This sentiment, while not demonstrative of all Filipino feelings towards interracial relationships, further hints at the difference between how Filipino versus American viewed intermarriage, as one would be hard pressed to find Americans during this time who would attribute their countrymen's success in pioneering to their marriage to Filipinas.

Another account similarly praises the colony and its racially mixed population of Americans, Filipinos, Japanese, Moros, and others, in particular praising the cosmopolitan nature of the American mestizo children who can “speak the local dialect like nobody's business...and mix freely with the Moro, Bisayan and Ilocano children in the colony.” The Filipino author states that, “in no other place in the Philippines today, perhaps, is the real spirit of brotherhood so faithfully observed as in Mumungan where all live in peace, love and honest labor.”<sup>36</sup> The author continues, saying that these oldtimers will not pack up and leave at the onset of Philippine independence from the U.S., as they have created their own slice of hometown U.S.A here in

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<sup>34</sup> *Graphic Magazine*, vol. 7 no. 10, 11, August 1933.

<sup>35</sup> *Graphic Magazine*, vol. 7 no. 10, 11, August 1933.

<sup>36</sup> “The Last American Frontier,” by Rafael Bautista. From *The Philippines Free Press*, Vol. 34, no. 14, April 6, 1940, 22- 23.

Mumungan. This account praises the colony for its Americana flavor, the willingness of the colonists to mix with each other and for its international makeup, again hinting at the differences in opinion between Filipinos and Americans on the topic of interracial intercourse. Despite the praise heaped upon Momungan as a success story that would indicate the potential of the southern Philippines as a settler location, by 1927 only 16 families remained in the Lanao agricultural colony for interracial couples, with those who left citing “difficulties and lack of government support” as their reason for leaving.<sup>37</sup> The American Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in the Philippines declared Momungan a failure.

The dual factors of Mindanao being removed from a large American population as well as being an unstable part of the colony (in that it was lesser incorporated due to the power of local Sultans and Datus) combined to offer interracial couples opportunities outside of direct colonial castigation, but still marked them as undesirables outside of what was to be represented as a respectable colonial endeavor. While some Americans and Filipinos were able to “work out their own salvations” on agricultural colonies, or engage in economic sexual relations more freely than in Manila, it cannot be overstated that through these relations the goals of the imperial project were also served. Certain types of interracial relations helped to stabilize initial non-hostile relations with the Moro population, and later aided in the efforts to “amalgamate” the native inhabitants. Interracial intimacies were obscured and removed from Manila, promoting the colonial capital as a place that was safer from the dangers of intimate racial mixing and degeneracy, as well as a bastion of positive American influence in Asia. In addition, American men in the south could be called upon when necessary as examples of “Americans that made good” by their “little brown sisters,” examples that could strategically demonstrate the difference between Spanish conquest and American “benevolence,” or Spanish “queridas” and American

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<sup>37</sup> Samuel Tan, *The Filipino Muslim armed struggle* (1977), 175.

marriages.<sup>38</sup> The study of interracial intercourse in the southern Philippines is also important in that it opens the study of American colonization in the Philippines to discussions of settler colonialism. Not often viewed as a settler colonial site, the U.S. “experiment” in the Philippines is often treated as “exceptional” or different from other forms of imperialism in that it did not seek to settle a permanent American population in the islands as a ruling class, but saw an end date of independence when Americans would depart completely from the islands. The case of Mindanao shows that there were indeed plans for the permanent colonization of the islands and the establishment of American colonies and corporate plantations, plans that actively sought to displace and eventually eradicate the native Muslim population.

### **Northern Philippines - Cordilleras**

Like the South, the Northern Philippines were considered by many American colonists to be a “frontier” region. The Cordilleras had not been incorporated to a great extent by the previous Spanish colonizers because of the difficulty of travelling to it, due to its mountainous terrain.<sup>39</sup> Unlike the Moro population of Mindanao, the mostly indigenous groups there were not seen to pose a threat to American occupation in the same way and moreover, elicited an anthropological desire in Americans to study and learn their culture and ways. While Muslims in the south were classified as “semi-civilized” due to their systems of leadership by ruling Datu’s, their practice of a recognized religion and their clothing covered bodies, indigenous tribes in the north were seen as “non-civilized” due to the practice of pagann and animist beliefs and their less clothing covered bodies.<sup>40</sup> Many educators and imperialists believed that expansionism

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<sup>38</sup> See chapter 2 for a definition of “querida” or the “querida system.”

<sup>39</sup> The Cordilleras are a mountain region in the northern Philippines, comprised of different provinces that are now recognized as the CAR, or Cordillera Administrative Region. These provinces are; Mountain Province (Bontoc), Apayao, Kalinga, Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, and Baguio City.

<sup>40</sup> For more on the racial classification system of Filipinos created by the American administration, see Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. See also, Chapter 5 for a discussion of American ideas about mestizaje in the Philippines.

spelled the end of indigenous people, a “natural” progression of sorts, and so took pains to study and document their cultures before they would supposedly vanish. Other Americans felt a paternalistic affinity with the “wild men” of the Cordilleras, finding them more honorable and noble than their lowland counterparts in Manila, whom they described as having absorbed too many of the vices of the Spanish.<sup>41</sup> Some Americans admired the reputed “headhunters” of the north for their resistance to Spanish domination, seeing in them the Indian tribes and “noble savages” of the U.S. So in addition to the desire to study the tribes of the north, many American imperialists found these populations to be in need of protection from unscrupulous lowland Filipinos and Americans alike until they could reach their true potential through U.S. tutelage.<sup>42</sup>

While the different perceptions of the southern and northern Philippines set the stage for how interracial relations were approached in each locale, there were also very real differences between the predominantly Muslim people of the south and the polytheistic people of the north. The differences in religion and culture meant that the position and status of women in their respective communities varied greatly across the archipelago. Correspondingly, the way that women informed interpersonal relations between groups of Filipinos and Americans was also quite different. As the previous description of Major Sweet’s anti-prostitution efforts in Jolo demonstrate, Filipina women in Mindanao signaled concern for the American military. Fearing that Moro men would retaliate should American men improperly consort with native women, military restrictions were put into place and prostitution regulated for the purpose of excluding the Moro women.<sup>43</sup>

In the Cordilleras, however, control over sexual relations with native women was less important for the Americans trying to gain control over the region. Unlike the predominantly

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<sup>41</sup> Frank Jenista, *The White Apo’s* (1987). 185 – 206.

<sup>42</sup> Frank Jenista, *The White Apo’s* (1987).

<sup>43</sup> Paul Kramer, “The Darkness That Enters The Home,” In *Haunted By Empire* (1997).

Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao, many of the native tribes in the north had freer and more open sexual practices. Practices such as divorce and “trial marriage” were observed and documented by American educators and travelers alike.<sup>44</sup> The more open sexuality of the Northern people and American men's desire for sexual recreation coalesced into an economic system of sexual trade that many Filipinos and Americans found mutually beneficial. The concept of trading sexual services for money or other items was not unheard of in the north, so in many ways the American desire for sexual recreation fit within the already established socio-cultural framework of some of the native tribes. Finding this to be the case, many American men were quick to pick up on local nuances, offering to trade yards of cloth, food or money in exchange for an evening of company. As Frank Jenista notes in his book, *The White Apos: American Governors General on the Cordillera Central*, some towns in the Cordillera region garnered infamous reputations amongst American men for being places where sexual services could be secured easily, hence drawing larger populations of American and European men alike. In an interview conducted by Jenista, one Filipino respondent recalls hearing American and European men on their way to Cambulo town talking in anticipation of the good time that could be had there.<sup>45</sup> While American understandings of prostitution fit within already established practices in Ifugao, it should not be taken for granted that the influx of American money and goods may have impacted how widespread the sexual economy became. It is likely that Filipina women engaged in these informal systems of sexual commerce understanding that these Americans could provide them a degree of stability and leverage in the changing socio-political system. It is also worth mentioning the previous Spanish colonizers and how this population too influenced the system of sexual trade that was already present when Americans came to the islands. In particular, the

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<sup>44</sup> For example, see the writings of American official Samuel Kane, and the anthropological work of Henry Otley Beyer, and William Scott.

<sup>45</sup> Jenista, Frank. *The White Apos* (1987), 209.



Spanish friars who took up the mission of spreading Christianity in the Cordilleras became notorious for their habits of taking mistresses from the native populations.<sup>46</sup> American travelers in the north often wrote of hearing stories from local populations about the lecherous ways of Spanish friars who reportedly were trying to “whiten the race” through intercourse with native women.<sup>47</sup> Away from the bulk of the Spanish population, Friars in the “frontiers” took mistresses and often offered support for women in the form of money or increased social status. This too no doubt influenced the pre-existing expressions of sexuality in the region.

The form and manner of dress prevalent in the north also intrigued and titillated American men in the region, many of whom wrote unabashedly about the pleasantness of coming across bare breasted Igorot and Ifugao women on their travels through the mountain region. One American wrote of such an encounter with “topless” women working in the rice paddies in the Bontoc province. “In seeing these near nude and often beautifully formed bodies, one at first had startled eyes only for the magnificent breasts, but after a time one began almost to ignore them and to look at and judge the body as a whole...that in the end was all there was to it. One got used to the lovely display.”<sup>48</sup> Other American men reminisced poetically about the unclothed bodies of the so-called “mountain nymphs” in the region, most agreeing that these encounters with Filipina women proved, “not hard on the eyes.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> One of the main antagonist in Jose Rizal’s (national hero of the Philippines) famous novel *Noli Me Tangere* (*Touch Me Not*) is Father Damaso, who represented the corruption and lecherous way that came to be associated with Spanish Friars and the Spanish occupiers in general. His daughter with a native Filipina woman is one of the main protagonists, Maria Clara. So common was the Spanish practice of taking native mistresses that tales of lusty priests are a common tale told to American and European travelers by native Filipinos across the archipelago, not just in the Cordillera region.

<sup>47</sup> See for example the memoirs of American constabulary official Tiffany Williams. “The Spear and the Bolo Interlude,” Tiffany Williams Papers, Box 1, Worcester Collection, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>48</sup> Abram Van Heyningen (A.V.H.) Hartendorp, *I Have Lived: Reminiscences of A.V.H. Hartendorp*, Book 1 of 6 (Manila: Self Published, 1970).

<sup>49</sup> Major Wilfrid Turnbull, “Early Days in the Mountain Province,” from *The Bulletin of the American Historical Collection*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1975.

In addition to these cultural differences between the northern and southern Philippines, women in the Cordilleras were not the incendiary subjects that they were in Jolo. Far from spelling potential woe for American men, the presence of native women in the north – especially during meetings between American officials and native leaders – was often perceived by Americans as a sign of friendly intentions. This is demonstrated by the disciplinary case of the then Lieutenant Governor of Kalinga Province, Frank Walter Hale. The case involved inquiry into the killing of several Filipino people of the Guinabal district in Kalinga and what role Hale, though his Governorship, played in the incident. During one meeting between Dean Worcester, Hale, and the people of the Guinabal district, it was revealed that the women of the Cordillera region occupied a unique position within their communities. Namely, the presence of native Filipina women at meetings with the local American governors was suggested (by U.S. commission members) as a way for the Guinabal people to show their non-hostile intentions towards Americans. The willingness of the different Kalinga province tribes to bring women and children to visit the American Camp was believed by Worcester and Hale to indicate peaceful intentions as well as a willingness to concede to U.S. rule in the region.<sup>50</sup> In describing how different Kalinga province tribes would visit the American camp at Lubuagan, Worcester emphasized that the Guinabal people had only sent one woman and encouraged them to bring more women in the future to avoid misunderstandings or problems in the American camp. He elaborated,

People who have come a great deal farther than you have come this year have brought their women with them. You don't have to bring your women if you

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<sup>50</sup> Such instances of using women as political power gauges during imperial or explorational periods of contact have been described in other studies, most notably and quite similar to the description here is the work of Julianna Barr. Julianna Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

don't want to...you don't need to be afraid to bring them; you can see that there is nothing to be afraid of over here.<sup>51</sup>

Worcester adds that while many tribes from the area initially had only one or two women accompany the parties traveling to Lubuagan, the following years saw the number of women that would accompany men to the American camp increase. At the conclusion of the talks with the Guinabal people, the tribal leaders expressed their desire to avoid fighting and hostilities in the future. As if to emphasize this point, one man stated that, "The reason that our women did not come this time is that they have to do the work...when we come back next year we will bring some women of our people."<sup>52</sup> This incident also alludes to the position and status that Filipina women held in the communities of the mountain province and moreover, American recognition of that position. Worcester's insistence to bring women to the American camp illustrates an understanding of the influence that native women had within their communities. He warns the Filipino delegation that, "if [their] women hear from the other women what a good time that they had over here they will want to come and will blame their husbands for not bringing them." Worcester's warning suggests that the Guinabal women have the power to influence the actions of the men in their community, and also hints at the strength of female social networks within the Kalinga province. These examples highlight the differences in gender roles between the southern and northern Philippines. In contrast to the south where Americans tried to limit interactions with Moro Filipina women in order to pacify Datu rulers, Americans in the northern Philippines often relied on interactions with Filipina women to ensure positive relations with the native community.

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<sup>51</sup> Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900 – 1924, Box 1. Report of interview between Lt.-Gov. Hale, Dean C. Worcester, and people of the Guinabal District, at Lubuagan, Oct. 6, 1911 Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, Ann-Arbor.

<sup>52</sup> Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1900 – 1924, Box 1. Report of interview between Lt.-Gov. Hale, Dean C. Worcester, and people of the Guinabal District, at Lubuagan, Oct. 6, 1911.

So, while the Cordillera was also imagined as a colonial frontier, it was seen very differently from the south and presented different tensions in the control (or in this case lack of control) over interracial intimacies. For example, in northern Luzon, while American men who married Igorot or Ifugao women could be shunned from polite American society, they were also valued as cultural bridges between the colonial American government and the local communities which they married into. These men were commonly referred to by the American community as “squaw men,” a pejorative label that was first applied to white men in the American West who married or had sexual relations with Native American women.<sup>53</sup> In essence, the fact that these men had “gone native” was overlooked when it could bring potential benefits to the American colonial government. Further, many American men learned to circumvent the unofficial U.S. policies regarding interracial intimacies and thereby safeguarded themselves and their careers by utilizing what they knew of native marriage practices and culture. Filipina women for their part came to understand that these Americans would provide a degree of financial support or perhaps a house, as the salaries of constabulary officers, while not very large, were enough to support the maintenance of a Filipina wife or mistress.

The case of Willam Dosser, an American official serving the Cordillera region Police Constabulary for the Philippines’ Mountain Province, illustrates these observations. Dossers intimate relations with native women in the Cordillera region are best illuminated in a series of interviews done by Frank Jenista. Jenista conducted interviews with many Filipinos from the

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<sup>53</sup> Herbert D. Fisher, *Philippine Diary* (Vantage Press, 2005), 85. The poetry and other works of fiction by American “old timers” in the Philippines often mentioned or alluded to “squaw men.” For example, see Frank Cheney poem, “Brown of the Volunteers,” about a discharged soldier who now suffers the life of a squaw man in the Philippines. Discussed at length in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Also, see: Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (Random House LLC, 2010); and Bobby Wintermute, *Public Health and the US Military: A History of the Army Medical Department, 1818-1917* (Routledge, 2011), for mention of the term “squaw man” applied to white men who married Filipinas.

Cordillera Central in the late 1970's and early 80's.<sup>54</sup> The elderly interviewees, including a few of Dosser's former common-law wives, spoke candidly about their relationships with the constabulary official. Many accounts noted Dosser as a reputed ladies' man, going from woman to woman, interviewees noting that he was a rather generous gift giver to women he had relations with. Dosser had several long term affairs in which he was married to native women according to Ifugao tradition.<sup>55</sup> Jenista notes that many American men made use of this knowledge and offered to perform these marriage rites – which included a prayer ceremony and the sacrificing of certain animals, among other things - with women that they found attractive. These marriages, while they were recognized by the local native communities, were not legally recognized by American law, so men were able to find and keep female mistresses during their stay in the northern Philippines without fear of reprisal. This circumventing of official American wedding laws was especially important amongst the constabulary officers who wed natives due to the Constabulary having a preference for single men and threatened deportation for those found to be in unsanctioned relations with native women.

While Dosser's long term common-law marriages were to native Igorot and Ifugao women, in the end he chose to legally marry – according to American Law - a lowlander Filipina mestiza in 1919.<sup>56</sup> Despite the fact that his wife's family was of the Filipino elite, Dosser and his wife Rosario "Charing" Madarang were still shunned by many in the American community.<sup>57</sup> Gerard Finin, a historian of the Cordillera, describes the changing social milieu in

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<sup>54</sup> Jenista, Frank. *The White Apo's* (1987). The Term "Apo" is a Philippine honorific to describe a grandparent, ancestor or someone seen with similar respect. In this book, Jenista describes how some of the Americans in the Cordillera region were called "Apo" by some members of the native population during the American colonial period.

<sup>55</sup> Jenista, Frank. *The White Apo's* (1987).

<sup>56</sup> The Cordillera tribes were considered by Americans similar to the Native Americans that they were familiar with in the United States. While Filipino mestizos who had Spanish ancestry were considered more civilized, the peoples of the Cordillera were considered less civilized, albeit worthy of anthropological and scientific interest.

<sup>57</sup> Gerard Finin, *The Making of the Igorot* (2005).

Baguio during the 1920's as one that had a quite rigid white/non-white racial divide which was difficult to impossible for alleged "squaw men" like Dosser to overcome. While Baguio was located in the hard to reach mountains of the Cordilleras, it had gained a reputation with Americans living in the Philippines for its temperate cool weather and pine trees that seemingly transported them back home to the familiar foliage of the U.S. Drawing many American and European tourist and vacationers from Manila, Baguio quickly became a summer playground for white people in the Philippines. Due to the influx of Americans to this province once transportation routes came to be more easily passable, the climate for interracial couples in Baguio came to be more similar to Manila and the social ostracizing of such couples was common. One of Jenista's interviewee's for example, a white American woman who had been in Baguio once it had become established as the Americans summer retreat destination, confirms such ostracism in her description of the social cliques that she was a part of. Dosser and his Filipina wife, she reported, were "not in our circle of friends."<sup>58</sup>

Dosser's marriage as well as his reputation for having many Filipina liaisons, however, did not prevent his later promotion to Governor of Mountain Province in 1929. Had Dosser and his wife been in the colonial center of Manila, it is doubtful that he would have received a similar promotion, as the normative ideology was that only men of lower classes, or prone to certain vices would degrade themselves by marriage to a Filipina and were hence, not choice candidates for high ranking public positions within the colonial order. His decision to marry into an elite Filipino family may have also played a role in his advancement, as other men who married poorer or widowed Filipinas without such status were refused promotions in the constabulary.<sup>59</sup> The fact that Dossers first low key marriages were not technically legitimate under American

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<sup>58</sup> Frank Jenista, *The White Apo's* (1987), 220.

<sup>59</sup> Bandholtz papers, Correspondence Box 1, Folder 5, 1905. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

law, coupled with the fact that his wives lived in different homes outside the constabulary camps no doubt also helped his career to advance. Men who were known to be legally married (according to American law) to Filipinas often had this fact used against them when being considered for promotions and positions.

For example, in 1905, George Hally submitted an application to rejoin the Philippine Constabulary as a Third Lieutenant. His application was passed along to several American officials for recommendation and comment. In the endorsement by Commanding Colonel of the Constabulary Harry Bandholtz, Hally is described as having “married a Filipino widow with a number of children.” The Bandholtz endorsement further put into question what Hally had to offer to the Constabulary if given a position that he did not have at the time of his earlier resignation. The next two subsequent endorsements read only, “not favorably considered,” and “attention to preceding endorsement.” Needless to say, Hally was not offered reinstatement to the Constabulary. Taking matters into his own hands upon learning of the denial of his request for reinstatement, Hally wrote an angry letter to the commanding colonel saying that he did not appreciate his “family affairs” being a factor in his request for reinstatement. He further mentions many other Constabulary officers are similarly married to Filipinas and mestizas. A few weeks later he received a reply from Colonel Bandholtz stating that it was his duty to relay the details of Hally’s “conjugal relations” to his superiors, and reassured him that these “relations” were not being disparaged nor were they the reason that his application was denied.

Despite the public and private disapproval of interracial marriages and relations in general, men who could establish themselves within communities in the hard to reach mountainous north through marriage or other arrangements could be very valuable to the colonial government. A marriage to an elite Ifugao or Igorot woman in the Cordilleras could

certainly help one to establish a connection to the community and also help one gain a certain amount of insider knowledge and expertise on the Philippines and its people. Let us consider the example of Henry Otley Beyer, a young American who travelled to the Cordillera region of the Philippines as a part of the Philippine Ethnological Survey in 1905 under the U.S. Department of Education. When he returned to the Philippines in 1910 he married Lingayu, the daughter of a prominent Ifugao tribal chief.<sup>60</sup> She was much younger than him, as was the case with many American-Filipino relationships, about 16 years old at the time of their marriage. As we shall see, this relationship with the chief's daughter certainly opened doors for him within the Ifugao community.

Beyer, a trained anthropologist, was able to collect much ethnographic data from the community he was living in and considered a part of through his marriage. Using this Ifugao source material he was able to write articles dealing with the origin myths of the Cordillera people, and early migration theories. In 1921 he wrote a sweeping narrative encompassing most of the peoples of the Cordillera and region and beyond entitled, *The Non-Christian People of the Philippines*. These works became the definitive books and articles on Ifugao customs and practices and eventually on other Cordillera groups as well. He became lauded as the “father of anthropology” of the Philippines and helped to create the department of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines where, as an associate professor, he taught Filipinos about Philippine customs and culture. His work bolstered the colonial state aims of building American style education as well as teaching an American perspective of Philippine history and culture. Through his marriage to Lingayu, Beyer gained not only cultural capital in the form of insider access to the Ifugao people and the mountain province in general but also economic capital, as his studies on the tribe that he had married into had become his source of income and livelihood.

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<sup>60</sup> Arsenio Manuel, “The Wake and Last Rites Over H. Otley Beyer,” *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 23, 1975, 123.



He made a prominent career for himself and was often asked to advise the American colonial government on matters that concerned the Cordillera region and eventually, the Philippines as a whole. Memorials written for Beyer upon his death in 1966, describe him as,

*the giant in Philippine pre-history...he was Mr. Anthropology...While in Ifugao, early in his career in the Philippines, he married the daughter of a prominent Banaue Chieftain. The establishment of this kin relation provided Beyer a lasting bond between him and the Filipinos. In 1966 the Ifugao gods took him to dwell with them forever in their heavens.”<sup>61</sup>*

This memorial, unlike many other recollections of Beyer that do not mention his Ifugao family, delicately acknowledged that he owed much of his success to his “kin relation” through his marriage to Lingayu. Beyer himself notably said as much to a colleague that knew of his relationship, giving him the advice to, “ ‘get next to the chiefs and datus,’ ” if he wanted to get ahead in the Philippines<sup>62</sup>

Lingayu and the Ifugao family of Beyer were also able to benefit socially and economically from this relationship. In an interview with Henry Beyer, the great-grandson of Otley and Lingayu Beyer, Lingayu was revealed to be the first female council member of her town.

Because of her marriage to my grandfather, actually when they were organizing local government officers, she cannot read and she couldn’t write but she was the first councilor woman in the whole mountain province and the whole cordillera! She was appointed, so it was a [higher] status to be married to Dr. Beyer...she was more accepted...she stayed there [as councilor] for one term, which was two years at that time...but yeah I think she has a privilege as a council woman.

Henry went on to describe the deference given to Lingayu as a council woman, saying that,

She [would] still walk to town, it’s about one and a half miles, U.S. length and she always strapped her revolver...when she was a council woman, you know, everybody that she meets, they have to give way [because] she doesn’t want to

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<sup>61</sup> “H. Otley Beyer’s Contribution to Indo-Philippine Scholarship,” by Juan R. Francsico. From, *The Bulletin of the American Historical Collection*, Vol. 4, no. 2, April, 1976. 25 – 28.

<sup>62</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I have Lived*, Book 2 of 6, 260.

give way...so all these poor guys, they move aside instead of her giving way, she doesn't want to give way.<sup>63</sup>

While Lingayu already possessed the high social status of being the daughter of an Ifugao Chief, this status grew through her association with Beyer, and her subsequent prominence in local politics as the first female councilor of the region.

To this day, the relationship of Lingayu and Beyer continue to impact their descendants in the Philippines. The family still holds a position of prominence in the province of Banaue, with many people in the local community aware of the history of the family. Henry Beyer, who collects and sells local antiquities from the Cordillera region, credits his grandfather with his own interest in historical artifacts and ephemera.

I learned a lot from him. Usually after when we would go to dinner, especially in the evenings, he [had] talks and I would pay attention when he's getting [receiving] people, just people from Europe and Americans coming over to discuss their works on excavations in Indonesia, Egypt...and when they ask my grandfather, I always pay attention when my grandfather is talking so I am a little bit of an expert on the recognition of the pieces. So it sort of caused an interest in me so after I graduated, actually I was into aeronautical engineering in the beginning but when I stayed with him in the hospital I lost track of my going back to school. When I went back I took up business instead, because I have to earn some money to work on some research of my own!

Describing his early years as a buyer and a seller of antiquities, Henry would barter with the local community, trading sought after imported goods like metal spoons and forks for locally made wooden spoons carved with indigenous deities on the handles. Realizing that there was a market for native made "curios" and antiques such as the wooden spoons, Henry would sell the items he would obtain through barter for a higher price to tourists and collectors.

So I make it into a business...because people buy these curios stuff ...what I do is I buy metal spoons and I exchange them for the wooden spoons, old wooden spoons with figurines, really old ones that they [the local indigenous communities of the Cordillera region] actually use. I barter with them and then I sell [the

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Henry Ngayawan Beyer, Grandson of H. Otley Beyer and Lingayu Beyer. Conducted June 21, 2012, Baguio, Philippines.

spoons] for five pesos to tourists but when my father buys them for the shop, because we had a curios shop, he only pays me fifty cents!(laughs) But anyways, I was making business...I just started in the early fifties...but now you know, one spoon now costs about five thousand dollars, a real good one.<sup>64</sup>

Henry further described how Beyer senior did not approve of his selling the items that he would acquire through barter with the local communities, advising Henry to instead keep and preserve such artifacts rather than sell them.

Henry also spoke of Beyer's great love and pride of his wife Lingayu and the many refused invitations for her to live with him in Manila, he also doesn't recall ever having seen a photograph of the two of them together. Archival accounts from Beyer's American friends report not knowing that he was married nor that he had children, as he seldom spoke of them and lived mainly in Manila, away from his family in Banaue.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps this was strategic on the part of Beyer, as ostracism from the well to do American community was common for those labeled "squaw men."<sup>66</sup> Lingayu's refusals to live with Beyer in Manila may have also had something to do with poor treatment of interracial couples by the American community, suggesting perhaps that she did not feel comfortable leaving her home or living predominantly in the company of Americans. This disconnect of accounts – in my interview with Henry and accounts from Beyer's contemporaries found in the archives - also speaks to the differences in how interracial relations were viewed by both Filipinos and Americans. As Henry elaborated, "people here saw it as a good thing that Americans wanted to marry the women...it made them feel good about

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<sup>64</sup> Interview with Henry Ngayawan Beyer, Grandson of H. Otley Beyer and Lingayu Beyer. Conducted June 21, 2012, Baguio, Philippines.

<sup>65</sup> Arsenio Manuel, "The Wake and Last Rites Over H. Otley Beyer," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 23, 1975, 121-123. Also, see A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 of 6, 1970, 137.

<sup>66</sup> "Squaw men" was also a pejorative label applied to usually white men in the American West who married Native American women. It was also commonly used to describe the same phenomenon in the Philippines.

themselves, that they were good enough.” This sentiment of approval, however, was less likely to be found within the American community.<sup>67</sup>

Some men like Dosser and Beyer were able to advance their careers both in spite of and in part due to their relations with native women in the Philippines. Both labeled as experts in some way on the people of the Philippines, the need for these men to help fulfill the aims of the colonial project – Dosser in governance and Beyer in education - outweighed the disdain for their personal relationships. The same was the case for many other men with Filipino wives and families in the northern or southern Philippines. While these others might not have advanced their careers as far as Dosser or Beyer, they were nonetheless vital to advancing the goals of the American colonial regime. In the early years of colonial occupation, when not much was known about the Philippines, white men with a knowledge of the islands were needed to help commission members, missionaries, teachers and others to become familiarized with the local people and the land. Men with knowledge of the Cordillera region in particular were sought out by the U.S. commission to the Philippines in 1901 for their help in navigating the terrain and the people. Not coincidentally, most of these men that served as figurative bridges between cultures and lived on the outskirts of the American community were married to native women.

James Leroy, secretary to the U.S. commission to the Philippines in 1901 described in detail some of these men in his extensive chronicling of the journeys of the first American administrative parties in the islands.. Along with the several commission members that traveled the Philippines to report the current conditions back to Washington, wives, children and various servants also travelled with the commission. With such a large group to administer to, the commission needed help in arranging the logistics of their trips, from food and lodging to

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<sup>67</sup> Interview with Henry Beyer, Grandson of H. Otley Beyer and Lingayu Beyer. Conducted June 15, 2012, Baguio, Philippines.

translators and guides. On the commission trip through the Cordillera region, LeRoy describes how the large group trekked up the winding mountain trails led by Otto Scheerer, a European who had lived in the mountains with his Filipina wife and two mixed race children since the Spanish period. Scheerer was fluent in native dialects and was tasked with navigating the way for the commission as well as arranging meetings between commission members and local leaders. Scheerer was even responsible for fetching subjects – human and otherwise - for commission member Dean Worcester to photograph for his zoological research projects, projects which Worcester used to demonstrate his belief in continued American occupation in order for the “wild men” of the north to further develop their civilizations through tutelage. The resulting photographic collection remains one of the largest on early U.S.-Philippines history to date.<sup>68</sup> Thus the work of Scheerer -like Beyer and others who married into Filipino families, securing access to native communities and protected knowledge – in making Worcester’s photos possible, informed and continues to inform the knowledge produced about tribal communities in the Philippines.

In addition to men like Scheerer who facilitated the commission trips in the north, other men with roots or connections to the region could be utilized in a similar manner. Lodgings, for example, were often preferred in the homes of other Americans. If other Americans were not available, Spanish or Spanish Mestizo homes were sought out as the next best option in terms of having amenities most suited to western tastes and standards. Guy Haight was one such American to offer his home to white travelers in the Cordillera, eventually starting a successful bed and breakfast enterprise. Haight, a former American soldier who stayed in the Philippines, had taken a common-law native wife and started “Haight’s Place,” an American style lodge that

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<sup>68</sup> The Worcester Collection housed at the University of Michigan within the Anthropology Museum houses the largest collection of the Worcester photos, including the original glass slides and prints.

catered to white travelers on their way to Baguio. Haight's Place is mentioned in various American travelogue accounts as a Cordillera mainstay, offering American style lodgings and "chow" prepared by Haight's Filipina wife, Susie.<sup>69</sup> This interracial relationship eventually incited the ire of the Bishop Brent, the Episcopal Bishop serving in the Philippines. Brent insisted that Haight and his wife Susie stop living in sin and make their marriage legal and recognized by the church, which they eventually did.

For their help in the cause of empire, men like Scheerer and Haight would generally not be disparaged to their faces about their personal relationships with Filipina women. The services that they offered to the colonial government were invaluable and would not be risked by proffering slanderous comments or judgment about the life choices of men that literally lead the way in the mountain provinces. While this may be true, miscegenation was not something that would go completely unremarked on. In the company of others similarly concerned about the problem of improper interracial relations in the islands, these private lives were discussed as very public concerns, and open for public discussion. As reported by Americans living and traveling through the Philippines in their travelogues turned report books on the state of the Philippines,

A number of Americans have married Filipina women; and, as one of our hosts was of that number, it may seem ungracious to criticise the custom...American members of the Philippine Commission have set the stamp of their disapproval upon the *querida* system on the east – a European or American man living with a native woman without a marriage ceremony. While they do not encourage mixed marriages, they feel that even these are better than the evil practice which helped to make the name 'European' offensive in the Philippines. Frequently a Spaniard, soldier or civilian, when he returned home would leave his common-law wife with a little family to support<sup>70</sup>

The government, while it gave official "stances" on interracial marriage and sexual relations, had its own reasons for limiting its involvement in the private affairs of American men and while it

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<sup>69</sup> Lewis E. Gleeck, "Fulfillment in the Philippines," *Bulletin of the American Historical Collection*. Vol. 18, No. 2, April – June, 1990.

<sup>70</sup> John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines; or, Life in Our New Possessions* (1916), 126 - 127.

tried to put up a hard line against such intimate affairs, often ignored selectively where it was deemed necessary for the longevity of colonial rule and the facilitation of American affairs in the Philippines.

### **Chapter Three Conclusion**

In the both the northern and southern Philippines, interracial sexual intimacies were integral in the securing of regional American colonial power, especially in the first two decades of the U.S. occupation. Imagined by colonialists, and occasionally reproduced in a Manila centric historiography as “frontier” zones of the colony, these sexual geographies were in fact ever present in the constituting of American power in Manila and across the archipelago. In Mindanao, the exclusion of Moro women from prostitution meant that a more focused war against Filipino nationalists could be fought on the Island of Luzon. Further, the opportunity for interracial couples to homestead on agricultural colonies satisfied two colonial administrative goals; peopling the south with more non-Muslims and removing American-Filipino couples from more densely populated American communities. In the Cordilleras, “squaw men” provided surveyors, administrators, teachers, and others with access to indigenous communities, communities that imperialists could then claim to be “saving” from barbarism through benevolent American tutelage. Others like Beyer could become “experts” on the Philippines and their people through marriages to indigenous women, strengthening the colonial regime by building the educational apparatus of empire.

Away from the large population of Americans and Europeans in Manila, the Cordilleras and Mindanao necessitated a different approach to empire building. Fewer white people in these farther afield regions meant fewer allies in most cases, which in turn meant that a certain degree of laxity could be exercised in social norms and expectations. Further, regional specificity in terms of population, culture and geography shaped the options that Americans had in terms of

their strategies for gaining and consolidating colonial power. These options for power consolidation required the maintaining of certain types of restricted prostitution as in the case of Mindanao, and the reliance upon the otherwise ostracized “squaw men” in the north. Because of the compromises that the colonial administration had to make in order to keep the proverbial cards stacked in their favor, opportunities arose for American men to engage more freely in interracial sexual relations and enter into various common-law marriages and other sexual arrangements with Igorot and Ifugao women without facing career atrophy. In fact, the opposite could often be expected, as with the bolstered careers of men like Dosser, Beyer and Haight. Couples bound for the Momungan colony in Mindanao were given the opportunity to live more discreetly away from a discriminating American society. With fewer inroads into the provinces far from Manila, the problem of miscegenation in the colony became instead, an opportunity for the colonial regime to utilize for the accomplishment of other more pressing tasks in those regions. Stronger regulatory action on the part of colonial officials could jeopardize the stability of the American foothold in the Asia-Pacific region, as indeed, these uneasy intimacies were essential in the consolidation and maintenance of colonial rule.

By rethinking the sexual geography of the Philippines beyond Manila during this period, we must also rethink the nature of U.S. imperial policy in the Philippines as one that relied to a degree on settler colonial policies. Outside of Manila, the colonial capital that saw the arrival and departure of thousands of Americans, a reframed sexual geography has highlighted long term settlement by interracial couples. Settler colonialism rooted in the dual ends of eradicating the native population and concealing sexual color-line transgressors was indeed an aspect of American rule in the Philippines, albeit permanent settlers were comprised of mostly mixed race families rather than white families, as well as internal colonial subjects and their “redistribution”



to places like Mindanao. Indeed, the very nature of settler colonialism is transformed and remade in the Philippines, marked by social ostracism from both the United States and from American society in the colony. The American settler society in the Philippines demonstrates who could and could not come home after a tour in the islands, as men who had married and had children by Filipina women could either choose to abandon them as most did, or remain in the islands indefinitely. Few chose to take their foreign brides and children home to America where racial non-conformity would be harder to hide.<sup>71</sup> Eventual absorption into Philippine society also marked these settlers, as American-Filipino families, while inflected with American culture and values, were more accepted into Filipino communities, especially if the American spouse was white rather than Black.

This chapter highlights the tenuous expectations of imperial rule and of what the north and south could mean, both for colonial administrators, and for interracial intimacies. For administrators, these regions meant utilizing different colonial methods. While interracial intimacies seen fit for deportation, or “homesteading” in the south were used to bolster plans for Muslim “amalgamation”, those in the north were tolerated due to their conveniently out of sight location and to the extent that their situations provided fruitful opportunities for maintaining imperial legitimacy and the facilitating of American affairs in the region. For interracial intercourse, the northern and southern Philippines meant lessened restrictions and often lessened ostracism. American-Filipino couples looking for opportunities knew this to be the case and often moved away from the American population in Manila. While this push to the borders of colonial American society did further the imperial aims of obscuring what could not be

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<sup>71</sup> By looking at the Census of the Philippines for the years 1903, 1918, and 1939, one sees the population of mixed race American-Filipino residents increase, whereas the American population slowly decreases. Programs dedicated to the care of American-Filipino mixed race children abandoned by their American fathers started in the early 1910’s, such as the Manila based American Guardian Association, which exists to this day. The A.G.A. and mixed-race children of American and Filipino parentage are discussed at length in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

controlled and establishing an American presence in distant Filipino communities, it also created what it sought to prevent or regulate, giving rise to different sexual geographies of interracial intimacy.

## CHAPTER 4

### **The Chronicles of Sam and Maganda: Imperial Fiction, Fantasy and Nostalgia**

I'm growing old; /The frost is on my brow, / The betraying hand of Time has scarred my face; / I've had my fun / Since I was twenty-one, / Took pleasure as it came; But I've run my race, / And am growing old....i'm growing old; / Mem'ries still with me bide / Of lustful, lurid eyes that glowed and burned/ o'ver the wine-cup's rim, / While hands dainty and slim /Caressed and fondled till my senses turned; /But I'm growing old.<sup>1</sup>

Before the U.S. took control of the Philippine archipelago, American ideas about the islands and their people were informed and shaped via travel writing, fictional stories, and other cultural productions, written by mostly white European and American travelers and imperialists. Ideas about the peoples of Africa and Asia were often transposed onto the natives of the Pacific islands, exposing their supposed savagery, libidinousness, strangeness, and docility.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Americans in the Philippines were quick to document their “adventures” in the islands with stories regaling their battles against Filipino “insurrectos,” and poetic accounts detailing their experiences in the tropical contact zone.<sup>3</sup> As scholars such as Edward Said and Mary Louise Pratt have demonstrated about cultural productions and imperialism, while white authors ascribed negative traits to non-white “others” and to foreign lands that they encountered, they were simultaneously defining in themselves and their countries of origin a certain set of often oppositional traits.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, I examine the poetics of empire in the American colonial Philippines, namely those bodies of literature that depict interracial intercourse or romance produced by settler colonial careerists in the islands.

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<sup>1</sup> Edward W.D. St. Claire, “I’m Growing Old,” *The American Oldtimer*, Vol.6, No. 6, 1939, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See Nerissa Balce, “The Filipinas Breast,” (2006).

<sup>3</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> See ; Edward W Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Edward W Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (1992).

From memoirs to poetry to expatriate soldier writings, a prominent subject of these productions was interracial sexual romance or intercourse. Written mostly by expatriate U.S. soldiers of the Spanish and Philippine-American wars, these productions depicted a wide array of intimacies, from romantic depictions of interracial love, to ostensible warnings on the dangers of miscegenation with non-white imperial subjects. Different though their depictions of sexual intercourse in the Philippines might be, these settler careerists all utilized the trope of interracial romance to profess a kind of intimate knowledge and understanding of the islands and its people. This professed “deeper” understanding lent itself not only to the way that these authors imagined themselves, but also to how they came to be viewed by Filipinos and Americans alike as “experts” on the Philippines.

Many of the authors of the literature that follows remained in the Philippines long after independence, choosing to stay in the islands with their Filipina wives and children. These “oldtimers” published their writings in American news sources and magazines during the late 1920’s and through the commonwealth period, the exception being the memoir of A.V.H. Hartendorp, written in 1970 about his experiences in the Philippines post 1917. A seeming departure from the purposefully veiled and hidden nature of interracial affairs in the earlier colonial period, this chapter will highlight how the profusion of imperial fiction on the subject of transgressive sexual intercourse does not necessarily correspond to a more racially tolerant period of U.S. empire in the Philippines. Rather, as we shall see from an examination of the literature in question, while many of the authors claimed a certain insider knowledge of the Philippines via their romantic affairs, their writings also reveal a degree of anxiety over their trysts, especially in regards to the imperial logics that deemed Filipinos as racially inferior.

Indeed, racial anxieties about their frowned upon affairs were worked out in these cultural productions in ways that did not inevitably trouble the imperial logics of racial superiority.

In addition to creating a body of imperial “knowledge” via interracial romantic interludes, the poetics of empire discussed here demonstrate that an increased admission of and nostalgia for romantic interracial attachment was not at odds with imperial racism. Rather, a critical reading of the texts at hand will illustrate that the concept of interracial love and romance was compatible with racism, sexism, and definitely compatible with imperial logics that ascribed civilizational and cultural inferiority upon Filipinos as opposed to white Americans. Further, the depictions of interracial miscegenation did not necessarily threaten the white domestic homeland via transgressions of the sexual color line. Rather, these stories and accounts tempered threats of racial impurity or moral corruptness by depicting intercourse as happening only in the colonial site, and being contained temporary liaisons that resulted ultimately in the abandonment of Filipinas and mixed race offspring. As such, this body of literature does not necessarily endanger imperial ideas of a white colonial metropole or the sanctity of white heteronormative families. Ultimately, the narratives of interracial romance created categories of difference rather than bridged them, while also providing the authors with forms of cultural capital and claims to belonging in the islands, creating perceived affinities that bolstered U.S. empire abroad, well into the decades after formal independence.

Much of the literature examined here was written and published in the latter two decades of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines between the 1930’s through the 40’s. Written by expatriate American men reaching their 60’s and 70’s who had been living in the Philippines since the Spanish and Philippine-American wars, a favorite topics to reminisce about for many of these “oldtimers” who were now entering into their golden years were interracial romance and

accounts of their wartime experiences, as evidenced in the “I’m Growing Old” poem above. At this point in the lives of most oldtimers, they were well beyond their “prime” both in terms of their sexual virility and careers. Filipina women, it seems, became markers in the timeline of events in the lives of “oldtimers,” their presence signifying the glory days wherein sexual possibilities seemingly abounded American men in the tropics. The preoccupation with interracial miscegenation in this body of literature reflects the fact that many of these men were themselves married to or in long term relationships with Filipina women.

While their “connection” to the islands via transgression of the sexual color line often marked them as deviants from the rest of the American community, they were also often marked as “experts” on matters concerning the Philippines and their people, a designation that was harder to come by in the earlier decades of colonial rule for ostracized squaw men. Indeed, it may have only appeared that this social ostracism lessened in the later commonwealth period due to the fact that by this time, many of these American “oldtimers” as they dubbed themselves, had managed to form a close-knit community and a critical mass. They often kept in touch with each other and abreast of U.S. and local news that might affect them in the islands through their membership based magazine/newsletter featuring important news, short stories and poetry written by the membership, and obituaries in memoriam of their recently deceased friends, as many of their number were, by the 1930’s, well into their senior citizen years.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps because of the realities of their advanced years and having little to lose by openly admitting their youthful acts of transgressing the sexual color line that many of them chose to put their recollections to paper, writing candidly – and sometimes in graphic detail – about their sexual liaisons with Filipina women.

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<sup>5</sup> See, *The American Oldtimer*, (1933 – 1941), the “Oldtimers Edition” of the *Philippine Free Press* (1928), and the *American Chamber of Commerce Philippines Journal*, 1902 – present.

The first two sections of this paper deal with specific individuals who produced works of imperial fiction. First under consideration is the epic allegory of U.S.-Philippines relations written by Hammon H. Buck. Buck joined the South Dakota Volunteers and sailed for the Philippines in 1898. After being injured in 1899, he left military service and became a school teacher. He was a settler colonial careerist who ended up making his life in the Philippines.<sup>6</sup> His allegory, published in the 1940's, envisions the U.S.-Philippines colonial relationship as a love story between a hesitating lover, American "Sam" and a petulant but beautiful Filipina, "Maganda."<sup>7</sup> The next section looks at the writings of another settler careerist, Abram Van Heyningen Hartendorp. His six volume self-published memoirs recount his life in the Philippines, much of which involves his sexual encounters with Filipina women. Graphic descriptions of his sexual exploits fill the six volume series, exploits which come to define his own understandings of himself as sexually virile and attractive. As Hartendorp narrates an imagined sense of self via his numerous sexual encounters, he simultaneously demonstrates an inability to comprehend the complexities of the sexual economy and imperial intercourse in the Philippines. Because of this, his memoirs are treated in this chapter as a type of imperial fiction, which we must read beyond the intended narrative that tells us only of how he envisioned himself as racially tolerant because of his sexual experimentation in the tropics.

Reading Hartendorp's memoirs as imperial fiction does not mean that the events he recounts did not happen, rather, by treating his writing as imperial fiction, we can take into account how the nostalgia, posturing, and "imperial eyes" of colonial writers obscure alternate interpretations and meanings of events, and could create fantasy experiences far different from

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<sup>6</sup> Lewis E. Gleeck, *Americans on the Philippine Frontiers* (Carmelo & Bauermann, 1974).

<sup>7</sup> "Maganda" is the Filipino word for beautiful.

how his partners might have experienced them.<sup>8</sup> By recognizing how these factors color imperial memoir and colonial writing in general, we can acknowledge that Hartendorp's recollections represent only a version of the particular events described, a version that may not hold true for all those involved in the story. Further, we can acknowledge that the Filipina women in his stories would have had their own versions of the events he described, inflected by their own positions as marginalized colonial subjects. By reading this volume as imperial fiction, we can begin to understand the motivations of the women in his narrative, and how imperial logics, rather than a liberated mindset, sped along Hartendorp's reinvention of himself.

Lastly, a set of poems and short stories from the later colonial and commonwealth period are examined. This body of literature features tales of interracial romance and nostalgia, as well as more obviously racist stories that warn against crossing the sexual color line in the Philippines. A close reading of this sample of literature highlights the tropes and themes that enabled interracial intercourse to exist rhetorically and publicly without being threatening to the maintenance of white supremacy. The tropes and themes, such as the ubiquitous abandoned Filipina lover, maintained the idea of white racial purity, while simultaneously confirming a proliferation of dangerous intercourse. The "squaw men" authors and subjects of these works, while they may have been ostracized from the wider American community, largely took up the task of seeing to U.S. interests in the islands after independence, many of them having mining stock, property and other interests in the islands in addition to their Filipino families.<sup>9</sup> Taken together, these poetics of empire help us to understand how accounts of exile and interracial

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<sup>8</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (1992).

<sup>9</sup> Buck for example had purchased large amounts of land in Tagaytay, a few hours' drive outside of Manila and a contemporary vacation spot, envisioning it as a potential "hill station" such as the mountainous and temperate Baguio had been utilized for. Hartendorp owned stock in mining. Other "oldtimer" expatriates owned farms and plantations, or had other lucrative business dealings in the islands and most likely took these considerations into account when deciding whether or not to stay in the Philippines. See; Lewis E. Gleeck, *Americans on the Philippine Frontiers*, (1974), and A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I have Lived* (1970).



intercourse facilitated the creation of an erroneous epistemology of the Philippines and its people that lingered well after independence.

### **The Man, the Woman, the Metaphor: Hammon Bucks' "Chronicles" of Sam and Maganda**

One of the most enduring and discussed representations of the imperial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines - both at the time in question and in the subsequent secondary literature written about this period – likened the entangled association of the two nations to that of a dangerous but compassionate interracial sexual liaison. Namely, press depictions, political speeches, travel guides and other sources of information about the Philippines imagined the United States as a masculine adventurer in the Asia-Pacific region (often the embodied Uncle Sam), who inadvertently comes across an “oriental” damsel in distress. After saving her virtue from the clutches of Spain, Japan, Germany, or any other enemy that was perceived as a threat to colonial acquisition at the particular moment, Sam and his Philippine beauty embark on an ambiguous relationship, with the U.S. playing the part of the hesitating lover with noble intentions. Indeed, this imagined liaison between Sam and the Philippines was often conveyed through political cartoons and commentary, which have subsequently been reinterpreted and discussed by various scholars.<sup>10</sup> Similar romantic allegories were popularly applied to Cuba and Puerto Rico as well, all of these non-white countries imagined at some point as effeminate and weak in contrast to the strong and masculine U.S.

What is less often neglected in these discussions, however, is that these allegories more often than not found expression in fact. The macro imagined relationship of the U.S. and the Philippines looked less like an imaginative fable and more like a lived reality on the micro level

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<sup>10</sup> See for example, Kristin Hoganson , *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Alfred W. McCoy, *Philippine Cartoons* (1985).

of lived experiences in the Philippines. In fact, many American men who stayed indefinitely in the Philippines with their wives or lovers fancied themselves in the same situation as Sam, and were actively engaged in reproducing the allegory of the American and Philippine illicit relationship. By interrogating the cultural productions about Sam and Maganda as well as the authors of these productions, we will see that the trope of a U.S.-Philippines romantic relationship was not an insubstantial imaginary, but quite real. Further, the stories of real interracial couples will demonstrate the range of relations, and how they operated not as “benevolent” partnerships, but as relations arising out of unequal and exploitive colonial conditions.

American expatriate men with Filipina wives and families could, by the commonwealth period, position themselves as “experts” on the Philippine question of independence versus continued U.S. colonial status. Different from the earlier colonial period where such “squaw men” would be lucky to find a modicum of acceptance, let alone find work in Manila, by the later period, some men were emerging as leaders in the oldtimer community. Recognized as some of the longest standing residents of the American community in the islands, American expats with Filipino families could, if they were lucky and careful to avoid scandal, come to be seen as individuals with almost innate understandings of the native people and culture – however far this might be from the truth. This recognition could then be translated into careers that could sustain their lives in the islands, and those of their family, much like the example of the American men in the Cordilleras region found in chapter three. While the “expertise” on the Philippines that these men possessed was supposedly based on far-reaching relationships with the native people and culture, an examination of their writings will demonstrate that their perceived knowledge was actually informed in large part by their relationships with Filipina

women. Further, the machinations of Sam and Maganda – inspired by their own lives – actively reproduced an American perspective of Philippine history, often reinforcing imperial racist logic that bolstered the idea of American benevolence. The purported “closeness” with Filipinas that oldtimer authors wrote of rarely deflated ideas of racial and civilizational differences that U.S. empire claimed existed between the two nations, rather, the “knowledge” of Filipinas solidified imperial ideas about Filipino inferiority.

The connection between interracial intercourse and imperial knowledge is vividly put on display in the fictional story entitled, “Chronicles of Sam and Maganda,” written by Hammon H. Buck, American oldtimer resident of Cavite. Buck came to the Philippine islands with the South Dakota Volunteers, and took his discharge in 1900, electing to stay in the islands. Working with the U.S. Department of Education, he was assigned to Cavite, where he eventually met and married his Filipina wife, Dolores Angeles. He was a regular contributor to *Philippine Magazine*, in which he discussed his ideas about colonialism in the Philippines. One of his contributions to the magazine were the serialized “Chronicles of Sam and Maganda,” which he eventually had published as a short story. In this 50 page volume, Buck turns the old allegory of the U.S. – Philippines romance into a narrative epic, starting from when Sam saves Maganda from Spain, whom he described as a “low-browed individual who was holding her by her long dark hair.”<sup>11</sup> Buck describes Sam Brown as “a Western Youth, strong and vigorous by nature, good-hearted, blundering, and generous...withal a gentleman and anxious to do the right thing by the opposite sex.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hammon H. Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda* (Manila: Concuera Press). Undated but previously published in *Philippine Magazine* in the late 1930s. This compiled version was most likely printed after its serialized run, sometimes in the 1940’s. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 7.

After wresting Maganda from the clutches of the “low-browed” individual, Sam cannot seem to let her go along on her own path, despite Maganda’s reassurance that she can manage fine on her own. Rather than let the maiden go about her business and be done with the matter, Sam insists on accompanying her home and on the best path to take to do so. Buck reimagines the Philippine-American war as akin to a domestic disturbance, wherein “Maganda was the struggler...Sam merely maintained his grasp on the maiden, all the time counseling patience and submission and promising to lead her along bright and pleasant paths.”<sup>13</sup> This struggle turned implicit rape scene takes on an additionally chilling and violent nature as Maganda slowly comes to accept and appreciate what her captor has done for her. For forty more pages the narrative continues, waxing poetic about the kind hearted nature of Sam, a lover who, despite his willingness to control Maganda, cannot completely commit to the idea of marriage that she desires. Being a “naturally chaste maiden,” Maganda does not wish to remain in the ambiguous position of an “oriental” mistress, although she has had no trouble appearing romantically receptive and growing accustomed to his pocketbook.<sup>14</sup>

The author of this ode to American exceptionalism positions himself as an expert on all things in the Philippines, his allegory of choice also hinting that he perhaps fancies himself an expert on the Filipina woman in particular. As post-colonial scholars have been quick to point out, however, such cultural productions more often reflect truths about the author and the context in which they are writing rather than any real knowledge about a colonized people or locale.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Buck, his vision of the U.S.-Philippines relationship reveals less about the realities of American empire in the Pacific, than about his own anxieties about race relations and interracial

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<sup>13</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 13.

<sup>15</sup> See, Said’s *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (1992), Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence* (2000), Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, Eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Duke University Press, 1993).

intercourse in the islands. As a man with a Filipina wife and interracial children who may have often had to defend his own relationship –to other Americans but perhaps also to himself - considering the popular American sentiment surrounding miscegenation, the metaphor of an illicit interracial liaison between the U.S. and the Philippines was a familiar scenario for him. Indeed, perhaps the most conclusive truth reflected in *Chronicle* is Bucks’ own racist and paternalist attitudes towards Filipinos, as well as his own anxieties about interracial miscegenation.

The infantilization of the Philippines and its peoples is clear in Buck’s imagined American empire. In point of fact, his romance-rape fantasy takes on an additional disturbing layer of licentiousness in the child-like descriptions of Maganda. While the narrator decidedly states that, “Sam’s attitude is not parental, his interest in Maganda is more compelling, more absorbing, and more all-embracing than is advisable or ethical on the part of a guardian toward his ward,” Maganda is repeatedly described as a “child of the orient,” a “Creature fashioned by nature to be petted,” and immature.<sup>16</sup> At moments, she is depicted as a petulant child Lolita, wanting Sam to continue to do her favors and using her feminine wiles to obtain that which she desires. This infantilization of Maganda was well in line with the imperial tactic of infantilizing the Philippine nation and people, thereby justifying the need for a “tutor” or “benefactor” to look out for these colonial “wards.”

Buck’s belief in his own racial tolerance is indicated in the further details of Sam and Maganda’s rocky courtship. The purported tolerance that Buck expresses through the character of Sam is, however, simply a superficial willingness to have sexual relations with non-white women, not a progressive commitment to racial equality. For example, Sam is initially unsure of how formal he wants to make his relationship with Maganda, noting that, “he really had no

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<sup>16</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 15.

business dallying with the lady as she was of the so-considered, ‘inferior’ type, which had caused and was still causing [him] so much trouble at home.”<sup>17</sup> Here Buck seems to be asserting his own distance from the idea of “so-considered” racially inferior types, although his descriptions of Maganda and the Philippines in general are often in line with, rather than at odds with racist discourse, which imbued both imperialist and anti-imperialist logic. His own sense of racial superiority and that of Americans in general is highlighted further when Maganda is appraising her options in terms of marriage prospects, contemplating not only Sam, but also “John Chinaman,” “Cousin Togo,” and “Uncle Bombay,” with the latter three unable to arouse or awaken her heart.<sup>18</sup>

Buck uses his figure of Maganda to express contempt for men of different “oriental” ethnicities, the fictive character’s appraisal of these suitors denies them the heteronormative masculinity and attractiveness that Sam apparently possesses. She questions why she should choose any of these “cousin” Asians since she has the opportunity to “drink at the source,” stating that, “‘if I must look for a motive power, why not hitch my wagon to a star?’”<sup>19</sup> Here, Buck is expressing his ideas about the sexual desirability of white American men over Asians as well as the civilizational superiority of the U.S. and its growing dominance in the Pacific. Using Maganda as his mouthpiece for these ideas, he further typifies Filipina women as “naturally” attracted to white men but simultaneously conniving and calculated in their marital choices.

### **Imperial Fiction and Nostalgia – A.V.H. Hartendorp and Imagined Manhood**

A serialized version of Buck’s epic allegory was published by chapters in the local Manila publication, *Philippine Magazine*, edited by fellow oldtimer and “squaw man,” A.V.H. Hartendorp. Like Buck, Hartendorp too had been in the Philippines since the “empire days” – an

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<sup>17</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 8.

<sup>18</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 25 – 26.

<sup>19</sup> Hammon Buck, *Chronicles of Sam and Maganda*, 26.

expression used by long-time American residents of the Philippines to denote the time period when Americans occupied most of the top governing positions in the Philippines before the active Filipinization of the government. Also like Buck, Hartendorp was as prolific writer, who was able to use his pen and his perceived ties to the Philippines to establish a long-lived and prestigious career for himself. Buck came to the Philippines in 1917 with an interest in racial psychology and hopes to “study the negritos.”<sup>20</sup> Having left the Colorado homestead to pursue a career in colonial education abroad, a 24 year old Hartendorp left the U.S. for the Philippines fully intending to return to America once he had completed his service abroad.<sup>21</sup> In 1945, Hartendorp made his first return visit to the U.S., 28 years after his initial arrival in the Philippines.<sup>22</sup>

Hartendorp’s civil service employment with the Department of Education in the Philippines took him all around the archipelago, from Mindanao, to Baguio, Samar, and Manila. A self-proclaimed colonialist who sought to advance American goals in the islands, he played a fundamental role in the administration of intelligence testing to Filipino pupils, stating that his articles on the subject, “for the first time scientifically proved that Philippine intelligence norms were only slightly below the United States norms, the difference being accounted for by the language difficulty.”<sup>23</sup> After leaving the civil service, Hartendorp made a career for himself as a man of letters, writing and editing for various newspapers and teaching classes at the University of the Philippines. He later became the editor of the *Philippine Magazine*, a literary and cultural monthly which helped launch the careers of various Filipino artists and English language writers.

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<sup>20</sup> “A.V.H. Hartendorp, An Autobiographical Sketch,” Manila: Self-Published, July, 1964), 1. Accessed at Ateneo De Manila University, American Historical Collection. The “Negritos,” as they were called by American Anthropologists and lowland Christian Filipinos, were believed to be the original inhabitants of the Philippine islands.

<sup>21</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 125.

<sup>22</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 3, (1970), 492 – 550.

<sup>23</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, “An Autobiographical Sketch,” (1964), 2.

During World War II, Hartendorp and other Americans civilians – Including American Mestizos who could not pass as Filipino - were deemed enemies of the Japanese invading forces, and were jailed at Santo Tomas Internment Camp in Manila.<sup>24</sup> Hartendorp served as the unofficial historian for Americans interned at Santo Tomas and his account of living under the Japanese remains one of the most important accounts of American imprisonment in the Pacific during World War II. One time advisor to first president after independence Manuel Quezon as well as later president Sergio Osmena, Hartendorp came to be seen by both Filipinos and Americans expatriates as an expert on Philippine-American relations and the Philippines in general. He left a prolific archival record of his life in the Philippines, not only through his published works in newspapers and magazines, but also through his self-published six volume memoirs.

To this day, His written works and life have been lauded by American oldtimers in the Philippines, as well as other Americans and Filipinos who were and are invested in Hartendorps version of U.S. history in the islands.<sup>25</sup> Most accounts remember Hartendorp as great contributor to the literary world of the Philippines and as someone with a great “interest and love for the country and its people.”<sup>26</sup> These accounts never fail to mention how Hartendorp Married a Filipina woman, had American-Mestizo children, and chose to make his life in the Philippines. These accounts further praise him for being racially tolerant and open-minded – as evidenced through his Filipino family – when it was unpopular with most Americans in the islands at the time. Referencing the memoirs that the present study analyzes, one account even describes how

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<sup>24</sup> The University of Santo Tomas in Manila was used as the internment site, as it was a fenced compound and easy to guard with less manpower. Overcrowded residents lived in dormitory buildings and other spaces that made up the campus compound.

<sup>25</sup> See for example, Lewis E. Gleeck, *The Manila Americans* (1977); Thomas Carter, *The Way it Was*, (Quezon City, Philippines: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co. Inc., 1985). Gleeck and Carter compile accounts and anecdotes about the American community in the Philippines, following in Hartendorps footsteps. They cite him as a foundational “pro-Filipino” American. This pro-Filipino position was apparently compatible with imperialism, as Hartendorp was openly a self-proclaimed imperialist as well.

<sup>26</sup> Anicia Garcia Canseco, ‘*Let Your Hair Down*’: *A.V.H. Hartendorp – The Man and His Works*, MA. Dissertation, University of the Philippines, 1974, viii.



Hartendorp was ostracized “from that part of Manila social life dominated by American women” for being a “squaw man.” The author of this memoriam continues, saying that, “the scars left by the ostracism he for a time encountered...[help] to explain the depth of his identification with the Philippines, a commitment he shared with only a handful of Americans.”<sup>27</sup>

Perhaps because of the nature of the articles written about Hartendorp as commemorations of his life and literary work, they omit the more delicate details of his time spent in the Philippines, namely, his various sexual affairs and exploits in the islands. Because of this omission, his legacy as a supposed anti-racist and supporter of the Philippine literary arts is able to continue unquestioned and untarnished. By examining Hartendorp’s accounts of his interracial sexual affairs and his endorsement of and participation in the sexual economy, we can begin to understand how these sexual experiences came to color his view of imperialism in the islands. Incorporating Hartendorp’s sexual exploits into considerations about him and his life change not just how we understand one expatriate from the United States, but also about how colonial and post-colonial ideas of American racism and anti-racism were informed.

Penned in his late 70’s, well after his career highlights, Hartendorp’s sweeping account of his life candidly details his ascent to prominence in the Philippines, an ascent that was largely based on what he believed to be his deep understanding of the Filipino community and the lengthy amount of time he had spent in the islands. His intimate relations, as well as his multiple liaisons with Filipina women, inform and imbue his own sense of being a non-racist American settler with the same claim over and belonging to the islands as the native Filipinos themselves. As shown in the commemorations above, these ideas of his expertise on the Philippines, his attitude of anti-racism (via his Filipino family), and even his supposed victimization at the hands

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<sup>27</sup> Frank H. Golay, “Hartendorp Remembered,” *Bulletin of the American Historical Collection*, vol. 5, no. 2, April 1977, 42.

of “real racists,” continue to reproduce themselves well after Philippine independence and even after Hartendorp’s death. Unlike the above accounts of Hartendorp, this section will demonstrate that colonial racism was not precluded in the fact of white American men having sexual relations and even families with Filipinas. Quite the contrary, racism and notions of white supremacy were often, in fact, the basis of such relationships. Further, interracial sexual liaisons within the context of imperialism *did not* and *could not* equate to or signify cultural expertise or knowledge, as colonial structures and the gendered privilege bestowed on white American men occluded comprehension and exchange on equal terms.

Hartendorp, like many other career colonist settlers in the Philippines, left a relatively unremarkable beginning and obscure life in the U.S. An immigrant from Holland, he became an American citizen as a young child, through the naturalization of his father.<sup>28</sup> After two years of university study, Hartendorp describes that he was “becoming restless.” “Although I had acquired no degree,” he states, “and there was no likelihood of my getting one, I felt I had more than the equivalent in general knowledge, and particularly in psychology. I wanted to leave the academic confines and go into field work.”<sup>29</sup> He was advised to take the U.S. government civil service examination for teachers to be assigned to the Philippines and once abroad, a post in the Bureau of Education to study indigenous populations could be easily secured. The story of Abram Hartendorp in the Philippines, in many ways, exemplifies an idea most recently elaborated upon by historian Alfred McCoy. That is, that the Philippines could serve as a laboratory experiment for the facilitation of U.S. desires, knowledge production, and other types of “liberatory” projects. As McCoy, Scarano, and Johnson describe in their introduction to *Colonial Crucible*, “American colonials had an extraordinary freedom for bold social

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<sup>28</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, “An Autobiographical Sketch,” (1964), 1.

<sup>29</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 87.

experimentation frequently barred by legal or political challenges at home. Often empire was a mere canvas on which imperious egos painted the landscape with ill-conceived disasters...<sup>30</sup>

As this dissertation has sought to demonstrate, bold sexual experimentation too, was a part of the “extraordinary freedom” that U.S. empire offered colonials in the archipelago. Adding to McCoy and Scarano’s conception of the laboratory imperial project, the study of individuals like Hartendorp and others illustrates that it was not only legal and political constraints that were worked out in the site of empire. Social obstacles – be it relative obscurity in the United States, unremarkableness, or the social mores of the time - could also be circumnavigated in the Philippines.

Hartendorp transformed his educational averageness and unremarkableness in the Philippine laboratory – where simply being a white American endowed one with all sorts of privilege and access - into a career of recognition in colonial education and politics. This, however, was not the only arena for “bold social experimentation.” Indeed, Hartendorp’s sexual experimentation and numerous liaisons around the islands are a far cry from his many unconsummated sexual attractions in the United States. What’s more, it was, in many ways, his sexual exploits in the islands and his eventual marriages to Filipina women that rendered and embodied his persona as a Philippine expert, both in the public imagination and within his own understanding of his place in the Philippines. Thus, for men like Hartendorp who partook in the sexual economy of the islands and perhaps made their relations with Filipina women more formal through marriage, the circumvention of sexual norms, barriers, and rejection that they encountered in the United States had larger consequences than simply fulfilling sexual desires and erotic expectations. Rather, their sexual experimentation and interracial relationships,

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<sup>30</sup> McCoy, Scarano, and Johnson, “On the Tropic of Cancer: Transitions and Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State,” from, *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, McCoy and Scarano, Eds. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 15.

informed white American men's ideas about their "knowledge" of the Philippines as well as their own imaginings and understandings of their sexual desirability.

Hartendorp's recollections of immigration – his family being originally from Holland – and early childhood begin his epic memoir, and lead into accounts of his teenage years. Hartendorp recollects a string of unrequited romantic interests from childhood through college, rejections and unfulfillment that lead him to describe his brother, rather than himself as successful in sexual pursuits. Hartendorp describes his brother Paul as "a little taller and much better-looking than I, and while I was shy with girls, and lived my 'sex-life' mainly in my imagination, he was a girl-killer...girls did run after him and he flirted with them all...Paul went on with them like a Casanova."<sup>31</sup> Hartendorp's insecurities about his own sexual inexperience and attractiveness to women would soon be ameliorated in the experimental site of the Philippines.

Once abroad, Hartendorp was quickly introduced to the sexual economy in Manila by an unnamed "Medical friend" whose identity he decidedly chooses not to reveal.<sup>32</sup> After a meal in the upscale Manila Hotel, Hartendorp and his unnamed friend visit a house in the Gardenia red-light district of Sampaloc, just on the outskirts of Manila proper. He describes in detail his first sexual encounter at the age of 24 in a Japanese house of prostitution. Hartendorp recounts the upscale nature of the house, the fancy tea service and the fine traditional clothing of the 7 or 8 Japanese ladies he met. After these proceedings, he recounts;

...My friend and the girl seated near him rose, and as they started to leave the room, he said, 'come, what are you waiting for? Choose any of these nice you women you like.' Desperately I smiled at the girl nearest me who seemed a little older than the others and had a kind face. She rose, took me by my hand, and lead

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<sup>31</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 98.

<sup>32</sup> Hartendorp makes it a point to protect the names of several men whom he knew to be engaged in extramarital affairs with Filipina women or solicitors of sex in the red light districts.

me out of the drawing room to a large, airy bedroom, neat and tastefully furnished.<sup>33</sup>

As Hartendorp also recalls, he and his friend spoke sparingly on the ride home, although his friend, as if to make sure the young newcomer to Manila understood the social mores of the American men in the city, told him that the particular house they had visited was known as house number 9, the most upscale and expensive in the red-light district and that it was, “patronized by many prominent government, professional, and business men.” In addition, he assured Hartendorp that privacy was of the utmost importance at the Japanese house, which had several entrance points to assure that patrons could enter and exit without being observed. Venereal diseases too, he explained, were not an issue at the house, although he recommended the use of “a 5% argyrol solution and mercurial ointment,” just in case.<sup>34</sup>

After this initial induction, Hartendorp describes in his memoirs how he came to visit house number 9 quite frequently.

I would have tea with the mama san and O-Clio-San (the same woman with whom he had his first sexual experience), and then we would go to the latter’s room. Several times I stayed all night and in the morning would take a pleasant hot water tub bath in the Japanese manner. The mama san would give me a light breakfast. The girls in the house dubbed me “O-Haga-San,” which, I was told, means “Mr. bald-head.”...I might interpose here that prostitution among the Japanese was at that time an accepted social institution and that the women practiced the profession with no apparent feeling of debasement or guilt.<sup>35</sup>

Hartendorp’s memoirs are filled with various and candid accounts of sexual ribaldry, as well as his own often flawed opinions-stated-as-fact about the feelings and desires of the women he engaged in intercourse with. By the time of his writing of these accounts, he had been in the Philippines for well over 40 years, and was a self-proclaimed and publicly acknowledged American expert on the Philippines. Nostalgic and entering into the twilight of his life, his

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<sup>33</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970). 110 – 112.

<sup>34</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 112.

<sup>35</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 112.

memories are tinged with romantic assumptions about the women he encountered, and are interspersed with telling statements about how these encounters framed his ideas of his own masculinity, attractiveness and virility. Indeed, through his sexual experiences with women on the margins of Philippine society, Hartendorp's confidence in his own sexual prowess and desirability become inflated, despite the fact that he was paying for sexual companionship. At the same time, he ignored or refused to comprehend the motivations and practical desires of the women involved in his liaisons.

Judging from the induction of Hartendorp into the sexual economy by the unnamed "medical friend" and the pursuant conversation about the prevalent but discreet participation in interracial sex in exchange for money, the social acceptability he describes more likely reflects a projection of the social acceptance of the red-light district by the American and European men who frequented houses of "ill-repute." This acceptance can also be seen in the presence of the multiple entry/exit doors at house nine that assisted in the anonymity of patrons described by Hartendorp. Moreover, his recollections refuse to acknowledge these initial and subsequent interracial interludes as monetary exchanges, never mentioning the manner in which he paid or the amount of money he was billed for the sexual services of the women he slept with at house number nine. For example, his recollection of O-Clio-San's "motherly" attention towards him upon discovering his virginity and the hospitality of the mama-san demonstrate Hartendorp's inability to register these actions as services for payment. Rather, he describes this early time spent in the red-light district of Manila as a moment of sexual exploration, fulfillment, and mutual amiability. Of his frequent excursions to house 9, and his carriage ride in public with O-Clio-San, he states that, "I felt like quite a rascal."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 112.

Whatever O-Clio-San's affection for Hartendorp may have been, his nostalgic imagining of the events that took place obscure the structures of imperialism that allowed American men such easy access to women of various nationalities for sexual intercourse, or else they assume that such structures are self-evident, the sexual environment for white men a well-known aspect of life in the Philippines. If we are to take the medical friend's assertion of the commonplaceness of white men visiting the red-light district and actively read this against Hartendorp's version of the story, we might imagine O-Clio-San as a worker with many different clients. We might see her as bored with, tired of or content with her work. Perhaps she tried to leave this occupation, perhaps she did not or could not. We might see her as forming different levels of attachment or feigned attachment to individual clients, but aware that this was her trade and means of employment. Further, empire and the raced and gendered power of white men in the colony, too, have to be placed back into the reading of Hartendorp's recollections, informing and structuring everything that transpires. Otherwise, the reader has a story where these various dimensions of power are casually edited out, taken for granted, and depoliticized as "normal" in the narrative memories of those who benefit from the imperial project. Without inserting empire back into Hartendorp's memoir, we run the risk of neglecting a story of imperialism and heteronormative white male dominance and reading only a quaint sexual coming of age story in the tropics.

As in his understanding of the women at house nine in Sampaloc whom he fails to understand as socially marginalized individuals with their own ideas about their lives and livelihoods, Hartendorp demonstrates a similar non-comprehension of female sexuality, desires, and economic vulnerability in a number of cases. For example, he often accompanied his colleague and mentor in colonial education, H. Otley Beyer, on ethnological trips through the Mountain Province north of Manila. Hartendorp was quick to acquaint himself with the women

of the Cordilleras. In Baguio, they were met by Beyer's Ifugao wife, Lingayu, their infant son William, and many other individuals from the town. As he recounts;

Among the other young Ifugao women on the downstairs porch, where this introduction took place, I saw one girl who took my eye. She was about sixteen years old and wore a colored hand-woven scarf over one shoulder and breast. Perhaps that was what first attracted my attention, for most of the others were "topless". I considered what was hidden by that scarf!<sup>37</sup>

While Hartendorp's memory of his sexual experience in the Mountain Province begins with his own initial attraction to and desire for a young Ifugao girl named Dulimay, he understands this experience in terms of mutual attraction and desire for sexual expression. Any intentions or interest on the part of Dulimay are not considered in this memoir, as evidenced in the above quote where her presence simply serves as a receptacle of Hartendorp's sexual fantasy. Rather, romantic ideas of "free love" and what he perceived as tribal customs colored his transcendental experience of intercourse with Dulimay.

The Ifugaos have no ulugs like the Bontocs, but they too observe the custom of young people getting together before marriage to test their love, - trial marriage. I had for a long time been critical of the institution of marriage...Even when I was still at the University I had begun to favor the idea of "free love", or rather, freedom of love. Here, it seemed, was my opportunity to test the idea. Dulimay, entirely willing, came to me that night and after taking a bath together (this time I did not notice the cold), we went to bed...I had no intention of marrying her, nor did she expect it...we had been strongly attracted to each other and had been happy together for a while. What could have been more natural and more lovely? The two of us so different from each other, had yet been drawn so closely together that invidious racial separateness had been nullified, and we were both nullified by the experience.<sup>38</sup>

Having sex with Dulimay, he believes, was not only due to "strong" mutual attraction, but was also within the cultural practices of the Ifugao community. His ability to "test" out his

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<sup>37</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 137.

<sup>38</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 138-140. An ulug was typically written about and understood by American colonial observers and anthropologists as a communal sleeping quarters for young girls from the Bontoc region, typically a place where young women slept before marriage. *Philippine Journal of Education*, Vol. 64, 1985.



transcendent ideas of “free love” in the laboratory space of the colonial Philippines also confirmed in his mind his own ideas of self. His sexual encounter with a non-white colonial subject becomes an otherworldly experience, one that he imagines place him above the logics of racial prejudice. Further, in the process of ignoring any motivations that Dulimay may have had in pursuing a sexual relationship with him, Hartendorp’s romanticized story of their encounter reproduces a certain type of imperial knowledge about the tribal populations in the northern Philippines. American anthropologists generally wrote of the perceived sexual openness of tribes in the north, studies which bolstered ideas of native sexual immorality. His tale of “uninhibited” sex with Dulimay upon their first meeting would have validated these American understandings of sexual immorality amongst the “savage” population of the Philippines. This “knowledge” about the social and sexual practices of native groups in the mountain province enabled the civilizing mission mandate that fueled imperial efforts in the islands. Indeed, this perceived knowledge also enabled men like Hartendorp, Beyer and others to penetrate indigenous communities and indigenous women.

Like the women in the red-light district at house nine, Hartendorp’s reminiscences romanticize his encounters with non-white women while failing to conceive of the motivations and desires of these women. As in the case with O-Clio-San, Dulimay too had her own understanding of the sexual encounters with Hartendorp, one that we must read through and beyond the memoir. For example, the fact that Dulimay was friends with H.Otley Beyer’s Ifugao wife Lingayu (discussed in more detail in chapter three), suggests several things about her interest in forming a sexual arrangement with a white American man. Lingayu’s family, already prominent in their community, was able to garner an even more advantageous position through her marriage to Beyer. Beyer’s financial capital ensured his Ifugao family a certain degree of

financial stability during uncertain and changing colonial times. Dulimay likely observed these benefits of Lingayu's relationship, and perhaps was even encouraged by Lingayu herself to pursue relations with Beyer's friend. It was quite common also, for white American soldiers or constabulary officers in the region engage in interracial co-habitation and sex with native women, many who received money, clothing, or houses as a part of their arrangements.<sup>39</sup> So while Hartendorp imagined and wrote their liaison as a romantic mutual attraction and transcendent experience that was above considerations of racial difference, it is more likely to have *been* racial difference - and all that it implied and could potentially promise at the particular time and location - that motivated Dulimay to become involved with him.

Reading Hartendorp's memoirs for imperialism and beyond his romantic assessment allows us to get at the differing motivations of and realities for Filipina and Ifugao women who decided to engage in sexual relationships with American men. For example, in the memoirs, Hartendorp writes that Dulimay, upon his departure from Baguio, asked him to purchase a house for her. After looking at several homes of the "common type" that Dulimay had found on sale, he paid about 25 pesos for a more recently constructed one. Dulimay, he recalls, "was a poor girl and lived with her sister, the parents being dead [and] was pleased with the gift and proud of now having a place of her own."<sup>40</sup> Her understanding of their arrangement – informed by similar arrangements between Ifugao women and American men in the region - clearly included some form of remuneration from her American lover, an understanding that Hartendorp's epic memoirs fail to comprehend. Even after Dulimay makes clear that she would like to receive a form of compensation for her part in their sexual encounters, the house is understood by him as a "gift," one that he had given to her out of his own kindness, rather than part of an economic

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<sup>39</sup> Refer to chapter 3 of this dissertation. See also, Frank Jenista, *The White Apo's* (1987).

<sup>40</sup> A.V.H Hartendorp, *I Have Lived*, Book 1 (1970), 139.

arrangement. Reading Dulimay's request in this way illustrates that Hartendorp was not the only one testing certain social norms. Dulimay too, in her understanding of what sexual liaisons with white men could perhaps provide for her, entered into experimental relations to provide for herself and her family. This alternate reading also exposes Hartendorp's understanding of his sexual attractiveness and the supposed racially progressive intercourse as imperial fictions. His refusal to see Dulimay's economic motivations demonstrates not only the way that memory and nostalgia erase imperial structures of marginalization through which foreigners come to have more means and privilege than the native inhabitants, but they also serve to create and inflate an imagined sense of self, desirable masculinity, and racial tolerance.

In numerous other recollections of liaisons in the Philippines, Hartendorp continues to describe his own position as a benefactor of the structures of imperial power, while normalizing this position through his inability to see beyond his own sexual fantasies. In one instance, his teaching contract took him to Samar, where his interest was attracted by an "eighteen-year-old girl, Monica, a typical Bisayan small-town girl, pretty and intelligent." He had apparently "made a number of half-hearted proposals to her, and her answer always was, 'when we are married.'" When he left this town for another, he recounts how Monica "came quietly into my house as if she now regretted having put me off so many times. She well knew I was leaving. I blew out my kerosene lamp and the poor girl threw herself into my arms. But it was too late; our meeting was not very satisfactory to either of us."<sup>41</sup> Hartendorp reads this encounter with Monica as proof of her hidden feelings for him, feelings which she finally acts upon despite her previous pride. Despite the fact that it was he who had made "half-hearted" romantic propositions towards Monica – indicating to her that she was desired by him, he only comprehends Monica's "desire"

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<sup>41</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 160A.

for him. Like with Dulimay, he fails to consider Monica's motivations for sleeping with him, seeing only his own sexual desirability.

Another experience which he recalls as "ludicrous" involved the Filipina maid of an Australian-Filipino interracial family he had met in one of his school districts. As he recollects, "[I] had caught a glimpse of the maid, - a strapping, healthy-looking girl, who seemed to look at me with interest."<sup>42</sup> In the case of this maid, who does not have a name in these memoirs, experimental intercourse was much more dangerous than pleasurable for Hartendorp. At some point during this most recent teaching position, the woman described above was fired from her position as a maid due to accusations of stealing. She was subsequently relegated to laboring as a cleaning lady in the local government buildings, where Hartendorp, as a school teacher, had his office. He describes feeling sorry for the girl and giving her a few pesos when she would come in to clean his office. One evening, their relationship took a turn for the scandalous, as the young lady "crept" into his home "with the evident intention of staying the night." Hartendorp, for his part, describes how he initially welcomed her visit and advances. "I was nothing loath, saw to it that she had a bath, at which I helped her with pleasure, and then took her to bed. In the morning, I gave her some money as a gift."<sup>43</sup>

While Hartendorp was more than willing to have sex with this young woman, he was unwilling to understand her motivations for pursuing him, a shortcoming that came to have dangerous implications for his early career. Their different understandings of the one night stand indeed created trouble for both individuals. The morning after their tryst, Hartendorp recalls trying to impress upon the woman his desire for discreetness if they were to continue their "friendship." After the young woman had left Hartendorp's residence with her money, however,

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<sup>42</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 161.

<sup>43</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 162.

he writes that, “she had used the money to buy herself a new hat and a gaudy parasol at a Chinese store and had paraded up and down the street telling everyone that she was now my mistress.” According to Hartendorp, any impropriety on his part that was found out could look bad for him, and worse be reported back to the bureau of education in Manila by any one of the residents of the town, or the teachers whom he directly supervised. From then on, he made sure to lock his doors and windows to prevent the young woman from entering his home at night, and eventually got her deported back to her province with the help of the Australian expat who used to employ her.

Both of these interludes - with Monica and the young maid - highlight the same inability to recognize anything in these sexual encounters but his own attractiveness to Filipina women who desired him. Despite the overwhelming amount of evidence that attraction and sexual desire was not the only factor at play in these trysts, Hartendorp makes relatively few gestures in his memoirs to indicate that he understands the other circumstances in play. In the case of Monica, his “half-hearted” propositions were met with an insistence for marriage before sexual relations. Monica showing up at his residence on the night before he left town was interpreted by Hartendorp in these memoirs as evidence that she desired him as a partner and regretted her insistence on marriage. Their too late tryst is written as a romantic missed connection, a wasted chance for romance because of Monica’s stubbornness.

Her insistence on marriage rather than a casual sexual relationship, however, I believe, can be best understood through exploring the social context in place for interracial relations. By the time Hartendorp was in Samar, shortly after his arrival in 1917, American men – particular American soldiers - had already garnered a reputation in the cities and smaller provinces as immoral men who abused alcohol and women, often leaving behind families upon their return to

the United States. During the time of Filipinization, many Americans in colonial government positions were dismissed in order to give Filipinos a larger role in governance. Many of these men stayed in the Philippines and had Filipina mistresses, some formalizing their relationships with marriage. Indeed, by the early 1920's, Filipino-American biracial children who had been abandoned by their American fathers warranted enough attention through the islands that philanthropic Americans formed a charity organization to try to care for this population.<sup>44</sup> It is likely that Monica was all too aware of these social conditions, her insistence upon marriage before casual relations a safeguard against abandonment and rightslessness.

Similarly, with the young maid, what Hartendorp classified as a "ludicrous" scenario can actually be understood as the rational decision making of a young woman who had few options in terms of livelihood. As a maid in the home of an interracial couple, she was well aware of what a marriage to a person of economic means might mean for herself. Hartendorps imagining of their first encounter at the home of his Australian friend reads like a case of instant attraction. He obviously noticed the "strapping, healthy-looking girl," but indicates that it was she who "seemed to look at [him] with interest." As one of the few white people in the province, it is not surprising that people take an interest in him, simply for the novelty of his presence. This, however, does not get explored in Hartendorps memoirs, the maids interest in him being made to seem like simple physical attraction. Even her actions after their tryst, going into town to buy a hat and parasol and announcing that she was now his mistress, are described by these memoirs as the actions of an irrational woman. Hartendorp's insistence that she be "circumspect" about their "friendship," and her apparent disregard for this request, he attributes to her inability to understand English.

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<sup>44</sup> For more on the American Guardian Association, see chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Monica's decision to spend her money on luxury items and to be quite frank about her new conditions as a "mistress," however, cannot be read simply as the irrational actions of a simpleminded girl who was excited to be involved with an attractive American, as Hartendorp would have us believe. Her actions reflect a completely different understanding of her relationship than that which is put forth in these recollections. As a poorer woman who was employed as a maid – and accused of theft by her employers – her decision to buy a few luxury items indicate her expectation of the liaison with Hartendorp to provide her with a status that was previously outside of her reach. Despite all the indications that her motivations differed from Hartendorp's, the recollections penned in this memoir remain committed to preserving this story as one of an irrational girl who was the cause of her own demise, while Hartendorp is made to seem like a generous lover, desired by many Filipina woman in the islands.

Over the years, Abram Hartendorp had numerous sexual interludes with women around the islands. Despite his previous insistence against marriage in favor of "free love," this all changed for him upon the discovery that his lover turned first "wife" – who was sixteen at the time of their courtship compared to his late twenties – was pregnant with his child. Although he admittedly planned to return to the United States after his three year contract and "did not want to get tangled up with any girl," further taking measures to insure that his sexual exploits did not result in any children, this baby made him reconsider his future in the islands.<sup>45</sup>

Cornelia became pregnant and our first child, Esther, was born somewhat prematurely at the end of January. I pondered the outlook. Abandoning the child would be unthinkable. Must I give up all thought of returning to the United States? Must I make the rest of my life in the Philippines? Many an American in the country has had to face that same situation, and many more, no doubt, will continue to do so. I loved Cornelia, I loved the little baby.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 125.

<sup>46</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 203. The prematurity of baby Esther may also be worth considering. If Hartendorp was, as he states, careful to avoid pregnancy and used birth control, might Cornelia's

He continues his recollections by pondering the state of intermarriage in the islands and describes himself as a racially tolerant individual. “I think I was always quite free from racial prejudice. The Dutch, with their East Indies colonial possessions, seemed to be quite tolerant of [interracial marriage]. Already as a child, I was interested in the East Indies as my father’s sister had married a man who was a government official in Java.”<sup>47</sup> Despite his self-proclaimed non-racism – informed in part by his experiences and understandings of European and American colonialism – Hartendorp reveals in his memoirs that he only began to contemplate staying in the Philippines with the woman he loved after a baby was born to them. But even this baby, it seems, was not enough to solidify his commitment to stay in the islands to raise this child or to take this family with him back to the United States. As he recollects, “at the end of the school year I left for Manila, not making definite arrangements for Cornelia and the baby to join me as my plans were still unformed. She was to remain with Josefa until I could send for her.”<sup>48</sup>

Hartendorp’s reminiscences as a hesitant father and husband to his Filipino child and lover are written as natural, something that he describes as a common conundrum for men in the islands. While sexual intercourse with Filipina women did not require the same type of soul searching and contemplative morality, choosing to not abandon a baby was apparently a different story. Immediately follows this section of his memoir that describes his hesitancy to remain in the Philippines with his baby and lover, he jumps to a defense of his own imagined non-racism. In addition to the example of colonial relations in Java, he points to his own willingness to form “relationships” with Filipinos – both men and women - as a sign of his imagined racial enlightenment. Despite his imagined anti-racist attitude, his qualms about returning to the United

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child been the product of another union? This may have also provided her with the motivation to pursue a relationship with Hartendorp.

<sup>47</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 204.

<sup>48</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 1, 206.



States or the prospects of remaining in the Philippines with his Filipino family point to a more racist thinking than he is willing to admit.

After independence, Hartendorp and other American oldtimers faced intrusions upon their privileged positions in the islands through various nationalist political changes that slowly took root. again Hartendorp would use his Filipino family to position himself as a pro-Filipino and non-racist America in order to pursue policy that would be beneficial to Americans and other foreigners. In the early 1960's, for example, Hartendorp was an outspoken critic of nationalist "Filipino First" campaigns, saying that proposals to nationalize trade industries were akin to stealing. Filipino nationalists and presses called him out as anti-Filipino, and in July of 1964 he published an autobiographical sketch to defend himself from the criticism he was receiving.<sup>49</sup> He states, for example,

...with seven children, seventeen grandchildren, and three great grandchildren, all Filipinos, how could I ever 'insult,' as I have been charged with doing, the Filipino people who have become my own people and my kin...I am not a tourist, a visitor, a guest, a beneficiary of the hospitality of the country, of whom courtesy demands a mouthing of no more than polite nothings...Though not a voting citizen, I am a settler, an inhabitant of the Philippines, with as much right to be here as the descendants of earlier settlers in the country.<sup>50</sup>

The idea that racism and interracial marriage could be compatible and in fact, be mutually constitutive -especially given the racist rationalizations for imperialism rooted in ideas of white supremacy - escapes this memoir as well as Hartendorp's understanding of his life in the islands. For Hartendorp, his sexual relations with Filipinas, and his American-mestizo children and grandchildren demand that he himself be treated as a Filipino. These relations also demonstrate that Hartendorp has most definitely been a beneficiary of Filipino "hospitality," a concept that I understand as the coerced and not completely voluntary actions of a people under

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<sup>49</sup> Lewis Gleeck, *The Manila Americans*, (1977), 378-379.

<sup>50</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, "An Autobiographical Sketch," (1964), 17- 18.

American imperial rule. Rather than seeing his relationships with Filipinas, and indeed his whole settler life in the Philippines as made possible because of this “hospitality,” he sees only what he believes he has “given” to the Philippines, which according to his autobiographical sketch includes an infusion of his white American blood.

Even the informality of Hartendorp’s first “marriage” to Cornelia (although he poetically declares that a true marriage is in one’s heart rather than sanctified by a priest or government official) is demonstrative of his continued hesitancy to bind himself to her legally, even after the birth of their five children.<sup>51</sup> Eventually, Hartendorp left Cornelia due to her purported propensity to gambling that constantly left his wallet empty and his dissatisfaction when she became sexually distant from him.<sup>52</sup> His second marriage to the 19 year old Segunda Amoy, previously the caretaker of his home and children, was the only relationship he formalized with legal marriage. By this time it was 1953, and he was well into his 60’s. At this older age, and almost 10 years after Philippine independence, perhaps the barriers that prevented him from formalizing his relationship with Cornelia no longer held the same weight for him. His willingness to formally marry Amoy might have reflected a change in his attitude regarding his permanency in the Philippines, as well as a change in his status and desirability as an aging man with fewer and fewer opportunities for employment and sexual “fulfillment.” Further, as we shall see, Hartendorp may have come to some level of understanding that his economic status in the Philippines was a factor in why young Filipina women were willing to enter into romantic relationships with him.

Hartendorp’s marriage to Segunda “Gundie” Amoy occurred in the last two decades of his life, well after the longed for “empire days,” and is penned with a certain buried recognition

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<sup>51</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 2, 285.

<sup>52</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 2, 294-295.

that his socio-economic status (a status for which whiteness was often a marker for) in Philippine society might have increased his marriageability for a young woman like Amoy. He writes this anxiety through what he believes will be the rejection of his romance by his older children who were almost a decade older than his new lover. In expressing his anxiety in this projected way, he is still able to represent his courtship of Amoy in a nostalgic and romantic way that showcases his own desirability, even for woman 40 years his junior. Aside from the buried anxiety about getting married at his older age, his recollection of the courtship of his second wife reads just like his earlier romances, with his initial attraction and advances leading the young Filipina lady to fall into his arms. He includes a poem that he wrote on the topic of their courtship entitled, “A Man again,” that demonstrates his romantic ideas about this December – May relationship.

After how long, how long / Oh, the lost, lost years / I am in love again, in love again, / And she is mine, By God! / The sap flows again, flows again, / I am a man again, by God! / She was innocent and twenty / against my knowing fifty-odd, / But she lived in my house / And came under my spell / Baldness and wrinkles and all... So wooing, I made her a woman / And paid her her bodys due, / While taking my own as a man, / A man again, a man again!<sup>53</sup>

This poem, written at the time of Hartendorp’s courtship of Amoy, illustrates his conception of his new sexual relationship. Having sex with the young Filipina woman returns his manhood to him, as well as introduces his lover to her presumed first sexual experience, written by him as a gift that he has bestowed upon her. She apparently also “come under his spell” according to this poem, but upon reading the rest of his account, the origins of their relationship was much less romantic than he has presented it in this piece of imperial fiction.

Segunda Roma Amoy first came to the home of Hartendorp and his children as the nanny (or *yaya*) of his grandchildren. She lived in the house, sleeping in the children’s room.

Hartendorp was immediately and strongly attracted to her. He had apparently first spied upon the

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<sup>53</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 4, 668 – 669.

Amoy while she was bathing, which fueled his desire for the young woman. The violation of Amoy's privacy – set in motion by the violation of Philippine sovereignty via U.S. imperialism – is reimagined by the zealous Hartendorp as an idyllic scene for an amorous pursuit. And this would not be the only violation Amoy would have to endure in this relationship. After their marriage in 1953, Hartendorp published a short story in the form of a poem in the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* announcing their wedding and demeaning his new wife's perceived intelligence. The story reads as a fictionalized account of a conversation between friends at the office, from the point of view of Hartendorp's co-workers.

We were speechless... We stared at the poem. “ ‘Young darling’”, we quoted.  
“How young?”

“Well, let me say early twenties,” he answered...

“Is she, ah...literary?” we hazarded.

“She does not know anything about anything, except living, thank God,” said the editor. “I shall never have to hold intellectual conversations with her, dear girl.”

We let that pass, but goodness! These bald-headed men! And when they let their hair down, Wow!<sup>54</sup>

His belittling of Amoy as a simple girl without any intellect was put on display for the American community to read about in the *Journal*. Whether or not she was aware of this and how she might have felt about this depiction of herself are unknown, but that Hartendorp chose to put this announcement in a journal primarily read by the American community in the Philippines reveals certain aspects of the changing U.S. expatriate community.

The American community in the Philippines, in particular the American business community, was the primary audience of the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*. While some Filipinos may have kept abreast of the news in this journal, it was not a vehicle intended to reach

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<sup>54</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 4, 673, reprinted from the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal*, January, 1954.

the Filipino public in the same way that other popular media outlets were. The announcement is a departure from the clandestine and purposely hidden nature of interracial relationships in Manila during the earlier colonial period when a highly publicized romance might ostracize one from the larger American community or worse, limit employment opportunities. This departure signifies the changing nature of the American community in Manila during the 1950's, but also the shifting colonial context. As discussed in chapters two and three, interracial relationships in the earlier colonial period were not typically disparaged publicly by the American colonial government, but were privately denigrated. As described in chapter two, American polite society took up the *social* policing of "dangerous intercourse," as the U.S. colonial government did not *legally* enforce racial separation for the purposes of maintaining appearances of social equality.

At the time of Hartendorp's announcement, the remaining American expatriates in the islands were under the governance of the Philippine government. They constituted a minority population who still wielded considerable influence. Many longed for the days when their privilege and power was more formally institutionalized. As the American community and its influence became more insulated after independence, "oldtimers" like Hartendorp did not necessarily have to hide their relationships with Filipina women, especially considering that many oldtimers were also a part of interracial families. So while he no longer had to be as mindful of acknowledging his relationship with Filipinas in public amongst Americans, this did not correspondingly point to a more progressive and non-racist expat community. In many ways, in fact, the public announcement of Hartendorp's marriage to Amoy in the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal*, and his belittling of her intelligence recreated the older imperial strategy of public acceptance and private disapproval only now the strategy of appearing tolerant to the wider public was an individual endeavor rather than a governmental one.

Within the more insulated American community, however, one could still express imperialist ideologies in a space of like-minded individuals. In the early 1950's, the career and reputation of a man like Hartendorp, who was a self-proclaimed expert on and friend to the Filipino people, could be jeopardized by the public disparaging of his Filipina wife in a Filipino publication. Instead, the proclaimed non-intellectualness of his wife becomes a private joke amongst the insulated American community. This announcement does not inhibit Hartendorp's public persona as one presumed to share a special closeness to the Filipino people due to the limited scope of the audience.

In the next few years of this marriage, Hartendorp would add bodily violation to the list of transgressions against Amoy, which already included a violation of her privacy and a violation of her public image. In 1961, seven years after their marriage, Segunda Amoy flew to Okinawa with Hartendorp to undergo an abortion, one it seems that she did not desire. After the birth of the first two children of this union (in addition to the five children from previous "wife" Corneila), Hartendorp began to question the practicality of having so many children. "After the birth of Cathy we had decided not to have any more children, as I did not want Gundie to have to undergo another cesarean delivery; also, at my age and in view of my limited means it would be difficult adequately to provide for the bringing up of more children."<sup>55</sup> After the failure of their birth control methods, Hartendorp asked his son, who worked at the American Hospital, to find a doctor to give Gundie a "D & C," or a dilation and curettage. Told that none of the doctors would perform this operation, as it was, and continues to be illegal in the Philippines, he was instead advised to procure an abortion in Okinawa, Japan. Another adult son of Hartendorp worked in the American Army Clinic at Camp Kue in Okinawa, and arranged their visit and appointment with the Japanese doctor who practiced off base.

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<sup>55</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 4, 753.

In this instance, Hartendorp was able to access and utilize imperial circuits of travel created by decades of U.S. militarism and imperialism in the region. These travel circuits connected U.S. imperial sites and military installations, and were more easily accessed by passport holding Americans. Because of this, imperialism in the Asia-Pacific region – of which Hartendorp himself helped to foster with his own participation in the Philippines - allowed Hartendorp the luxury of being able to plan and control his family size in a way that most Filipinos could not.<sup>56</sup> As Hartendorp recounts, the procedure cost \$25, and that Amoy “was up and about the next day and in a few days had entirely recovered from the experience.”<sup>57</sup>

It is difficult to determine, according to this description, whether Amoy had made this decision to get an abortion on her own or in collaboration with her husband. This account of the procedure that they procured in Japan points little to her feelings on the matter. However, a later entry on the topic of “birth control” sheds some light on Amoy’s own desires regarding children. According to his reminiscences, Amoy would see new grandchildren and great grandchildren in the house and voice her desire for another baby, although Hartendorp concludes that “she did not mean it too seriously.” Further, he reports that she acknowledged sadly on multiple occasions that, ““If our child had lived, he (or she) would be so-and-so years old now.””<sup>58</sup> Despite this voicing of her desires, Hartendorp does not take too seriously her aspiration for more children, again pointing to his inability to see beyond the imagined understanding he has of the Filipina women that he is involved with. From the previous passages, it is difficult to believe that Amoy was as determined for the abortion as her husband was. She may have gone “willingly” to Okinawa, but her choice was also limited in many respects as Hartendorp was the main source of

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<sup>56</sup> Only recently in December of 2012 was a legislative measure passed in the Philippines to ensure universal access to sexual health education, birth control, and maternal health. Its passage was highly divisive and conservatives as well as the influential Catholic Church continue to fight various parts of the bill.

<sup>57</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 4, 754 – 755.

<sup>58</sup> A.V.H. Hartendorp, *I Have Lived* (1970), Book 4, 756.

income for her family, making her free will not as free as it would seem. If nothing else, Hartendorp's previous assessment that Amoy had "entirely recovered from the experience," didn't take into account her emotional state of mind nor the possibility of continued emotional attachment to their potential third child.

Throughout his memoirs, Hartendorp treats the Filipina women in his life as many colonialist writers before him treated colonial subjects. That is, he relegates them to a position of corporeality and non-subjectivity, while he alone is capable of intellectual transcendence. His liaisons offer him a thrilling chance to experiment and experience his own corporeality, an experience that informs and inflates his ideas of his own manhood and sexual attractiveness. Colonialist memoir, as a literary genre, must be interpreted as a form of fiction, in this case, imperial fiction. If such writings are not treated as such, the reader risks neglecting the ways that imperial power and privilege create the "realities" of the colonists. As Sarah de Mul has stated on recollections about empire, "the critical task, then, becomes to point out the representational limits and epistemological fallacies of colonial memory and to tease out why, for whom and to what purpose empire is remembered in the present."<sup>59</sup> These memoirs, like the rest of the imperial fiction being discussed here, further demonstrate that romantic attachment and even love felt by a colonial careerist does not preclude the simultaneous belief in imperialist ideologies of Filipino racial inferiority. The presence of love in the relationships with Duimay or Cornelia, or Segunda, is not being questioned or interrogated. Rather, I have sought to demonstrate that the concept of interracial love and romance is compatible with racism, sexism, and definitely with imperial logics of civilizational inferiority/superiority.

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<sup>59</sup> Sarah De Mul, *Colonial Memory: Contemporary Women's Travel Writing in Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam University Press, 2011).



## **The Poetics of Imperialism: Contained Affairs and Imperial Knowledge in the “Porno Tropics”<sup>60</sup>**

Buck and Hartendorp were two of many “oldtimers” in the Philippines who put their experiences on paper, producing imperial fiction that depicted interracial intercourse. Many other American oldtimers wrote poems and stories that similarly focused on the topic of interracial relationships in the colonial Philippines. Many of the poems and stories that will be discussed here were published during the late colonial or commonwealth period, when many of the “oldtimers” were nearing their 50’s, 60’s and beyond. As in the case of Hartendorp’s wedding announcement, many of the poems and stories that were written about interracial affairs or marriage were published in American newspapers or magazines in Manila. Despite the American anxieties over interracial miscegenation in the colony, I will argue that – as with the memoirs of A.V.H. Hartendorp and the allegory of Buck - the publication of these tales and their subject matter did not inevitably trouble the imperial logics of racial superiority over Filipinos, and this was not only due to the niche audiences of the publications.

Crossing the sexual color line, for many Americans in the United States and in the Philippines, meant a violation of white racial purity, the debasement of white men and women, and the troubling potential for mixed-race offspring who could threaten possessive investments in whiteness. While these poems and stories seemingly brought to life the worst fears of those who supported the social and sexual separation of the races, interracial sexual intercourse in these writings is sanitized or rendered less threatening through the use of several themes or tropes. Namely, I will show how this body of literature depicted relations that were rendered safer or less dangerous through the themes of containment and non-permanence. As we shall see,

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<sup>60</sup> The idea of a “porno tropics” is described by Anne McClintock in her book: Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

those writings that depict romantic interracial love and those that serve as cautionary tales against the dangers of miscegenation *both* demonstrate and utilize imperial logics that tried to distinguish between “types” of people.

The trope of temporary and non-permanent liaisons is perhaps one of the most pervasive and enduring literary themes from this body of literature. In fact, the idea that interracial trysts between American men and Filipina women are bound to be temporary encounters at best spawned a common vernacular expression in the Philippines, especially around military base sites. “Hanggang pier lang,” or, “until the pier only,” is a contemporary perjorative used to address Filipina women who become involved with American men, usually from the navy. The phrase connotes the idea that the romance will only last up until the pier from where the navy ships sail back to the United States, with the Filipina being left behind, often with a biracial child in tow.<sup>61</sup> While this particular expression might not have existed yet in the 1930’s, the idea of abandonment and non-permanence had long imbued depictions of interracial relationships – both the romantic and the more openly denigrating and racist - in the colonial Philippines

Romantic expressions of wistful longing for days (and women) gone by in the Philippines is an abundantly represented theme in oldtimer poetry. Most are from the point of view of an American man who has returned home to the United States but, in moments of nostalgia, thinks back to lovely days spent in the Philippine islands in the company of a Filipina lover. This trope of wistful longing is often overlooked and oversimplified as tender and positive expressions of love. For example, in the introduction of *Tin Pan Alley In the Philippines: American Songs of Love and War*, songs that express this theme are positioned in opposition to more outwardly

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<sup>61</sup> The chronological origins of this phrase probably dates back to the WWII period (perhaps even earlier, as my research suggests), with a Philippine movie titled, “Hanggang Pier,” debuting in 1946. By the 1970’s and 1980’s, “Hanggang pier ka lang,” (you’ll only make it to the pier) is a fairly common expression in the Philippines around military bases especially, and was frequently used in literature and media. For example, see Nick Joaquin, *Almanac for Manilenos*, (1979), and *Language of the Street and Other Essays*, (1980).

racist and sexist songs.<sup>62</sup> While songs about the Philippines often pulled ideas from “coon” songs popular in minstrelsy, the love songs supposedly represented “special days spent in the Philippines,” and “captured the feelings of a civil servant or businessman yearning for the renewal of a relationship with a sweetheart left behind in the islands after a long liaison.”<sup>63</sup> As the following analysis of poetry will show, however, the unlikely topic of interracial romance *can* be made into non-threatening and even positive expressions of interracial love due to the themes of abandoning Filipinas and non-committal affairs.

One prolific writer, Edward D.W. St. Claire, wrote numerous poems published in the monthly magazine/bulletin, *The American Oldtimer*. Many of his writings take up the topic of tender nostalgia for a Filipina left behind.

By the old Cavite iglesia that stands just by the sea, / There's a tiny nipa *bahay* beneath a mango tree, / Where a Filipina lassie's a-sitting all alone, / Just waiting for the transport that brings me from home, / Brings me back no more to roam, Back to where grim old Corregidor looms up across the foam..I can't forget those happy days spent far across the sea; / Though many a girl with a whiter skin makes “goo-goo” eyes at me; / Old mem'ries stir with every step I take in New York town - / Of a fairer land a warmer sun and a sweeter lass, though brown; / A native lassie brown....<sup>64</sup>

In a similar poem by St. Claire entitled, “Memories,” and published in the *Oldtimer*, another American man in the U.S. reminisces about being a young man during the “Empire days” in the Philippines.

To a land where the typhoon howled its wrath / Athwart of a lurid sky; / To a land where priestly craft held sway; / But what cared you and I? / Ho, you and I of the “Fighting Fourth”, / Our youthful hopes surged high / As we fought and drank and danced and loved, / Nor paused to reason why... / The future troubled us not at all, / The past we'd shoved behind, / But the present was ours to have and hold / And our pleasures not far to find, / For many a nut-brown native lass / Found

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<sup>62</sup> Thomas P. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines: American Songs of War and Love, 1898-1946*, A Resource Guide (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press), 2013.

<sup>63</sup> From the Introduction to *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines*, xviii.

<sup>64</sup> “Manila Bay,” by Edward D.W. St. Claire, *American Old-Timer*, Vol. 1, no. 11, Sept. 1934, 21.

favour in our eyes, / For they were to hand – their sisters pale / Far away ‘neath colder skies.<sup>65</sup>

Both of these poems may be uncritically and simplistically read as loving homages to Filipina women met overseas. As this dissertation has attempted to demonstrate, however, romantic love in the space of empire was always and immediately bound up with imperial logics that stressed white American superiority and Filipino inferiority.

In both poems, the nostalgia felt towards the “nut-brown native lass” is expressed in the context of the speaker being back home in the United States, removed from his experience in the Philippines and thus safe from the dangers of tropical women. His dalliances with Filipina women are further framed as youthful indiscretions, wherein young men lived in debauchery without giving much thought to what they were doing. It is within this context – of youthful carelessness without consequence – that a Filipina lover is possible. What’s more, these “nut-brown” women were acceptable because their “sisters pale” were not “to hand,” being back in the white racial homeland “’neath colder skies,” a stand in for a preferred white partner. Romantic sentiment felt towards Filipina women and time spent in the Philippines is an incomplete reading of this poem. The racial and imperial gulf between the two would-be romantic partners assures the unevenness of the relationship whereby the woman from the Philippines is a vehicle for claiming various forms of knowledge and cultural capital on the part of both the author and the presumed speaker of the poem. Namely, the speaker/writer is able to relive past moments of revelry and youthful fulfillment attained through participation in the U.S. imperial project from a safe temporal and locational space where this romance clearly no longer exists except in memory. In doing so, the writer/speaker demonstrates his cosmopolitanism, adventurousness, and sexual virility. Temporary relations with colonial subjects did not impede

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<sup>65</sup> “Memories,” by Edward D.W. St. Clair, *Philippines Free Press* : Oldtimers Edition Insert, 1928.

later access to white American women as romantic partners who make “goo-goo eyes” at them, because of the limits of imperial attachment.

Another poem, an anonymous contribution to the *Oldtimer*, is similar to the St. Claire poems. In “A Soldier’s Recollection,” another American man wistfully remembers his time in the Philippines and the lover he left behind there. In this poem, however, the Filipina lover too is thinking about the soldier and wishing for his return to the islands.

In a little Nipa Cottage/ on the muddy Pasig’s shore, / Sits a sweet Tagalog maiden / as she sat in days of yore.../For her little feet were shoeless / and her pretty shoulders bare, / And the coco-oil shone glossy/ from her mass of raven hair; / How her dark eyes danced with laughter/ and her teeth gleamed pearly white; / As she coquettishly answered / ‘me no sabe – Yes, all right.’ / Ship me somewhere west of Frisco/ where the golden sunset dies, / There’s a Goo-Goo dame awaiting / ‘neath the oriental skies, / And I seem to hear her say/ as the Church bells still chime on, / ‘Come ye back, ye Yankee soldier, / Come ye back to old Luzon.’<sup>66</sup>

This poem paints a sanitized picture of interracial intercourses as well, with the lovers separated by a vast ocean, the danger of their romance relegated to the past. Further, the racial epithet used to describe the Filipina lover, “Goo-Goo,” points to an ascribed racial inferiority, in the same way that the St. Claire poems make sure to mention the racial difference of the Filipina lover. That the woman is the one to actively and explicitly long for the American soldier also bolsters the idea that Asian women are “naturally” attracted to white men as partners, much like Buck’s assessment of his fictional “Maganda.” Dangerous as well is the fact that these romantic depictions of a dreamy tropical “orient” obscure the very real trend of American soldiers impregnating Filipina women and then leaving both mother and child without any support upon their return to the United States.

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<sup>66</sup> “A Soldier’s Recollection,” *American Old-Timer*, Vol. 6, no. 4, Feb. 1939, 26.

Another poem, entitled “Adios,” and published in the *Cablenews American* and the *Philippine Free Press*, approaches the theme of non-permanence and abandonment in a different way. That is, this particular poem is more of a critical indictment of the trend of abandoning Filipina women and children.

Bamboo swaying, palms soft sighing, / Whispers on the night wind dying - /  
Grieving o’er his promise lying - / Just a brown girl’s heart acrying; / Adios!  
Trembling, little slender hand, / Fettered not by golden band, - / Bondage of  
another land- / Your heart will never understand / His Adios!  
Just an idyl of a day; / Just a child with whom to play; / Just a toy to throw away -  
/ Not for such as you, they stay - / So Adios  
And some day as the river runs, / You will tell your pale-skinned sons / They  
must love the great, dark guns - / Dreaming still of faithless ones - / And Adios.<sup>67</sup>

While “Adios” is unique in its critical depiction of American men who father children with Filipina lovers only to abandon them, there are still elements of this poem that reproduce a certain imperial knowledge about Filipina women and sexuality in the “orient.” First, the idea of marriage is described as the “bondage of another land,” whereas the Philippines is unfettered by such institutions. Thus the islands are implied to be a place of romantic freedom, where couples need not marry in order to engage in carnal relations. A supposedly freer sexuality in the site of the Philippines perpetuates the idea of the colony as a site of potential sexual experimentation. Further, the Filipina lover who longs for and dreams of the “faithless” lover is unable to move on from this relationship, ever waiting and suffering.

The trope of containment, or the idea that that interracial intercourse was temporary, and contained within the site of the Philippines, was not just limited to romantic tales of days gone by. Many literary productions that discussed miscegenation in the islands were cautionary tales, stories that warned readers of the dangers of becoming “colorblind” in the islands. One popular poem was written by Frank Cheney, a long time American resident of the Philippines. Originally

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<sup>67</sup> John Roberts, “Adios,” *Philippines Free Press*, Vol. xi, no. 18, May 5, 1917, 13.

a teacher for the Manila Trade School from 1908 – 1916, he became the school superintendent from 1916 – 1920. He was also a writer for the *Manila Bulletin*. His narrative poem “Brown of the Volunteers” describes the fate of a “squaw man” in the Philippines. Brown’s troubles begin because he does not stick to “his color and his kind.” After the army discharge of Private Brown, he takes to drinking and living carelessly in the Philippines. He decides to marry a Filipina woman and eventually comes to regret his decision. He reminisces about the better life – and better wife – that he might have had at home in the U.S.A.:

He took his discharge, as I said before / But said that he liked the country more / Than he’d thought he would, and would stay awhile / And see if he couldn’t make his pile. / And that’s where the sun began to go down / On the promising life of private Brown. / Booze had ever looked good to him / And he licked it up with a soldier’s vim / Women, he loved as he loved his booze / But being unmarried, he had to choose / ‘Twixt the virtuous life, and the other kind / And Brown began to get color-blind / Two years more of the nameless yearning / And he entered the lane that hath no turning. / Married a woman whose skin was black / And settled down into a nipa shack / On a road that leads to Manila town, / But the name that he went by wasn’t Brown. / At first he liked the long, long lane / ‘Til the honeymoon began to wane / And in sober moments his thoughts would roam / To the girl that was waiting back at home. / But the steps he had taken plainly showed / That the bridges were burned on the backward road.<sup>68</sup>

This narrative poem adamantly warns fellow American men to not get involved with Filipina women as well as with the Philippines in general. All of Privates Brown’s trouble started when he decided to stay in the islands rather than go home to the United States after he was discharged from the army. First, he succumbed to liquor, then he succumbed to Filipina women. After his marriage to a woman “whose skin was black,” he could no longer return home. Similar to the warnings against miscegenation that depicted the dangerous by-products of the “negro problem” and the “yellow peril” in the United States, this story foretells the degeneration of the

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<sup>68</sup> “Brown of the Volunteers,” by Frank Cheney, undated. Frank W. Cheney Poems, Folder 1. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

white race if one becomes “color-blind.”<sup>69</sup> More fitting with the racist attitudes of the time than the more “romantic” poems discussed previously, “Brown of the Volunteers” still utilizes the theme of containment to temper the threat of intermarriage. Indeed, Brown himself becomes racially tainted, but the threat of contaminating the white domestic homeland is alleviated through this containment in the colonial space via his self-selected exile.

Interestingly, this poem, mostly likely written during Cheney’s time in the Philippines between 1908 and 1920, was re-worded and published in a 1937 volume of the *American Oldtimer*. The 1937 version had several purposeful changes from the version above, changes that I believe reflect the nature of the readership, many who were American expatriates married to Filipina women. The changes reflect a conscious effort to remove the more obvious racially offensive parts of the narrative, changing the tone of the poem to be less parable and more comedy. For example, in the first stanza of the poem, the line that originally read “A man must stick, if he hopes to win, / To his color and kind ‘till he cashes in,” has been changed in the 1937 version to, “A man must choose, if he hopes to win / And stick to his choice until he cashes in.” The anti-miscegenation message disappears in the second *Oldtimer* version. In the line that reads, “married a woman whose skin was black,” was changed to, “married a woman less white than black.” The changed verse also slightly tempers the original, with the first likening Filipina women to Black women, whereas the changed verse allows for more differentiation. While the original version demonstrates more obvious racial bigotry, the altered verses attempt to hide or alleviate this to a degree, opting for a more illegible and hidden racism. So, while oldtimers who read the altered version may have accepted the denigrating designation of “squaw man,” it seems

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<sup>69</sup> For more on the history of miscegenation in the U.S., see the work of Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally* (2009), Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), Paul R. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth Century America* (Madison, : University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).



that they still wanted to differentiate their relationships from the more defamatory depictions popularized in the islands.

Brown's containment in the soliloquy above is mirrored in other short stories of fiction that warn against the life of a "squaw man." The idea that interracial marriage would inevitably lead to exile in the Philippines was the outcome of a story entitled, "Little Pickanniny Girl," published in the *Woman's Outlook* magazine in 1923. Unlike the poems and stories heretofore examined, this particular story was written by a Filipino, Tomas Alonso. The story recounts the meeting of an American sailor and a Filipina bailerina, or dancer. The two go on a date to the Manila Carnival. As the night progresses, "Sam" asks the bailerina to go home with him and she, frightened, runs away. She is convinced by her mother to return to Sam, however, as one of their family members is in jail and requires an expensive lawyer. Sam is seen as someone who may have the income they need. The story ends with both Sam and the young Filipina unhappy with their arrangement, as Sam regretted his drunken actions that ended up exiling him to the Philippines, and the young woman being in a loveless relationship.<sup>70</sup>

Unlike the nostalgic poems and tales written by expatriate American men, this story does not romanticize interracial intercourse in any way. Even in the parable tales like "Brown of the Volunteers," Brown is described as having a great time in the islands with his choice of any woman he would like. In this warning against miscegenation, such flourishes are avoided. Even the Filipina bailerina, who in other representations is more than willing to succumb to the "charms" of the American in the tale, has no apparent romantic interest in Sam, but is forced out of necessity to pursue a relationship with him, and even then, only from the pressures of her mother. Published in a women's magazine read by both white and Filipina women in the islands,

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<sup>70</sup> "Little Pickanniny Girl," by Tomas Alonso, From *The Woman's Outlook Magazine*, Vol. 1. No. 6, (March, 1923), 6.

this story reflects continued interest on the part of both well-to-do white and Filipina women, as well as Filipino men like the author, to stem what they perceived as immorality in the form of interracial miscegenation.

In “Brown,” and “Little Pickanniny Girl,” both of the men are depicted as degenerate in some form or another, succumbing easily to alcohol and other vices. It is the Filipina women (both the lover and the mother) in these particular tales, however, who are the main agents of the demise. That the bailerina embodies the title “pickanniny girl” character also hints at the nature of the readership and the attitude of the author. The word “pickanniny” was used mostly to refer to children of African American descent in the United States. “Pickanniny” was a racially derogatory and paternalistic term that was also used by American colonists to reference Filipinos.<sup>71</sup> While some Filipinos came to form close relationships with African American colonists, others came to apply the same ideas of racial inferiority upon this population.<sup>72</sup> For a Filipino to apply the term “pickanniny” to a Filipina, in a women’s magazine run by elite and well educated Filipina women, hints at the class distinctions came to be associated with interracial sexual intercourse.<sup>73</sup> The association of the poor bailerina with marginalized racial blackness may have been acceptable to Filipino men and women who wanted to be differentiated from those associated with immorality and sexual vice. Like Lukban’s campaign against vice described in chapter two, the writer and editors of the Women’s Outlook may have also been interested in gaining control over popular narratives and ideas associated with Filipina women, if only, as in this case, to warn against too friendly relations between American men and Filipinas.

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<sup>71</sup> See for example, the pejorative use of the word “pickanniny” in the postcard collection of Evangelina Lewis, a white American woman living in the Philippines during the colonial period. Several of her postcards depicting Filipino children describe them as “pickanninies.” *Evangelina Lewis Philippine Postcards Collection*, Ayer Collection, Un catalogued. Newberry Library, Chicago, Il.

<sup>72</sup> Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Mans Burden*, (1975).

<sup>73</sup> Georgina Reyes Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina: A History of Women’s Magazines, 1891 – 2002*, (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2004), 44-47.

The suffering of the bailarina character in “Little Pickanniny Girl” at the hand of her mother fits well with the purity and development campaigns led by American women to help out their “little brown sisters.” This type of narrative, as Roland Sintos Coloma has described, reflects the progressive impulse whereby white women could save brown women and white men from each other.<sup>74</sup> As “Little Pickanniny Girl” underscores, however, this progressive impulse to save Filipinas and white men from each other could also be one shared by Filipino men and women, although the stakes and interests for the latter group in taking up this task, may have been quite different from those of white women.<sup>75</sup>

#### **Chapter Four Conclusion**

The poetics of empire in the American colonial Philippines have been relatively overlooked in the study of the U.S.- Philippine relations, those texts produced and published in the Philippines even more so. From Buck’s allegory on U.S.- Philippines history, to Hartendorp’s fanciful memoirs, to the poems and short stories written about interracial intercourse, the importance of this body of literature lies not only in the historical information that is conveyed to the reader. As Mul has pointed out, often the importance of nostalgic writing or memoir lies in pointing out the “representational limits and epistemological fallacies of colonial memory and to tease out why, for whom and to what purpose empire is remembered in the present.” The representational limits, or the absences, are what can make these imperial texts more compelling.

In the case of much of the literature examined here, the “empire days” are remembered to give youthful vigor to American “oldtimers,” many of whom count their sexual vigor in their

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<sup>74</sup> Richard Sintos Coloma, “White Gazes, Brown Breasts,” (2012), 243 – 261.

<sup>75</sup> For example, see chapter 2, discussion of Filipino city officials attempting to regulate the red light districts at the onset of American occupation. The task of controlling the vice district was more about showing the capacity to self-govern to the new imperial occupiers than to prevent the spread of diseases. Also, collaborations between Americans and Filipinos in morality campaigns often were under the broad banner of seeking “morality,” thus those with divergent interests in sexually separating Americans and Filipinos could have greater success in their campaigns.

youth as a part of their claims of belonging in the Philippines. Dalliances with Filipina women become events on a timeline for men reliving their youth, as well as mark them (in their imaginations) as cosmopolitan and racially tolerant. Interracial intercourse further is imagined as a way to “know” intimately a land and its people, which several of these “oldtimers” put to use for their careers as “Philippine experts.” As this chapter has sought to show through a close reading of and often beyond these texts, literary tales that described interracial intercourse often actually demonstrated the opposite of their proclaimed revelatory truths. Rather than indicate innate knowledge, a close and critical reading of these texts shows that often authors did not understand the women and the locales that they became involved with. This reading also shows that, rather than the purported “cosmopolitanism” that was invoked in many of these tales, men often resigned themselves to staying in the Philippines with their families, choosing a self-selected exile rather than returning to the U.S. Finally, narratives that remembered wistfully the love shared with Filipina maidens who were “black as tar,” were not symptomatic of racial tolerance or anti-racism, but were made possible by racism, and other logics of imperialism.

## CHAPTER 5

### **Making Mestizos: Filipino American Mixed-Race Children and Discourses of Belonging, 1898 - 1935**

In the summer of 1937, the murder of a prominent American rice planter and plantation owner, Percy A. Hill, captured the headlines of many American newspapers in the Philippines. “Gang of 10 Raid, Loot Hacienda, Murder Planter,” read one article in the *Manila Daily Tribune*.<sup>1</sup> His demise, initially pegged as a case of malevolence by a group of Filipino tenant workers, soon spurred a soap opera of family drama revolving around Hill’s several “illegitimate” children from a previous Filipina lover. Ricardo or Richard Hill as he was alternately known was the eldest of Hill’s six known living children. An American mestizo born to Hill and his former common-law wife Martina Ramos, Ricardo was quickly pointed to as a suspect in the case by the defense team, despite there already being confessed guilty parties in police custody. The only apparent evidence that was necessary for the suspicion of Ricardo was his exclusion from the will of his father, Hill Sr., in which he and his sibling had been disinherited, leaving most of the Hill assets to 4 “legitimate” heirs, three children from his late wife Helen Livingston, and his youngest child by his current Filipina wife. When questioned about his knowledge of the will, which had apparently gone missing, Ricardo stated that he had no knowledge of it, nor the allegations that he had been disinherited in favor of his “legitimate” half-siblings.<sup>2</sup>

While suspicions about the criminality of Ricardo eventually subsided with the charging of several others who confessed to the crime, the ease with he could be presented as a person of interest in the case illuminates a major theme that is explored in this chapter. Namely, this

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<sup>1</sup> “Gang of 10 Raid, Loot Hacienda, Murder Planter,” *Daily Tribune*, Manila Philippines, July 24, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> “Suspects Admit Part in Murder of Hill; Implicates 7 Others,” *Manila Bulletin*, Manila, Philippines, July 26, 1937.

chapter examines the discourse created around the children of interracial unions between Americans and Filipinos, American mestizos. The coverage of the Hill investigation, rather than focus on the claims of tenant dissatisfaction with the deceased plantation owner, or on the fact that he had supposedly disinherited his eldest known son from his will due to “illegitimacy,” chose instead to focus on the novelty of the mestizo Ricardo, and the danger he may or may not have presented to Hill and the rest of Hill’s “legitimate” family. Questions of whether or not he felt ill-will towards his father peppered the interrogation of Ricardo, reflecting the unease felt by many in the American community towards the large and growing number of American mestizos in the islands. Despite the testimony of Ricardo that his relationship with Hill was amiable, the discourse created around him questioned his loyalty, his morals, and his “americanness,” even drawing attention to the apparent novelty of his colloquial designation of Hill as “my old man” by putting it in quotation marks.<sup>3</sup>

The story above highlights some of the tensions and fears that came to be associated with the population of American mestizos in the Philippines, especially by the American community in the Philippines.<sup>4</sup> Because most mixed race children of partial American parentage did not have American citizenship, were overwhelmingly abandoned by and not recognized by their American parent (typically the father), and were by the racial standards of the time considered non-white, this was a population whose place in the U.S. homeland as well as in the Philippine nation was one that was always and already questioned, a source of constant concern and even fear. The interrogation of Ricardo, for example, was easily justified because of the already established

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<sup>3</sup> “Suspects Admit Part in Murder of Hill; Implicates 7 Others,” *Manila Bulletin*, Manila, Philippines, July 26, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, I will use the terms “American Mestizo” or simply, “Mestizo” to refer to the children born in the Philippines with one parent being American one being Filipino, typically the father being American. While most of the children were not American by law, my use of the term both reflects the terminology of the time (ie: Spanish mestizo, Chinese mestizo used to refer to individuals of both Foreign and Filipino parentage) but also my belief that all of these individuals from the colonial period to the present day, should automatically be recognized as U.S. citizens if they so choose, without the burden of being “legitimated” by the American parent.

ideas of American mestizo proclivity to vice and “evil ways,” despite there already being confessed guilty parties in custody. As this chapter will demonstrate, mestizos were constructed as a population that was at once dangerous due to the threat they posed to ideas of white racial superiority and American prestige, as well as a population that was *in* constant danger of falling victim to the supposed baser nature of their Filipino heritage. The business of rhetorically making mestizos into “orphans,” exemplified these tensions over American-Filipino mixed race children. The term “orphan” was also heavily laden with the suggestion that mestizo children in the Philippines had no parents. The reality was, however, that while most American fathers of mestizo children left the Philippines, most of these children were not abandoned by their Filipina mothers. Indeed, the creation and control of a narrative around and about this population was not coincidental or random, but had very specific imperial utility.

Spanning the early colonial period into the commonwealth period, I will trace the changing discourse about the mixed race offspring of American-Filipino liaisons. From the colonial impulse to classify and “understand” different mestizo “types” – Spanish mestizos, Chinese mestizos, European/American mestizos – to the efforts of Churches and small charity organizations to protect and provide for children of partial American parentage, an American preoccupation with the product of racial mixing in the colonial site is evident. What this chapter seeks to consider and understand how U.S. imperial professions of benevolence and moral superiority were able to co-exist with the presence of thousands of mixed-race children, a population whose presence in turn implicated their non-present American fathers.

Unlike the colonial scandals of American soldier “boys” carrying on with Filipinas and other non-white women in red light districts, or the problem of drinking in the military canteen, the realities of child abandonment by American men who spent time in the Philippines hardly

attracted the ire of anti-imperialists or reform organizations. While this may seem easy to rationalize in that paternity could easily be denied, I will discuss here how multiple factors coalesced into a climate where American mestizo children were easily abandoned, and how ideas of national belonging that were applied to them were only understood to exist within the confines of the Philippines. While previous chapters have outlined how white American men in particular lived lives in the Philippines characterized by gendered and racial privilege that culminated in a relatively free range of illicit behaviors and exemption from consequences or punishment, this chapter focuses more on how mestizo offspring were discursively “made” in a way that tempered the danger they posed to imperial justifications of morality and superiority and were instead imagined in a way that continued to guarantee the protection and impunity of U.S. citizens and U.S. empire.

The argument of this chapter is twofold. First, this chapter will demonstrate how an American mestizo population was not one that necessarily threatened U.S. imperial claims to moral superiority or benevolence. Rather, the colonial discourse that was created was one that recast fears and tensions over this population in such a way that bolstered claims of moral and racial superiority. Charting the discourse surrounding this mixed-race population will illustrate how a perceived pre-existing tolerance for mestizos in the Philippines imbued colonialist thinking about the “natural” place for American mestizos, both physically within the boundaries of the Philippines and within the racial hierarchy of the islands. Further, discussions and considerations of American mestizos – typically through charity organizations or religious groups - were often framed through the sexist and racist strictures of the time, in such a way that diminished culpability on the part of the American parent (usually white and overwhelmingly male). These children could thus be framed in and understood in a way that didn’t threaten the



white racial homeland or the reputation of the many American men that abandoned them. Even the population of Americans that believed in taking some form of responsibility for this mestizo population created and disseminated a discourse around them that minimized harmful consequence to U.S. claims of benevolence and morality.

Secondly, this chapter will explore how American mestizos themselves understood their position within Philippine society and how they grappled with a colonial discourse about them, one that simultaneously preached their proclivity to degeneracy as well as their potential for greatness due to their American blood. In particular, I will consider how American mestizos who were fortunate enough to have “legitimate” families – thus shielding them to an extent from the social and economic stigmas of being abandoned – attempted to circumvent popular discourses pertaining to mixed-race children of partial American parentage, thus negotiating social positions of privilege for themselves rooted in declarations and performance of “Americanness.” A perhaps unintended consequence of these complex negotiations of belonging, I will argue, was the strengthening of American colonial ideology and the solidification of the U.S. imperial future in the islands, even after independence.

This chapter will begin by briefly examining pre-existing attitudes and ideas about mixed-race individuals in the Philippines, and how American colonial officials came to understand these ideas during the early years of occupation. As we shall see, a preoccupation on the part of U.S. colonial officials with the siring of scores of Spanish mestizo children by Spanish friars came to color American notions of what types of sexual behaviors and families were more or less common or tolerated in the island. This in turn, fueled colonial fantasies about how American and Filipino sexual mixing – and indeed potential children – might be tolerated and received in the new colonial territory. Next, I will turn to the efforts of various churches,

orphanages and small American charity organizations to care for, house, and school impoverished American mestizos. Largely motivating the efforts of such charities was the desire to “properly” indoctrinate their wards through thoroughly American education and training programs. Not providing proper instruction under American auspices, it was believed, would leave these mestizos largely to the mercy of their baser Filipino blood. In addition, while organizations tried to bring awareness to larger American audiences as to the nature of child abandonment in the Philippines, their calls to action managed to unjustly impugn Filipino/a “nature” and mothers especially (even though most Filipina mothers did not abandon their American mestizo children), while minimally chastising the American men who fathered most of the “orphans.”<sup>5</sup>

Lastly, the efforts of more prominent American mestizo individuals to cast themselves as the proud children of Americans will be examined. Focusing on social organizations formed by the now adult children of Filipino-American couples, we will get a better sense of how this group of mestizos came to view themselves in the context of a waning formal U.S. colonial presence. Declarations of pride in their heritage by the Daughters of American Veterans organization helped them to maintain semi-privileged positions within the America community in Manila, while their contingent positions of prominence helped to ensure the future of U.S. interests in the islands. The long history of American mestizos in the Philippines is one that most scholarly literature positions as a post WWII phenomenon, often noting the presence of “colonial legacies” but not ever looking at the colonial period comprehensively.<sup>6</sup> The presence of a large American

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<sup>5</sup> The common terminology and practice of the time was to refer to American mestizo children as “orphans” or “wards,” despite the fact that many were raised by their Filipino mothers or extended families. Thus calling the children who were tended to by these charities “orphans” obscures the efforts of single mothers and non-normative families to take care of their children. For the purposes of challenging the disparagement of Filipino caretakers, the use of the term “orphan” will, for the most part, appear in quotations.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see ; Sandra Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus. *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia* (New York: New Press, 1993); Cynthia H. Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of*

fleet in the Pacific during and after the 1940's is usually pointed to as the starting point for the contemporary problems of sexual tourism and the many thousands of impoverished Filipino Amerasians in the islands. As this chapter seeks to demonstrate, however, the normalization of societal issues and problems in the Philippines as "third world issues" or as the consequence of militarization erase the fraught history of decades of U.S. imperialism in the archipelago. The inquiry at hand roots the aforementioned contemporary societal problems of abandoned Amerasians and sex tourism in the Philippines squarely in the period of colonization by the U.S.<sup>7</sup> It is within this time period that U.S.- Philippines relations, have their foundation, and in this period where American mestizos first become constructed as a population that is precluded from American citizenship, and indeed, from American responsibility.

### **Friar Lands, Families, and Prurient Fantasies**

In the year 1900, the report of the Philippine Commission to the United States, reporting on the state of the new colonial possessions in the east, described the ethnically mixed population of the islands. Chinese-Filipino mestizos –those offspring of one Chinese parent and one Filipino parent – were described as "intelligent, but scheming and untrustworthy."<sup>8</sup> Likewise, in 1925, a U.S. newspaper reported that, "in the life of the islands, Japanese and Chinese mestizos have taken a leading part," although, the article continues, not necessarily a positive or beneficial

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*the Cold War* (University of California Press, 1993); Katharine H. S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Joseph M. Ahern, "Out of Sight, out of Mind: United States Immigration Law and Policy as Applied to Filipino-Amerasians." *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal* 1 (1992): 105; Elizabeth Kolby, "Moral Responsibility to Filipino Amerasians: Potential Immigration and Child Support Alternatives." *Asian Law Journal* 2 (1995): 61; Robin S. Levi, "Legacies of War: The United States' Obligation Toward Amerasians." *Stanford Journal of International Law* 29 (1993 1992): 459.

<sup>7</sup> The term "Amerasian" is a more recent and politicized term that refers to the children born of one Asian and one American parent. The term, believed to have been coined during the late 1940's or early 1950's by the philanthropist and author Pearl S. Buck, specifically implies that the American parent was in the U.S. military (usually father) and the mother is Asian. "Amerasian" is also a more politicized term, used more currently as a pan-ethnic or uniting term in social justice campaigns that call for U.S. recognition of these children, as well as immigration and citizenship campaigns.

<sup>8</sup> *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, 1899-1900* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 154.

part.<sup>9</sup> Taking cues from eugenics sciences, which reached heights of popularity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Americans in the Philippines took copious observational notes on the ethnically mixed population of the Philippine islands, using racist assumptions about Asian populations to color and inform such observations. Chinese and Japanese mestizos in the archipelago were considered inscrutable and wily, albeit slightly elevated above the native Filipino population, while Spanish – Filipino mestizos were typically considered the most civilized population in the islands due to their admixture of European blood.<sup>10</sup> Spanish mestizos, while often considered superior to the native population, were still thought by the new American colonists to be susceptible to the baser ways of the native due to their non-European blood. It was into this complex hierarchy of supposedly distinct racial “types” that American mestizos were thrust into and grappled to navigate.

The American preoccupation with understanding racial types, especially as it pertained to interracial sexual contact, was clear not only from the various accounts of “squaw men” and the reviled “querida system,” but also in the colonial governments interest in and inquiries into the sexual lives of their Spanish predecessors. To be sure, the official colonial record is filled with many accounts that explain the “differences” between the different types of mestizos in the archipelago. Even the elite Spanish and Chinese mestizos who colonial officials often dealt with and counted amongst their hosts were not free from being seen as anthropological subjects whose mixed racial heritage was grounds for investigative study. The earliest reports of the U.S. commission to the Philippines describe what the mission members believed were the differences

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<sup>9</sup> “The American Mestizo,” *New York Times*, Oct. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Although some Americans in the Philippines who saw in the tribes of northern Luzon the “noble savages” familiar to them from the American west, believed that these tribes possessed the best qualities of the peoples of the Philippines. Indeed, the desire to “protect” and “preserve” the cultures and peoples of the Cordillera mountains on the part of some Americans (most notable individuals like U.S. commission member Dean C. Worcester) came from a belief that the “greedy” Spanish mestizos of the lowlands would take advantage of their highland neighbors. Indigenous tribes, correspondingly, were viewed as free from the racial taint of Spanish blood, thus preserved in a state of savage innocence and nobility.

between Chinese mestizos and Spanish mestizos, declaring that these mixed-race individuals were of the more successful “type” in the islands. While “the mixture of Chinese and the native makes a very good citizen and a hard worker,” Chinese Mestizos were simultaneously described as despotic and unpopular.<sup>11</sup> Spanish mestizos too, were often simultaneously described as one of the highest classes of the inhabitants of the Philippines, despite tendencies to usury and greed. Anthropological studies and administrative inquiries, it seems, were the perfect opportunity for data collection on interracial sex, and mixed-race offspring.

One investigation in particular, became a useful source of information for U.S. commission members to the Philippines, their inquiries and interviews making obvious the interest in interracial sexual mixing and mixed racial “types.” Capitalizing on tensions between landless Filipino farmers and landed Spanish friars, the U.S. launched an inquiry into the state of lands held for ecclesiastical use, with the stated intent to redistribute land more equitably. In reality, the resulting 1904 Friar lands act benefitted mostly American citizens and corporations who were able to buy previously Spanish land, as well as already wealthy groups of Filipinos.<sup>12</sup> The friar lands investigation, beginning in 1900 and led by the Taft commission was not just fruitful for Americans in terms of finding out why tensions had arisen with the Spanish clergy, and how U.S. rule could be touted to appear more honest and benevolent. From the transcriptions of the inquiry, it becomes clear that American officials were not only interested in finding out information about land disputes, but also about “common” sexual practices, pre-existing

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<sup>11</sup> *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, 1899-1900*. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900, 179. See also Chu, Richard T. *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s-1930s*. (Brill Academic Publishing, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Jennifer Conroy Franco, *Elections and Democratization in the Philippines* (Taylor & Francis, 2001), 43.

interracial sexual relationships in the islands, and what types of family formations were deemed more acceptable than others.<sup>13</sup>

The investigation into land disputes involving friar lands entailed lengthy interviews with various religious clergy and mostly elite or landed Filipino men who had some knowledge of the friars. Many of these interviews, at one point or another, inevitably turned towards the topic of the sexual habits of the Spanish friars, and how in turn, the local Filipino populations felt about such behavior. For example, Don Felipe Calderon, a well to do Filipino attorney who was himself the grandson of a Franciscan Friar, was asked by American officials to speak generally about the “the morality of the friars.” Without hesitation, or so the transcript goes, Don Calderon begins to describe the commonness of seeing the children of friars and that,

no one ever paid any attention to it or thought if it, and so depraved had the people become in this regard that the women who were the mistresses of friars really felt great pride in it and had no compunction in speaking of it. So general had this thing become that it may be said that even now the rule is for a friar to have a mistress and children, and he who is not is the rare exception, and if it is desired that I give names, I could cite right now 100 children of friars.”<sup>14</sup>

When further questioned as to whether this breaking of religious celibacy vows by the clergy was, “the subject...of great condemnation by the people,” Calderon replied simply, “by no means.” Calderon is at times dismissive of suggestions by the American interviewer that the Spanish friars are disliked because of their sexual proclivities, saying that the breaking of celibacy was merely an “infraction of the canonical law,” and even going as far to say the clergy “bettered our race.” After double-checking that, “the immorality of the friars is not the chief ground of the hostility of the people against them,” the interview moved on to other topics.

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<sup>13</sup> Message from the President of the United States, Senate Report, “Lands Held for Ecclesiastical of Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands, Etc.” Document no. 190, 1901.

<sup>14</sup> Message from the President of the United States, Senate Report, “Lands Held for Ecclesiastical of Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands, Etc.” Document no. 190, 1901, 139.

Similarly in an interview with Jose Rodriguez Infante, an elite Filipino landowner in Pampanga, American officials asked questions relating to the sexual promiscuity of friars, and the children that they fathered. Infante, like Calderon, replies that he knows a great many men and women who are sons and daughters of friars, having several children of friars currently living on his own estate. When asked if the licentiousness of the friars “was the ground of hostility against the friars,” he too answered no, stating that he believed that the antagonism was more because of the political and financial control held by the friars. Immorality, Infante continued, “had a slight influence, in the case, but it became so common that it passed unnoticed.”<sup>15</sup> Another Filipino Lawyer and landowner, Nozario Constantino, was asked to speak to the general “morality” of the friars. He replies by stating that there was “no morality whatever.” Pressed further by colonial officials who were clearly interested in hearing more about mestizo children and transgressive sexual acts, Constantino elaborated to the interviewers his observations about various friars having concubines and many children, although, he added, speaking about the children specifically, “we do not look upon that as a discredit to a man.” Extending the subject further, U.S. officials asked if it was true that the people had “become so accustomed to the relations which the friars had with the women that it really paid little part in their hostility.” According to Constantino, sexual licentiousness was a part of why people disliked the friars, but not in itself the cause.

So intrigued by the sexual transgressions of Friars were American officials that they at points steered the interviews into topics that have less to do with the inquiry into lands held for ecclesiastical use and more with their own desires for information regarding sex. It is no coincidence that the matter of interracial sexual intercourse was weighing heavily on the minds

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<sup>15</sup> Message from the President of the United States, Senate Report, “Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands, Etc.” Document no. 190, 1901, 146-147.

of colonial officials in the islands, as by the time of the friar lands inquiry in late 1900, complaints from American reform and religious groups about regulated systems of prostitution for the benefit of U.S. military troops were numerous.<sup>16</sup> News of Uncle Sam's troops frequenting brothels and the failure of the colonial administration to shut down red light districts reached the ears of reform groups and anti-imperialists in the U.S., prompting public outcry and calls for government action. Around the same time that many of the friar land interviews were taking place – in July through November of 1900 – the W.C.T.U. was putting together a petition for a formal investigation regarding the news of regulated prostitution and immorality in the islands. This petition was submitted to the president and the secretary of war in October of 1900.<sup>17</sup>

The friar lands investigation thus clearly extended beyond its original charge to study land distribution and reasons for hostility towards the Spanish clergy. The information gathered through the interviews also served as a gage by which the U.S. could measure American infractions upon the Filipino people and hypothesize as to how licentious behavior and other types of American intrusions might be viewed. Interracial sexual intercourse and attitudes towards mestizo children in particular seeped into the friar lands talks and, while it is difficult to say for certain that Americans saw in these discussions a way to gage what types of U.S. infractions would be more tolerated than others, it is also unlikely that their interest in the sex lives of friars was not motivated in part by what they saw currently happening between Filipina women and U.S. troops.

In fact, as commission members conducted their sexual reconnaissance they often directly connected the complaints against the Spanish empire with current problems that were arising under their new regime. For example, in the testimony given by General Smith,

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<sup>16</sup> Ian R. Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (UNC Press Books, 1991), 214.

<sup>17</sup> Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire* (1991), 214.



commission leader William Howard Taft, soon to be Governor General of the Philippine Islands, asks if U.S. troops in the Visayas have married Filipina women and further wants to know about the status of “the social evil” (houses of prostitution) in the region. During the course of their discussion about soldiers and interracial sex, Taft makes reference to an interview conducted several months earlier with the Spanish Archbishop of Jaro, stating, “I can’t help remembering what the bishop of Jaro said about the temptation to which the young friar was exposed when he went out into a village like that. I think the temptations of a soldier are greater and the restraint less, 10,000 miles away from home, and east of Suez.”<sup>18</sup> The connection for Taft was immediate, the sexual lives of Spanish friars and their many mixed-race children informing his thoughts on the transgressive sexual acts of Americans, as well as his contemplation of how Filipinos might come to view these acts. Further, while the interviews conducted hint at a desire for the vilification of the Spanish clergy for their sexual behaviors on the part of the American interviewers, Taft’s above statement indicates his sentiment of sympathy for the U.S. soldier tempted to engage in interracial sexual intercourse, excusing him to a degree because of his displacement and homesickness.

American men in the Philippine islands would go on to father countless mixed-race children with Filipina women throughout the islands. For all the interest in setting the U.S. regime apart from the Spanish – demonstrated here by the colonial administration’s desire to see the friars vilified for fathering children and their sexual liaisons – the American government in the Philippines did little to overhaul the sexual proclivities of troops in the islands, and even less to hold men accountable for their offspring. According to one account, the stance of the Taft commission was that, “When it is known that an American employee of the Government is living

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<sup>18</sup> Testimony of General Smith, Message from the President of the United States, Senate Report, “Lands Held for Ecclesiastical of Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands, Etc.” Document no. 190, 1901, 247.

with a native woman, he is told to bring a marriage certificate or present his resignation.”<sup>19</sup>

While the commission saw it necessary to warn soldiers away from cohabiting with Filipina women and having children in the islands by threatening punishment, there is little evidence that points to any actual comprehensive repercussions faced by American men who fathered and abandoned children in the Philippines. When charges of cohabitation and paternity could be so easy to deny, and sympathy was also clearly felt for the “plight” of young American men without any “home influences,” it is more likely that these declarations on the part of the colonial authorities were no more than idle warnings. So, while Taft and the other colonial authorities “did not mean to have America suffer the same reproach,” as the Spanish, whose sexual proclivities and abandonment of wives and offspring helped to solidify their reputations, the U.S. did little to actually hold U.S. citizens accountable.<sup>20</sup>

It would not be until the 1920’s that more formal recognition of U.S. responsibilities for the children abandoned by American men would take firmer root in the expatriate community in the Philippines. As we shall see, however, even these efforts by non-governmental charity organizations and religious groups to provide for American mestizos demonstrated a certain attitude of sympathy for the American fathers of their “orphans.” In much the same way as the U.S. commission several decades earlier, American men who left behind “little families” in the Philippines were still free from any major chastisement or consequence, even when the fruit of their interracial liaisons were made visible for all to see.

### **Creating “Orphans” : American Mestizos, Charity and Discourses of Abandonment**

“It is calculated that at the present time, 1911, there are between five hundred and one thousand American half-castes in the Philippine Islands, a large number of whom are illegitimate

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<sup>19</sup> John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines: Or, Life in Our New Possessions* (American tract society, 1905), 127.

<sup>20</sup> John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines* (1905).

and abandoned by their reckless progenitors. Besides these children, who are the subjects of our solicitude, there is a large number of children of lawful marriages, who will be abandoned when their fathers return to America, as many of them will finally do.”<sup>21</sup> In 1911, Luther Parker included these demographics in his volume, *Verses of the Philippines*, a book of poetry and songs that was put together and sold as a fundraiser to benefit American mestizos in the islands. Published and sold in Manila, this volume provides one of the earliest known estimates of the number of American Mestizos in the Philippines, as well as one of the earliest published accounts to appeal for public recognition of and aid for this population. By 1918 at the time of the second census conducted under U.S. auspices, the total population of Americans in the Philippines was counted at 5,774 with an additional report of 2,820 “American half-breeds,” as they were categorized, a significantly large population, when one considers that this number of mestizos was almost half of those counted as “pure” Americans.<sup>22</sup>

Other accounts around the 1920’s put the population of Filipino-American mestizos at over 18,000, which, if accurate, would mean that this population was three times that of “pure” Americans in the islands.<sup>23</sup> In contrast to this figure, the census of 1939, counted 8,709 Americans in the islands, with only 1,431 American mestizos. The census data collected from this time period, however, can be quite misleading when one considers that the U.S. military population in the islands – a population that well exceeded the civilian population for many years of the American occupation - was not enumerated in the census, nor were their families or dependents. Further, it is also likely that many mixed race children that were abandoned by their

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<sup>21</sup> Luther Parker, *Verses of the Philippines*, (Manila, Philippines: Squires and Bingham, Co., 1911), 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Census of the Philippine Islands Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Legislature in the Year 1918*. Vol. 1 (Manila, Philippines: Bureau of printing, 1921). In the 1903 Census of the Philippine islands conducted by the U.S. colonial government, there was no recorded category for American mestizos, or “half-breeds,” as they were enumerated as in 1918.

<sup>23</sup> Mrs Samuel Francis Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila, Philippines: American Guardian Association, 1922), 8.

American fathers were reported as belonging to the “brown” racial category either due to shame or misinformation. In all likelihood, the population of Filipino-American mixed race individuals probably totaled well over census estimates, somewhere in the middle of these disparate estimates.

Since the earliest years of the U.S. occupation of the islands, American mestizos in the Philippines had been a keen source of interest for colonial officials interested in their abilities and temperaments as “half-breeds,” to civilians and travelers who were disturbed by the idea of their countrymen taking Filipina wives and having children in the tropics.<sup>24</sup> As interest in this population and their circumstances progressively grew after the first decade of U.S. colonization of the islands, so too did the burgeoning discourse surrounding them come to be shaped and proliferated. Understandings about the mestizo offspring of mostly white American fathers were well in line with the popular eugenics ideas of the time, their inferiority to “pure” white people was assumed, but their potential to surpass the supposed limitations of their Filipino heritage a definite possibility. The growing visibility of Amerasian children throughout the archipelago inspired many different aid and charity efforts, as sympathetic Filipinos and Americans bore witness to the widespread reality of child abandonment by fathers from the U.S. As this section seeks to demonstrate, however, is that while many charity and church groups were calling attention to the conditions faced by many of the mestizo children in the islands, increased public discourse about this population did not amount to increased public scrutiny of American men in the Philippines. In fact, while the fathers and would be fathers of mixed-race children remained

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<sup>24</sup> See for example, the zoological/Anthropological photographs of the Philippines and its people taken by Dean Worcester that included many shots of mixed-race individuals, from Spanish and Chinese Mestizos, to European and American mestizos. Even Worcester’s white travelling companions were not free from the gaze of his camera lens, as his European and American guides and translators were the subject of his interest in the “mestizo” populations of the islands. His photos of guides/translators Otto Scheerer and Samuel Kane, as well as their mixed race families are included alongside pictures of Spanish and Chinese mestizo “subjects,” whether or not they knew that their photos would be included in his research is unknown, as some of the pictures (particularly of Kane and his family) look less posed and more relaxed than others.

more or less unscathed by increased public attention directed at the conditions faced by mestizos, it was the children themselves, as well as their Filipina mothers that received the harshest indictments from those organizations that professed to be invested in their welfare.

To understand how this type of a discourse was possible – one that simultaneously highlighted the many abandoned offspring of American men while downplaying the role played by American men in creating the conditions faced by these children – several charity and church organizations and their publications and fundraising efforts are examined, beginning with the early fundraising efforts by the above cited Luther Parker and the soon to be American Mestizo Protection Association, to the later American Guardian Association from the early 1920's, an organization which exists to this day.<sup>25</sup> These organizations were, for the American community, the primary sources of information regarding mestizos, their solicitations for monetary contributions and advertising of their goals reaching all the way to the U.S. While the colonial government was conspicuously silent about the growing numbers of fatherless American mestizos, these Manila based organizations created discourses about mixed-race “orphans,” that transformed the realities of American abandonment in to fabricated ideas of American “goodwill” and “responsibility” for the downtrodden.

One of the earliest attempts at organized fundraising for American mestizos was in the year 1911, with the Manila publication of Luther Parkers, *Verses of the Philippines*. Along with providing an early estimate of the number of Mestizos at this time, Parkers book provides one of the earliest characterizations of this population, along with an assessment of interracial sexual relations in the islands.

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<sup>25</sup> After Philippine independence in 1946, the American Guardian Association (A.G.A.) changed its name to the Philippine American Guardian Association (P.A.G.A), in recognition of the many Filipinos who were now the predominant members and leaders of the organization.

...the subject of miscegenation in the Philippines is one that must be faced and the problem of what is to be done with the abandoned children of Anglo-Saxon fathers and Filipina mothers must be solved by those great hearted members of our nation whose sympathies are aroused by a knowledge of the suffering and degradation that is to be the lot in a very few years of those winsome little half-caste girls who are growing up in ignorance, literally by the hundreds, all over the archipelago, from the land of the head hunters of Luzon, where some deserter from the army took to his shack a daughter of the wild man and later deserted her when the trail became too warm, to the land of the Moro of Mindanao, where white men, with no pride of race, have carelessly left to the future a problem in the harmonization of the Orient and the Occident that appalls the more conscientious with its terrible import.<sup>26</sup>

Parker describes these children as the “abandoned children of Anglo-Saxon Fathers and Filipina mothers,” and yet continues on in his narrative, saying that,

enough cases have been observed to make it evident that, as a usual rule, a Filipina woman when deserted by her American paramour or husband, as the case may be, goes to live with some Chinaman or Filipino who offers her a living for herself and children. Figure to yourself, reader, the future of such children, especially if they be female.

The idea of abandonment is applied by Parker to all mestizos, regardless of whether or not they are still under the care of their Filipina mothers. After the departure of the American father, according to this description, all individuals in the life of the mixed-race child are disreputable and unsavory in character. The Filipina mother who has raised the child on her own is only given negative and licentious connotations by Parker. About American fathers who are unarguably the ones in the narrative who were willing to leave behind wives and children without a trace, Parker, like Taft, has only qualifiers and sympathy.

Unlike the “Chinaman or Filipino” who are suggestively imagined as pimps and generally immoral, Parker uses qualifiers when he speaks of his own countrymen, in order to make it known that only a certain kind of American man is prone to this debauched life in the Philippines and further capable of leaving his own children behind when he sails for home.

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<sup>26</sup> Luther Parker, *Verses of the Philippines*, Squires and Bingham, Co., Manila, Philippines, 1911, 1.

These men, he says, are army deserters, the type of man that was disloyal to his own nation, so it is less surprising that he is callous towards his wife and children. Others he describes as having no “pride of race,” as they travelled throughout the archipelago. In other words, these men, he suggests, do not distinguish between white or non-white, a condition that could be brought upon the constitution – or so it was believed - by the stress and heat of the tropics. In other words, the men that are creating these conditions of fatherless children are debased men themselves, depraved and immoral, and inaccurate representations of American manhood in the Philippines.

Parker's assessment of these men is tempered even more as he continues his introduction. His qualifications of them as debased men swiftly turn to sympathy and complete understanding. In fact, Parker states that, “for that ever increasing number of Americans who are irreparably identifying themselves socially with the life of the Philippines the author has no censure, but a very great sympathy for the man. Cut off from home, friends and loved ones by ten thousand miles, who in his utter loneliness [sic] of spirit seeks companionship and love of whatever human being can break the unendurable monotony of existence in the tropics.”<sup>27</sup> Parker also includes in his book one poem in particular that seeks to justify and seek understanding for the behavior of “squaw men” in the Philippines. This poem, written a few years earlier, describes how white men in the tropics are viewed like gods in the tropics, with many a “dark-skinned maid” willing to desert her kin in order to “follow her heart’s desire.” These Filipina women, in whom, “nature has softened the mark of Cain to a less repulsive shade,” has the desire to change her dark feature “to the heavenly gift of white.” Entitled, “The Squaw Man’s Justification,” the poem challenges the reader who might judge too harshly, asking, “who dares to dictate to the man that chooses an exile’s lot, and wants a woman’s companionship if she’s only a Hottentot?”

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<sup>27</sup> Luther Parker, *Verses of the Philippines*, Squires and Bingham, Co., Manila, Philippines, 1911, 2.

The rhetoric of white supremacy in Parkers verses neatly blended with his humanitarian appeal to the American community in the Philippines. On January 19<sup>th</sup> of 1911, Parker sent a letter to the *Cablenews-American*, a Manila based press, imploring the readership to contribute money to a Mestizo care fund. Imploring the public for monetary donations so that these “half-caste” children can secure a “place in life that their blood entitles them to,” he stressed his belief that American mestizos were deserving of, by virtue of their white heritage, conditions better than those of their Filipino caretakers. The appeal published in the *Cablenews* relied on the sentiment of white superiority to sway feelings on the matter of American mestizos. To not take part in the care of these children, he states, would be akin to sinking to the level of the debased men with no “pride of race.”

‘Am I the keeper of my wayward brother’s children?’ must soon be answered in the affirmative by very definite action in this country, or the American community as a whole must stand convicted of holding the same attitude toward life in the Philippines as the transient soldier or civilian whose state of culture is such that he can not[sic] or will not realize his responsibility before God and society for his actions.<sup>28</sup>

Parkers petition in the *Cablenews* on behalf of American mestizos was well received. Shortly after the call for donations, concerned individuals began to send money to the newspaper directly, establishing the “*Cablenews* Half-Caste fund,” to be held in trust by the charity directors and used as deemed appropriate for “needy cases.” Like the larger project of imperialism in the islands, it was notions of white racial superiority that fueled action, both in the idea that white people had an obligation to help the less fortunate, and in the presumption that American mestizos were racially superior to other Filipinos. Befittingly, images of biracial Filipino and Black children were never conjured in fundraisers or newspaper stories, only those of blue eyed, light haired and freckled youngsters that were employed to capture the imaginations and

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<sup>28</sup> Luther Parker, *Verses of the Philippines*, Squires and Bingham, Co., Manila, Philippines, 1911, 6.



pocketbooks of the American community in the Philippines. This brand of white supremacy humanitarianism concerning mestizos continued throughout the colonial and commonwealth periods, reframing the figure of fatherless Filipino Amerasians from symbols of American shame and debauchery in the tropics, to symbols of potential benevolent aid and charity work. Thus, rather than implicate white American manhood in the abandonment of hundreds of offspring, the narrative about mestizos in the archipelago renewed and fortified ideas about American moral superiority, exceptionalism, and benevolence.

In 1914, a newly formed organization called the American Mestizo Protective Association (A.M.P.A.) was born from the efforts of Parker and other similarly concerned Americans in Manila. Several years later, after the Wood-Forbes Mission to the Philippine islands took note of the great many fatherless children of U.S. servicemen and civilians, a new organization took up the cause of the A.M.P.A. Under the new name, the American Guardian Association (A.G.A.), and with the support of several of the Wood-Forbes mission members, the charity organization firmly established itself in Manila by soliciting many new members and having some informal government assistance. The A.G.A., like the Protective Association that came before it, became the newest curators of the public discourse about American mestizos. Following the lead of the previous A.M.P.A., the A.G.A. held resolutely to the logics of white supremacy to justify its mission of helping those children of partial white parentage. In addition, the discourse that was constructed around mestizos came to incorporate ideas about national belonging, citizenship, and deviant sexuality; ideas that came to have more dangerous and harmful consequences upon the lives of these offspring than beneficial.

In the fall of 1925, the American Guardian Association took its moral crusade for mestizo “orphans” across the Pacific Ocean, soliciting for charitable donations in the United States. With

the home base of their stateside efforts located in New York, the A.G.A. spent over a year seeking the goodwill and dollars of their countrymen and women, having fundraising events in various cities and publishing frequent newspaper adds to tug at the heartstrings of Philanthropic Americans. The ideas propagated by the A.G.A. about American mestizos were, like the ideas documented by Parker, heavily influenced by contemporary eugenics discourses, with the competing but also mutually reinforcing ideas of hybrid vigor and hybrid degeneracy used in the descriptions of these wards. Filipino-American mestizos were often described as simultaneously possessing good traits and qualities, attributed to their “American blood,” and negative qualities or natures, attributed to their Filipino lineage. In fact, it was simultaneously rhetoric about mestizo “Americanness” as well as “non-Americanness” that was utilized to solicit interest in the cause of mestizos in the Philippines. If brought up properly, with American values, ideals and habits, the A.G.A. believed that these unfortunate children could become outstanding citizens and future leaders of the Philippines, being American in all but name. If left to their own devices, or in the care of their Filipino guardians, they would fall victim to their baser natures expressed through their Filipino blood.

Despite the vigorous public airing of the U.S.’s shameful record in the Philippines – with the A.G.A. running fundraising advertisements and receiving press coverage in the New York Times almost twice monthly for over a year - the revelation of thousands of mixed race American offspring in the tropics elicited little comment from those groups previously so outspoken about liquor traffic and prostitution in the islands. To understand why thousands (and growing more numerous each year) of destitute children of partial American parentage did not generate a similar type of response from reform, religious and temperance groups in the U.S., it is important to again turn to the “humanitarian” narrative generated by the A.G.A., and how a

dangerous story of American incrimination was turned into one of philanthropic opportunity. Indeed, Biracial American children in the Philippines were transfigured from dangerous symbols of what U.S. empire meant for colonized countries, into safely confined “wards” that had bright futures within the boundaries of the Philippines.

The A.G.A. was the latest group to perpetuate the idea that these children were never meant to come to the U.S., rather, they were destined to be mixed-race Filipinos confined to the Philippines, with all the best traits that their American blood could offer them. Indeed, American mestizos were always and already understood as non-U.S. citizens, their “true” place in the world being prominent Filipino citizens who could potentially cultivate and institutionalize American interests in the tropics even after independence. The A.G.A.’s discourse in the stateside fundraising campaigns makes this imagined destiny for mestizos quite clear. For example, in one advertisement in the *New York Times*, spokesman for the A.G.A. Admiral Bradley Allen Fiske expressed his objective that mestizo children in the Philippines be taught politics and economics, and that they “be educated to be good American citizens, so that they might not be deceived by the unrest of a few in the [Philippines].”<sup>29</sup> While this statement pays lip service to the idea that the children in question should be taught to be “American citizens,” their home is not the U.S., it is the Philippines. The goal of the A.G.A. is not to prepare the “orphans” for life in the U.S., but to train them as “future citizens of this most Eastern possession of the United States.”<sup>30</sup> Trained to be “Americans” in all but legal status, this population was imagined

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<sup>29</sup> “Asks Facts in the Philippines: Admiral Fiske wants the Children Taught to Be Americans,” *New York Times*, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1926, 5.

<sup>30</sup> “Our Mestizos Ask Help: Hundreds of Children of American Fathers and Filipino Mothers are Made Homeless by Economic Changes,” *New York Times*, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 24.

as socially and politically valuable, a population that was “destined to form a stabilizing element in the native population.”<sup>31</sup>

Indeed the “value” of the American mestizo population lay not only in their supposedly superior American blood that demanded better life chances than that available to the local populations of the Asia-Pacific region, but in the perceived imperial purpose of these children to take up the mantle of American ideals after the end of formal colonization.

The American-Filipino children are certainly worth saving. They have imagination and initiative which is wholly lacking in the native. The boys, if properly brought up, should become leaders of the Filipino people. The girls, if educated, are particularly sought out as wives by ambitious and self-respecting men.<sup>32</sup>

Governor General Wood and former Governor General Forbes of the Philippines support add to the constructed narrative about American mestizos being the imperial force in the islands after the U.S. departure, stating that, if educated, they can introduce “salutary ideas of self-rule and administrative efficiency.” As long as the U.S. has the Philippines as its “responsibility,” children of partial American heritage, they believe, “will be an invaluable means of commending progress to the other natives. When [colonial occupation] ceases, they will greatly increase the likelihood of carrying on effectively.”<sup>33</sup> Neglecting to train and Americanize mestizo, on the other hand, might spell catastrophe for U.S. Empire in the islands. Do nothing for these children, one article speculated, and the U.S. runs the risk of fostering a new generation of Aguinaldos, the press generated figure of former Philippine President Emilio Aguinaldo being one of the most vivid representations anti-American insurgency in the islands.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> “The American Mestizo,” *New York Times*, October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 20.

<sup>32</sup> “Asks Fund to Help mestizo Children,” *New York Times*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 27.

<sup>33</sup> “The American Mestizo,” *New York Times*, October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 20.

<sup>34</sup> See for example, the press generated cartoons and coverage of Emilio Aguinaldo during the Philippine American war; Abe Ignacio, *The Forbidden Book* (2004); Servando D. Halili, *Iconography of the New Empire* (2003).

Indeed, Aguinaldo, whose armed rebellion against the United States after the islands came under the American flag, a little over a quarter of a century ago, was a source of so much trouble, expense and bloodshed, was a mestizo, though with no American blood in his veins. It is therefore imperative that the new generation of mestizos, children born of American fathers and of native mothers, now numbering some 20,000, and who are pronounced by General Wood to be unusually bright, high spirited and comely, the American characteristics predominating over Malay traits, should be carefully trained, influenced and cared for, so that they may develop into a useful class of the population, instead of into a source of danger to the rule of the United States.<sup>35</sup>

Rather than future hostilities towards the American fathers that abandoned them, the idea of dangerous mestizos in the Philippines deflected the discourse away from fathers and into irrational Anti-American hostility in general. This pivoting away from the root of possible future malcontent – the irresponsibility of American men - allowed American anxieties about the Mestizo population to be expressed without reference to fathers, pointing to the manifestation of “Malay traits” and influence as the threat. This characterization of the “dangerous mestizo” would later be invoked in the mid 1960’s by the Pearl S. Buck Foundation for Amerasians, playing on Cold War fears about Anti-American sentiment in the third world.<sup>36</sup>

The purported danger posed by American mestizos in the Philippines also highlights another concern held by U.S. officials. Tied to the idea of U.S. moral superiority that colonial officials wanted to maintain, the presence of hundreds of thousands of “blue eyed” youngsters across the islands, many reportedly more destitute than the native Filipinos, flew in the face of the prevailing ideas of white racial supremacy. At the very core of the U.S. pursuit of empire across the globe, the idea of white racial supremacy was jeopardized by the existence and visibility of white “half-castes” that were not in the proper place on the racial hierarchy; namely, right underneath white American occupiers. Major General Leonard Wood, Governor General of

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<sup>35</sup> “Mestizo Problem in the Philippines,” *New York Times*, November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1925, E6.

<sup>36</sup> Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (University of California Press, 2003).

the Philippines and supporter of the A.G.A., expressed this concern. “We cannot, as a people afford to have American blood on a lower social level than the blood of other nations. But such will be the inevitable result if we fail in this humanitarian and social obligation.”<sup>37</sup> This plea from General Wood demonstrates that the concern is not necessarily for the children themselves, nor for taking responsibility for callous American acts abroad. Rather, the sanctity of white “blood” needed to be upheld in the global community at this crucial time of proving their imperial worth. Inter-imperial considerations in particular weighed heavily on the minds of those thinking about the fate of American mestizos in the Philippines. As one newspaper article covering the fundraising campaign stated, “Woods appeal for funds in their behalf is just as much deserving of generous response as those in Great Britain receive in behalf of the sorely tried Eurasian elements in India and in King George’s Malay possessions.”<sup>38</sup>

. While all American mestizos in the Philippines were constructed as somehow dangerous for the U.S. position on the global stage, or conversely *in* danger of being absorbed into the local native populations, some mestizos were believed to be more in peril and more perilous than others. For the A.G.A., the salvation of mestiza girls was of the greatest concern, the narrative created around this population more urgent and scandalous than that around their brothers. Lives of squalor and sexual depravity were often depicted in descriptions of mestiza girls in the islands. One American lawyer, in his memoir of his 30 years spent in the Philippines, says that American mestiza girls are especially in need of protection. “Many of them are physically very attractive. For that reason they are in great demand as recruits for houses of prostitution...occasionally the

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<sup>37</sup> “Asks Fund to Help mestizo Children,” *New York Times*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 27.

<sup>38</sup> Frederick Cunliffe – Owen, C.B.E., “Mestizo Problem in the Philippines: Situation Which Demands Attention, According to General Wood, Discussed,” *New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1925, E6.

mothers of mestiza girls even hire them to the public for immoral purposes.”<sup>39</sup> Luther Parker, in his 1911 letter to the *Cable News*, painted the following scene; “the thought of meeting an American girl, barefoot, in rags and in poverty, toting rice along the muddy carabao trail in some barrio, with her owner and master trudging along behind, carrying an umbrella or rooster, is unbearable.”<sup>40</sup> In 1922, the A.G.A. put together a cookbook and resource guide for Americans living in the Philippines, the proceeds of which would be put towards the care of their “orphans.” In the introduction of the cookbook, a grim scene is recounted of what type of life awaits young mestiza girls lacking in American tutelage and support. “Investigation has brought to light hideous pictures of tiny girls abandoned to chance charity, neglected or abused, and of girls of twelve or fourteen exploited and taught to lead immoral lives for the profit of their own mothers. The number of girls, mere children, so engaged is appalling.” According to this account, the “investigation” included a sting operation in which a U.S. congressman tested the ease of obtaining as property, a young mestiza girl, going through the transaction as far as “the verge of completion.”<sup>41</sup>

The A.G.A. did not hold back these vivid accounts in their U.S. based fundraising efforts either. They presented to the public the belief that the peril faced by girls was much greater than that faced by boys. According to the charity group, most American mestizos are in danger of going to the “evil ways” if left without the proper care and influences. “This is even more true of the girls than of the boys,” they proclaimed, and that “it is urgently needful to shield the girls

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<sup>39</sup> Alva J. Hill, *An American Lawyer in the Philippines*. No publication date, but was completed sometime between 1946 and 1948 as President Manuel Roxas wrote the introduction of the manuscript. His presidency ended abruptly with his death in 1948. Accessed at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Filipiniana Library.

<sup>40</sup> Luther Parker, *Verses of the Philippines*, Squires and Bingham, Co., Manila, Philippines, 1911, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Mrs Samuel Francis Gaches, *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics* (Manila, Philippines: American Guardian Association, 1922), 8; for other types of narratives about the careful entrapment of sexual deviants engaged in the buying and selling of women and girls, and the titillation of those moralists involved in such entrapment schemes, see; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight : Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

from a life of debasement or from sale into marriage not far removed from slavery.”<sup>42</sup> Thus the work of the A.G.A. in caring for young mestiza wards was also framed and understood as vice reform work in disguise, the prevention of prostitution in those that were believed to be more inclined to such occupations. That mestizo girls were believed to be more prone to the lascivious nature of their parents is even demonstrated in the cost of their and upkeep and training. \$12.50 a month, it was reported, was sufficient for providing for a mixed race boy in the Philippines, whereas a girl apparently needed the sum of \$15 to be saved from degradation and infamy.<sup>43</sup>

While American men were either written out of narratives or treated with sympathy, Filipina mothers were depicted as depraved, prostitutes who were willing to sell their light skinned daughters into prostitution without hesitation. It seems, however, that the public in the U.S. was less inclined to have sympathy for fatherless American “half-castes” sold into the sexual economy than earlier concerns about white American women found to be employed in prostitution in the Philippines several decades earlier.<sup>44</sup> The suggestion of half American girls were being sold for sex still did not incite the same type of interest from reform and religious groups in the U.S. In fact, the A.G.A. and its U.S. constituents had trouble winning the support from the public, one account in June of 1926 suggesting that fundraising efforts to raise the \$2,000,000 goal were not going as well as hoped.<sup>45</sup> The advertisement challenged Americans, saying that the appeal made nine months ago by General Wood had thus far been “practically unheeded.” “Has our slogan become: ‘Millions for foreigners, not one cent for Americans,’” it further chastized? It was further revealed that at one A.G.A. meeting, many in attendance

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<sup>42</sup> “Our Mestizos Ask Help: Hundreds of Children of American Fathers and Filipino Mothers are Made Homeless by Economic Changes,” *New York Times*, Oct., 18, 1925, 24; “The American Mestizo,” *New York Times*, Oct. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1925, 20.

<sup>43</sup> “Mestizos Call Across Pacific: Orphans in Philippines, Children of American Fathers and Native Mothers, Need Our Aid to Escape an Evil Fate,” *New York Times*, May 23, 1926, XX14; Display Ad 6 – No Title, *New York Times*, June 26, 1926, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Andrew Jimenez Abalain, *Prostitution Policy and the Project of Modernity*, (2003).

<sup>45</sup> Display Ad 6 – No Title, *New York Times*, June 26, 1926, 6.



questioned the legitimacy of the mestizo children in question, perhaps either put off by their being born out of wedlock or suggesting that if fathers did not claim them, then they were not necessarily an American obligation. Given the outrageous claims made against the morality of Filipina mothers, it is not surprising that the public in the United States may have thought the worst of them, perhaps even thinking that American paternity was a fiction made up by single Filipina mothers looking for American charity. Colonel Peter E. Traub, an A.G.A. supporter and spokesperson, responded with an inaccuracy stating that, “most of the children were born in wedlock, but that the foundlings were equally needful.” Traub further retorted that “relief organizations for other nationalities...did not ask questions about the legitimacy of charges.”<sup>46</sup> For all their efforts to win monetary donations from the American public, it seems that the A.G.A.’s portrayal of immoral prostituted Filipina mothers – women that may have tricked and seduced good American men – may have inadvertently closed, rather than opened wallets.

### **“Girls of Exceptional Usefulness” : The Daughters of American Veterans**

The discourse created around and about the population of mixed-race American mestizos in the Philippines may have played a role in the disappointing yields of this particular fundraising drive in the U.S. Nonetheless, this discourse was one that was resolute and steadfast in its longevity. That is not to say, however, that ideas of morally corruptible mestizos prone to sexual vice went completely uninterrupted or unchallenged. In fact, around the same time as the A.G.A. was creating narratives of non-citizen, vice prone “orphans” in the Pacific, other groups were creating their own discourses about American mestizos in the Philippines. In this section, we will examine one organization in particular, the Manila based Daughters of American Veterans (D.A.V.), to understand the shifting and contested meanings and discourses around ideas of mixed-race, and how some mestizos attempted to negotiate belonging within the

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<sup>46</sup> “Asks Facts in Philippines,” *New York Times*, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1926, 5.

American community in the Philippines. By examining the goals, origins and membership of the D.A.V., I will argue that the primarily mestiza members ascribed to and celebrated heteronormative gender roles and ideas of proper femininity partly as a strategy to distance themselves from the prevailing rhetoric about mixed-race children, particularly mixed-race girls. Further, I will illustrate how the D.A.V.'s celebration of American veterans was also a way remind to the expatriate community of their own intimate familial ties to America and hence, "Americanness." By presenting themselves as dutiful and accomplished daughters with filial respect for their fathers, the predominantly mestiza membership of the D.A.V. was able to circumnavigate the image of the degraded and immoral mestiza and negotiate a quasi-American identity and position of prestige for themselves in the islands. In doing so, they also obscured the problematic origins of American – Filipino interracial sexual relationships, relations that stemmed from unequal power dynamics resulting from an American war of conquest and occupation. In this unproblematic celebration of their American fathers, the members of the D.A.V. were thus furthering the aims of empire, showing their progenitors to be heroes of a just war, rather than colonial subjugators and imperial settlers.

In 1928, the Daughters of American Veterans was formed in Manila, just several years after the formation of the American Guardian Association in 1921. The D.A.V., unlike the A.G.A., however, was not formed as a charity organization to assuage the plight of mestizo "orphans." Rather, the D.A.V. was a society organization whose goals included the remembrance and respect of American veterans, a group which their fathers belonged to, and the hosting of social events such as formal dances and dinners. The D.A.V. was, in other words, a social club, one that was in conformity with most of the rules and etiquette of other American society clubs and organizations in Manila. While many American society clubs and organizations in Manila

during the colonial period such as the Army and Navy Club, the Manila yacht Club, and the Cotillion Club, were exclusively for white members only, and others such as the Women's Club of Manila were open to Filipina members, the membership of the D.A.V. was largely comprised of American mestiza women.

While it is difficult to determine how much of the D.A.V. membership was comprised of Mestiza women versus white American women, the membership roster gives a clue as to the large number of mestiza women involved in the organization. Names like, Consolation Anderson, Ceferina Witte, Trinidad Holmes, Conchita Hill, Felicidad Peck, Remejia Peck, Cresencia Renner, Amparo Schober, and Rosario Van, hint at the mixed race heritage of the membership.<sup>47</sup> Accounting for just the interracial sounding names, however, is undercounting the number of women that were actually mestiza's, as Anglicized names were just as common for mestiza women.

The newspaper coverage of the formation of the club also suggests the mixed-race nature of the membership. Announced in a special "oldtimers edition" insert in the Manila Bulletin, the D.A.V. coverage shared space with other new items featuring the mestizo sons and daughters of American residents of the Philippines. Headlines about mestizo children of oldtimers who have "made good" in their careers or studies are printed alongside a photo of several dark haired members of the D.A.V. Further, as daughters of American veterans of the Spanish and Philippine American wars, it is *more* likely that members were mestiza women as most military men were single when they came to the Philippines, with only some officers able to bring their families to the pacific with them.<sup>48</sup> Some discharged soldiers settled permanently in the Philippines either

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<sup>47</sup> "Daughters of America Vets Forming Society in Manila," *The Manila Bulletin, Special Oldtimers Edition*, Fri. June 28, 1928. 1 – 3.

<sup>48</sup> The U.S. Commission to the Philippines put their stamp of disapproval of divorce in the Philippines, saying that Americans who married in the islands should "marry for keeps," perhaps in the hopes that Americans would not risk

because of their investments in business ventures, or because they started families with Filipina women. From these clues gleaned from the membership roster as well as the large number of interracial children that were born to American men and Filipina mothers in the Philippines during the American colonial period, it would not be unlikely for many, if not most of the members in the society to be of mixed racial heritage.

The women in the D.A.V., unlike most American mestizos, were not fatherless, freeing them to an extent from the stigma most mestizos faced in the islands, such as being invariably associated with the sexual economy and prostitution. Thus the members of the D.A.V. had significantly different lives than the “orphaned wards” of the A.G.A. These women had the leisure and means to plan a variety of social events for their organization, from formal balls, to recitals, to park outings. Because of the privileges received by their fathers – through oldtimer networks, military pensions, etc. – D.A.V. women could in turn reap the benefits. Indeed a financial buffer could protect some American men from being judged too harshly because of their marriages to Filipinas, as well as the established oldtimer network that provided many “squaw men” with comfortable positions within American owned businesses or other ventures.<sup>49</sup> While in some families, this could have been enough to secure comfortable lives – socially and financially - for mestizo children, it should not be neglected that Filipina wives often brought advantageous positions to their families as well. For instance, some American men married into already prominent Filipino families. Wealthy Spanish mestiza women, according to some in the American community, were better choices for wives if one were going to go down the road of

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marrying Filipinas if they could not divorce them. “Marry for Keeps Here,” *The Manila Times*, vol. ix, no. 333, July 25, 1907, 1. Also, in 1908, Secretary of War William H. Taft described his preferences for the U.S. army in the Philippines, saying that unmarried men were preferred, as married men were a “nuisance.” “Secretary Taft’s Recommendations for the army in the Philippines,” *The Manila Times*, vol. x, no. 114, Feb. 24, 1908, section 2, 9.

<sup>49</sup> Recorded Interview with Mary and Bill Bowler, University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, LUCE Philippines Interviews, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor.

marrying a Filipina.<sup>50</sup> As Mary Bowler, the mestizo daughter of an American Thomasite teacher and a Filipina from a prominent family remembers, her mother's family objected to their daughter marrying a poor American teacher, his socio-economic position being beneath theirs.<sup>51</sup> Whatever the individual circumstances of their families, the women involved with the D.A.V. were proud enough of their heritage to celebrate it, which was not the case for the thousands of other mestizos who grew up quite differently.

The pride felt by the daughters was apparently mirrored by their fathers, as the special Manila Bulletin "oldtimers edition" section boasted, "The long-cherished idea of forming a society of Daughters of American Veterans in Manila has at last been realized." The article gave additional information on the inaugural ball to be hosted by the society.<sup>52</sup> Many of the ladies in this new society were accompanied by their fathers to this night of festivities, displaying their love of their fathers, and pride in being of American descent in the Philippines. As mentioned above, the first and foremost goal of the D.A.V. was to, "give honor and respect to all American Veterans living, and to honor and perpetuate the names of those that are dead, and to show them all loyalty at every opportunity." Further goals included, "to bring together all daughters of American veterans and to aid and encourage those who need friendship, encouragement and assistance...to establish a business bureau and a reading and rest room in the city, and to encourage any marked talent in art, music and literature among its members, and lastly...to interest the members in athletic sports and also to provide clean and wholesome amusements for its members, such as socials, excursions and picnics."<sup>53</sup> The goals and structure of the D.A.V.

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<sup>50</sup> 1917 manila times news davis trial, lingo lyon debate CITE

<sup>51</sup> Recorded Interview with Mary and Bill Bowler, University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, LUCE Philippines Interviews, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor.

<sup>52</sup> "Daughters of America Vets Forming Society in Manila," *The Manila Bulletin, Special Oldtimers Edition*, Fri. June 28, 1928. 1.

<sup>53</sup> "Daughters of America Vets Forming Society in Manila," *The Manila Bulletin, Special Oldtimers Edition*, Fri. June 28, 1928. 1 – 3.

mirrored other social clubs in Manila at the time, many of which held similar social events and established club houses in the city center where members could visit to spend a leisurely hour or two. By examining these goals, a clearer sense of the collective concerns and ideas of these women emerges, concerns and ideas that distanced them from contemporary popular ideas about mestizas in the Islands.

The D.A.V.'s primary concern with the praising, remembrance and loyalty to their American progenitors is an ironic embracing of American identity that would otherwise not necessarily be ascribed to mestiza women, legally or discursively by most Americans. In highlighting their kin relations to American men whom they believed deserved the utmost respect, the members of the D.A.V. were themselves claiming an American identity that set them apart from the native Filipino and American mestizo population of the islands, an identity that would afford them status and opportunities not open to others in the islands. By proclaiming their mission to be the celebration of and loyalty to their American veteran fathers, Filipino-American mestizas demonstrated a belief in their own "americanness," diverging from the more popular understandings of mestizo belonging and national identities. In celebrating the status of their fathers as Veterans of the Spanish-American and Filipino-American wars, these mestizas further aligned themselves with the American investment in the occupation of the islands. In this unproblematic celebration of their American fathers, members of the D.A.V. were thus furthering the aims of empire, depicting their kin as heroes of a just war, rather than colonial subjugators and imperial settlers.

In addition to stressing filial loyalty, "Americanness" and pride, the D.A.V. was also concerned with showcasing the accomplishments of its members. The organization encouraged "any marked talent in art, music and literature" and also sought to provide, "clean and

wholesome amusements for its members, such as socials, excursions and picnics.” The Manila Bulletin also reported that the girls were compiling data about the successes of their membership in the areas of business, arts, and sports, “[hoping] to show a group of girls of exceptional usefulness and progressiveness.”<sup>54</sup> In demonstrating their “usefulness” and positive accomplishments, especially within the realm of what was considered proper femininity, these women further demarcated themselves from a discourse associated with mixed race offspring on the islands. As the discourse was particularly harsh towards and dubious of mestiza women, questioning their intrinsic capacity to lead virtuous lives, it was in the interest of the D.A.V. to demonstrate the “wholesomeness” of its membership, as well as highlighting talents in typically feminine pursuits such as art, music and literature. This alternate narrative about mestizas pivots completely from the dominant ideas, intimating a desire to be seen as virtuous young women of means, rather than women prone to licentious behavior. In highlighting their successes and their recreational pursuits, the D.A.V. is reminding those that may have differing ideas that they, unlike other mestizas with pitiable reputations, possess a status that affords them leisure time for picnicking, sports, and artistic expression. In other words, the members of D.A.V. were utilizing heteronormative ideas about proper femininity and womanhood to express themselves as contributing members of society and as socialites, on par with the socialites of the many other women’s groups and societies in Manila.

Socially distancing themselves from the dominant narratives about the nature of American mestizas required focusing on their legitimacy as claimed daughters of American “heros,” as well as an emphasis of their proper femininity and well-to-do status in the Philippines. Ironically, while the D.A.V. strove to emphasize their exemplary womanhood, there

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<sup>54</sup> “Daughters of U.S. Veterans to Inaugurate Tomorrow,” *The Manila Bulletin*, Philippine Oldtimers Edition, Sat., July 21, 1928, 1.

was a group of women that was conspicuously absent from their self-produced public image, namely, their mothers. In a group that espoused such ideas of womanhood, press depictions of the D.A.V. are conspicuously lacking in any mention of those women that most likely nurtured these ideas of proper femininity. In some cases, their absence is glaringly overlooked, such as in the following description of a D.A.V. inaugural ball. The *Manila Bulletin* reported that the organization was hard at work in making all the preparations for the big event, complete with official inaugural ceremonies, followed by an informal reception. The *Bulletin* reported further that, “all veterans, sons and daughters of veterans are cordially invited.”<sup>55</sup> In fact, nowhere in any of the press about the D.A.V. are the mothers of these women mentioned, or photographed. The closeting away of Filipina mothers whether intentional or not, would further strengthen the D.A.V.’s public personification as proud Americans, distancing them from the so-called vulgarities of their Filipino blood. The non-disclosure of Filipina mothers on the part of the D.A.V. is, unlike the rest of the alternative narrative they were creating about American mestizas, consistent with the discourses generated by the A.G.A. While the D.A.V. in many ways diverged from the popular narratives about bi-racial children, the discrediting of Filipina mothers remained the rule; furthering ideas of “americanness” for the D.A.V., while supporting fictions of “orphaned” children without proper caretakers for the A.G.A. The exclusion of Filipina mothers from mention in the events of the D.A.V. further highlights their professed familial connection to their American fathers and hence, their ties with the American, not Filipino, community.

The depiction of conveniently motherless interracial families propagated by the D.A.V. was not the only way in which this organization was presenting a skewed imagery of what

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<sup>55</sup> “Daughters of U.S. Veterans to Inagurate Tomorrow,” *The Manila Bulletin*, Philippine Oldtimers Edition, Sat., July 21, 1928, 1.



American-Filipino mixed race families looked like in the Philippines. In their deference to all American veterans, and the highlighting of their own prominence in the Manila society, they were effectively glossing over the many other mestizo children who were abandoned by their American veteran fathers, as well as Mestizas who might have still had their American parent but simply may not have had the same socio-economic privileges as the D.A.V. members. For example, while mestiza women in the D.A.V. would have been able to obtain American citizenship through their fathers due to their “legitimate marriages,” most mestizos in the islands born in “illegitimate” unions could not. This does not mean, however, that all D.A.V. members had American citizenship.

Citizenship laws, as they concerned Americans in mixed marriages, were complicated and have conflicting accounts. For example, the 1938 census states that the legitimate children of an American father and Filipina mother will receive the citizenship of the father. In the table that follows, however, the number of children from “legitimate” mixed marriages with U.S. citizenship is only 626, compared to the 1,334 who hold Philippine citizenship. From these numbers, it would seem that American fathers too, like the majority in the American community, did not necessarily envision futures for their children outside of the Philippines, and thus never petitioned for or prioritized their citizenship. Possibly too the adult children of mixed unions chose Philippine citizenship over American, having made their lives in the islands.<sup>56</sup> It is also likely that some men in interracial marriages took their families back to the United States with them upon the outset of the commonwealth period, and were thus, not enumerated in the Philippine census. Whatever the reasons for over twice as many “legitimate” mestizos having Philippine citizenship over American, we can conclude that the D.A.V. members and their

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<sup>56</sup> *Census of the Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1, (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1939), Vol. 1, Part 1, 466

families comprised a small minority of what American-Filipino interracial families actually looked like, even amongst those that were deemed “legitimate” families. Also, despite the self-proclaimed pride in their “Americanness” via their veteran fathers, some members of the D.A.V. may not have held American citizenship.

Through the celebration of these comparatively few heteronormative families in which American men did not abandon their wives and offspring in the Philippines and the families were able to achieve relatively affluent socio-economic positions, the D.A.V. was perpetuating a false picture of the reality of such relationships, relationships whose foundations were rooted in unequal power relations, militarism and imperialism. Obfuscating the reality of most interracial relations in the islands and the status of most mixed race offspring of such unions, the members of the D.A.V. could better negotiate their own American identities and their place within the colonial racial hierarchy, and at the same time redirect popular narratives about American mestiza women in the Philippines. In attempting to solidify positions of status for themselves within the well to do American community in Manila and redirecting popular notions about mestiza women, however, D.A.V. members were also effectively reifying American conquest and occupation of the Philippine islands, furthering a romantic idea of benevolent American involvement in the islands. In doing so, they, like their fathers before them, were the latest in a long line of participants in and supporters of American imperialism in the islands.

## **Chapter Five Conclusion**

With the severance of the political ties will come also a severance of another type of American-Filipino relations – the intermarriage of Filipinos and Americans. The severance of these ties, however, will not end the problems created by such marriages. For more than thirty years Filipino and Americans have inter-married, two cultures and two races have blended, until we have today thousands of children of mixed blood in the Philippines. For those who are interested in these marriages, the chief concern is not whether the Americans and Filipinos have lived together happily...but whether the children of these marriages will be an asset or a liability to the Philippines – whether they will be Filipinos or the most

forlorn of all creatures, half-castes who do not know how to feel at home in any environment. – Mrs. Winifred O’Connor Pablo, 1935<sup>57</sup>

The parental advice by Mrs. Winifred O’Connor Pablo on the topic of how to properly raise American mestizo children appeared in the popular Philippine magazine, *The Woman’s World*, in May of 1935. In the article, Mrs. Pablo, a white American woman married to a Filipino man, describes how she raises her mixed-race children, and how she believes all such children of interracial unions in the Philippines ought to be raised, as proud Filipino citizens. Of those parents that try to raise their mestizo children as American, failure, she believes is the inevitable result. Mrs. O’Connor Pablo, however, did not believe that Americanizing mestizos would fail because of their base Filipino proclivities, or because she believed racially impure mestizos could never be truly American. Rather, her advice was more practical, diverging from the narratives of the American Guardian Association and the Daughters of American Veterans.

Mrs. O’Connor Pablo’s stance was simple. If an interracial family has chosen to make their lives in the Philippines, their mestizo children should be taught to embrace and connect with the culture and people around them. Continuing to explain her attitude, she characterizes the mestizo (a word that she hates) who has been raised to be an American as an outsider in the Philippines, who she states, “insists on his difference, and I fear, his superiority.” These feelings of superiority, she says, will be the result of training a child to value their American heritage over their Filipino heritage. One should not teach a mestizo child who neither “looks nor speaks” like an American that the culture is better than that of the country they reside in, and she chastises those who make disparaging comments to their mestizo children about Filipino food or customs. “Because American culture is different does not mean that it is superior, and fine though the culture is, it is not the culture that is going to make[the] child happy in the

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<sup>57</sup> Winifred O’Connor Pablo, “The Child of the Mixed Marriage,” *The Woman’s World*, Vol. 2, No. 9, May, 1935, 6-7.

Philippines.” She further comments on the kindness of Filipinos, many who have welcomed into their hearts, her and her mestizo children.

Her point of view on the upbringing of American mestizo children in the Philippines is informed by her ideas of the American melting pot, her references to the children of immigrants being proud Americans rather than Polish or German. While her ideas about mestizo children being raised in the Philippines as Filipinos are in line with the discourse herein discussed, in which mestizos are believed to have no place in the white racial homeland, Mrs. O’Connor Pablo’s given reasons demonstrate another disruption of the narrative around this population. As an American woman in the Philippines married to a Filipino, O’Connor Pablo may have faced ostracism from the American community similar to other women discussed in this dissertation.<sup>58</sup> She makes clear her appreciation for her Filipino friends that have welcomed her and her children, but does not mention American friends with similar attitudes. Her intervention in the discourse surrounding mestizos is not to berate Filipino mothers, question the capacity of mixed-race children to be moral, or to proclaim any proud sense of American nationalism. Rather, her appeal seems to be one of redress, almost an apology to the Filipino people for the attitudes of her countrymen and women, and indeed, some of their children who she believes are convinced of their own “superiority.” Indeed, the Filipina editors of *Woman’s World Magazine* may have appreciated the divergence of her comments from the more popular discourse about mestizo children, which, as this chapter has demonstrated, was not kind to the Philippines or Filipino people, particularly Filipina women.

In 1949 after Philippine independence, the American Guardian Association changed its name to the American-Philippine Guardian Association. In 1979, the name was changed to the

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<sup>58</sup> See for example, the discussion of Bailes and Chapter 1, wherein the shunning of Mrs. Torres by Americans is discussed. Also, see, Cornelia Lichauco Fung, *Beneath the Banyan Tree: My Family Chronicles* (CBL Fung, 2009).

Philippine American Guardian Association, in recognition of the changing leadership of the organization. The organization exists today, except the group of expatriate Americans attempting to care for mixed-race children in the Philippines has dwindled, reflecting the post-independence reality of leaving Filipinos to handle the fallout of American occupation. While between 200,000 to over 500,000 Filipino Amerasians are now estimated to be living in the Philippines, and the narrative about this population now includes discussions of imperialism, little has been done in these past 100 years to institutionalize American responsibility.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Joseph M. Ahern, "Out of Sight, out of Mind: United States Immigration Law and Policy as Applied to Filipino-Amerasians." *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal* 1 (1992): 105; Robin S. Levi, "Legacies of War: The United States' Obligation Toward Amerasians." *Stanford Journal of International Law* 29 (1993 1992): 459; Elizabeth Kolby, "Moral Responsibility to Filipino Amerasians: Potential Immigration and Child Support Alternatives." *Asian Law Journal* 2 (1995): 61; Sandra Pollack Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus. *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia* (New York: New Press, 1993).

## CONCLUSION

### **“My Filipino Baby,” Absolution, and the Aftermath of an Imperial Romance**

In 1946, amidst waning U.S. involvement in World War II, a popular song entitled “My Filipino Baby” reached the number two spot on the American country music singles charts. Sung by Country Music Hall of Famer, Ernest Tubb, the lyrics reminisce about time spent in the Philippines with a special Filipina lady, and the sadness felt by American soldiers as they sailed away from the islands. As the lyrics describe,

“Many sailors’ hearts were filled with sad regret; / Looking backward to this  
Islands, / Where they spent such happy hours, / Making love to every pretty girl  
they met. / When up stepped a little sailor, / With his bright eyes all aglow, /  
Saying, ‘take a look at my gal’s photograph.’ Then the sailors gathered round  
him, / Just to look upon her face, / And he said, ‘I love my Filipino baby.’”

The many sailors who had been stationed in the Philippines, like the generation of Spanish and Philippine American war veterans who had been stationed in the Philippines over 40 years beforehand, had found Filipina babies of their own to love and then leave, no doubt a factor that influenced the popularity of the song at this particular moment in time. The American soldiers and others who listened to “My Filipino Baby” in the United States may not have known it, but they also shared the song in common with the previous generation of veterans from the Spanish and Philippine-American wars, as it was originally written in 1898.

Released as sheet music in 1898, and re-printed in 1899 and again in 1901, “My Filipino Baby,” turned interracial romance and overseas imperialism into parlor entertainment, just as the 1940’s version allowed veterans to take their romances with Filipinas back home with them in a

sanitized and a form.<sup>1</sup> Originally entitled “Ma Filipino Babe,” the original sheet music drew upon the blackface minstrel tradition, its lyrics similar to many popular “coon songs” of the time period.<sup>2</sup> The more obvious minstrelsy influenced parts of the 1898 version – such as the speaker being a “colored sailor lad” and the lyrics that describe “shiny faced” and “blackfaced” Filipinas – were removed or altered, reflecting a changing American self- image at a time when the United States was supposedly fighting fascism overseas. While the original song domesticized empire overseas using the comedic romance of two similarly matched undesirables (an African American sailor and a “blackfaced” Filipina), the made over song similarly used romance to commemorate tender feelings of time spent in the tropics. What both of these songs managed to do was to sanitize and misrepresent the reality of sexual relations that took place between Americans and Filipinos, relations that were exploitive, unequal, and rooted in imperial Filipino Baby,” the very imperial origins of the song, as well as its blackface minstrelsy template are erased as well, inserting instead the theme of romance and nostalgia.

The history and longevity of this song is demonstrative of what this dissertation as a whole has sought to show, namely, that realities of sexual intercourse in all of its various forms between Americans and Filipinos during the American colonial period could not only be managed, read, and imagined in whatever ways were most beneficial for the imperial enterprise, but that social and sexual relations between colonizer and colonized could be co-opted to signify a positive or “exceptional” U.S. – Philippines colonial relationship. Even the danger that interracial sexual intercourse could pose to U.S. colonial rule –by threatening imperial claims of racial or moral superiority - could be tempered by various means. By bringing a feminist critique

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas P. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines: American Songs of War And Love, 1898-1946, A Resource Guide* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> For more on blackface minstrelsy in the United States, see; Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

and analysis to the relations studied here, we can see how social and sexual intercourse could be reframed from dangerous to beneficial. This reframing or strategic maintenance effectively turned racism, imperialism, and exploitive relations into “romance” and intimacy, aiding in the maintenance of ideas of U.S. imperial exceptionalism and the longevity of the imperial presence in the islands, well after formal independence.

This idea that social and sexual interracial intercourse is a sign or symptom of positive racial relations – an idea that is contemporarily espoused by the ideologies of multiculturalism and neoliberalism, especially in discourses of mixed-race identity – is not a new one.<sup>3</sup> As this project has illustrated, the same type of logic that is currently being utilized to immortalize the landmark case of *Loving v. Virginia* as a national “Loving Day” holiday – the logic that interracial intercourse equals tolerance and equality – was used at the turn of the century to ensure the legitimacy and longevity of overseas American imperialism.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the hegemonic power of empire to reproduce itself without the formal structures of colonial rule is largely done through the debris of those imperial aspects commonly understood to have been “beneficial” or positive for the exploited country. Systems of education, sanitation, and other types of missionary work erected in the colonial Philippines, for example, could be deemed as examples of the benevolent intent of American colonizers. In the same way, most types of interracial intercourse could signify the same type of benevolent intent.

These supposedly good outcomes or aspects of American colonial rule in the Philippines have been shown by various scholars to have been not only largely unsuccessful imperial endeavors that failed to impart the promised benefits of western civilization, but were also

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<sup>3</sup> Such ideas of multiraciality have been invoked to abolish affirmative action in college admissions practices, for example. Former University of California Regent Ward Connerly, for example, Used ideas of multiraciality to decry affirmative action policies at the University. Ward Connerly, *Creating Equal: My Fight Against Racial Preferences* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2000) .

<sup>4</sup> See Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally* (2009), see also ; [www.lovingday.org](http://www.lovingday.org)



imbued with the same type of racist and selfish motive as the more expressly exploitive aspects of imperial rule. The veneer of being a good or positive outcome of imperialism can make these examples even more dangerous than their conspicuously negative counterparts in their ability to be less subjected to critical inquiry and the ease with which they can lend credence to the narrative of exceptionalism. Further, the relations examined here have an added degree of being complicit in this narrative in that they are interpersonal in nature, occurring outside of the more macro level or formal imperial structures that are more readily studied and identified as coming under colonial control.

As this project has shown through its examination of not only the sexual economy (an area more understood to be controllable under the auspices of colonial rule, and thereby already imbued with notions of exploitation) but a variety of relations more associated with freedom of choice and romance, colonial intercourse between Americans and Filipinos cannot be understood outside of the framework of imperial control. Indeed, individual choices about sexual intercourse were not necessarily free, as choices were made under the destabilizing and unequalizing forces of the imperial regime. For white and African American men alike, sexual desires for experimentation were answered by the conditions of imperial rule, all but guaranteeing access to colonial “wards.” For Filipino women, interracial sexual intercourse was often motivated not just by romance and sexual desire, but just as and perhaps more importantly, by very real considerations of financial necessity and how best to negotiate the shifting imperial terrain.

Ernest Tubbs “My Filipino Baby” and its continuing popularity is more than an example of the recycling of imperial tropes of romance. It is symptomatic of a disregard for the lives of Filipina women and their Amerasian children that are abandoned by the thousands by American servicemen and civilians alike. Even without the formal American ownership over military bases

such as the large naval base at Subic Bay in Olongapo City, Philippines, the reputation of the city as a “rest and recreation” haven for the military and sexual tourists alike continues. “Clients” looking for intercourse around this former U.S. base town now include not only Americans, but Koreans, Japanese, Europeans, and others looking for the reputed Filipino “hospitality.” The changing clientele of the sexual economy will further obscure its imperial origins and the role of the United States in its creation and maintenance, naturalizing further ideas of the sexual availability of Filipinas, and the idea that such problems can be understood within the simple framework of poverty or third world issues. With such a simplistic framework and understanding of these problems, lasting solutions will be elusive.

The situation for Filipino Amerasians in the Philippines has similarly changed and transformed since the colonial and commonwealth period, changes that have not necessarily improved the life chances of these individuals, nor addressed the root problem. As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, Filipino Amerasians were excluded from preferential immigrations legislation that would have allowed them to immigrate to the United States with a caretaker, if they chose to do so. Known as the “Amerasian Homecoming Act,” the preferential status was only applied to Amerasians from Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea (now Cambodia), and Thailand. As hundreds of thousands from around the Asia Pacific region applied to come to the United States under this new legislation, the Philippines was not only overlooked, it was forced to aid in the repatriation and “cultural education” of qualifying Amerasians on their way to America. Morong, Philippines, a province just north of Manila and quite close to Subic Bay naval base, was home to a “Philippine Refugee Processing Center,” or PRPC, which was essentially a cultural and language training site for people and families from the above listed nations who were approved for permanent settlement in the United States, Canada, or Europe.

The PRPC opened in the 1980's and could house up to 18,000 people at any one time. Historic imperial ties to the United States were utilized, as these processing centers utilized the English speaking Filipino population as middlemen laborers to provide residents with language training as well as instruction on American and other western cultures. As one of the only English speaking nations in the Asia Pacific region that also possessed various American cultural traits due to its colonial history, the Philippines was used as a middle ground for others on their way out of Southeast Asia. Filipinos and Filipino Amerasians, however, were more limited to the quote system of immigration. The use of the Philippines as in-between-point, or idle ground, also bolstered ideas that its population had not sustained violence at the hands of the American military, but was rather, a beneficiary of American tutelage.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, organizations such as the former American Guardian Association, currently known as the Philippine-American Guardian Association, continue to have complicated relations with America and the several American board members (including the current president, vice president and trustees) that continue to take leadership roles in the organization. For example, current beneficiaries of P.A.G.A. have participated in celebrations of American holidays such as Independence and Memorial day, which included a visit to the Manila American Cemetery and Memorial, which houses the graves of U.S. personnel killed during World War II. This type of inappropriate field trip that celebrates American holidays and romanticizes American heroes not only glosses over and absolves U.S. atrocities in the islands but is blatantly insensitive to the conditions under which most Amerasian children are born and abandoned. Rather than being offered a more realistic account of the relations between the United States and the Philippines, the beneficiaries of P.A.G.A. are given information about America that encourages patriotism

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<sup>5</sup> "Refugee Processing Center Keeps Welcoming Amerasians from Vietnam an Asian Ellis Island," The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 1992, accessed at [http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1992-03-29/news/1992089019\\_1\\_philippines-amerasian-children-refugee-processing](http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1992-03-29/news/1992089019_1_philippines-amerasian-children-refugee-processing).

rather than criticism, romance rather than anger. This indoctrination dangerously perpetuates the idea of benevolence and exceptionalism in Filipino minds, preventing anti-imperial critiques from the place that such critique might matter most, that is, the population that has supposedly benefited so greatly from American affection and magnanimity.

Little has been done to assuage or take responsibility for the conditions faced by the newer and older generations of Amerasians or American Mestizos who were left behind on the islands. American fathers, on the other hand, were able to live their lives in the United States, many with veteran pensions, unhampered by the presence of their mixed race offspring. Perhaps they even started new families that were legitimated through marriage, their children recognized as the legal inheritors of their possessions and resources as well as their American citizenship. For the descendants of colonists such as Beyer and Hartendorp-whose interracial marriages maintained or garnered positions of prominence and prestige for their families in the Philippines-interracial intercourse continues to inform their lives. In addition to the monetary resources that men like Beyer and Hartendorp were able to give to their families, they could also access American resources for their families that would have long lasting impacts, such as jobs for their children through oldtimer networks, dual citizenship, prominent schools, etc. In addition, growing up “Asian American” in the Philippines would have opened up opportunities for mixed race families that were inaccessible for other Filipinos. Also, and perhaps more importantly, many families with these types of history embrace this colonial ancestry, in many ways aiding to the persistence of the narrative of the United States – Philippines colonial romance.

By presenting this history of Filipino mestizos, “squaw men,” *queridas*, sexual and domestic violence, and interracial families, this project has attempted to deconstruct this “romance” to achieve a more nuanced and complete understanding of how interracial intercourse

has and continues to perpetuate an imperial relationship between the United States and the Philippines. Further, this inquiry has traced not only the long history of interracial intercourse, but has connected these histories to their imperial afterlives in the contemporary problems of sexual tourism and the sexual commodification of Filipina women. The United States once again looks to the Asia-Pacific region as a site of political and economic interest, hoping to concentrate its military presence in nations like the Philippines. Any possibility of more equitable and just relations between the imperial power and its former colony will depend on many factors, one factor being the United States' acknowledgement of and accountability for historical and contemporary sexual exploitation, tourism and violence. As I have shown, interracial intercourse will not likely be demonstrative of more equitable relations, but rather, both a continuing symptom and outcome of imperial racism, inequalities and injustice.

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## **Newspapers and Magazines**

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*The Cable-News American (Philippines)*

*The Philippine Farmer*

*The Philippines Free Press*

*The American Oldtimer*

*El Renacimiento (Philippines)*

*Graphic Magazine (Philippines)*

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*Philippine Magazine*

## **IRB Approved Interviews**

Interview with Henry Ngayawan Beyer, Grandson of H. Otley Beyer and Lingayu Beyer. Conducted June 21, 2012, Baguio, Philippines.

Interview with Ross Harper Alonso, Conducted July 27, 2012, Makati, Philippines.

Interview with Jesse Lichauco, Conducted April 21, 2012, Manila, Philippines.

## **Other Interviews Consulted**

University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies – Luce Interviews