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**BETWEEN CIVILIZING MISSION AND ETHNIC ASSIMILATION:  
RACIAL DISCOURSE, U.S. COLONIAL EDUCATION AND  
FILIPINO ETHNICITY, 1901-1946**

**by**

**Kimberly A. Alidio**

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(History)  
in The University of Michigan  
2001**

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project began as a seminar paper during my first year in graduate school, and, since then, I have racked up many debts to many people, near and far. Shortly after reading that first seminar paper, Richard Cándida Smith began to direct this dissertation with consummate insight and unflagging generosity. Our conversations made it possible for me to see cultural practice, narrative strategies, and the circulation of ideas as critical issues in understanding the workings of power, race and identity. The breadth of Richard's knowledge is equalled by the depth of his friendship and genuine interest in sharing intellectual inquiry. In various ways over the years, Susan Lee Johnson, Terry McDonald and Steve Sumida provided the bones of this project, and, with Amy Stillman, comprise a warm and supportive dissertation committee.

I lucked out in finding an encouraging and brilliant community at the University of Michigan. Many thanks to Tamar Barzel, Jason Chang, Paul Ching, Tom Guglielmo, Larry Hashima, Colin Johnson, Emily Lawsin, Nhi Lieu, Scott Kurashige, Toan Leung, Rama Mantena, Kate Masur, Gail Nomura, Dias Pradadidarma, Teresa Macedo Pool, Jeff Rangel, Parna Sengupta, Nikki Stanton, Jeanne Theoharis, Penny von Eschen, and Deling Weller. Coursework with Carol Karlsen, Rudolf Mrazek, George Sánchez and Ann Stoler led me to many of the ideas which I propose here. Javier Morillo-Alicea and our "1898" reading group skillfully critiqued earlier parts of the dissertation. The students in my "History of Filipinos in the U.S." class, especially Roseanne Magat and Catherine Ellingson, helped me to think through the connections between empire and identity. Anna Pegler Gordon, Nsenga Lee, Cindy Wu, Richard Kim and John McKiernan González invited me to join a dissertation writing group that has come as close to an ideal

intellectual community as I've ever encountered. Richard and John were the first people in graduate school who made any sense at all to me, and I continue to rely on them for their sense of humor, their penchant for gossip, and their drive to portray people of color as complex agents of history. For their indispensable, everyday presence in my life, I give thanks for Robin Li, Carla McKenzie and Grace Wang.

Outside the University of Michigan and beyond academia, I have been fortunate to share cultural work, scholarly interests and political endeavors with Karin Aguilar-San Juan, Desireena Almoradie, Nerissa Balce-Cortes, Rick Bonus, Janel Brooks, Lucy San Pablo Burns, Oscar Campomanes, Karin Candelaria, Cathy Chen, Kelli Covey, Kerri Covey, Theo Gonzalves, Clara Hiroshi Hatanaka, Charles Hawley, Rey Iletto, Fil Inocencio, Allan Isaac, J. Kehaulani Kauanui, Paul Kramer, JeeYeun Lee, Christine Lipat, Haruna Madono, Martin Manalansan, Rachel Mattson, Jason McGill, John Rosa, Wigan Salazar, Kelvin Santiago-Valles, kt shorb, and Benito Vergara. Veronica Boutelle, David Loftesness, Christine and Ketan Mayer-Patel gave me a wonderful home during a month-long research visit in Berkeley. Jee-Seon Frederickson and Janina Hagen did the same in Minneapolis, nearly convincing me to relocate to the Twin Cities. From my first years at Oberlin College, Camille Guerin-Gonzales and Anuradha Dingwaney Needham have been inspiring mentors; to become their colleague has made graduate school a worthwhile journey. Linda Nueva España Maram has a singular, indelible, and irreducible place in my life.

Many archivists and librarians guided me through dauntingly huge collections and located the needle in the haystack, particularly the staff at University of California's Bancroft Library, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Theological Seminary, the Cornell University Library, the National Archives and Records Administration II, and the University of Illinois at Chicago Reference Collections. It was a pleasure to return many times to the University of Chicago's Regenstein Library and the Bentley Library at the University of Michigan. Special thanks to Dagmar Getz at the Y.M.C.A. of the U.S.A.

Archives, Fe Susan Go at the University of Michigan's Southeast Asian Reference Library, and Tom Klug for sharing his knowledge of the INS archives. I carry a huge debt of gratitude to Estrella and Justo Alamar of the Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago.

I have received generous financial support from the University of Michigan History Program and the Horace H. Rackham Graduate School, as well as grants from the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. I am grateful to the patient and friendly Sheila Williams and Lorna Alstetter in the History Department.

This dissertation is dedicated to the late Felicidad Alidio, Turiano Alidio, Gregory Hunter and Ernesto Sison, and especially to my grandmother, Presentación Sison, who passed away while I was writing the final chapters. The Alidios, Cabalos, Centenos, Pangasnans and Sisons raised me on family stories which they told in three languages and frequently finished behind closed doors. In that sense, they gave me my first training in archival research. Thanks especially to Rosanna Pangasnan, Carlos Sison and Tomás Sison for commenting on chapter drafts. My brother Armand was my first confidante, and, over the course of this project, he and my sister-in-law Kae cheered me on without fail. Even when they were bemused by the lengthy process, Veniedo and Linda Alidio gave me moral and financial support during my entire graduate school career, as well as a quiet place to write in their home for a year and a half. Above all, I thank my parents for their love and faith. Lastly, my gratitude goes out to Barbara Malaran, partner in all my journeys.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Between Benevolent and Ethnic Assimilation**

We were the first American-schooled children. 1903. I remember when the Americans came. ... And then they established a school. At that time the first establishment was adult education. Most of our people are farmers, and so they go to the farm during the day so at night they go to night school. And then after a few months they start to gather the young children. I was one of the first Filipino students in the American school system. The teacher at the time, a woman educated in an English school ... taught reading. A big placard, and it said a boy and a girl with a picture, and then we learn that this is a boy, this is a girl. They taught us apples. They didn't teach us about our own. The first thing I remember is apple. You know, up until now I don't know the real words of "Yankee Doodle"? Because they taught us by rote, and by rote you know the sounds. ... And then they teach other songs ... for teaching numbers. ... In the beginning, no reading, no writing. And then "The Star-Spangled Banner." Those were the very first things we learned. Until now I remember it.<sup>1</sup>

In the late 1970s, the Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago (FAHSC) began to record the voices of a passing generation of Filipinos who worked and studied in pre-World War II America. The eight interviewees were active participants in Chicago's Filipino associational life since the early 1920s. FAHSC's efforts to create new historical sources were part of a broadly conceived program to educate Filipinos about the "first wave" of immigrants. Estrella and Justo Alamar, two second-generation Filipino Americans, co-founded FAHSC in association with the Seattle-based Filipino American National Historical Society, otherwise known as the Pinoy Archives. Professional

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<sup>1</sup> Estrella Alamar's interview with Melchora Alayu, undated, transcribed by Kimberly Alidio; Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago.

historians, such as Barbara Posadas, also supported the development of public history repositories.<sup>2</sup> By definition, these community projects sought to construct a collective memory that would unite diverse immigrant generations under the rubric of a “Filipino American” identity. Aimed at an audience of second- and third-generation immigrants, the oral histories described immigration, family-formation, work, residential segregation and community politics.

Melchora Alayu was one of those interviewed. After finishing her teaching degree in 1923, Alayu went to the U.S. to join her husband, who had been studying and working in Chicago for four years. Nearly sixty years later, Alayu sat down to an interview with Estrella Alamar, a co-founder of the Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago. Alamar referred to the identity conflicts among second-generation Filipinos who grew up in post-World War II Chicago. Which language did Alayu raise her children to speak, Alamar asked, and did she regard her children as Filipino or as American? Alayu conceded that, although she and her husband enjoyed speaking Visayan to recent arrivals from their home province, they chose to speak to their children in English. The question of language and cultural-ethnic identity prompted Alayu to relate memories of U.S. colonial education. Instead of directly answering the question of whether she saw her children as Filipino or American, Alayu related her own memories of learning English.

In doing so, she did not place the categories of “Filipino” and “American” in opposition to each other. The ambivalent role of U.S. culture and American teachers in her memory implied that the English language was not altogether alien to Philippine history, nor were Filipinos aliens when they moved to the United States. U.S. colonial public schools represented to Filipino children a mix of oppressive and liberating opportunities. The signified meaning behind the word “apple” remained shrouded. Similarly, Alayu learned to sing “Yankee Doodle Dandy” without knowing the words

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<sup>2</sup> Setting a research agenda for Filipino American History, Posadas encouraged further oral history projects, arguing that “only the old-timers’ history will provide a foundation on which the post-1965 immigrants’ history can be successfully written in the years to come.” Barbara M. Posadas, “At a Crossroad: Filipino American History and Old-Timers’ Generation” *Amerasia* 13: no. 1 (1986-87): 95.

behind the sounds. Knowledge was a border that separated Filipinos from Americans, but, at the same time, it bound them together in the acts of border-crossing. Identifying as one of “the first American-schooled children,” Alayu’s oral interview complicates the narrative of the construction of Filipino American ethnicity. Long before her relocation to the United States, she encountered Americans in the turn-of-the-century colonial classroom, in the process of learning elementary American vocabulary. Emphasizing how well she remembered her first lessons, Alayu emphasized the importance of U.S. colonial education for who she became. It was squarely within the internal structure of her subjectivity.

This dissertation posits that Filipinos experienced racial formation under two American racial discourses, one defining the colonial civilizing mission and the other setting the limits of ethnic assimilation.<sup>3</sup> The civilizing mission gave rise to modern dilemmas about race that the project of ethnic assimilation attempted to resolve. In the midst of a colonial war of conquest, how could American teachers transform Filipinos from subjects of a national liberation movement into consenting participants in the American-defined project of “progress” that had become global in scope? What role should professionals and progressives take in the colonial administration? More specifically, how should the U.S. state mobilize its middle-class professionals’ intellectual labor, cultural practices, and subjectivity for the ideological purpose of tutelage? The racial politics of immigration restriction raised these issues anew.

By looking at Filipino racial formation in both countries across nearly a half-century, this dissertation resurrects the thread between the civilizing mission and ethnic assimilation. In the United States, racialized representations of Filipino identity and community contained commentaries on the ability of American educational technologies to create progress. The narrow ratification in February 1899 of the Treaty of Paris, which

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<sup>3</sup> Matthew Jacobson has rightly noted that historians tend to view American empire as part of the “pre-modern” period of U.S. nation-formation, rather than as an ongoing project of the long twentieth century. He critiques the “broken narrative that ... obscures the extent to which the modern state was built, and modern nationalism generated, in close relation to the imperialist project.” Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1911* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).



included the annexation of the Philippines, occurred within a two-year span of Congressional and public debates in the U.S., and in the midst of a colonial war that lasted nearly a decade. Anti-imperialist groups argued the American Republic should not extend over peoples who were not citizens; in short, the Constitution should always follow the flag. For the most part, the mainstream opposition criticized formal colonial rule rather than expansionism itself. A consensus developed supporting economic and political expansion in the Pacific. Controlling the Philippines, as well as Hawai`i, was part of a goal of gaining access to Chinese markets and resources in competition with Japan and European countries: the islands provided military bases for U.S. Navy and coaling stations for American ships, both military and commercial. By formally colonizing the Philippines, the U.S. policy in Asia developed a new aggressive military presence that departed somewhat from its open-door approach, which sought to guarantee access to Chinese markets for all major world powers. Because U.S. educational and tutelage policies in the Philippines defined American colonization as democratizing and temporary, colonial policy-makers and administrators sought to mitigate Americans' anxieties about the U.S.'s increasing military and political entanglements with Europe and Japan for economic dominance in Asia.

To justify the imperial agendas for markets and military bases, early colonial administrators such as William H. Taft defined U.S. colonial rule as a measure to prepare Filipinos to lead a democratic and progressive sovereign nation. As long as the United States held the sovereignty of the Philippines in trust, public schools based on an American model were responsible for the ideological work of explaining colonial tutelage. During the Philippine-American War, the U.S. military began to teach English in occupied towns. After the official end of the war in 1902, the civil administration quickly adopted the military tactics of using literary instruction to dissuade ordinary Filipinos from joining the armed resistance of the Katipunan, the religious-nationalist organization that supported the short-lived Philippine Republic under Emilio Aguinaldo. Through the first decades of the twentieth century, public schools played an important role in the continuing effort to "pacify" provincial towns that sustained sporadic armed resistance against the U.S. colonial government.

Neither primary schools nor English literacy expanded to the extent that early American colonial administrators intended. Nevertheless, education provided the key racial and cultural narrative of progress that justified the American relation to Filipinos. Colonial education became the experimental arena for expanding progressivism across racial lines, and building a Philippine nation-state in the crucible of U.S. global expansionism. Progressive pedagogy, educational theory, and practice tested the power and capacity to transform societies and subjectivity. As such, the ideology of rule in the Philippines turned on the question of the true essence of the colonized, and the appropriate technology for imposing tutelage and discipline. The racialization of Filipinos signified the border across which American progressive visions expanded, while including the necessary restraint against collapsing the fundamental hierarchies and cultural differences that defined the colonizer against the colonized. As a product of political contestation and historical change in U.S. imperialism, Filipino racial representations were fractured and multiple, supporting Nicholas Dirks' persuasive argument that "colonial knowledge both enabled colonial conquest and was produced by it."<sup>4</sup>

While public schooling allowed the U.S. administration to suppress and co-opt Filipino nationalist and labor resistance, particularly after the Philippine-American War, colonial education also provided Filipinos with the tools to negotiate colonial relations. To trace the shift in racial thinking from colonial encounter to immigration restriction, it is important to understand that the civilizing mission was not merely imported to the Philippines and implemented in a "laboratory of modernity."<sup>5</sup> To create a Filipino civil

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<sup>4</sup> Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Scholars have excavated a rich culture of empire within the U.S. domestic sphere, ranging from consumerism, political cartoons, travel literature, worlds' fairs, male gender performance, and the intellectual currents of evolutionism and eugenics. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*; Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

service and professional leadership class, the U.S. public school system in the Philippines recruited American teachers and sent Filipino government scholars to obtain technical and professional training in the metropole. The colonial state encouraged government-sponsored scholars, or *pensionados*, to learn about democracy and civilization by pursuing extracurricular social relations with American people in the U.S. The demands of Philippine nationalism and the pressures of U.S. national interests sometimes overlapped and, at other times, created split allegiances. Filipino students' loyalty to the U.S. colonial state, particularly to its educational policies and rhetoric of democracy and modernization, expressed their allegiance to Philippine national development. In turn, they translated the tutelage contract into a set of claims and rights to move across racial and cultural borders in American society. Along with labor recruitment and the colonial political economy, education and the civilizing mission generated a two-way traffic of people and ideas between the Philippines and the United States.

During the first two decades of the twentieth-century, Filipinos were exempt from all legislation that restricted other Asian immigrants as "aliens," such as the 1917 and 1924 immigration acts. By the early 1920s, the *pensionado* program peaked, while two interrelated migrant streams were just on the rise: working students and agricultural contract labor. The Filipino civil service and professional classes in Manila viewed educational centers in the United States as sites for advancement, both personal and national. At the same time, the development of an agricultural export economy under U.S. rule displaced many Filipinos in the Philippine provinces, and stimulated migration within the islands and across the empire.<sup>6</sup> Taking advantage of Filipinos' status as nationals and their exemption from immigration restrictions, the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association (HSPA) recruited workers from economically impoverished regions of the Philippines. The HSPA halted recruitment in 1926, after labor migrations

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<sup>6</sup> Daniel F. Doeppers, *Manila, 1900-1941: Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, Monograph Series No. 27, 1984); Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley: University of California, 1984).

had become self-perpetuating.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the next decade, one-third of all Filipino migrants to the continental United States had first worked on Hawaiian plantations. By 1930, the U.S. Census counted 108,260 Filipinos in the mainland, Hawai`i, and Alaska. Replacing excluded Asian workers, the majority of Filipino migrants were young, single men who performed migrant manual labor in Pacific Coast agricultural industries and Alaskan fisheries.<sup>8</sup> As recent scholarship has shown, many Filipino men went to school in Los Angeles and Seattle, where they found jobs in domestic work and the service sector. They then participated in agricultural labor during the summer season.<sup>9</sup>

The American West, including Alaska and Hawai`i, drew the majority of Filipinos in the U.S. because of its agricultural industries. In the rest of the country, labor recruitment was only one of several transnational phenomena that stimulated Filipino migration to the U.S. In addition to capitalist expansionism, educational, diplomatic and military connections between the United States and the Philippines framed Filipino identities in America. Small communities in Brooklyn, New York, and Annapolis, Maryland, emerged from Filipinos' employment in shipyards and the U.S. Navy. A number of Filipinos became local and national leaders by working in civil organizations, such as the New York-based Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, in lower-level civil service positions in Chicago's post offices, and in political circles surrounding the Philippine Resident Commissioner's office in Washington, D.C. While a range of cultural and political networks also emerged on the West Coast, the diversity of

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<sup>7</sup> Miriam Sharma, "Labor Migration and Class Formation Among Filipinos in Hawaii, 1906-1946" in *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II*, ed. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 579-615; and Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora: Transnational Relations, Identities, and Communities* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998).

<sup>8</sup> H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (Boston: Twayne, 1977), p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Dorothy Bintang Fujita Rony, "'You Got to Move Like Hell': Trans-Pacific Colonialism and Filipina/o Seattle, 1919-1941" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1996); Linda Nueva España Maram, "Negotiating Identity: Youth, Gender, and Popular Culture in Los Angeles's Little Manila, 1920s-1940s" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996).

Filipino identities beyond those given by agricultural labor migration were more visible in the Midwest and East.

To a lesser extent, agricultural work did shape Filipino settlement patterns in the Midwest. For example, by the late 1920s, farms and canneries in Minnesota recruited Filipino workers from California. Many of these recruits circulated throughout the region, frequently returning to the major transportation hub of Chicago.<sup>10</sup> By the early 1920s, Chicago was an important center in university networks that linked the colony and the metropole, attracting both Filipino government scholars and working students. To fund their education, less privileged students occupied marginal positions in domestic work, the service industry and the factory contract-labor system. A select few became lower-level civil servants in the postal service and attendants on Pullman trains.<sup>11</sup> The temporary and part-time labor market was, in some ways, ideally suited for colonial students. The expanding market for service sector and domestic labor in Chicago encouraged students to migrate without government funding or high school degrees. Because of the tenuous combination of racialized labor markets and colonial education, Chicago provides a lens for understanding Filipino identities in America. There, the imperial educational project, rather than the demand for migrant labor, first shaped the formation of a Filipino community. Even still, the ideological relationship changed as Americans increasingly expressed a need to place Filipinos in a racial hierarchy internal to the U.S., one that threatened to erase distinctions between future Filipino national leaders and ordinary Filipino laborers.

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<sup>10</sup> Sarah R. Mason, "The Filipinos" in June D. Holmsquist, ed., *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981). For literary representations of Filipinos in the rural upper Midwest during World War II, see Bienvenido N. Santos, "Scent of Apples" and "Of Other Deaths" in *Scent of Apples: A Collection of Stories* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1992), pp. 21-29 and 75-81.

<sup>11</sup> In 1925, the Pullman Company, located near Chicago, created a special job category for Filipinos as attendants, cooks and bus boys on Pullman trains. By complicating the racial division of labor, the company displaced a significant number of black porters. Until the Depression, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. Philip Randolph's union, opposed Filipino "scab" labor. As it sought to organize Filipino workers in the late 1930s, the union largely failed to create a cross-racial workers' culture. Barbara M. Posadas, "The Hierarchy of Color and Psychological Adjustment in an Industrial Environment: Filipinos, the Pullman Company, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters" *Labor History* 23: no. 3 (Summer 1982): 349-373.

This study uses gender as one analytic category to illuminate the meanings attached to cross-racial and transnational practices.<sup>12</sup> The racial discourses of tutelage and ethnicity focused popular and scholarly attention on bodily conduct and comportment as well as intellectual development, while placing ideological weight upon Anglo-American and Filipino middle-class morality and domesticity. By the mid-1920s, most Filipinos migrants were young, single working men negotiating their transnational role in the modernization of the Philippines under U.S. colonial tutelage while experiencing the modernity of American urban working-class consumer culture. Anti-miscegenation discourse, pronounced in 1920s America, loomed over the relation of Filipino men and white women. Anxieties about purity had long generated doubts about the modernizing technology of colonial education. Anti-miscegenation and exclusionary ideologies raised the specter of improperly modernized Filipinos. By arguing that Filipino men possessed an inordinate sexual propensity for white American women, racial representations of primitive bestiality or over-civilized decadence increasingly implied that U.S. colonial tutelage had allowed Filipinos to violate the proper borders between the races.

The juncture of neo-colonialism and exclusion pressed Filipino residents to assert more strongly their cultural and historical claims on the United States. The end of American formal rule in the Philippines was forecast in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which was both the "Independence Act" and an immigrant restriction act that extended a fifty-per-year quota and alien status to new arrivals from the Islands. This act formalized alien exclusion only in the area of Filipino immigration, while prior residents retained their political status as nationals owing allegiance to the U.S. Nevertheless, the Tydings-McDuffie Act sanctioned existing anti-alien exclusionary measures that targeted Filipino residents on the state level, such as anti-miscegenation statutes, and stimulated the organization of anti-Filipino movements across the country. The advent of Filipino exclusion took place in the midst of an era which historian Mae Ngai calls the national

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<sup>12</sup> "Gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated. ... Concepts of power, though they may build on gender, are not always literally about gender itself." Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 45.

origins quota period, which began as the 1924 Immigration Act constructed the legal-cultural category of “Asiatic” as part of a complex national-racial hierarchy.<sup>13</sup>

By setting quotas, expanding alien legislation and sharpening the definitions of the legal category of whiteness, the racial discourse of this period recast the relationship between the foreign and the domestic. Filipinos’ national status was a point of contention by those who wanted to resolve the dilemmas of colonial tutelage: Americans who wanted to exclude Filipinos from the U.S. domestic sphere and Filipinos who longed for an independent nation. To differing degrees, both groups promoted Filipinos’ exclusion from the American domestic sphere as a measure to fulfill and support Philippine national sovereignty. Filipino residents in the U.S. found that their assimilation as American ethnics faced opposition from exclusionist forces within the U.S. and from the Philippines with nationalist demands for loyalty and return. Ethnic assimilation, as a path for gaining U.S. citizenship, was not a project that the colonial government, Philippine elites, or the racially segregated U.S. society made available to Filipino migrants.

To the degree that Filipinos participated in ethnic assimilation, it was a disciplinary project for assessing Filipinos’ sociological and cultural functions in and adaptation to American society. While their national and racial identities were deemed fluid enough to progress under U.S. colonial tutelage toward Philippine sovereignty, Filipinos’ adaptability and promise as a “racial” people did not make them good candidates for ethnic assimilation. To undergo ethnic assimilation and preparation for citizenship, Filipino residents had to transform themselves, or be transformed, into aliens who would no longer be subjects of the U.S. empire. Although they were clearly excluded from the legal categories of whiteness, and, moreover, ineligible to U.S. citizenship in most cases, their political status as nationals placed them outside the dialectic of alien and citizen.

To trace the complex historical process of forming Filipino ethnic identities in early twentieth-century America, this study builds upon the important questions that recent scholars have posed about the relationship among three intertwined movements:

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<sup>13</sup> Mae Ngai, “Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens: U.S. Immigration Policy and Racial Formation,

Asian American immigration, U.S. global expansionism, and American nation-building. Asian American immigration history have traced a dialectic of incorporation and exclusion. Asian experiences of racial, class and gender formations in America were part and parcel of the global movements of capital, militarization, culture, and politics. While scholars have emphasized American representations of Asians as politically alien and culturally foreign peoples, they also have noted that Americans viewed Asians as needed labor for capitalist expansion, as objects of progressive reform, and as partners in diplomatic rapprochement. In turn, this dissertation contends that Asian American historical identities developed in close connection with competing visions of American national development.<sup>14</sup> Various Asian immigrants highlight the different ways in which local communities and global exchanges were interdependent. Lisa Lowe, for example, has outlined three representative figures that “express distinct yet continuous formations in the genealogy of the racialization of Asian Americans: the Chinese as alien noncitizen, the American citizen of Japanese descent as racial enemy, and the American citizen of Filipino descent as simultaneously immigrant and colonized national.”<sup>15</sup> Because U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines and Filipino immigration to America overlapped during the early twentieth century, the study of Filipino identity raises a distinctive opportunity to analyze the connections between empire and ethnicity.

Focusing on Filipino identity illuminates, in particular, how U.S. nation-building was both a domestic and global process. Before significant numbers migrated to the U.S., Filipinos entered the historical process of American nation formation as colonized

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1924-1945” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> Recent scholars have theorized the dialectic of the “Asian” and the “American,” including how the construction of the difference between the Asian and the American was central concern in the making of whiteness and American nationality. See Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996) and David Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999). In U.S. immigration history, relevant works include Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues* and George J. Sánchez, “Race, Nation and Culture in Recent Immigration Studies” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18: no. 4 (Summer 1999): 66-84. According to the historian Gary Okihiro, the early vision of ethnic studies in the 1960s “propose[d] that the histories of all of America’s people were so intertwined that to leave out any group would result in sizable silences within the overall narrative. It noted a global dimension to the American experience, both in the imperial expansion of European peoples and in the incorporation of America’s ethnic minorities.” Gary Y. Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1994), p. 151.

<sup>15</sup> Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, p. 8.



subjects. As the U.S. conflict against Spain turned into the Philippine-American War, Americans remade their national identity in sharp contrast to Filipinos viewed as enemies of democracy and reform. On the other end of the spectrum, Americans represented some Filipinos as willing schoolchildren and rational collaborators; in doing so, they defined U.S. imperialism as a necessary and logical extension of their national progressive visions. The literary scholar Oscar Campomanes has contended that Americans' ideas of their national identity conflicted with their imperial acts in the Philippines, thereby leading to collective amnesia about the U.S. empire. In response the silences about Philippine colonization in the American historical imagination, Filipino American ethnic literature rejects the dominant trope of immigrant assimilation and instead asserts a post-colonial relationship to the U.S. nation.<sup>16</sup>

This study shows that U.S. nation-building was marked not by Americans' collective forgetting of imperialism but by ongoing debates about how empire fit into contemporary currents of American progressivism. A diverse number of communities and policy-makers were involved in such debates, which took place in local performances and encounters between Americans and Filipinos in the U.S.-occupied Philippines and in the immigrant American city. I examine the manuscripts of American educators, government reports on Filipino students, administrative papers on repatriation, Filipino newspapers and organizational records, ethnographic and legal sources on Filipino immigrants, oral histories, and autobiographical fiction. In addition, I analyze state documents from the Philippines and the United States, legal discourse, ethnography, organizational records, moral reform cases, and social science texts on "race development" and urbanization. This wide range of published and archived English-language sources draws from three distinct but overlapping archives: the American colonization of the Philippines, Filipino student migrations to the U.S., and Filipino community-building in Chicago.

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<sup>16</sup> Oscar V. Campomanes, "Filipinos in the United States and Their Literature of Exile" in Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Amy Ling, eds., *Reading the Literatures of Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

By analyzing how American colonial teachers and American sociologists both evaluated Filipinos as subjects of reform, this study connects the U.S. colonial administration to the academic study of immigration. The following chapters examine the progressive visions and efforts of several American educators, administrators and researchers: Harry and Mary Cole, two teachers in the turn-of-the-century Philippines; David Barrows, a colonial administrator, educator and ethnologist; and Paul Cressey, a sociological researcher from the University of Chicago. In their distinct historical contexts, each forged intellectual and social relationships with Filipinos and created a rich body of knowledge on the local performances of American progressivism, nationality, and imperialism. Their concepts of progress were associated with progressive-era reform agendas, social science theories of evolutionary development, and the regulatory powers of the U.S. nation-state.

The colonial teachers, administrator and urban sociologist who appear in this study demonstrate that early twentieth-century American progressives pursued their visions by becoming civil servants, bureaucrats, and researchers for the U.S. state, while, at the same, expressing ambivalence about the efficacy of federal-colonial administrative power to carry out progress. By linking themselves to the nation-state, the Coles, Barrows, and Cressey helped to establish national and transnational networks that would ostensibly spread across an increasingly “incorporated” America.<sup>17</sup> Because their progressive visions took shape in social and ideological relations with Filipinos, Americans used the concepts of race, gender, class, personal morality, and sexuality to articulate how their progressive projects would recast and mobilize the organization of power. While these historical actors spoke of reform as universal for all peoples across the nation and empire, their sense of the universal came out of their experiences of conflict and competing ideas within local arenas.

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<sup>17</sup> Kenneth Cmiel, “Destiny and Amnesia: The Vision of Modernity in Robert Wiebe’s *The Search for Order*” *Reviews in American History* 21: no. 2 (June 1993): 352-368.

This study notes how the cultural and political power of the U.S. nation-state depended upon decentralized endeavors in the local, private, and subjective realms.<sup>18</sup> No matter how ideological and public they were, the texts associated with colonial administration and immigrant restriction deployed subjective narrative strategies, such as the writer's personal testimony of crossing racial borders to "see" and "know" Filipinos at close range. Generating an extraordinary amount of debate from Filipinos and Americans alike, the ideology of colonial tutelage gave political significance and cultural visibility to cross-racial encounters in both the U.S. and in the Philippines. I argue that American progressive intellectuals vied with the U.S. state for the authority to regulate and reform Filipinos, whether in the areas of colonial, immigration, or urban policy. To contest the U.S. state's official ideologies about Filipinos, they asserted their experiential knowledges, social science research, and professional identities. For example, the sociologist Paul Cressey promoted the ambition to make social science theory universally applicable. He did so by focusing on Filipinos in several Chicago neighborhoods. Similarly, the Coles and Barrows based their progressive visions of change by exploring their identifications with specific regions in the U.S. and in the Philippines. In both cases, experience of the local provided Americans with the authority to merge the ideological and practical dimensions of social theory and policy.

The hierarchies between American researchers and Filipino subjects in the process of producing racial knowledges were far from rigid or inevitable. Filipino students and workers asserted cosmopolitan identities and gained access, in America, to urban educational networks that supported nation-building efforts in the Philippines. Filipino cosmopolitans defined their "world citizenship" as a progressive ideal that reconciled their overlapping loyalties to the U.S. and to the Philippines. Moreover, Filipinos activated their legal status as U.S. nationals through a cultural identification

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<sup>18</sup> My approach departs from historians who characterize American progressivism as an effort to neutralize racial difference, local regionalism, and political conflict. For example, Morton Keller has defined these as "counterforces" to progressivism. Similarly, Glenn A. May has contended that the progressive policies of U.S. colonial rule were incomplete and compromised by various anti-modern aspects of Philippine society, such as ethno-religious diversity, class fissures, political factionalism, and superstition. Morton Keller, *Regulating A New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America*,

with cosmopolitanism. Similar to Pacific peoples subject to direct colonial rule, such as Guamanians, Hawaiians, and Samoans, Filipinos experienced their incorporation into America by identifying with, or being forced to identify with the U.S nation, rather than with the U.S. state.<sup>19</sup> During debates about colonial and immigration policy, Filipino residents compared regional differences in expressing their loyalties and critiques of the “American people” and “American values.”<sup>20</sup>

My study focuses on Chicago as a site in which the expressions and experiences of local encounters constituted U.S. empire-building and nation-formation, as well as Filipino ethnicity. Filipino ethnic identity emerged as well in the course of disputes among Filipino migrants around national identity, sexuality, gender, class, urban space, and their political relationship to the American nation-state. Rather than growing out of either a common culture or shared political goals, ethnic community within the U.S. emerged in a process of contestation over the proper relationship of the local, the national, and the universal. By attending to the multiple meanings which Filipinos placed on educational pursuits, I explore the diverse cultural and intellectual strategies by which Filipinos asserted political agency and represented their identities and communities to a broader American public. Such strategies reflected the complex ways in which different Filipino migrants experienced U.S. colonial tutelage and saw themselves participating in Philippine nation-building.

The dilemmas of Filipino racial representation emerged in the wake of the Philippine-American War at the turn of the century. The first chapter, “‘When I Get Home, I Want to Forget’: Letters Home from Two American Teachers in the Occupied

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*1900-1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994); and Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980).

<sup>19</sup> Pacific peoples’ “identification with [American] national power and polity took place for the democratic subject not only in the ballot box and at the shopping mall, but, more variously, in the everyday and aesthetic practice of identifying with the sublimating energies of the nation.” Rob Wilson, *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Images of the Midwest became important to Filipinos’ conceptions of U.S. culture, supporting John Bodnar’s discussion of the “nationalization of midwestern culture” and the regional identifications of Midwestern patriotic commemorations. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 114.

**Philippines,” explores the contradictions between the imperialist ideology of U.S. colonial benevolence and American teachers’ subjective experiences of war and disease in the occupied territory from 1901 to 1904. As witnesses to the varieties of popular resistance, these two American teachers from Ann Arbor, Michigan, experienced the dilemmas of assessing Filipinos, as individuals and as a nationality with a distinct history and culture. In the process of delivering democracy to a non-Western people, colonial teachers put to the test the idea of the “modern.” The classification of Filipinos along a continuum of savage to civilized called for different modes of imperial discipline, whether punitive military campaigns against entire towns, or conversion to U.S. public schooling and centralized civil rule.**

**Chapter two, “Acquisition and Advancement: Race Development, Colonial Rule and Primary Schooling in the Philippines,” examines the work and writing of a turn-of-the-century educational administrator, David Barrows, who articulated the close link between colonial rule and the racial discourses of the civilizing mission. Barrows implemented educational policies, an English-language literacy curriculum, and an ambitious plan to build primary schools in every province and rural *barria* as the basis of an innovative, ostensibly non-exploitative, form of imperialism. As U.S. colonial policies increasingly recognized limited Filipino “home rule,” Barrows constructed two significant racial arguments in support of an American-controlled colonial state. Upholding the Anglo-American political superiority, he emphasized that Filipinos were incapable of governing themselves. At the same time, Barrows did not think that Filipinos were so “primitive” that they were destined to disappear. The Westernizing and Christianizing influences of colonial rule were beneficial for a “race” that was inquisitive but not advanced. To this end, the colonial administrator adapted psychologist G. Stanley Hall’s theory of “race development” as a central tenet of colonial tutelage.**

**The third chapter, entitled “Student Migrations: Racialized Bodies, Cosmopolitan Nationalism and the ‘New Filipino,’” moves to Chicago after World War I. The civilizing mission and the contract of colonial tutelage supported the education of a small, cosmopolitan elite who were to return to the Philippines after a temporary sojourn in the metropole. Through my research in student newspapers, government reports, and the records of the Filipino student committee of the YMCA, I show how Filipino students**

adapted and rewrote discourses of race development to redefine their relation to the U.S. First, students agitated for Philippine national sovereignty by asserting their civilized and gendered identities. Second, they forged a cosmopolitan student community, which I put into dialogue with Randolph Bourne's famous 1916 essay, "Trans-National America."

The formation of urban public culture around universities and local labor markets carries into chapter four, "*The Taxi-Dance Hall: The Chicago School of Sociology and the Invention of Filipino Ethnicity.*" Paul Cressey's ethnography of Filipino-dominated taxi-dance halls in interwar Chicago has been a key source of Filipino community life and social practices. In the process of rescuing second-generation, eastern- and southern-European women from employment in taxi dance halls, where they danced with men for ten cents at a time, the sociologist pursued a secondary interest in defining the cultural position of Filipino men within American society. By documenting Filipinos' relationships with white women in taxi dance halls, Cressey defined Filipino ethnicity not as a blueprint for assimilation into U.S. society, but as a descriptive warning of how Filipino modernization with the American city contradicted the hopes for Filipino advancement within American empire. The full archive of his research includes his 1925 ethnography, his 1929 masters' thesis, and his 1932 book, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*. Cressey's book largely supports the stereotype of working-class male bestiality that both U.S. legislators and Filipino nationalist elites deployed to advocate for immigration restriction. Yet his unpublished masters' thesis and research notes reveals his heavy reliance upon the intellectual and cultural labor of Filipino government students at the University of Chicago, as well as the broader community of students and workers in the city's districts. Subverting the relationship between the observer and the observed, Cressey's informants asserted that they were active collaborators, rather than passive objects, of his urban ethnography.

The final chapter, "The Question of Borders: Legal Discourses, Ethnic Space and the Filipino Community Center of Chicago," shows that Filipino ethnicity emerged in connection to the shifting boundaries between the U.S. and the Philippines during the neo-colonial era of exclusion, repatriation, and decolonization during the 1930s. I examine how Filipino residents constructed their ethnicity while responding to the rise of alien exclusion laws after the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. I focus on a Chicago

settlement house, the Filipino Community Center, where Filipinos reinterpreted the meanings of charity, benevolence, and tutelage in the neo-colonial era. As Filipinos' status of "owing allegiance to the U.S." came under attack by their inclusion with the racial categorization of alien and unassimilable "Asiatics," the Center negotiated the changing relationship of Filipino residents to the U.S. state. This chapter analyzes legal, cultural, and community constructions of racial identity in the context of Filipino residents' changing claims on the U.S. state. I propose that the Filipino Community Center, by seeking a wide range of resources for Filipino residents during the Depression, negotiated the unsettled jurisdictions of governmental administration. In doing so, the Center constituted a space of ethnicity, wedged between the disciplinary projects of the civilizing mission and ethnic assimilation.

As social theories, both Filipino ethnicization and U.S. colonial tutelage were projects that sought to adapt the contours of American progressivism for Filipino subjects. Progressive visions circulated among interrelated groups of Americans and Filipinos, thereby changing shape in relation to historical context and political concerns. After the formal independence of the Philippines in 1946, Filipinos quickly attained the right to U.S. citizenship, largely as a reward for their alliance in World War II. Reflecting their post-colonial condition, Filipino Americans defined their conceptions of ethnicity and U.S. citizenship within their continuing efforts to remake American ideas of progressivism, race and power.

**CHAPTER 1**  
**“When I Get Home, I Want To Forget”:**  
**Letters Home from Two American Teachers in the Occupied Philippines**

Introduction

While traveling from Manila to their teaching station at Palo, a Visayan town in eastern Leyte, Harry and Mary Cole quickly realized that the Philippine-American War had engulfed the neighboring island of Samar. On September 28, 1901, the teachers entered the San Juanico Strait dividing the two islands while an attack by Filipino townspeople and armed forces took American infantry by surprise in the west Samareño town of Balangiga. Harry Cole described to his mother the conditions greeting his arrival.

[P]robably while we were on the boat or perhaps a little later in the day, only six or seven miles away across the water, between forty and fifty of our men were being slaughtered. The company was surprised while at dinner, and nearly every one was killed. Now the next thing the Americans do is to send over a number of soldiers with orders to burn the towns, destroy everything which can sustain life, and kill every living thing, man, woman, child, and domestic animal.<sup>1</sup>

As he took note of the dire conditions following the attack, Cole learned that the entire population of Samar, for several weeks, had been confined to garrisoned towns along the coasts. The government had declared the policy necessary to protect the civilian Filipinos from “the enemy of the interior,” namely the forces led by Vicente Lukban, who

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<sup>1</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 20, 1901, Correspondence, October-November 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.



had been the island's governor during the short-lived Philippine Republic.<sup>2</sup> Despite the Americans' statements of goodwill, the reconcentrated people had endured forced labor, mass imprisonments and the seizure of food supplies. In retaliation, Lukban and the townspeople attacked one of the several American military units assigned to block the entry of supplies into the island.

By examining letters written home from a husband and wife from Ann Arbor, Michigan, who spent three years in the Philippines as school teachers, I will discuss the connections between an ongoing war of conquest and the articulation of an ideology of civil rule. From 1901 to 1904, the Coles narrated their experiences of teaching Filipinos in during the uneasy transition from military occupation to civil administration. In their search to recreate domestic comfort in the islands, they engaged in the subjective process of making Filipinos into proper objects of American programs of reform and rehabilitation.

The Coles' letters provide a counterpoint to the official discourse concerning the civilizational potential of Filipino subjects. As they spent more time in the Philippine town of Palo, the teachers' wrote eyewitness accounts that directly rivaled official accounts of Filipino racial character, particularly the harmonious social relations achieved in American public schools. While racial ideas framing the U.S. colonization of the Philippines have been examined to a considerable extent, civil servants' conversations about race have been less documented.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, historians have looked to colonial teachers' letters and memoirs as poignant examples of American imperial identities. In a brief discussion, Stanley Karnow notes that the Coles "lost heart" in their colonial tasks. Their personal despair, however, did not interfere with Mary Cole's optimism that America might still civilize Filipinos. The Coles' letters provide an interesting but minor

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<sup>2</sup> William H. Taft, "Report of the Philippine Commission [1901]," *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands, 1900-1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 131. For the narrative of the Samar campaign by American historians, see John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973) and Joseph L. Schott, *The Ordeal at Samar* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1964).

wrinkle in Karnow's controlling argument that teachers attempted to "atone for [imperial] brutality."<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to Karnow's approach, I investigate the ways in which teachers' correspondence explored the fissures between their subjective experiences and their imperial roles. Calling for a greater attention to the language of historical sources, Dominick LaCapra criticizes historians for reducing the multiple meanings emanating from an historical source. He points out that intellectual historians discuss their sources to illustrate what is already known about the larger context, rather than approaching the particularities of the text as central to the analysis.<sup>5</sup> As sources of American popular memory, the letters written by the teachers to their family and friends in Ann Arbor show that collective bonds were sustained between two small towns in the colony and in the metropole. The Coles exercised various strategies to traverse imperial space, particularly to transmit the colonial experience to the familiar locality for evaluation and thereby determine the "truths" of empire. Mary asked her relatives and community at home to help her define her role in the global stage of American empire. She rooted herself in the future and the far away: the moment of eventual return to Michigan. Assuming a manly cosmopolitanism in his letters, her husband Harry did not fare so well by the end of their stay. For him, distance from local and national communities had become a sentence of forced exile.

Rather than offering evidence of a naturalized difference between war and education, the Coles' letters suggest how American civil servants distinguished their professional and progressive beliefs from the acts of imperial pacification. Despite their shared conviction that Americans should practice humane military policies and patient pedagogy, the Coles ultimately represented Filipinos as unworthy of their full

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<sup>3</sup> Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989), p. 205; p. 196.

commitment to the civilizing mission. Filipino savagery became the explanation of the teachers' personal experience of the chaotic unknown, which threatened to annihilate their sense of place in the world. Refusing to subscribe to official ideologies of uplift, the teachers turned away from judging American imperialism as a whole.

### Universal education and guerrilla warfare

When over one hundred American teachers docked in Manila in late 1901, seventy-five percent of the archipelago had been pacified under the jurisdiction of Governor-General William H. Taft. The rest of the archipelago remained in a state of war that the military pursued largely independently of civilian oversight, and with open disregard for the human costs imposed upon those whom Taft professed to uplift. In the unpacified regions of the Visayan Islands and Luzon, the U.S. waged forced resettlement and depopulation campaigns, bombed civilian villages and restricted rice trade and cultivation. An American general estimated a death toll of 600,000 Filipinos in Luzon.<sup>6</sup> The U.S. military policies to cut off the lines of supply and communication in Samar targeted the political networks among the rural populace. In retaliation for the forty-five Americans killed at Balangiga, the U.S. strengthened their attack on guerrilla fighters. Before the attack, Samar and Leyte were islands separated not only by San Juanico Strait but by distinct administrations, military and civil. After September 1901, the military government created a new sector to join the two provinces under Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith. As the army marched into the interior in search of Lukban, it burned allegedly insurgent villages, causing thousands of Filipino deaths.

Smith ordered harsher measures to demand the consent of the colonized, commanding his troops to remain vigilant against any gestures of co-operation,

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<sup>5</sup> Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 23-71. For an opposing view, see David Harlan, "Intellectual History and the Return of Literature" *American Historical Review* 94: no. 3 (June 1989): 581-609.

<sup>6</sup> Luzviminda Francisco, "The First Vietnam: The Philippine American War, 1899-1902," in *The Philippines: End of an Illusion* (London: AREAS, 1973). Excerpted in Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Roskamm Shalom, eds., *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorships, and Resistance* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), pp. 8-19.

particularly on the part of the land-owning elite collaborators. A circular issued in 1901 defined the new treatment of Filipino subjects: "Every native, whether in arms or living in the pueblos or barrios will be regarded and treated as an enemy until he has conclusively shown that he is a friend. This he cannot be by mere words or promises, nor can it be done by aiding us in ways that do no material harm to the insurgents." Circulating the theory that duplicity was a guerrilla strategy of the resistance, the military tested allegiances by treating civilians found outside prescribed zones as public enemies.<sup>7</sup>

The struggle to control the civilian population with reconcentration policies reflected the current state of war. After the U.S. occupying forces had used political and military means to destroy the elite-led republican government established by Emilio Aguinaldo in 1898, the resistance decentralized command and used guerrilla tactics in the countryside where Americans were less familiar with the terrain. By 1901, however, most educated elites, or *ilustrados*, who had fought Aguinaldo's republican army gained control of municipal and provincial levels of government. At the same time, Taft's sedition law effectively outlawed open insurrection or signs of allegiance to the Katipunan, a secret society formed in 1896 against the Spanish regime, which was experiencing a revival. By the time the American teachers arrived in the islands, therefore, elite Filipinos cooperated with the new regime as a pragmatic measure for gaining national sovereignty. The U.S. civil government and most *ilustrado* leaders went after the remaining guerrilla units, which were then composed of the working class and peasantry.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to several regions in Luzon and the Visayas, Samar was one of the outposts of open insurrection. Such regions represented the close link between

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<sup>7</sup> Stuart Creighton Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 219-22.

<sup>8</sup> Glenn May contends that *ilustrados* utilized patron-client relations to recruit the peasant rank-and-file into resisting the Spanish and American regimes. Glenn A. May, *Battle for Batangas: A Philippine Province at War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993) and "Private Presher and Sergeant Vergara: The Underside of the Philippine-American War" in Peter Stanley, ed., *Re-appraising an Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984). In contrast, Reynaldo Ileto has argued that peasant movements stimulated and supported the Katipunan. Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Filipinos and their Revolution:*

insurrection and opposition to rationality, democracy and civilization. At least one U.S. historian has noted that Lukban, as governor of Samar, forged a necessary alliance with a peasant religious movement. While Lukban went on to become part of the more radical faction of postwar electoral politics, Samareño groups such as the *pulahanes* continued a pattern of revolt originating in the nineteenth-century.<sup>9</sup> Despite the government's plans of building industrial schools on the island, the U.S. military again occupied Samar in 1905, following a peasant uprising. The current director of education recognized the links between Lukban's forces and the present composition of the *pulahanes*.

The *pulajan* leaders represent to their followers that they are able by charms and *anting-antings* to protect them from the troops and not only this but that when they are apparently killed they will come to life again after three days. It is something of the same fanaticism that made this island notorious during the insurrection when General Jake Smith lost his reputation in trying to police it up.

Describing in a private letter the defeat of two constabulary units, the administrator advised further campaigns to "break the audacity of these savages."<sup>10</sup> The official's observation that peasants sought redemption after death refers to the significance of the Catholic *Pasyon*, the epic tale of Christ's passion and crucifixion, as a framework of political revolt. Reynaldo Ileto argues that peasants across the archipelago followed those capable of harnessing energy and power within their inner beings. In this animist conception of power, a person who had undergone self-discipline and sacrifice for the nation would be able to absorb the power concentrated in an amulet, or *anting-anting*, and such a person had the right to lead.

Based on his study of popular literature of southern Luzon, Ileto describes the ideal of *kalayaan* — loosely translated from the Tagalog as "liberty" — as a set of

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*Event, Discourse, and Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), pp. 218-237.

<sup>9</sup> Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Outlines of a Nonlinear Emplotment of Philippine History," in *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, ed. by Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> David P. Barrows to Henry Rolfe, June 24, 1905, Box 1, January-December 1905, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

religious, socioeconomic and political transformations that transcended the *ilustrado* goal of national sovereignty. In his view, peasant societies embraced religious and political visions of redemption, abundance and bliss that were to be gained through the shared experience of struggle. Tracing the *kalayaan* ideal from the mid-nineteenth-century peasant revolts against the Spanish, Ileto argues that alternative meanings of nationalism, independence and revolution inspired popular resistance that plagued the U.S. regime into the 1940s.<sup>11</sup> In this regard, elites and Americans deemed such peasant societies as disorderly and irrational. Writing in his memoirs about the attack at Balangiga that took place during his tenure, a former director of education explained that Samareños were in a “lower stage of civilization” than other Visayan peoples.<sup>12</sup>

In public records, officials postulated that the establishment of schools and other institutions of civil rule would undermine popular resistance. During the nineteenth-century, European empires drew upon technological advancement and scientific discoveries as universalized models for engineering civilization and modernity around the globe. Declaring that “civilization follows material development,” Taft described efforts to control vast national and ethnological terrains in the Philippines. Changes in production, urban development, transportation, public health and education were premised on Philippine moral uplift and rationalized social organization. Defining pacification as the first step of the civilizing mission, the Philippine Commission concluded that most Filipinos waged war for the freedoms that American rule could grant them by example and with close tutelage. In the civil government’s accounts, Lukban and other guerrilla leaders were merely outlaws, or *ladrones*, who coerced an otherwise peace-loving people into revolt. Responding to the uproar following Lukban’s attack, Governor-General Taft cautioned that regarding all Filipinos as potential enemies would disrupt “those feelings of friendship toward the Americans which have been growing

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<sup>11</sup> Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979), pp. 24-25. Most of Ileto’s research concerns Tagalog popular literature of Luzon. Building upon Benedict Anderson’s study of Javanese politics, Ileto broadly describes cultural theories of power in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia.

<sup>12</sup> Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston: Ginn & Co, 1905), p. 290.

stronger each day with the spread and development of civil government.”<sup>13</sup> While the military treated Filipinos as enemies, the civil government defined colonial subjects as willing students of American democracy and industry.

Secular public education played an important role against guerrilla warfare. To assume an educated and rational persona under American rule signified a critical distance from the Catholic faith, and certainly a rejection of faith-based millenarian movements among the working class and the peasantry. As late as 1903, the Superintendent of Education described the need for schools in rural areas: “These are the centers of ignorance, the resorts and recruiting ground for the *ladrones*, and they perpetuate the ignorance and poverty of the race, which has remained constant for three hundred years.”<sup>14</sup> The teachers were charged with undermining the irrational traits presumably inherent in the Filipino peasantry, such as superstitious fear and religious fanaticism, and explained their obedience to *insurrectos* like Lukban. Appeasing the Filipino Catholic hierarchy while promoting the principle of separating church and state, the colonial government outlawed religious instruction during the regular school hours in public school-buildings. Despite official ideology, American civil servants largely viewed Philippine Catholicism as a dubious form of religion. Teachers found that they had to compete with Catholic rituals, such as saints’ feast days, which frequently drew children away from school. In the month-and-a-half season of Lent that preceded Easter, the Coles reported that school attendance decreased by half. During Holy Week, when reenactments of the *Pasyon* most dominated Philippine life, the schools lost even more relevance to the townspeople. Mary wrote, “Our instructions were not to interfere with their religion, but are they always to spend the greater part of their time in conforming to the rule of such a belief?” Stating that Filipinos responded only to fear, Cole reported

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<sup>13</sup> William H. Taft, “Report of the Philippine Commission [1901],” p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> David P. Barrows, “Report of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction [1903],” *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands, 1900-1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 714. During the 1902-3 school year, the government counted 183, 845 Filipino children in attendance, taught by 2496 Filipino teachers and 7234 American teachers. William Walter Marquardt, Untitled

that Palo's mayor instituted a fine to compel the townspeople to attend her school.<sup>15</sup>

Winning the hearts and minds of the people through education was a policy adapted from military practice. Beginning in 1898, the U.S. military-run primary schools taught English in occupied towns. In the immediate post-war period, the Secretary of Public Instruction recognized that military teachers had exerted "a restraining influence to prevent [their students] from becoming active participants in a movement with which many [Filipinos] undoubtedly sympathized." The administrator characterized the Filipinos who favored American military schools as more educated and civilized than those who remained loyal to Aguinaldo's republic and the Katipunan. Reopening the schools "at least caused many of the better element among them to soberly inquire of themselves whether, after all, the U.S. might not have the welfare and well-being of the Filipino people very much at heart."<sup>16</sup>

By replacing the military occupation, colonial institutions such as schools and public health were promoted as rewards for those who submitted to American rule. The Bureau of Education offered to send to those barrios teachers who could build schoolhouses. Although observers admitted that the policy discriminated against poor regions, it provided a practical means of expanding the school system. Arguing that "necessary to the success of the new regime is the spirit of local initiative and local independence in economic affairs," the government was also able to determine political allegiances within local communities.<sup>17</sup> In the areas of active warfare, such as in Samar and other Visayan islands, there were approximately 25,000 students for every American

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document, Bound Volume: Letters 1901-06 and Articles 1919-21; Box 7, William Walter Marquardt Papers, Bentley Library, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan.

<sup>15</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, February 17, 1902, March 16, 1902, and March 24, 1902, Folder: January-March 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>16</sup> James F. Smith, "Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction [1903]," *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands, 1900-1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 690. See also David Gibbs, "Soldier Schools in the Philippines" *Outlook* 74 (May 30, 1903): 277-79.

<sup>17</sup> Bernard Moses, "Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction [1902]," *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands, 1900-1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 416.



teacher in 1902, whereas throughout the islands the ratio of American teachers to Filipino students was approximately one to 3500.<sup>18</sup>

The claims of the civil administration about Filipino friendliness and co-operation were based on collaborations with *ilustrados* to build a democratic nation-state, which would become independent in due time. As advocates of civil rule in the provinces, teachers encountered different sets of political relations. Compared to the peasantry in the neighboring barrios, the numbers of *ilustrados* within provincial towns such as Palo were small. At the forefront of establishing civil rule, the teachers feared the social and political landscape beyond the garrisoned towns. Because Balangiga's mayor, Pedro Abayan, had initially welcomed the American troops, the townspeople's attack confirmed for many civilian Americans that Filipinos were a deceitful people. A teacher stationed in Panay, a Visayan island to the east of Samar, recorded a widespread rumor that Lukban's troops were spreading throughout the region. While she never experienced peasant revolts at close range, she wrote that "the treachery of the natives had been demonstrated at Balangiga, and there was no certainty that the affair would not be repeated elsewhere."<sup>19</sup> As witnesses to the varieties of popular resistance, the Coles experienced the dilemma of assessing Filipinos as recipients of and resisters to U.S. imperialism: how were they to differentiate the traits of Filipino friendship from those of insurgent opposition?

### Imperial roles

Harry and Mary Cole opted for civil service in the Philippines because their respective occupations — University of Michigan chemistry professor and public school elementary teacher — did not provide enough for them to buy a house. To avoid draining the resources of their extended family, they joined the large contingent of Michigan teachers going to the Philippines in 1901. The emergent American middle-class shared many of the duties of carrying out the civilizing mission with civil servants

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<sup>18</sup> David P. Barrows, "Report of General Superintendent of Education [1903]," p. 720.

in European colonies. Anglo, largely Protestant, university-based professionals represented civil rule in the Philippines, often refashioning the tenets of American whiteness and nationality. As a place to forge middle-class identities, the occupied islands reconstituted Anglo-American masculinity through warfare and provided markets and resources for capitalist expansion. More generally, colonization constituted a state-sanctioned effort to construct cultural and technological models of development that defined Catholicism, feudalism and European empires as necessary parts of the past.<sup>20</sup>

University associations formed a web of institutional and informal networks that extended its reach to the Philippines. To appoint teachers, General Superintendent Fred W. Atkinson trusted the referrals of presidents from thirty-three universities, colleges, and normal schools. Six graduates of Harvard University, Atkinson's alma mater, joined colonial service. Cornell's president, James Schurman, who headed the first Philippine Commission in 1899, appointed six men and six women.<sup>21</sup> On the U.S.S. Thomas, two-thirds had college degrees and teaching experience. Teachers affiliated with the University of Michigan comprised the second largest group, after the University of California. Harry and Mary Cole were graduates who became professional instructors: Mary in secondary school education and Harry in the university's Chemistry Department. In August 1901, they attended a banquet in Manila with forty alumni and Philippine Commissioners Dean Worcester and Bernard Moses, who were former professors. By 1903, Harry noticed that three more professors left the University for posts in the

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<sup>19</sup> Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912), p. 185.

<sup>20</sup> In her study of liberal-developmentalism and the state in American foreign policy, Emily Rosenberg notes that middle-class liberal ideas of prosperity and modernization were rooted in Protestant Christian evangelism. Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> "Harvard men to teach Filipinos," *New York Times*, June 4, 1901, p. 5, col. 5; "Cornell men to teach Filipinos," *New York Times*, June 23, 1901, p. 5, col. 3. Professional networks for public school teachers and administrators emerged from universities such as Harvard and Stanford. See David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982), p. 140-41.

educational bureaucracy.<sup>22</sup> The Ann Arbor professional community sustained ties during transport and in American communities in Philippine towns.<sup>23</sup>

Colonial education settled professional Americans in towns and barrios under the jurisdiction of Bureau of Education. In 1900, the first two military transport ships carried under one hundred teachers; in 1901, the most documented transport, the U.S.S. Thomas, arrived in Manila with 523. After landing in Manila, teachers were given their assignments in a random fashion, except that women were assigned mostly to well-populated towns. While not permanent, settlement was a three-year commitment for superintendents and teachers to build schools, teach, and live among Filipinos.

In its first year, the Bureau of Education focused all of its resources and personnel on the task of creating an English-speaking student body. American teachers, who were sent to the Philippines for this purpose, recruited newly literate students to teach others. The agency aimed to eradicate illiteracy by spreading English language skills within a span of a decade. The first school superintendent wrote, "it may be perhaps difficult to change the fundamental ideas of a race, but it is not very difficult, under proper circumstance rendered permanent for a considerable period, for children of one nation in the process of growth to manhood to acquire a complete practical knowledge of the language of a foreign race." As English-speaking students spread the benefits of the American regime to their homes and communities, schools were to produce a different kind of Filipino: a new racial type and a political ally.<sup>24</sup>

The science and art of race development entailed a gradual process of introducing civilized virtues and then allowing those virtues to become inherited traits. During the Victorian era, concepts of biology and culture were intertwined in prevailing ideas of

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<sup>22</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, August 23, 1901, Correspondence, August-September 1901; Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 24, 1903, Correspondence, 1903, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>23</sup> Ronald P. Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas, July 32 to August 21, 1901* (n.p., [1901]).

<sup>24</sup> Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 17. Bernard Moses, "Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction" in *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands (1900-1903)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 413.

race. To explain the racialized development from savagery to civilization, writers drew upon both metaphorical and scientific comparisons between non-white peoples and children. Lamarckian theory held that the evolutionary change took many generations because racially backward people were genetically indisposed to civilized characteristics, such as manliness. In the initial period of colonization, American writers observed that the “Malay” character of the turn of the century was not completely “civilized” by Spanish colonization.<sup>25</sup> A colonial teacher wrote positively about Filipino potential, yet “there were generations of subjugation and superstition behind them, the results of which would not be overcome in a day.”<sup>26</sup>

Educators argued that they could introduce a democratic spirit through the dissemination of intellectual skills, and students could pass this trait to successive generations. Such claims rested upon a theory of genetic heredity as well as a confidence in the power of civil society’s institutions to discipline and to educate the populace over time. Administrators asserted that an ambitious race such as Filipinos could acquire intellectual skills rapidly and set the foundation for civil society. In 1908 Governor-General Taft wrote that the difference between cultured *ilustrado* class and the “ignorant” peasant could be erased within one generation under public schools.<sup>27</sup> By raising a new generation, colonial teachers would create the foundations for a new species of moral personality.

Defining an idealized partnership within the teleology of progress, the ideology of colonial tutelage revealed that American-Filipino relations should ideally resemble the relationship between teachers and students. In this professional-client model, the American must be able to assess the potential in the Filipino and then efficiently act upon

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<sup>25</sup> E. W. Kemmerer, “The Progress of the Filipino People Toward Self-Government,” *Political Science Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (March 1908): 49-50.

<sup>26</sup> Marius John, *Philippine Saga* (New York: House of Field, 1940), p. 115. After 1900, scientists explored new theories of human evolution through genetic mutation, rather than by the inheritance of acquired traits. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> United States War Department, *Special Report of William H. Taft to the President of the Philippines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 26. Excerpted in Bonifacio S.

such knowledge. Officials directed teachers to use professionalized management to gauge the assimilation of Filipinos into rational thought structures. In contemporary newspapers, American teachers appeared as alternative “armies,” a designation echoed in later historical narratives.<sup>28</sup> Implicitly, the teacher must engage in an internal struggle to empower his or her rational potential. As a 1907 colonial teacher’s manual suggested, “The pupils do not need to understand the exact reason for every order which is given by the teacher. All they need is to feel that the teacher knows best, and that he is always reasonable and just.”<sup>29</sup> To facilitate this partnership, the American must call forth his or her own progressive beliefs.

In their letters, the Coles reinterpreted their imperial roles in light of their experiences. To justify colonial policies to such citizens as the Coles meant an emphasis on practicing progressive reform abroad in the colonial sphere that was not to be enormously problematic or traumatic. The Bureau of Education promised that their transition to the colony would be relatively painless and buffeted by amenities that were to provide not luxury but American status: plentiful, familiar food, a high salary, and guaranteed safety. Colonial teachers instead encountered an infrastructure that neither met their needs nor protected them from epidemics and war. In the nascent period of civil administration, American teachers were frequently disillusioned by the disorganized educational bureaucracy, insufficient school buildings, and the irregular attendance of children during harvest season and Catholic holidays.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, the Coles adapted bureaucratic formulas to reassure their family of their safety, noting in particular that a small garrison of fifteen men resided in Palo. “We are in the largest and best town in

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Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1968), p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of An American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in the Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1906), p. 137. “Army of American Teachers Sails for the Philippines: Second Brigade Moves on to a Great Campaign of Education,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 24, 1901): 12.

<sup>29</sup> H.C. Theobald, *The Filipino Teacher’s Manual* (New York: World Book Co., 1907), p. 49. See also Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).

Leyte,” Mary proclaimed. As befitting a major town, the two-floor school was a model structure that drew 669 pupils in the first year and 700 in the next. With two other Americans, the Coles divided their duties, which included teaching night school to Filipino instructors.<sup>31</sup>

In the early stage of their colonial careers, the Coles were aware that their protection from the ongoing war was provisional. Because Palo’s mayor and population were reputed to be loyal to the colonial government, Harry stated that the threat of peasant revolts lay no closer than Leyte’s mountainous interior. He wrote in his letters that the barrios surrounding Palo would give Americans sufficient warning of rebellion coming from the countryside. Ensclosed in a rented house built especially for American teachers, Mary wrote to her mother, “Everything is very peaceful and quiet about our place and we are getting along very nicely. I am not afraid over here and don’t worry about us. We’re all right. Although the soldiers are still fighting in Samar it effects Leyte very little.”<sup>32</sup> Mary’s journal entries, however, suggested her underlying fear of that violence would reach Palo in the aftermath of Lukban’s attack. Anticipating the transition to civil government in late 1901, Mary pledged in her diary that she and her husband should follow the withdrawing American troops. She suspected Palo’s mayor of sending rice to the guerrilla forces, and therefore refused to give music lessons to his daughter. Cole wrote her family, however, that she remained hopeful because large garrisons remained to their north and south. By Thanksgiving, she celebrated that “no *insurrectos* have come.”<sup>33</sup> Qualifying the security of living in a large and pacified town,

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<sup>30</sup> Theodore De Laguna, “Education in the Philippines” *Gunton’s Magazine* (March 1903): 220-230.

<sup>31</sup> Mary S. Cole to Della Scott, October 3, 1901; Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 20, 1901, Correspondence: October-November 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>32</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 20, 1901; Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, January 26, 1902, Correspondence, January-March 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>33</sup> Mary S. Cole, October 26, 1901, October 24, 1901, and November 5, 1901, Diary; Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, December 9, 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Harry Cole stated he could not wholly trust the Filipino people. He measured his lot against that of the civil administrators, who, because they “need not fear anything” in the capitol, represented Filipinos as allies in social progress.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast to high-ranking officials, the Coles described how their lives were inextricably intertwined with wartime measurements of loyalty and opposition. In one of his more lighthearted letters, Harry recounted a colorful colonial tale:

While fishing the natives would catch a fish, pick it up and look it over and down its mouth and say, ‘Are you from Samar or Leyte?’ ‘You are from Samar, an *insurrecto* fish, so back you must go into the water,’ or ‘You are from Leyte, *Americanisto*, you are a good fish, so I will keep you.’ So the fish we eat now I suppose are all loyal to our government.<sup>35</sup>

Several months after the Coles’ arrival, the garrison in Samar attempted to starve suspected insurgents by restricting the sale of rice and fishing rights on Leyte. The military ordered that anyone within three miles of the Leyte coast would be shot on sight. By early 1902, a complex of disease, famine, and war created problems all over the country, in which the upper classes, ethnic Chinese, and well-situated Americans had the greatest access to medical care, food rations and safe havens.

In January, American troops arrested Palo’s mayor and a Chinese merchant and took them to Catbalogan, Samar’s capital. In the search of conspirators the American military imprisoned, tortured, and sometimes executed mayors from suspected towns in the region.<sup>36</sup> In their efforts to intervene, the Coles discovered the varieties of torture involved in pacification. Horrified by the acts performed in the name of the United States, Harry Cole took action on behalf of the families and communities of the detained. Taking many trips to the capital in search of information, he acted as liaison between Palo and civil authorities. Mary was particularly mesmerized by the bruises and scars of released prisoners and described them in detail:

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<sup>34</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 20, 1901.

<sup>35</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 20, 1901.

As he told of the cruelty with which he had been treated I felt disgraced. They pounded him over the head with bottles, striking his shaven spot because he was a padre. We saw the great sores they made. His neck was very sore, showing where ropes had been, also on his wrists and ankles. He would be drawn up by ropes and then let down with a thud, bruising his body dreadfully. There are great sores all over his body. They tied his hands and feet, then filled him with water and then jumped on him with their feet. They also cut the chord under his tongue and he was given nothing to eat. Wouldn't such treatment make *insurrectos* of anybody.<sup>37</sup>

Cole's fascination with the military's handiwork upon the Filipino body was part of her process of comprehending the possibilities of American power in the colony. She often returned to the procedures of torture in subsequent letters and diary entries. Inviting her Ann Arbor readers to inhabit the category of "*insurrecto*" was a highly inflammatory gesture that signaled her rejection of systematized intimidation. Cole cast blame with the military for actions that were morally and strategically wrong: "If [Filipinos] were to judge the American people as a race from the soldiers, they must surely think we are their inferiors."<sup>38</sup>

Similarly, Harry described Filipinos as caught between the punishments of the United States military and demands of the Filipino insurgents. In a letter to Secretary of Interior Dean Worcester, Cole spoke for the Filipinos of Palo: "To say that they are frightened is but putting it mildly. I have seen them almost swoon from sheer terror. I have heard them talk about fleeing to the mountains, but they say they can not for then the *insurrectos* will kill them; they are afraid to stay here for fear of the American soldiers."<sup>39</sup> Invoking all of the responsibilities given to school teachers by official literature, he was obligated to tell the "truth" about military intimidation and gladly took

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<sup>36</sup> Stuart Creighton Miller, "*Benevolent Assimilation*", pp. 225-6.

<sup>37</sup> Mary S. Cole, January 20, 1902, Diary, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>38</sup> Mary S. Cole, January 20, 1902.

<sup>39</sup> Harry N. Cole to Dean C. Worcester, January 10, 1902, Correspondence, January-March 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.



it upon himself to write to colonial officials on behalf of his Filipino “charges.” In the narrative addressed to the political world, Cole embodied beneficence and rationality and spoke as the conscience of the colonial project: “I am not pleading for [Palo’s mayor] alone, but it is the entire people here; and more than this the integrity and faithfulness of the American people. The people here say they are without hope now, except they seem glad to have us here; for they say that we are all they have now to give them hope.”<sup>40</sup> The Worcester letter makes use of the ideological centrality of school teachers to pressure the Secretary of Interior to maintain American ideals in the colony.

Evident in his letters home are such moments in which Filipinos in the immediate vicinity appear depoliticized and in need of his paternal care. In these moments, the Coles sought to intervene as non-military personnel who represented the best of Anglo-American civilization. In contrast to the military, colonial teachers ideally sought obedience not by exerting brute force or by emphasizing superiority but by convincing students of the rightness of rational living. Mary Cole attempted to break habits of whispering, spitting, allowing livestock in the classroom, and studying out loud. “I told them partly in English, partly in Spanish, and partly in Visayan that it was not the custom in America for the children to do such and that I should like to have them do as American children.”<sup>41</sup> The teacher’s character and rational set of rules constituted classroom order. Because she maintained such order, Cole declared that she never found reason to discipline her students physically. Teachers who used corporal punishment, she argued, incorrectly assessed the potential of their colonial wards: “They should have known that [students] could not quit in a day a habit of years.”<sup>42</sup>

### A space apart

The question of pacification and policy remained unresolved in either the

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<sup>40</sup> Harry N. Cole to Dean C. Worcester, January 10, 1902.

<sup>41</sup> Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, October 15, 1901, Correspondence, October-December 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>42</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, February 9, 1902, Correspondence, January-March 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

metropole or the colony. Outrage arose in the United States to call for the court-martial of Brigadier-General Smith for the Samar campaign. In January 28, 1902, the Senate Committee on the Philippines began closed hearings about military tactics of counterinsurgency. Using testimony given by soldiers who had practiced torture, the Senate debated the meaning of civilized warfare. From Palo, Harry Cole argued with his family along similar lines. Cole sought to disprove the official stories issued to the United States from the colony, charging that reports about the military campaigns were “fixed up and whitewashed.” Some family members resisted these narratives and prompted Cole to accuse, “You think I must be mistaken concerning the orders for killing everything in Samar. It is true that I am mistaken if you take reports that reach the U.S., but nobody in the U.S. knows what is going on here.”<sup>43</sup>

In their minds, the Coles’ personal correspondence occupied a space set apart from the politically-charged climate in which newspaper editors and politicians discussed the economic and moral rationales for retaining a non-contiguous territory. The teachers who published memoirs about their colonial experience, however, clearly sought to influence public opinion and national memory. William Freer, in the preface to his 1906 account, declared that he “trusts that the perusal of the following pages will result in a stronger conviction of the unwisdom of granting any greater degree of self-government.”<sup>44</sup> Suggesting that her readers give “pause to give a tender thought to the land which most Americans revile when they are in it, but which they sentimentally regret when they have left it,” Mary Fee indicated how her published memoir was shaped by the goals of commemorating colonial public schools.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, Mary Cole explicitly distinguished her letters from teachers’ literature intended for broad consumption. “Under no condition are you to publish any of my letters, for they are not written in any style for publication; no paragraphs have I

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<sup>43</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, March 16, 1902, Correspondence, January-March 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>44</sup> William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of An American Teacher*.

<sup>45</sup> Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, pp. 43-44.

made so as to save space. Things are jotted down just as they come to me without system or form and people might think they were written for publication and criticize. It isn't written in any kind of style, and I'm ashamed of it, it is so stupid in places and I know that those who read it will not criticize it."<sup>46</sup> Asking that her mother circulate her letters among women friends and relatives, Cole trusted that her selected audience would not find fault with her lack of writing "style."<sup>47</sup> I have chosen to violate Mary Coles' wish to keep her letters private because teachers' personal correspondence lends important clues about the production of selective memory of empire among Americans. In several ways, Harry and Mary Cole saw themselves as distanced from the official imperial project. As aspirants to middle-class living, they entered colonial service as an initial stage of their professional careers. Mary Cole's correspondence shows that she kept her sights firmly on Ann Arbor; she emphasized that her Philippine experience was to provide the financial opportunity to purchase a house.

Receiving and sending mail was of primary importance to Cole throughout her teaching career in the Philippines. As a regular mode of contact with their hometown, letter-writing was a way in which Cole and her husband explored their investments in the new American colony. A strong longing for home in her letters oriented Cole towards the familiar as she experienced initial disorientation and cultural confusion. Missing not only individual family members, Cole regularly projected herself into her memory of Ann Arbor (and less frequently, the United States) during the changing seasons and holidays. In 1901 she wrote to her family, "Although we cannot be with you in person, we are there in spirit and thought, for we can travel through space in that form at least."<sup>48</sup> The letter excerpted above initiated the intimate and lively conversations that enabled Cole to establish narratively her position as a mediator between Filipinos and ordinary Americans back home. More material exchanges were fabric samples folded into letters:

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<sup>46</sup> Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, September 17, 1901, Correspondence, August-September 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>47</sup> Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, July 22, 1901, Correspondence, July 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>48</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, August 23, 1901

having received a handkerchief from home, Cole sent cloth made from pineapple fibers for her mother and neighbors to evaluate.<sup>49</sup> After making a dress out of the gauzy material, she asked her folks to imagine her in the “Filipino waist,” among “pickaninnies” in the Visayan town. As her family touched the cloth, they were asked to imagine it against her skin: “I am getting so freckled and brown that it will be hard to tell me from a Filipino pretty soon.”<sup>50</sup>

As her letters demonstrate, Mary strongly identified with their local communities: what was most important to her psychological survival in the colonies was affirmation from her friends and family in Ann Arbor, rather than accordance with the imperial administration. In many of their letters from the Philippines, both Mary and her husband expressed loyalty to region as a way to remove themselves from the national imperatives of expansionism. Even in the midst of the U.S. war of conquest against the Philippine armed national forces, the Coles attempted to wield the colonial gaze without being accountable. For them, the ravages of disease and war upon Filipinos complicated their tasks as teachers and, at the very least, served as colorful tales from the colony. In sum, professional and regional identities allowed teachers such as the Coles to depoliticize their careers in the Philippines.

The manner in which civil servants tried to shield their narrated experiences from the politics of conquest suggests how Americans generally tend to exempt themselves from the era of high imperialism at the turn of the century. In canonical texts, U.S. historians have explained Western interventions in Asian political economies as the search for economic and cultural resolutions for domestic anxieties. By representing the Philippines as a temporary outlet for exported goods and cultural conflicts, these historians emphasize that colonization was performed under duress, and constituted an aberrant episode in nation-building.<sup>51</sup> As civil servants responsible for identifying U.S.

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<sup>49</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, September 17, 1901.

<sup>50</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, August 23, 1901.

<sup>51</sup> The explanation of American expansionism as a result of late-nineteenth century cultural anxieties is discussed by Richard Hofstadter, “Manifest Destiny and the Philippines” in Theodore P.

imperialism with a benevolent and rational project of public schooling, colonial teachers, however, remind us of how the colonization of the Philippines was intricately interwoven into American civil society.

Domesticity framed many American expansionist maneuvers in the late nineteenth century. It served as an institution to be created in the homes of the conquered as well as a justification for civilizing missions overseas. American imperial endeavors intertwined with the emergence of Anglo women's moral authority in U.S. culture. Within institutional networks, white women established their presence in professional life, comprising approximately half of the student population at major universities in turn-of-the-century United States. Historians have discussed the shifting ideas of femininity, particularly how feminine nurturing both hindered and helped white women engage with scientific technologies.<sup>52</sup>

As married women increasingly entered the work force, they shared with their husbands the practical and ideological tasks of colonial service. In some sparsely populated towns, husbands acted as traveling barrio supervisors while their wives taught secondary and high school classes. For an Anglo-American woman, whether single or married, a colonial career could advance social power and authority, or, at the very least, bring her unprecedented recognition. In her first month of teaching, Cole wrote, "I never was noticed at home, but here I draw as much attention as Barnum's circus. I am simply stared at all the time, and often crowds of women and children gather in front of the house."<sup>53</sup> In reward for such attention, Cole extended her domestic realm by teaching Filipinas how to bake cakes.<sup>54</sup>

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Greene, ed., *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American Civilization* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1955), p. 54-70.

<sup>52</sup> Regina Morantz-Sánchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>53</sup> Mary S. Cole to J.E. Scott, October 3, 1901, Correspondence, October-November 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>54</sup> Anglo-Protestant women participated in American expansionism by invoking their Victorian moral influence. See Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For an analysis of racial and middle-class privileges of domesticity in the occupied Philippines, see Vicente L. Rafael, "Colonial

More broadly, domestic ideology involved the delineation of boundaries between the familiar and the strange.<sup>55</sup> Although the Philippines was never imagined to be a colony for American immigration and settlement, a significant number of civil servants forged long careers there. Two teachers who made the islands their home for many decades chose to perform their marriage ceremony at the Coles' house in Palo. As inhabitants of one of the larger towns in Leyte, the Coles often housed visiting American soldiers and administrators. Both Mary and Harry found their company to be a welcome respite, especially after the withdrawal of U.S. troops left the teachers as the sole Americans in Palo. In contrast to the published accounts of teachers charmed by their students, the Coles did not express much paternal affection for the local population. Their preoccupation, instead, was establishing a haven apart from their colonial duties.<sup>56</sup>

Establishing a domestic sphere within the colony, however, constituted one of Anglo-American women teachers' most important imperial tasks. Noting that one-fourth of the teachers on her transport were women, Cole wrote that "there is a large number of young girls who have known nothing but ease and comfort all their lives who will not find things as they are at home and who will get homesick of course." In contrast, she was "determined that we shall keep well and happy and not get homesick even if we do live back in the days of our grandfathers' part of the time. I made up my mind before we started that we must like it here whether or no."<sup>57</sup> Through her letters and exchanges of small, household gifts and gossip, Cole labored to maintain daily connections between the home that she left in Ann Arbor and the home she was keeping in Palo. Her job of maintaining the illusions of safety and distance from the colonial warfare engulfing the Visayan Islands freed Harry to remove himself politically from the imperial project. This interdependence was a crucial strategy for the Coles during their three year stay in Leyte.

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Domesticity: White Women and United States Rule in the Philippines" *American Literature* 67: no. 4 (December 1995): 639-66.

<sup>55</sup> Vicente L. Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity."

<sup>56</sup> Examples include Marius John, *Philippine Saga*, and William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of An American Teacher*.

<sup>57</sup> Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, August 23, 1901.

Their correspondence reveals that husband and wife worked together towards interpreting their experience for their community in Michigan.

### Progress and imperialism

In their letters the Coles together described their immediate shock and dismay with the turn of events in 1902, which saw a small-pox epidemic. Their narrations of the small-pox epidemic found the ideal model of colonial relations to be inadequate. The threat of infection and the possibility of death in the islands proved to be a more insidious enemy than Filipino armed forces. In this connection, the teachers described an incompetent government bureaucracy and the fundamental irrationality of the Filipino people. These specters of danger frustrated the Coles' attempts to overcome their racial hostility with progressive identities. Several months before small-pox epidemic spread in early 1902, Harry Cole portrayed unsanitary working conditions with the colonial fear of the unknown provincial countryside. On the first floor of the school-house, the ceiling was badly in need of repair. Cole described a dust-covered classroom filled with 235 children who tended to spit on the floor and in their desks: "Their unhealthful spittle is mixed with all the other unhealthful things and then when they come to school they bring this dirt from all over the surrounding country." Cole closed the school for a week, and, taking eighteen of his best students, held classes in his house.<sup>58</sup>

Military pacification, the spread of disease, and the colonial efforts to contain social and medical dangers were interrelated phenomena. While troop movements carried the virus through the country, Filipinos responding to military food embargoes sold rice on the black market, thereby breaking quarantines. Moreover, American sanitary workers and public health officials engaged in colonial warfare on the terrain of sociocultural beliefs concerning disease, death and mourning. Influenced by germ theory, Americans battled the epidemic with painful experimental treatments on the

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<sup>58</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, November 18, 1901, Correspondence, October-December 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

patient population, surveillance tactics, detention, house-burnings, and cremation.<sup>59</sup> A teacher in northern Luzon reported that Filipinos tried to hide the disease because they feared colonial measures, such as quarantines and the destruction of their homes.<sup>60</sup>

Alerted to the break-out of small-pox in February, the Coles inquired about illness in their students' households and dismissed three children from the school. The Coles portrayed themselves as surrounded by threatening and incomprehensible crowds of people. In separate letters, they testified to the sight of diseased bodies all over town, which they could not bear to witness in close range. Deducing that Catholic fatalism was at the heart of their communal rituals concerning illness and death, the teachers invoked native stupidity. Harry wrote,

We were treated, unwillingly, to some sights that opened our eyes to some things which we did not know existed here. It made us more out of patience with these people than anything else we have seen here, but no doubt their teaching and religion are to blame for much of it. Then too, it made us feel more than ever the utter disregard for care and preparation on the part of officials in bringing over here so many teachers.

After Sunday breakfast, the Coles were drawn to their window to watch a funeral procession carry the remains of a small-pox victim, a small child "entirely exposed to the sun and air." Instead of a quarantine, they saw a mass of people surrounding the body. "Following the band came men, women, and children, and people were all along the streets. The procession proceeded to the church where many more people were, and after ceremonies there, they went to the cemetery. Of course we were horrified and quite

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<sup>59</sup> The historian Reynaldo Ileto has argued "that the war was simply transposed from the battlefields to the towns, that the struggle continued over the control, no longer of territorial sovereignty, but of people's bodies, beliefs, and social practices." Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines" in Vicente L. Rafael, *Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), p. 70.

<sup>60</sup> Ralph Wendall Taylor to Elizabeth Gurney Taylor, August 7, 1902, Box 1, Taylor Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.



thoroughly scared.”<sup>61</sup> The same day the Coles noticed groups of people, including some of their students, gathering in a house across the street from theirs to pay respects to another child who had just died from the disease. The letters that recount such events portray the teachers as barricaded from the germs circulating outside their house.

Notwithstanding orders from the capital to institute quarantines and vaccinations, the town had no medical staff, American or Filipino. Without immediate success, Harry Cole had the provincial governor telegram for a doctor, conferred with the mayor about health regulations, and requested mortality statistics from the local friar. The military hospital in the capital refused Cole medical supplies because the town was under civil jurisdiction. Although Cole succeeded in obtaining vaccination for himself and his wife, he learned that he would not be admitted if he fell ill. No response, however, surpassed the indifference of the Division Superintendent of Education. Cole wrote to his family, “He did not think it necessary to close the school and said, ‘Well, I don’t think you will take the small-pox, and you might as well keep on with your work.’ I did not ask him if he wished to come and teach here as I know how he avoids all danger and does not even visit our schools.” In Cole’s view, not only did the military reveal its “evil purposes” in the colony but the civil bureaucracy neglected, perhaps even endangered, its employees.<sup>62</sup> Lacking proper intervention from the colonial government, the teachers turned to the mayor, who compelled the townspeople to place red flags outside of infected houses.

After Harry tried to influence public officials to attend to the dangers of warfare and small-pox that confronted Americans and Filipinos alike, he concluded in a letter to his brother that teachers had negligible influence. “The more I see of things here,” Cole wrote, “the more convinced I am that the bringing of us teachers over here was a huge political deal.”<sup>63</sup> Both husband and wife imagined themselves to be left behind by the ongoing engine of civilization and professional knowledge. Rather than an expansion of

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<sup>61</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, February 16, 1902, Correspondence, January-March 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>62</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, February 16, 1902.

<sup>63</sup> Harry N. Cole to Leon Cole, October 27, 1902, Folder: September-December 1902, , Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

racial, civilizational and gender powers, imperialism proved to be a restriction. Harry blamed the wartime conditions for circumscribing his movements into the countryside to collect specimens for scientific study. Because the mountains remained the stronghold of the peasant guerrillas, his hopes for colonial adventure and botanical research were seriously compromised.<sup>64</sup> Cole wrote to Dr. William Freer to pursue applied chemistry in the government laboratories at Manila but was prevented by Superintendent Atkinson, who threatened to bring lawsuits against teachers who left their posts before the end of their two-year contracts.<sup>65</sup>

To reinforce the boundaries of their subjectivities in the colony, the teachers turned towards racial explanations. Harry defended his flourishing Anglo-Saxon ethnocentrism to his friends and family: “I know I do not take any pains to give [Filipinos] the idea that they are as good as we are. I feel the same now as when I was at home, and yet I do not doubt that I am getting a somewhat proud and domineering manner. However I shall leave that for you to decide when we return. I guess there is not much change only in my pride for our own race as compared with others — and I really do not think that is *bad* in itself.”<sup>66</sup> In this narration, Cole presented himself as an ordinary American whose experience in the Philippines confirmed his sense of racial superiority. Nevertheless, letters from 1901 bear out the suspicion that he arrived in Palo with a racist orientation: after five weeks he had wearied of teaching “monkeys” to speak English.<sup>67</sup>

The ideology of rule in the Philippines turned on the question of the “truthful” essence of the colonized, and the appropriate technology of tutelage and discipline. In

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<sup>64</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, August 10, 1902, July-Aug. 1902; Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole and Leon Cole, October 12, 1902, Folder: September-December 1902, , Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>65</sup> Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, March 16, 1902.

<sup>66</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, April 8, 1904, Correspondence, 1904, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>67</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, November 5, 1901, Correspondence, October-November 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

1903, a year after the presidential proclamation of the end of the Philippine-American War, Governor-General Taft heralded the U.S. civil rule in the Philippines. While casting the Philippine war for national sovereignty as a “mistaken struggle,” Taft declared the Filipino people as the perfect object of the American civilizing mission. He underscored Filipinos’ “quick desire and power to imitate the good they see and understand, their openness to the reception of new and better things, however lacking in a political knowledge of its difficulties and real essence.” The Governor-General went on to argue that American imperialists enjoyed a dynamic relationship with their Asian colonial subjects, in comparison to the foregoing Spanish rule, or contemporary British regime.

Their sacrifice and their bravery are worthy of our admiration and bespeak a people capable of greater things, ... peculiarly subject to the good and developing influence of a friendly and sympathetic government in which they are given a gradually increasing part, and justify an entirely different policy in dealing with them and promoting their welfare from that which England has necessary to pursue with Mohammedan and Buddhist peoples, having neither sympathy with, nor understanding of, modern European ideas.<sup>68</sup>

Taft argued that Filipinos were civilized and developed enough to recognize the benefits of U.S. colonization, because they were part of Western civilization through four centuries of Spanish rule.

Contrary to official ideology, the colonial encounter did not provide the Coles with a glimpse of the future of progress, nor did their colonial experience offer the opportunity to develop a new frontier of civilization. Harry claimed that the colonial service had sent him “back about two centuries.” The teachers found that their professional experience was not needed in the actual work involved in building schools; teaching Filipinos was akin to “kindergarten work.” Although some Filipinos possessed intellectual potential, they saw little evidence of diligence and ambition in the classroom.

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<sup>68</sup> William Howard Taft, “The Duty of Americans in the Philippines.” Address given before the Union Reading College, Manila, December 17, 1903. Excerpted in John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1905), p. 398.

Accordingly, a promotion to high school teacher in Palo was not at all enticing.<sup>69</sup>

Participating in the progressive activity of measuring the colonized subject, Harry saw as the “true” Filipino the savage rather than the half-civilized pupil. His lengthy descriptions find the townspeople, young and old, in hammocks, drinking coconut wine, smoking long cigars, spitting red betel nut juice, clad only in loin cloths. Cole reserved his most bitter tirades for Filipinos whom he claimed to know more intimately than any administrator assuming the white man’s burden.

It makes a mighty difference whether one is an official and receives the homage of these people simply *because* he is an official, or whether he lives *amongst* the people as an ordinary civilian and not in an official capacity. The latter condition is that in which we see the people as they *are*. Here is where we find the savage.<sup>70</sup>

The civilizing mission promised visceral and ideological gratification in return for the work of civil servants: the fruits of labor would be harvested in the progress of the colonized. Harry came to confirm with his wife the theory that civilization took generations to build, rather than the bureaucratic time of colonial contracts and the political maneuvers. “How can we expect a colored race, with the baser natures and the natural tendencies to evil,” he asked his family back home, “to attain without years and years, or even generations, of training, even to a crude imitation of a good form of government?” Such racialization demanded a social relation of the civilized and the primitive that differed from the U.S. ideology of rule. Mary explained to her mother that Filipino loyalty to Americans and the colonial government was a mere pretense to hide

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<sup>69</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, November 18, 1901, Correspondence, October-November 1901; Harry N. Cole to Leon Cole, October 27, 1901; Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 24, 1903, Correspondence, 1903, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>70</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, April 22, 1904, Correspondence, 1904, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

fundamental hostility.<sup>71</sup> Revising his critique of the military after three years of teaching, Harry charged that Filipinos “can not appreciate the sparing of their lives.”<sup>72</sup>

### Colonial displacement

The Coles’ letters suggest how American civil servants asserted their entitlement to the benefits of civilization in response to their tasks in the new colony. For example, they discussed with their extended family what could be learned from the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Featuring elaborate ethnological displays of “tribal” villages and peoples, many world expositions in the United States specifically centered on the Philippines as the site of colonial imagination. Harry suspected that the Philippine Village at Buffalo was a feeble representation because it could not properly dislocate the visitor from civilization and social order. Lacking an Anglo-American refuge in the colony, Cole was skeptical about recreating colonial space within United States’ domestic borders. “If the village should cover several acres so that one could get right inside and lose himself to surroundings, he might obtain a better idea of the country represented,” Cole suggested. Then he sighed, “Indeed I shall be happy to see civilization again.”<sup>73</sup>

Many letters imparted to the local community Cole’s feelings of marginalization on the edges of empire, where his experience was ironically an impotent source of authority. In late 1904, Harry disagreed with his family about the colonial policy of benevolent assimilation. His mother supported Taft’s confidence that the United States was capable of spreading democracy through imperial rule. The Philippines should be for Filipinos, she wrote. Harry responded that Taft’s civilizing mission was palatable

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<sup>71</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, June 30, 1902, Correspondence, June 1902; Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, August 17, 1902, Correspondence, July-August 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>72</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, June 30, 1903, Correspondence, 1903, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>73</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 5, 1901, Correspondence, October-November 1901, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

only to those who had never left civilization.

It is all very easy for the people in the States half way around the globe, who have never been to a tropical country, who know nothing of conditions here, whose resentment has never been stirred by gross mistreatment [by] one's own government, who have never endured some years of life among ignorant and half savage people, and deprived of *all* the advantages of civilization and association with one's own people.<sup>74</sup>

For Harry, his family and community at home did not function as a concrete reference group, as it did for his wife. Cole's references to powerful figures in colonial politics outweighed the interpersonal mode of communication. Inversely, his criticism of Governor-General Taft revealed the trauma of his colonial experience. It would be a mistake, however, to search the Coles' letters for explicit counter-narratives. In fact, the teachers supported the colonization of the Philippines and strongly opposed Filipinos gaining authority in any government agency.<sup>75</sup> Harry described the U.S. empire as a necessary enterprise that nevertheless would do without his labor: "as far as being an expansionist is concerned, I am perfectly willing to let the next man do the expanding."<sup>76</sup> Although their letters challenged programmatic statements and sidestepped public debates for more domestic concerns, the Coles did not repudiate the larger picture. Their correspondence as a whole suggests that the Coles could not sustain the ideology of colonialism as given, and require more nuanced readings of the "official literature."

The Coles' colonial malaise in the Philippines places American empire on a historical and cultural parallel with European imperial experiences. Around 1902, nearly half a century after the first cases in the European territories, the colonial phenomena of neurasthenia became known among American men as "philippinitis." Colonial officials

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Michigan. See also Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 139.

<sup>74</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, April 22, 1904.

<sup>75</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, November 17, 1902, Correspondence: September-December 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

and rank-and-file infantry showed signs of physical and mental dissipation, nervousness, forgetfulness and lack of ambition, which scientists explained as the deterministic effect of the tropics. The Coles, on the other hand, did not suffer chronic mental or physical health problems due to the climate, which Mary called “perfectly delightful.”<sup>77</sup> Harry envisioned a certain paradise in the colony: “If there was many Americans here [*sic*] and we had all modern conveniences and could get rid of these natives, this would be a fine country to live in. There is very pretty scenery everywhere, and an excellent climate.”<sup>78</sup>

Rather than suffering from lethargy and forgetfulness, Cole longed for the rigor provided by professional challenge and camaraderie among “civilized” men. In contrast, a teacher recorded in his published memoir that he preferred teaching in an isolated town where colonial authority was not dispersed among fellow civil servants.<sup>79</sup> Similarly most contemporary popular literature and subsequent historiography celebrated pioneer teachers.<sup>80</sup> Feeling neglected by colonial bureaucracy, outraged with and envious of military power, left with “savages,” and misunderstood by Americans at home, the Cole expressed their colonial displacement and a failure to articulate themselves within the professional and political structures available to them.

In this vein, Cole yearned to forget his colonial experience. One letter from 1903 presaged the isolationism and nativism that dominated the United States in later decades:

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<sup>76</sup> Harry N. Cole to Leon Cole, October 27, 1902.

<sup>77</sup> Mary S. Cole to J. E. Scott, August 17, 1902.

<sup>78</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole and Leon Cole, July 30, 1902, Correspondence, July-August 1902, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. On tropical neurasthenia as “a view of the contours of a colonial culture” in the Philippines, see Warwick Anderson, “The Trespass Speaks: White Masculinity and Colonial Breakdown” *American Historical Review* 102 (December 1997): 1343-70. On degeneration in European colonies, see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 46-50.

<sup>79</sup> “I preferred to be first in the little Philippine village than second in Nabua.” Marius John, *Philippine Saga*, p. 199.

<sup>80</sup> Amparo Santamaria Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education* (Quezon City: Phoenix, 1991); Geronima T. Pecson and Maria Racelis, *Tales of the American Teachers in the Philippines* (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, Inc., 1959); and Gilbert Somers Pérez, *From the Transport Thomas to Sto. Tomas: The History of the American Teachers in the Philippines* (Manila, 1953).

I hope we shall never again strike a country so expensive as this. It should be a cheap country to live in, and labor should be cheap. But I must say nothing about this — and when I get home, I want to forget about this country and people as soon as possible. I shall probably hate the sight of anything but a white man the rest of my life (and some of these are none too loveable) [*sic*].<sup>81</sup>

Harry did suffer nervous impatience by the end of his stay, but his rising panic and depression stemmed from his intimate exchange with the racial other.<sup>82</sup>

### Conclusion

American teachers' uneven experiences during this early period led to further efforts to pacify the population and to promote the benefits of colonial service. The colonial administration began to guard against further American degeneration in the colony by reinforcing protective boundaries around middle-class, professional identities. Literature recruiting Americans to the teaching service emphasized the amenities that the Coles lacked. An excerpt from a 1911 Bureau of Education pamphlet captures the significance of the Philippines to progressive education: "The administration of the Bureau is hampered by no embarrassing precedents; it has reasonably ample funds with which to execute its plans... Such an opportunity probably never existed anywhere." The government constructed the totality of professional life in the Philippines by emphasizing the "natural" advantages of leisure, travel and study. The Bureau combined elements of the familiar and the exotic by presenting the Philippine landscape as congenial to American explorations. In addition, the government created spaces for professional associations in the temperate vacation resort of Baguio, where academic

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<sup>81</sup> Harry N. Cole to Helen M. N. Cole, October 17, 1903, Correspondence, 1903, Harry N. Cole Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Oscar V. Campomanes suggests that the contradictions between American republican ideals and the colonization of the Philippines resulted in cultural amnesia. Campomanes, "The New Empire's Forgetful and Forgotten Citizens: Unrepresentability and Unassimilability in Filipino American Postcolonialities," *Critical Mass: A Journal of Asian American Cultural Criticism* 2: no. 2 (Spring 1995): 145-200.

<sup>82</sup> In his examination of George Orwell's simmering anxieties in British Burma, Ranajit Guha argues that the civil servant's exile and his or her hatred of the "native" shaped the bureaucrat's labor for the colonial state. Ranajit Guha, "Not at Home in Empire" *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Spring 1997): 482-93.



lectures drew teachers once a year.<sup>83</sup>

Observers who looked back upon the early period of colonization argued that colonial bureaucracy made civil service more effective but that it took considerable time to develop Americans' roles in the imperialist venture. American teachers were not meant to constitute a large permanent force, but instead were to be rapidly replaced by Filipinos. Those who stayed in colonial service were thus presumed to be committed wholeheartedly to the imperial project, and they quickly rose through the ranks of supervising teacher and administrator. Presumably, teachers who saw their work in colonial education as a gratifying professional career supplanted those motivated more by financial considerations.<sup>84</sup> A year after the Coles left the colonial service, the new supervising teacher stationed in Palo saw an expansion of the public school system. W. W. Marquardt reported to the town council that four new barrio schools opened and as a result school attendance doubled. As assistant director of education, Marquardt codified guidelines for American teachers' conduct to avoid moral and psychological degeneration. The structural support for Americans teachers to pursue a life-long career in the colonial civil service paralleled the turn-of-the-century trend toward professionalized and bureaucratic educational public schooling in the United States.<sup>85</sup>

In this chapter, I have argued that the process of assessing Filipinos against variant measures of civilization and modernization shaped the spread of civil rule. At the center of the imperialists' faith in American institutions to introduce rationality and democracy in the Philippines was uncertainty as well as excitement. Trying to design projects to enable the Filipino to make the transition from the traditional towards the modern seemed like a brave and experimental endeavor. Warfare and epidemic disease

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<sup>83</sup> Bureau of Education, *A Statement of Organization, Aims and Conditions of Service in the Bureau of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), p. 11.

<sup>84</sup> Francis Wayland Shepardson, "Philippine Education" *The University of Chicago Magazine* 4 (November 1911).

<sup>85</sup> W. W. Marquardt, "Palo school report, 1905," Box 5; W. W. Marquardt, "Outline of Talk to Teachers on Official, Social and Personal Relations," Box 8, Bound Volume: Miscellaneous Correspondence 1902-1914; Walter William Marquardt Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. For the professionalization of American education, see David

which early colonial teachers experienced were obstacles significant enough to give pause. To contemporary observers, however, the technologies of military pacification and public sanitation surmounted these problems. More serious challenges to progress were the savage traits which Harry Cole recorded in detail. In the process of delivering democracy to a non-Western people, colonial teachers put to the test the idea of the “modern.” Classifying Filipinos as savage or civilized called for different modes of imperial discipline, whether punitive military campaigns against entire towns, or conversion to the civil religion of U.S. democracy and progress. For Harry and Mary Cole, the forward march of civilization seemed highly unlikely in the Philippines. In the next chapter, I will examine how an administrator struggled with the question of how Americans and Filipinos could share a progressive future in the colonial public school. Although the background of the guerrilla war seemed to recede in the expansion of universal education, the enemies of the colonial government were abstracted from the guerrilla forces to racial traits within Filipino students.

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B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*, and Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Acquisition and Advancement:**

#### **Race Development, Colonial Rule and Primary Schooling in the Philippines**

##### **Introduction**

At the beginning of the civil rule of the islands, administrators invoked Filipino uplift to justify the new, controversial policy of colonization. In doing so, they raised doubts about the connection between formal empire and social progress. How would the present subjugation of Filipinos lead to their eventual liberation? Did a “backward race” warrant or deserve wide scale social reform? How would Americans benefit beyond increased economic prosperity? These questions shaped the political and intellectual climate in which colonial educators sought authority and legitimation. Although a new mass communications widely publicized imperial efforts, comprehensive information about Philippine resistance and American military actions was limited to a select group of Americans, mostly experts involved in colonial administration. Civil servants, whose experiences were often at odds with official reports of pacification, often met with incredulous audiences at home. As we saw in the previous chapter, two teachers returning to their hometown sought to end their perceived isolation from familiar reference points by repressing their colonial service.

In contrast, David P. Barrows, a high-level administrator, rejoined his home community by turning his personal involvements into scholarly knowledge about race development in the Philippines. During his career as an educational administrator in Manila and in Berkeley, California, Barrows expressed an unwavering commitment to the colonial retention of the Philippines. In the 1930s, as the U.S. prepared to grant commonwealth status to the Philippines, Barrows proudly called himself a “modern

imperialist.”<sup>1</sup> While many Americans pointed to the contradictions between Filipino progress and imperialism, Barrows continued to see both goals as intricately intertwined, if not nearly equivalent. His views were not popular but they drew the interest of progressive audiences and scholars in the U.S.

Barrows entered the Philippine colonial service in 1900 and became the Director of Education from 1903 until his return to the United States in 1909. He spent the rest of his career in the education and political science departments of the University of California, where he served as president from 1919 to 1923. Although he spent less than a decade as a civil servant and administrator in the islands, Barrows has helped historians understand how social reform, public education and academic knowledge shaped U.S. imperial policies in the Philippines. Paul Kramer discusses Barrows’ formative role as one of the first administrators of the Bureau of Non-Christian Peoples, an agency which expanded anthropological research in the service of military pacification and the colonial state. In contrast, older historical studies depict the administrator as an idealistic champion of the colonized. According to Glenn May, Barrows’ efforts to steer the colonial school curriculum away from industrial education to English language literacy and arithmetic had short-lived success. More significantly Barrows’ educational policies illustrated his conviction that Jeffersonian democracy was universal and relevant to Filipinos. Expanding upon May’s portrayal, Kenton Clymer discusses Barrows’ “humanitarian imperialism.”<sup>2</sup>

Historical studies of U.S. debates around colonial retention mostly focus on political maneuverings and policy developments. Specific ideas about Filipinos seemed to be largely absent. This chapter examines how Barrows’ persistent defense of imperialism produced a body of knowledge about Filipino racial character, race, culture

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<sup>1</sup> David P. Barrows, “Why I Believe the Philippines Should Not Be Given Their Independence” *Commonwealth* (February 14, 1930): 33; Carton 6, Folder: Philippine Islands, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Kramer, “The Pragmatic Empire: U.S. Anthropology and Colonial Politics in the Occupied Philippines, 1898-1916” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1998); Kenton J. Clymer, “Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man’s Burden in the Philippines” *Pacific Historical*

and history. In publications and on the lecture circuit in northern California, Barrows presented information on Filipino ethnology to press for the continued colonial retention of the Philippines. He predicated his political views on scholarly objectivity, exerting widespread influence on colonial historiography and racial knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

As I discuss in the first part of this chapter, Barrows introduced his pro-imperialist arguments in a 1902 senate testimony and an essay published in 1907. In both cases, he drew on studies of ethnological research, language, political structures and social customs to warrant his policies of English language literacy and progressive pedagogy. While narrating the administrative expansion of public schools, Barrows identified the forces of savagery and civilization. Subsequently, I explore how Barrows struggled to reconcile a concern for the integrity of Filipino racial identity with his counter-insurgency politics, educational policies and the colonial state as a whole. Despite the imperialist rhetoric of progress, this was not an easy task. Race development theorists such as G. Stanley Hall advocated the “rights” of savage races to modernize at their own pace and discretion. Barrows’ ambition to redeem American imperialism as a non-exploitative force engendered historical narratives in which the Filipino-Malayan race developed through interactions with superior, Western civilizations.

The concluding sections ask how race development and colonial education constructed idealized white identities. Faced with challenges from within the colonial administration toward the end of his career, Barrows began to emphasize that Philippine public schools would solve impending crises brought on by racial conflicts. Because colonial education was capable of resolving crises in Western civilization, white racial identity could develop into an educative force and a model for development for other peoples. In the process, Barrows illustrated the turn-of-the-century effort to remake

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*Review* 45: no. 4 (November 1976); and Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> Reynaldo Ileto analyzes Barrows’ *History of the Philippines* as a key text which distorted peasant resistance during the colonial war against Spain. Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Knowing America’s Colony: A Hundred Years from the Philippine War* Philippine Studies, Occasional Papers Series No. 13 (Manoa: University of Hawai’i, 1999), pp. 1-17. David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1924).

whiteness, manliness and western civilization into a mode of globalizing power.<sup>4</sup> During a period of fractious change and new challenges in the United States and abroad, Barrows attempted to become an agent of historical change around the world. Teaching Filipinos provided an effective means for the Anglo-American men to transcend racial boundaries at home and abroad. Colonial education, Barrows wrote, demonstrates “how one race may guide and strengthen another without self-interest or the employment of any but the noblest means.”<sup>5</sup>

This chapter examines Barrows’ diaries, letters, lectures, government reports and published literature. Because I rely on English-language sources associated with the colonial state, I do not discuss Filipino students’ ideas about colonial education and progress. Instead, I approach the intellectual and cultural concept of progress as a seemingly stable ideology complicated by destabilizing subjective experiences. According to Ranajit Guha, Barrows’ British counterparts in India found ways to support the “presumed neutrality” of the colonial state by interweaving the “passion” of their civil service into an objective historical narrative.<sup>6</sup>

Focusing on the debates surrounding Barrows’ texts, I use a hermeneutic approach to reconstruct the relationship between the author’s implications, his writings and historical consequences. My methodology assumes that Barrows could neither control nor anticipate the multiple meanings that his ideas generated.<sup>7</sup> By discussing one imperialist’s struggle to gain hegemony over the meaning of American empire and racial progress, this chapter views Barrows as a key figure in developing a social science of

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<sup>4</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 16-20.

<sup>5</sup> David P. Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 30: no. 1 (July 1907): 81, 82.

<sup>6</sup> Ranajit Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency” in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 51. Other administrators who crafted historical narratives of the Philippines include: Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston: Ginn & Co, 1905) and Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930).

<sup>7</sup> James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 1-11.

Filipino modernization. In the following chapter, I will examine how Filipino students, as subjects of continuing study, appropriated the idiom of progress as the basis for forming new communities in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

### Race, heredity and the school

Barrows served in the anthropological and educational sectors of the new colonial state from 1900 to 1909. He was an early champion of public schools and English language literacy as modes of developing Filipinos. After supervising the building of schools in Manila in 1900, he served as head of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. Because his anthropological explorations began to endanger his growing family, he wanted to retire from the Philippines in 1903.<sup>9</sup> Instead, the colonial administration promoted him to Superintendent of Public Instruction, to replace Fred W. Atkinson.

Before starting his new position, Barrows appeared before a bipartisan senate committee investigating the military's use of torture and reconcentration during the pacification campaigns. The investigation began in January and continued for several months. Calling to the stand military and civilian officials and several infantrymen, the committee concluded its investigation by court-martialing three officers, including General Jacob H. Smith, who was in charge of the Samar campaign. Asked whether he had witnessed military misconduct, Barrows claimed that he knew little about any outstanding violations committed by American soldiers. In one province he saw the reconcentration of civilians but, in contrast to most reports, he witnessed no torture, starvation, undue confinement or interruption of agricultural and trade activities. Although the military campaigns in southern Luzon yielded extraordinarily high mortality rates, Barrows described how military officials mingled socially with the

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<sup>8</sup> Focusing intently on scientific-based racist theories in an historical context raises the question of how intellectual and literary struggles relate to social and political arenas of resistance. Nancy Leys Stepan and Sander L. Gilman, "Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism" in Dominick LaCapra, ed., *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and Resistance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 75.

Spanish-speaking Filipino elites and spread American goodwill. Without contesting the necessity of military pacification, Barrows asserted that civil administrators trained in ethnology and social science would control and shape colonial territory more ethically and efficiently than warfare. “Where you have war existing,” Barrows explained, “it is, I think, better to go ahead and pursue it rigorously and finish it and bring in the people who are out, induce them to surrender and get it over with as fast as possible.”<sup>10</sup>

During most of the two-day testimony, the senate committee interviewed Barrows about the prospects of Philippine colonization for the United States. The Insular Affairs proceedings raised questions about educational policy in the context of debates about pacification methods. In his dialogue with the senate committee, Barrows discussed the evolutionary stages of “the social development of a race.” He stated that Filipinos were beyond the “tribal stage” and yet many generations before the development of democracy. While championing their intellectual progress, Barrows argued that only through the gradual process would their cognitive development under American schools turn into moral values, such as honesty, fairness, objectivity, self-control, and justice towards the weak. Political ethics “sufficient to govern a great population, and including a great number of tribes lower than the Christianized Filipino is himself, is about the last thing that a man or a race attains.”<sup>11</sup>

A Democratic senator from Tennessee, Edward W. Carmack, suspected that “development” meant to impose the English language by force. Barrows firmly stated that the teacher’s goal was not to replace native languages but to open the way for Filipinos to travel the road to progress as Americans had. Barrows claimed that colonial administrators had considered every option before settling on English as the language to

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<sup>9</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to William H. Taft, May 8, 1903; and letter from David P. Barrows to S. T. Black, May 4, 1903; Box 1, Folder: January-December 1903, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>10</sup> David P. Barrows’ testimony before the Insular Affairs Committee, U.S. Senate, March 12-13, 1902, p. 718; Carton 2, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. See also Henry F. Graff, ed., *Testimony of the Times: American Imperialism and the Philippine Insurrection; Testimony Taken from Hearings on Affairs in the Philippine Islands before the Senate Committee on the Philippines, 1902* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).



unify the diverse peoples into one nation. While the educated elite learned Spanish through Catholic instruction, the majority used at least eight major languages and dozens of dialects. Assuming that it was the common language of global capitalism and democracy, more importantly, English would direct the Philippines towards the cultural traditions of Western progress, including science. While Filipinos were to continue using their vernacular dialect in intimate relations of life, they would eventually use English as a language in commercial and public affairs. Choosing any indigenous language for national use, in contrast, would expand one ethno-linguistic group's political and cultural dominance.

The senators argued that the introduction of civilized characteristics, including a Western language, would threaten the lines of heredity which differentiated the Malayan race from the white race. The committee was skeptical whether democracy could take root in a tropical and Oriental country. In the interview with Taft, which took place months earlier, Senator Joseph Rawlins, a Democrat from Utah, argued that non-feudal government and civil society were not part of the historical experience of any Asian people. "That being true," Rawlins continued, "are we not attempting to fly in the face of human nature, as displayed in the characters of that race?" The senator concluded his question by stating the possibility that a representative nation-state would inevitably return to "absolutism."<sup>12</sup> To explain colonial policy, Taft related ideological narratives of Philippine history and ethnology that made fine distinctions between Filipinos and "Orientals." Taft responded that the widespread presence of Christianity made Filipinos "unlike other Malay races."<sup>13</sup> Many eventually collaborated with the new regime,

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<sup>11</sup> David P. Barrows' testimony before the Insular Affairs Committee, p. 718.

<sup>12</sup> Graff, ed., *Testimony of the Times*, pp. 45-6. He implied that colonial education, because it sought radical change in a short amount of time, would violate Filipinos' "natural" course of evolution from savagery to civilization.

<sup>13</sup> Graff, ed., *Testimony of the Times*, pp. 45-6. The Spanish empire had established the Catholic Church as the political and cultural center of Philippine society and spread Western education to a few. The *ilustrado* elite, typified by José Rizal, drew upon cosmopolitan experiences of exile and education abroad to press for reform and greater autonomy from the Spanish regime, culminating in the Revolution of 1896. Between the empires, the *ilustrados* organized a government based on secular civil society and scientific knowledge.

supporting English language policies.<sup>14</sup> By asserting his privileged knowledge of the islands, moreover, Taft disputed the senators' preconceptions of Filipinos as inert savages.

At the same time, the administrators emphasized that Americans were unlike any other colonizing power in the Southeast Asian region. When Barrows took the stand months after Taft's testimony, the committee posed a related question. Not only has there never been an historical precedent for democracy in Asia but there has never been a fraternal basis of colonial partnership between Americans and "Malays." Senator Carmack asked The senators argued that the introduction of civilized characteristics, including a Western language, would threaten the lines of heredity which differentiated the Malayan race from the white race. The committee was skeptical whether democracy could take root in a tropical and Oriental country.<sup>15</sup> Barrows agreed entirely with the senator's assessment of hostility between the two racial peoples, and yet stated his belief that the Americans, because of their interest in Filipino enlightenment, could come closer to understanding Malayan peoples than the Dutch in Indonesia. Rather than a foregone conclusion, the U.S. colonization of the islands was an open-ended experiment.<sup>16</sup>

### Targeting racial faults

From 1902 to the 1930s, Barrows maintained his position that Filipino race development, by definition, necessitated a strong U.S. colonial state which supported public education. "I never expect to live to see the day when [the Filipino] can govern,"

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<sup>14</sup> Barbara S. Gaerlan, "The Pursuit of Modernity" *Amerasia Journal*24: no. 2 (1998): 87-108. Before the United States claimed the Philippines in the 1898 Treaty of Paris, José Rizal included English language courses in the boys' school that he organized during his exile in the southern Philippines. Sharon Delmendo, "The American Factor in José Rizal's Nationalism" *Amerasia Journal*24: no. 2 (1998): 49.

<sup>15</sup> Barrows' testimony before the Insular Affairs Committee, p. 691.

<sup>16</sup> This form of benevolent racism characterized the antebellum New South. George Fredrickson sees a "mutually reinforcing interrelationship between the rhetoric of expansionism and the quasi-paternalist concept of racial accommodation" among southern liberals. George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 320.

he testified.<sup>17</sup> In response, an oppositional newspaper in Manila exhorted Filipinos to be wary of Barrows' advocacy and good will.<sup>18</sup> To explain the apparent contradiction between charting the Filipinos' bright future and asserting their fundamental backwardness, Barrows had to clarify his ideas about the process of race development. How long would it take Filipinos to become capable of self-government, and how should Americans rule them?

Barrows took the opportunity to give a fuller explanation of his views in "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," an essay which he published in an American social science journal in 1907. The article explained pedagogy and administration within a social context, stating that colonial schools aimed to mount an offensive against the forces of regression and tradition. Barrows argued that the root of the social problem lay in a host of interrelated racial flaws: the Filipinos' ignorant and inert consciousness. Using the article as a point of departure, I will discuss how the colonial school's promise to transform individual subjectivity provided Barrows with the answer to large-scale societal problems.

In "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," Barrows answered people who doubted Filipino potential by reasserting his privileged position and academic authority. Identifying closely with the regime, Barrows spoke for all superintendents and teachers by insisting he had a better view of Filipinos than his detractors. The colonial educator presented his policies not as aggressive acts of imperial arrogance but rather as pragmatic decisions, based upon thorough research of Philippine social conditions. Barrows argued that civil servants had the right to determine the course of development because they knew Filipinos "as no other body of white people will ever know them."<sup>19</sup>

Barrows drew from anthropological and political science studies of the land-tenure system that characterized the former Spanish colonial regime of the Philippines.

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<sup>17</sup> Barrows' testimony before the Insular Affairs Committee, p. 718.

<sup>18</sup> "Gracias Mr. Barrows" *El Renacimiento* 181 March 18, 1902; Carton 17, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. My translation from the Spanish.

<sup>19</sup> Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," p. 81, p. 82.

He described Philippine society as a network of town centers populated by local elites, who were surrounded by disenfranchised and chronically indebted peasantry. In contrast to the educated and cosmopolitan *ilustrados*, the *tao* lived in ways untouched by the desire for progress and culture, isolated from the towns. Because their diet and housing belied what seemed to be a shockingly low standard of living, Barrows argued that the peasantry enjoyed very little material development since the onset of Spanish colonization in the sixteenth-century. Presumably, the Filipino majority was manipulated by the “political bosses,” otherwise known as *caciques*. “In the time of revolution,” Barrows wrote, “they obeyed implicitly his direction to commit acts of violence.”<sup>20</sup> Focusing on the sociopolitical structures of the land tenure system, rather than economic relations, became a way for the administrator to offer education as a solution.

The essay claimed that the aggressive and experimental phase of colonial education began under Barrows’ direction in 1903. The schools “threw precedents entirely aside and broke new ground,” lacking any historical resemblances to the Spanish colonial schools which Americans replaced.<sup>21</sup> One of the first aims was to establish a system very quickly, with one primary school in every barrio. To do so, Barrows sought to enroll all children between ages of nine and thirteen because these were “the most receptive years” of childhood. The three-year primary school curriculum featured three years of English, two years of elementary arithmetic, and one year of geography. Lastly, Barrows began to build secondary and post-secondary institutions to “fit [Filipinos] for a useful vocation if not for professional life.”<sup>22</sup> In June 1907, a month before this essay was published, Barrows lengthened the primary school course from three to four years.

The teachers also instituted industrial education, which required boys to take shop work and girls to learn domestic science. These programs attempted to build moral character and “citizenship,” along with instruction in hygiene, sanitation, good manners

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<sup>20</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 72.

<sup>21</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 75.

<sup>22</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 80.

and right conduct, and physical education.<sup>23</sup> An observer directly referred to the domestic science curriculum as imperial eugenics.

Begun in the lower schools and continued thru the intermediate grades is there called 'conduct and ethics' but involves much that is known to us as eugenics. A proper conduct toward men, a right attitude toward marriage, self-control in oneself in order to transmit the quality to offspring, the correct upbringing to children — all of these in a simple way are taught to Filipino girls in the sixth grade. As many girls marry before they are fifteen, this early instruction seems necessary.<sup>24</sup>

While Barrows never disputed industrial education itself, he was adamant about keeping literacy predominant.<sup>25</sup> He maintained that only literacy led to the awakening of a moral subjectivity. In a lecture to school superintendents in 1908, the director declared literacy to be the “one great experience” shared by “all the races that have struggled up through barbarism to civilization.”<sup>26</sup> In “Education and Social Progress,” Barrows reported that his bureau had reached its enrollment goal. To eradicate illiteracy in one generation, he argued, all that was needed was maintain the schools’ success for a short period. If so, “his illiteracy would be broken and the foundation would be laid of a new sort of life for

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<sup>23</sup> The emphasis on moral education in the public school curriculum intensified after the islands became a commonwealth in 1934. John Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), p. 485. For general histories of industrial education in the United States, see John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America* fifth ed. (New York: Macmillian Publishing Co, 1991), pp. 94-5; and Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 88.

<sup>24</sup> E. Young Wead, “The Training of a People” *Independent* 74 (August 7, 1913): 305.

<sup>25</sup> In the opinion of an American scholar, Barrows’ choice to emphasize literacy over industrial education was “in a Philippine context, revolutionary.” Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, p. 112. A scholar argues that industrial education in French Algeria taught the colonized how to labor, but lacked the totalizing, moral education of cultural texts. Fanny Colonna, “Educating Conformity in French Colonial Algeria” trans., Barbara Harshav, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 346-70.

<sup>26</sup> David P. Barrows, Address at Superintendents’ Convention, Manila, May 1908, p. 4; Carton 6, Folder: Philippine Islands, education, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

him, and a new social order for the archipelago.”<sup>27</sup>

The new social order, however, had limits. To build the infrastructure of export trade, transportation, and social welfare, the colonial regime depended upon the system of unfree labor.<sup>28</sup> The tenant farmers’ independence from *cacique* rule, therefore, did not mean attaining independent labor. It was, instead, “a new spirit of self-respect, a new consciousness of personal dignity and civil rights.”<sup>29</sup> American teachers linked *caciquismo* to traits of dependence, and believed change would occur if they transformed the common Filipino from a passive being to an active and questioning individual. The education of the Filipino masses in the English language and citizenship meant the triumph of American democracy over all forms of feudalism.<sup>30</sup>

Before becoming Director of Education, Barrows supervised the construction of schools in the capitol of Manila. In the spring of 1901, he organized the first teaching school. 450 Filipino teachers from Manila and provinces, mostly from the *ilustrado* elite, attended the school on opening day. Some student-teachers sought an avenue to higher education. Others enrolled because their exposure to American pedagogy and language would help them find a position in the new government schools. A principal of a boys’ school in Manila wrote to Barrows that the teachers who supported English language instruction did so not because it was politically advantageous, because the policy “means almost to push the Filipino teachers away from the schools.”<sup>31</sup>

The new requirements presented a complex minefield for *ilustrados* who

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<sup>27</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 77.

<sup>28</sup> A few American observers such as Alfred Taylor noted this. Paul Kramer, “The Pragmatic Empire,” p. 186.

<sup>29</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 73.

<sup>30</sup> Daniel Rodgers points out that American progressivism was not a coherent political ideology but instead a complex set of ideas about an industrializing society: a critique of monopoly capitalism, a concern with social fragmentation, and rationalized efficiency. Daniel T. Rodgers, “In Search of Progressivism” *Reviews in American History* 10: no. 4 (December 1982): 123.

<sup>31</sup> He proposed bilingual instruction in English and Spanish to allow students to advance to post-secondary education, which was conducted at that time in Spanish. Letter from R. Caingal to David P. Barrows, ca. 1900; Carton 17, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

represented their people to the regime and the colonial policies to the people. A student of the Manila Normal School, Catalino Sevilla, explained that Filipinos seemed to be dull and passive because of their Spanish instructors relied on rote memorization and exact imitation of texts, rather than the American method of drawing lessons from everyday life. "This method purely theoretic and of routine produced also fatal consequences in the manner and life of the Filipino accustomed from infancy to exert very much their memory." Because of their schooling, Filipino children lacked "that ease in understanding ideas or the necessary elasticity to act with certainty," and thus appeared to Americans to be indolent and stupid.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Camilo Osias recalled that receiving high grades in Spanish schools only meant that he had satisfied a standardized examination system by providing thorough and exact answers. The anti-clerical and secular politics of nationalist *ilustrados* critiqued the Catholic Church schools for repressing their students' critical and imaginative faculties.<sup>33</sup>

Barrows drew from Sevilla's essay to argue that Spanish pedagogy worsened the cultural stagnation and political passivity which he found in Philippine society. In "Education and Social Progress," Barrows traced the tendency of submission and obedience to pre-colonial Malayan racial character: "This condition of things is not primarily due to Spanish rule, it is characteristic of Malayan society. The poor Malayan instinctively dreads and submits to the power of the stronger."<sup>34</sup> The social system of *caciquismo*, in turn, reproduced the racial trait through many generations. With this in mind, he included into the Filipino teachers' training a model kindergarten class, in which two American women instructed twelve young children. Barrows designed the

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<sup>32</sup> Catalino Sevilla, "A Slight Comparative Study on the Method of Education," Carton 17; David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Barrows included a lengthy excerpt from the Sevilla's essay in his report on the Manila Normal School. Letter from David P. Barrows to William H. Taft, May 22, 1901; Box 1, Folder: January-November 1901, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>33</sup> "Because I knew the lessons assigned and could recite the rules of grammar word for word I was not whipped." Camilo Osias, *The Story of a Long Career and Varied Tasks* (Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Co., 1971): 26-27.

<sup>34</sup> Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," p. 72. Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," p. 72.

exhibit “to correct by example the vicious system of teaching current in Filipino schools.” He reported that “no work was watched with greater interest than this.”<sup>35</sup> At graduation, one student-teacher announced that he had learned that “a great deal of practice, exercise and much observation is the way to educate children.”<sup>36</sup>

The inaugural session of the Manila Normal School was a significant event in the expansion of U.S. policies because the new school system relied on training Filipino teachers, instead of maintaining a permanent American teaching corps.<sup>37</sup> Supervisory American instructors held teachers’ training classes in the evenings; yearly sessions of teachers’ institute in each province. By World War I, American teachers only held specialized positions in Manila schools, or supervised Filipinos in the provinces. In Barrows’ view, becoming fluent in rational discourses and in the English language would become the predominant way for Filipinos to become leaders.

Of all the forces developing among the Filipino people themselves, the growth in influence and character of this corps of native teachers seems to me to contain most of the promise. The islands may be abandoned to other hands; the barrio schools may close and our children scatter, but these thousands of Filipino teachers, both young men and women, in whom the development of character has kept pace with the progress of their enlightenment will be an influence, which, under all circumstances, will abide.<sup>38</sup>

The modernized Filipinos would always be aware of the gap between them and the rest of society, and position themselves as the new educators of the peasantry.<sup>39</sup>

Efforts to create an enlightened elite were ultimately a two-pronged counter-

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<sup>35</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to the Governor-General William H. Taft, May 22, 1901.

<sup>36</sup> Anonymous, “The New Normal School of Manila,” May 10, 1901; Carton 17, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>37</sup> Encarnación Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932), p. 214.

<sup>38</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> Partha Chatterjee states that institutions of civil society target the elite, who are “engaged in a pedagogical mission in relation to the rest of society.” While he addresses formerly colonized countries,



insurgency effort. Americans hoped to quell the long tradition of peasant uprisings. On the other hand, by co-opting the *ilustrados*, many of whom were the sons of the landed oligarchy, imperialists aimed to undermine the elite-led nationalist movement. When Filipinos began to enter government positions in increasing numbers before World War I, Barrows warned colonial administrators about the resurgence of such racial traits as duplicity and disloyalty which compelled the landed oligarchy to take advantage of the peasantry.<sup>40</sup> He stated that a Filipino-run civil service would devolve from meritocracy to nepotism and corruption.<sup>41</sup> Drawing upon racial theories to argue for long-term and semi-permanent colonial tutelage, he counseled a colleague that even though Filipino leaders exhibited intellectual capability, “you cannot affect the moral regeneration of the people and fit it in character to conduct an independent self-government in ten years’ time.”<sup>42</sup>

### Stages of learning

The curriculum and pedagogy used in colonial schools during Barrows’ time foreshadowed the advent of progressive education after World War I. In *Democracy and Education*, published in 1917, John Dewey noted that the distinction between the savage and the civilized man was the ability to control environment rather than merely to adapt to it.<sup>43</sup> Dewey’s statement suggests how educators imagined evolutionary differences in their efforts to formulate school policies to bring about social progress. In this section, I discuss how colonial teachers pursued race development by drawing upon two

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his conception of an “always incomplete” modernization applies to the occupied Philippines. Partha Chatterjee, “Beyond the Nation? Or Within?” *Social Text* 56 (Fall 1998): 61.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Secretary of Interior Winfred T. Denison, June 11, 1915; Box 2, Folder: April-September 1915, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>41</sup> Letter from David Barrows to Benjamin Wheeler, May 1908; Box 1, Folder: January-July 1908, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>42</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Alfred LeRoy, 1908; Box 1, Folder: September-December 1908, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>43</sup> John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan Co, 1916). Excerpted in Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, pp. 55-7.

educational theories which we have come to view as “progressive” and conservative.” On one hand, Americans hoped that the culturally “disadvantaged” Filipino would develop by exercising critical learning skills in a dynamic, project-oriented school. On the other hand, teachers argued that Filipinos needed to acquire, at minimum, a language of the globalizing world. In this vein, Barrows was the foremost proponent of English as the core curriculum of colonial public schools.

The methods and aims of progressive education offered the hope of breaking out of developmental patterns caused by racial traits. According to a colonial teacher, “Oriental” children learned very fast at a young age, only to experience “relapse and recurrence of the old mental life” as an adult.<sup>44</sup> Another American commented on a perceptible decrease in cognitive skills as Filipino children grew older. Training adults to become teachers at night contrasted with teaching primary grades in the morning. Whether they were peasants or elites, “after a certain age without a start in their more pliable years, the mental soil became hard and difficult to cultivate.”<sup>45</sup> Even Barrows’ promotion of Filipino teachers referred to the debate: “It was early apparent that the Filipino child could be easily instructed, that the power of acquisition was there, but the great question was, can the Filipino be made a teacher of his own people?”<sup>46</sup> Rather than impose standards upon the child, progressive teachers sought to nurture transitions inherent in the evolution of the race, as well as the development of the intellect. Stressing that learning occurred in evolutionary stages, new concepts would only be introduced as they would make sense to the student’s experiences. In an article in *New York Times*, a teacher argued that Filipinos needed “real life stimulation” of development from one stage to the next. “The United States is meeting an unsolved problem with more efficient

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<sup>44</sup> Dudley A. McGovney, “Education in the Philippines” *New York Times*, February 1, 1903, p. 28.

<sup>45</sup> Marius John, *Philippine Saga*, p.114. See also William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of An American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in the Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1906), pp. 275-77. Teachers’ memoirs contradicted the official statements made by high-level administrators that there were no age limits of Filipino development. See James F. Smith, “Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Year Ending June 30, 1905,” p. 414.

<sup>46</sup> Barrows, “Education and Social Progress in the Philippines,” p. 76

and more ably handled methods than the world has ever had at its disposal before.”<sup>47</sup>

The first step was to introduce pragmatic and practical cognitive skills organized for purposeful activities. American educators believed that Filipinos absorbed their environment mechanically. In their memoirs, teachers portrayed Filipinos’ indomitable habit of recitation and “memory work” in the classroom. In comparing the mental abilities of Filipino and American children, one teacher stated that the former preferred routine tasks, becoming “discouraged when they have to puzzle out things for themselves.”<sup>48</sup> Another teacher wrote to his mother that Filipinos’ inner life was based on sensual attraction to Catholic church rituals and images, rather than an abstract and high-minded engagement with the divine.<sup>49</sup> In general, teachers noted that Filipinos retained knowledge and gave information in ways disassociated from the practical tasks of living. One teacher recalled his distaste for having conversations with local townspeople.

Who cares to hear poetry reeled off by the page, on all occasions? Who cares to hear hackneyed stories drawled out on the slightest excuse for a “Now, that reminds me of a —?” What Americans enjoy is spirited conversation, where memory assists but does not dominate the brains of those doing the talking. When we memorize a date or a fact, a host of little incidents and details go with the date or fact remembered, but not memorized; for we make of the memory a servant, not a master.<sup>50</sup>

The simple lessons of observation, rational thought and classification held the promise of radical change in such a population. By application of reason, not senses, Filipinos would learn how to perceive and to interact dynamically with their external environment.

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<sup>47</sup> Dudley A. McGovney, “Education in the Philippines,” p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912), p. 92.

<sup>49</sup> Letter from Ralph Wendall Taylor to Elizabeth Gurney Taylor, January 2, 1907; Taylor Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. See also Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 270.

<sup>50</sup> Ralph Kent Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino* (New York: Every Where Publishing Co., 1912), p. 93.

The new lessons entailed that students must learn how to observe phenomena, to marshal observations into questions, and to collect more information in the quest for a resolution. A manual for Filipino teachers, published in 1907, detailed a model discussion based on students' observations of the familiar banana plant. By posing increasingly difficult questions to give purpose to students' observation and analysis, the teacher must "prepare the pupil's minds to receive new facts." The manual continued, "Each lesson must be related to that which has been taught previously; for all new knowledge is perceived by children in its relation to things that they already know."<sup>51</sup> The practical uses of knowledge also led to pre-vocational training from primary schools to post-secondary institutions. An older Filipino student detailed the intellectual exercise of vocational training. The student asserted that making a chair

connects our thinking closely with our doing. ... Here is a series of operations all leading to a definite end, and each one of the steps is an end to itself which, when accomplished, strengthens the confidence and renews the courage to begin new tasks. Finally the chair is done and stands before our eyes, a thing of utility and beauty.<sup>52</sup>

In its efforts to eradicate non-rational cognition, such as intuition and superstition, public schools stressed the practical uses of the mind in one's daily life.

The emphasis on English language literacy, however, moved away from progressive educational theories toward imposing a formal set of knowledge: vocabulary, grammar and conversational phrases. Shortly after he retired from the University of California in 1943, Barrows advocated his imperial policy of English language literacy to solve problems apparently caused by progressive education in American schools. By disparaging efforts to encourage children's "self-expression" and "social adjustment," Barrows championed a core curriculum of Latin, Greek, geography, arithmetic, and English literature. He asserted the importance of English language literacy, even though

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<sup>51</sup> H.C. Theobald, *The Filipino Teacher's Manual* (New York: World Book Co., 1907), p. 40, 42.

<sup>52</sup> Miguel Guerrero, "The Value of Manual Training in Our Schools" *Philippine Education* 8: no. 2 (August 1911): 67.

his “may seem a reactionary view.” Stating that he had “tried these ideas out elsewhere years ago, upon a backward people educationally, but a very alert and ambitious people,” Barrows proclaimed that educational conservatism had succeeded in the former colony.<sup>53</sup>

In 1908, Barrows recommended that a first-year primary school student should learn to read and write two hundred and fifty English words.<sup>54</sup> In contrast to conversational methods detailed in *The Filipino Teachers' Manual*, a colonial teachers' magazine promoted primary school readers on phonics. At normal schools, Filipino teachers were drilled in phonics for fifteen minutes each day, to prevent the teaching of wrong pronunciation. The magazine also advised Filipinos to “make it a habit to commit to memory as much good English as possible.”<sup>55</sup>

More than a mode of communicating ideas, English words themselves conveyed a new body of thought. After studying educational theory, Barrows equated words with ideas themselves: “new thoughts come only with new additions to one's vocabulary.”<sup>56</sup> Based on this experience, Barrows advised teachers in the United States to “overwhelm [the student] with words.”<sup>57</sup> In this sense, the child acquires a shared cultural knowledge based on the English language. Colonial teachers believed that such knowledge did not replace any existing viable cultural heritage. Instead, it enabled the Filipino student to access “abstract ideas.” Among older Filipinos, this ability was especially crucial. A supervising teacher stated:

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<sup>53</sup> David P. Barrows, “Teaching” *California Monthly* (September 1943): 8, 40-1; Carton 6, Folder: Miscellaneous Writings, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>54</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education, July 1, 1907 to June 30, 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p. 27; Carton 6, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>55</sup> H. C. Theobald, *Filipino Teachers' Manual*, pp. 109-39. “Phonics” *Philippine Education* 4: no. 5 (October 1907): 15. “Lessons in English for Second Grade” *Philippine Education* 8: no. 2 (August 1911): 78. “Poems and Noble Extracts to be Learned by Heart” *Philippine Education* 8: no. 2 (August 1911): 82.

<sup>56</sup> Diary entry, David P. Barrows, March 15, 1908; Carton 3, Volume 38, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>57</sup> David P. Barrows, “Teaching,” p. 40.

Ignorance is evident both in quantity and quality, so to speak, of mental content. Ideas are not only few but abstract ideas are rare. In the native learning English the use of nouns is acquired more readily than the use of adjectives; so our task is not to enable him to pass from one language to another as a medium of thought and expression, but to furnish the material of thought as well.<sup>58</sup>

In this view, English was not to be a second language. Instead it was the primary medium of cultural development.

Teaching Filipinos to speak English led one colonial teacher to conclude the civilizing mission was formalistic and overdetermined. Mary Fee taught English in Philippine School of Arts and Trades in Manila. Because vocational schools charged no tuition, many students chose to pursue post-secondary education in the manual training field, as opposed to most of the private and costly academic colleges. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of Fee's students wrote their English compositions in high literary style, although as she recalls, "not one of them could have written a page of clear, grammatical, idiomatic English." Fee stressed that Filipinos needed to speak English to adapt to the modernizing world. Her students, who were all men, asserted a competing vision in which they used English not for general business but to reflect their cultural sensibilities. While Fee lectured her students that American writers and orators were a select group, a son of a local editor informed her that, unlike Americans, Filipinos are a "literary people."<sup>59</sup>

Fee's amusing anecdote pointed to a greater danger. The disagreement about the uses of English reflected how her students contradicted hierarchical relationships assumed by the colonial order, especially the superiority of Anglo-American civilization. Since they did not believe they were a backward race, her students apparently underestimated the "value of long training."<sup>60</sup> Fee suggests that the English language was an "artificial impetus" to open Filipinos to the Western world, and, as a result, "all

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<sup>58</sup> Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 270.

<sup>59</sup> Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, p. 89. Fee also published her drills for teaching English in colonial primary schools. Fee, "Conversational English for Second Grade" *Philippine Education* 7: no. 2 (August 1910): 73.

the natural laws of development are turned around.” Because her students had to adjust to the forces of industrialization and technology, her students’ desire to learn was fueled by an inherent insecurity and a need to overcompensate. The rapid pace of modernization under U.S. rule exacerbated Filipino racial flaws of pride and sensitivity, which marked them as a “feminine race.”<sup>61</sup>

Regardless of Fee’s impressions, her students’ responses reflected the organized efforts to contest the language policy. After the first popular election of the lower house of the Philippine Senate in 1907, Philippine nationalism began to dominate political discourse and contest the cultural terms of the progress. Filipino nationalists asserted demands for a rapid and definite resolution of the Philippines’s political status. In particular, calls for local self-government and national sovereignty shaped the political culture. In 1908, the Assembly passed two proposals: the first appropriated funds to expand primary schools in rural barrios. Secondly, the Assembly required that the vernacular dialects become the language of instruction in all primary and elementary public schools. While the Philippine Commission reduced the appropriations to barrio schools, it resoundingly rejected the language bill.<sup>62</sup>

In a government report, Barrows discussed the emergence of Philippine nationalist thought that criticized the English language policy in public schools. Departing from earlier *ilustrado*-led movements which collaborated with U.S. colonization, the nationalist Manila press sought to define a “Filipino soul” distinct from American definitions. With self-conscious tact, Barrows defined Filipinos’ search for a post-colonial sensibility to be “thoughtful” and yet misguided. He claimed that English language instruction does not “compel the suppression of the native character nor the

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<sup>60</sup> Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, p. 93.

<sup>61</sup> Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, p. 106, p. 134, p. 96.

<sup>62</sup> Camilo Osias, *Barrio Life and Barrio Education* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1921). Encarnación Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines*, p. 205. See Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule*, p. 77; and Arthur L. Carson, *The Story of Philippine Education* (Quezon City, Phils.: New Day Publishers, 1978), p. 40. Only in the 1970s and 1980s were Filipino vernacular languages institutionalized in elementary and secondary schools. Barbara S. Gaerlan, “The Pursuit of Modernity,” p. 108.

sacrifice of any of its excellencies.”<sup>63</sup> To become literate in English was to adopt the heritage, legacy and foundations of Western civilization. According to Barrows, this knowledge formed the foundation for any distinctive Philippine civilization. Filipinos, as a “backward race,” had to catch up with the progress of the West.

### Naturalizing colonization

Was there a risk of “over-civilizing” students by imposing upon them certain systems of thought? How should teachers protect students from such a risk? This debate framed many studies of human behavior and experience which influenced educational theory.<sup>64</sup> In his studies on child development and adolescence, psychologist G. Stanley Hall proposed that the path of civilization should not be traveled under coercion or as a matter of artificial stimulation. While Barrows expressed a firm belief that the American civil administration was capable of guiding the colony along a gradual, generational path towards civilization, Hall raised questions about race development under the colonial state: how would Filipinos experience new ideas of Western civilization, including modes of thought and language?

Hall studied children in playground and classroom settings, focusing on the condition of emotions and personality, as well as cognitive learning, during the period of development.<sup>65</sup> While observing the intense levels of intuition and superstition among white children in schoolyards, Hall theorized adolescence as the biological recapitulation of the white race’s pre-civilized condition.<sup>66</sup> He argued that the suppression of children’s

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<sup>63</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education, July 1, 1907 to June 30, 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p. 35; Carton 6, Folder: Philippines — Report to the Department of the Interior, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>64</sup> John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, p. 112.

<sup>65</sup> John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, p. 142.

<sup>66</sup> Borrowing from Ernst Haeckel and Herbert Spencer, Hall formulated the “psychonomic law,” which stated that ontology (the biological development of the individual) recapitulates phylogeny (the evolution of the race). Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, p. 101. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, p. 93. See also: Piet de Rooy, “Of Monkeys, Blacks, and Proles: Ernst Haeckel’s Theory of Recapitulation” in *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice*, edited by Jan Breman (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990), pp. 7-34.



primitive passions, particularly the emotional life of adolescent boys, explained a number of physical and cultural illnesses in Anglo-American society. Historian Gail Bederman argues persuasively that Hall sought to shift male gender concepts from manly self-restraint to a powerful masculinity expressed in a vigorous Christianity and a strong body.<sup>67</sup> Only by expressing savage tendencies to the fullest could the child develop into a fully civilized adult.

Recapitulation theory focused on a biological capacity to evolve, found in both white adolescents and “backward” races. The savage symbolized the ancestral forefather of the white race, and, as such, was parallel to the white child. Drawing upon Lamarckian theory, Hall proposed that “backward races” may provide the material to build a superior human species.<sup>68</sup> Because the stages preceding civilization provided crucial resources for biological evolution, Hall criticized any civilizing mission that suppressed traits inherent to savagery. He accused imperialists of introducing characteristics of civilization in an artificial process, thereby inhibiting the natural course of development.

The time has now, in our judgment, fully come when not merely philanthropy but science and even a broadly based economy should teach us that primitives have certain inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that ruthless interference with customs that have worked well for indigenous races should close.<sup>69</sup>

Stating that Americans didn't know enough how to guide the development of non-white

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<sup>67</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, pp. 78-84. Hall's theories on adolescent boy's development influenced physical education and the YMCA. Benjamin G. Rader, “The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behaviour, Moral Reflexes and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 123-34. See also David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

<sup>68</sup> G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1922), p. 748.

<sup>69</sup> G. Stanley Hall, “The Point of View Toward Primitive Races” *Journal of Race Development* 1: no. 1 (July 1910): 5.

peoples, Hall tried to dissuade the United States from imperial expansion in 1898.<sup>70</sup>

More than a decade later, Hall and a colleague at Clark University invited Barrows to become a contributing editor of a new scholarly publication, *The Journal of Race Development*. Hall's colleague, George Blakeslee, was a former civil servant in the Philippines with Barrows. Currently a history professor, Blakeslee informed Barrows that "Dr. Hall and the university have interested themselves in an especial degree in this general problem of the education of dependent peoples."<sup>71</sup> This invitation emboldened Barrows to assert how colonial education resolved many of the dilemmas of race development theory. Barrows longed to return to an academic career, which, except for one year spent teaching, he had not resumed since receiving his doctorate in anthropology from the University of California in 1900. Accepting Blakeslee's offer, Barrows wrote, "The progress of the backward peoples and races ... in my mind, is the great field of the present century. ... This is the line of inquiry and study to which I want to devote such abilities and experience as I have."<sup>72</sup>

In subsequent scholarly and popular publications, Barrows combined Hall's theories of race development with justification of the U.S. colonial state. After retiring from colonial service in 1909, Barrows became an associate professor in education and anthropology at his alma mater. His courses popularized education as the essence and manifestation of idealized colonial rule, and instigated the study of the Philippine culture and history as part of Asian Pacific studies.<sup>73</sup> While scholars, such as Hall, drew from Victorian society to illustrate the modernization of non-Western peoples, Barrows

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<sup>70</sup> Ross implies that Hall fashioned himself as a spokesperson for primitive peoples, and as an advocate for their autonomy. Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1972), p. 414.

<sup>71</sup> Letter from George Blakeslee to David P. Barrows, May 18, 1909; Box 12, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>72</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to George Blakeslee, June 29, 1909; Box 1, Folder: January-June 1909, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>73</sup> American Historical Association of California held its annual meeting at the site of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The conference featured four sessions on Pacific Rim region and one on Philippine History. Barrows presented a paper that he later published on Philippine colonial

brought attention to the details of colonial education to stimulate new ideas on human progress. He implicitly raised the question of whether child development was a universal model for “adolescent races.”

In his last report as Director of Education, he devoted most of his energies to two contentious issues: language and finances.<sup>74</sup> During Barrows’ tenure as director, schools had been underfunded. For several years municipal taxes had been inadequate to fund the expanding primary school system.<sup>75</sup> In search of funding, Barrows formulated increasingly assertive arguments about colonial education’s success and relevance. The report insisted that Americans needed to retain the Philippines and keep education at the center of imperial policy. This document summarized his career, responded to nationalist challenges to his educational policies, and set the stage for Barrows to re-enter the American university. When Barrows received copies of the report in February 1909, he reviewed them eagerly and wrote in his diary, “It is my most diligent and thoughtful effort. I worked on it many weeks, rewriting much of it three times. ... A good deal of this may work up into a volume — a permanent work — on ‘the American school policy in the Philippines’ to be written as I finish my career here.”<sup>76</sup>

Barrows used ethnological and historical knowledges to argue that the colonial state shaped its educational policies according to the specific conditions for Philippine progress. He explained how the course of Philippine history led Filipinos to become an English-speaking people within the American empire. As such, requiring Filipinos to engage with U.S. culture in public schools was neither artificial nor exploitative, but made sense because of their racial character. Building upon his earlier history of Philippine ethnology, Barrows defined the biological capacities of Filipino-Malayan peoples to reproduce, develop and survive.

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administration. J.F.J., “The Meeting of the American Historical Association in California,” *The American Historical Review* 21: no. 1 (October 1915): 5-6.

<sup>74</sup> Diary entry, David P. Barrows, February 15, 1909; Carton 3, Volume 38, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>75</sup> James F. Smith, “Annual Report,” p. 378.

<sup>76</sup> Diary entry, David P. Barrows, February 15, 1909.

In his *History of the Philippines*, first published in 1905 and revised in 1924, Barrows, identified four races in the Philippines: Christianized “Filipinos,” animist Malaysians, Moros, and Negritos. To signify the evolutionary stages of civilization, he defined racial difference largely by religion, as well as physical attributes, such as skin color.<sup>77</sup> The government report stressed that the most promising inhabitants of the colony formulated their cultural identities under successive waves of foreign immigration and conquest. In Barrows’ version of Philippine “pre-history,” the Malayan race was “rescued” from savagery by Hindu, Islamic and Spanish civilizations. They then drove the darker-skinned and non-Christian races of the region, with the exception of the Moros, into the mountainous interior.<sup>78</sup>

As modernization and race development depended upon communication with the outside world, provincialism and local indigenusness became synonymous with stagnation and regression. Barrows did not at all believe in the idea of preserving “unique qualities” that marked Filipinos as “Orientals,” or as savages restricted to a non-Western culture. Barrows addressed Hall’s concern for protecting primitive indigenusness by arguing that Filipino-Malayans possessed a biological capacity and historical desire to acquire increasingly civilized traits and ways of life. In contrast to the peoples destined to disappear, or at least to be dominated and absorbed, Barrows expected the “Filipinos” to flourish under the American regime.<sup>79</sup>

Some races have not this power, but when confronted with superior culture or brought into contact with a population of greater strength, dwindle and melt away. It is not so with the Filipinos. ... Through all their history they have shown

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<sup>77</sup> Barrows’ narrative drew from the wave migration theory which explained the racial, ethnic and religious diversity of the Philippines as arising from “the inevitable retreat of darker skinned, more savage inhabitants in the face of advancing groups of lighter skinned, more civilized and physically superior conquerors.” Vicente L. Rafael, “White Love: Surveillance and Nationalist Resistance in the U.S. Colonization of the Philippines,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 200

<sup>78</sup> He identified these peoples as having only scientific value, and negligible political or historical influence. David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, p. 5. Barrows’ testimony before the Insular Affairs Committee, p. 719.

<sup>79</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education*, p. 35.

themselves capable of cultural advance and ever have been acquiring and assimilating new elements of civilization.<sup>80</sup>

Barrows argued that Filipinos had to welcome U.S. colonization if they were to progress — not only because of the benefits of American democracy but because of the nature of Filipino racial character and cultural history. Filipinos should have “confidence in their own virility” and the faith that they belong to the “Christian world.”<sup>81</sup> Barrows’ report briefly referred to Filipino intellectuals who claimed pre-colonial Philippine culture as alternative basis for national culture in reaction to American rule.<sup>82</sup> He described the historical legacy which nationalists reclaimed as “a wild barbarism left behind centuries ago.”<sup>83</sup> In the linear narrative of race development — pre-colonial savagery, semi-civilized and proto-nationalist identity under Spain, followed liberation under the Americans — there was no looking back.<sup>84</sup>

Filipinos’ engagement with the globalizing world vastly expanded from the experience of an *ilustrado* class engaging with contemporary European intellectual discourses of anti-clericalism and science. Under a universal system of public schools, a civil society based on the English language spread from provincial towns to the rural barrios. Barrows included his metanarrative of Filipino race development into his published volume, *History of the Philippines*, which underwent many revisions and became a standard textbook in the public schools. In its introduction, Barrows stressed that the volume was to instruct Filipinos of the long history of their interactions with the

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<sup>80</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education.*, p. 35.

<sup>81</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education*, p. 36.

<sup>82</sup> The nationalist movement to define a separate and distinct cultural identity from the colonial project of modernity is described by Dipesh Chakrabarty, “The Difference — Deferral of a Colonial Modernity” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 373-405. See also Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

<sup>83</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education*, p. 35.

<sup>84</sup> Reynaldo C. Ileto, “Outlines of a Nonlinear Emplotment of Philippine History.”

development of Western civilizations.<sup>85</sup> An historian has noted that educated Filipinos, by the mid-1920s, believed that their national, cultural and racial identities were deeply shaped by Western influences.<sup>86</sup> On practical and idealistic levels, many students of U.S. schools did not see a contradiction between asserting their rights to national sovereignty while, at the same time, courting American capital investment and seeking American university degrees.

At a turning point in U.S. policies that brought about the end of his colonial career, Barrows articulated two significant racial arguments. Upholding the racial superiority of the American colonial state, he emphasized that Filipinos were incapable of governing themselves. At the same time, Barrows did not think that they were so “primitive” that they were destined to disappear, and that Westernizing and Christianizing influences under European and U.S. colonizations were beneficial to a “race” that was inquisitive but not advanced. Colonial education became the experimental arena for expanding progressivism across racial lines, and building a Philippine nation-state in the crucible of U.S. global expansionism. Colonial pedagogy, educational theory and practice tested the power and capacity to transform societies and subjectivity. The racialization of Filipinos signified the border across which American progressive visions expanded, while including the necessary restraint against collapsing fundamental hierarchies and cultural differences that defined the colonizer against the colonized.

### Remembering the days of empire

During his last year as Director of Education, Barrows anticipated his journey across the Pacific Ocean back to California. In his diary, he pledged to continue his work in race development, which included reforming “relations between the white and

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<sup>85</sup> David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, pp. iv-v.

<sup>86</sup> Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, p. 11.

backward races at all the many points where contact occurs.”<sup>87</sup> On the eve of the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915, Barrows asserted the need of white American men to assume power in the Asian-Pacific region. While celebrating the United States’ economic expansion, Barrows hoped Americans would create a new social and political order in the region. He proposed that U.S. scholars and politicians seize the representation of racial diversity in an anthropological exhibit. “If the effort was made to show each [race] at its best, its worthiest, and not at its basest or most bizarre — what an opportunity to educate, to enlighten and to stimulate the faith in the progressive perfectibility of man!”<sup>88</sup> Codifying and managing evolutionary hierarchies would allow Americans to justify and maintain their dominant civilization.

Barrows looked forward to returning to California because his schools began to lose significant support from the colonial administration. Because of poor funding and policy disagreements with the Philippine Commission, the socially progressive primary school failed both to expand across the islands and to spread English-language literacy among the populace. The municipal taxes and appropriations for primary schools were consistently inadequate from 1900 to 1909, thereby limiting the building of schools into the barrios. In 1909, the Philippine Commission reduced the appropriations for rural primary schools that the Filipino-run lower assembly had passed. Shortly after Barrows returned to the United States, the Bureau of Education furthermore made a dramatic turn in educational policies. It stopped building primary schools, and for a while, closed them down in rural areas. The new Director of Education diverted existing funds to secondary schools and expanded courses in industrial education.

The lack of commitment to public schools on the part of Americans in the colonial government contrasted sharply with Barrows’ view of widespread Filipino support of universal public education. In response to his displacement, Barrows began to define a progressive racial and gender identity based on American empire. The colonial

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<sup>87</sup> Diary entry, David P. Barrows, May 9, 1909; Carton 3, Volume 38, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>88</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to George Blakeslee, July 25, 1910; Box 1, Folder: January-June 1910, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

encounter, particularly mediated through education, was a mode of racial progress not only for Filipinos. Participating in the history of Philippine development allowed Americans to envision an ideal relation between the savage and the civilized. Barrows' argument that that colonial education filled the need to destroy provincialism of Philippine society contained an implicit proposal that Americans overcome their own tendencies toward isolationism. Opening up the Philippines to the Western world took on the universalist value of human progress.

A new insular administration headed by W. Cameron Forbes changed the policies which the outgoing Governor-General Taft had instituted nearly a decade before. Whereas Taft had combined economic development with social reforms, Forbes introduced a new definition of Philippine progress based on economic prosperity through foreign investment.<sup>89</sup> Barrows wrote to a colleague in the United States that, unless he was promoted to Secretary of Public Instruction, he planned to resign. "Frankly I do not care to continue in the Philippine service for the next few years. There has been a decided change in the character of the governing body here and in the motives which control the public policy. This is a good and fortunate time for me to leave."<sup>90</sup> Barrows' decision to leave the Philippines reflected the shifting definitions of self-government in U.S. colonial policy. By defending public schooling, he argued that empire should be a project of race development toward civilization rather than merely a modernizing program which aimed for stability and corporate prosperity.<sup>91</sup> In an essay published in 1910 in *The Journal of Race Development*, he equated colonial education with Filipino advocacy, and associated older forms of imperial exploitation with the new policies of economic development.

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<sup>89</sup> H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 87-88; Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule*, p. 52; and Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974) p.143.

<sup>90</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Jesse Burks, May 14, 1909; Box 1, Folder: January-June 1909; David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



The essay predicted an impending crisis for the white race caused by the neglect or exploitation of non-white peoples, who would lag behind and create unstable political situations all over the world. Barrows warned that colonial powers needed to learn how to reform their civilizing missions to engage more tactfully and patiently with their charges. Describing the potential for “dependent” peoples to become alienated from Western civilization, Barrows argued, “it is doubtful if he [the white man] can longer generally maintain his superior position except by generous concessions. The future is full of trouble and will tax the capacities of the white race.”<sup>92</sup> In his view, white Americans who built schools for Filipinos found ways to resolve such problems. Teachers avoided the temptation to exploit their charges, as well as the degenerative effects of conceding to the demands of savage peoples. Instead, they developed strong characters to encourage the mimetic qualities of their ambitious students. To facilitate these ideal conditions, Barrows advocated a permanent colonial service in the U.S. federal government. In contrast, he reported to a colleague the “astonishing” sense of resignation among Americans in Manila to Filipino political and social assertiveness. “When everything impells [*sic*] us to give up our task here and we ourselves grow weary of struggling with it,” he warned, “the hour will come suddenly, like the thief in the night, and the separation perhaps be accomplished.”<sup>93</sup>

After Barrows’ departure, the Democratic administration took office in 1913, and rapidly overturned the policy of indefinite colonial retention of the islands. Foregrounding President Woodrow Wilson’s support for the self-government of small states, Americans began to seek methods other than imperialism to expand their influence in the Asian-Pacific region. The new policies of self-determination included aggressive

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<sup>91</sup> David P. Barrows, “What May Be Expected from Philippine Education?” *Journal of Race Development* 2 (October 1910): 156, 157, 167. See also David P. Barrows, *A Decade of American Government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1914), p. 47.

<sup>92</sup> David P. Barrows, “What May Be Expected from Philippine Education?” p. 157.

<sup>93</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Alfred LeRoy, no date; Box 1, Folder: September-December 1908, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

overseas economic expansion.<sup>94</sup> The changes under the new Governor-General Francis B. Harrison included the Jones Act of 1916, a new organic law that abolished the Philippine Commission and defined independence as the ultimate goal of American imperialism. Barrows argued that the American retreat from colonial responsibilities meant that they were abandoning the cause of Filipino progress.<sup>95</sup> He pointed to Harrison's policies of "Filipinization," which encouraged Filipinos to assume the directorships of most government agencies, except the Bureau of Public Instruction. Refusing to work under Filipino superiors and drawn home by the impending world war, many Americans resigned with a modest pension. In 1913, approximately five hundred Americans left the colonial service, while Filipino civil servants increased by almost one thousand.<sup>96</sup>

While many Filipinos rejoiced in Harrison's proclamation of a "new era," Barrows turned to history as the final judgment of imperial policy.<sup>97</sup> Under Harrison, the Americans who had been involved in the colonization of the Philippines at the turn-the-century no longer held top positions in the federal or insular governments. Barrows' correspondence and lectures on the Philippines after World War I stated that no administrator in the current colonial regime personally witnessed the difficulties of establishing the civil rule after the Philippine-American War.<sup>98</sup> He blamed Harrison's administration for undoing the work of the Republican policies. In the concluding chapter of his *History of the Philippines*, Barrows accused his opponents of violating the

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<sup>94</sup> On Wilson's liberal colonial state, see William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), pp. 69-71, p. 96.

<sup>95</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Alfred LeRoy, June 29, 1908; Box 1, Folder: January-July 1908, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>96</sup> David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, p. 367. Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, p. 208. Claude A. Buss, *The United States and the Philippines* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), p. 11.

<sup>97</sup> Iletto describes how Filipinos approached the election years of 1909, 1912 and 1915 with a sense of "*panahon*," or "a new era heralded by signs and, possibly, conflict." Reynaldo C. Iletto, "Orators and the Crowd: Independence Politics, 1910-1914" in *Filipinos and their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1998), p. 148.

<sup>98</sup> Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, pp. 207-8.

legacy of colonization: “The establishment of orderly and progressive society is too precious a thing to civilization to save from execration those who would suffer it to sink in strife and sedition and permit its elements to be scattered over the China Sea like the debris of a typhoon.”<sup>99</sup> Although this volume was published separately from *History of the Philippines*, it was issued as the final chapter.

Barrows identified the struggle against racial hostility and competition with his memories of colonial service. “The associations of the Days of Empire, the friends of bosque and barrio, the days of hike and hilarity, of flawless nights and many bites, of dhobie itch and amoebic bugs, of morisqueta and combate manuc, and of love and liquor and man talk, all have been recalled over our board.”<sup>100</sup> The organization mobilized their memories to oppose Philippine independence. Although many American women took part in colonial service, particularly as teachers, they were absent from the all-male functions of the “Returned Exiles of the Philippines.” Women’s exclusion from the social act of remembering empire reflected common assumptions and policies about the gendered work of race development.

What Barrows and his colleagues commemorated was an imperial manhood which guided the evolution of “lesser races.” In the colony, the teaching profession became the domain of men. In the later decades, women teachers were recruited mostly to teach English or specialized courses in domestic science. As early as 1904, Barrows discouraged a close friend from referring other women to the colonial service: “A good many resignations among the women in the Bureau took place this spring so that I now really need a few more but not many, for the work as we are at present conducting it is pretty largely a man’s work.”<sup>101</sup> He referred to the hazards of traveling to supervise and build schools, particularly in regions far from settled and fully pacified towns, a danger for Americans well into the 1920s.

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<sup>99</sup> David P. Barrows, *A Decade of American Government in the Philippines*, p. 66.

<sup>100</sup> “To the members of the Philippine Society and All Ex-exiles,” March 24, 1917; Carton 17, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>101</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Sarah Rixley Smith, September 29, 1904; Box 1, Folder: January-December 1904, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Gender as well as race was part of imperial dominance over developmental processes. For Barrows, the colonization of the Philippines spoke to the promise contained by the theory of monogenesis that humanity began as whole before dividing, through a complex process, into peoples with distinct racial characters.<sup>102</sup> Arguing that sovereignty of “small nations” was an obstacle to the movement of all races towards a unity under Anglo-American leadership, Barrows imbued empire with spiritual meanings associated with human perfectibility.<sup>103</sup> Such imperial views shed light on the liberal humanism inherent in progressive ideologies. Humanistic imperialism did not bring about the collapse of essential difference by promoting the equality among all races. Instead, he understood racial difference as a matter of differing biological potential, mapped out in historical time. In contrast to civilized-bound Anglo-American women, Barrows defined himself as a character who engineered progress in the Philippines because he possessed the rational and moral character to navigate history and to direct future change.

### Conclusion

Barrows' position at the University of California provided him with considerable influence and authority on colonial politics. During periods of agitation for independence, Barrows actively entered debates on Filipino character and the methods of colonial rule. On a more regular basis, however, he shaped Filipino representations in the classroom. While at the university during his hiatus from colonial service in 1906, Barrows recruited personnel for the Philippine public schools. He recommended that interested candidates take his courses on “The Ethnology of Malaysia” and “The People of the Philippines.”<sup>104</sup> In 1911, Barrows taught a class in entitled, “Education in the

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<sup>102</sup> David P. Barrows, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education*, p. 35. For a discussion of monogenesis in the nineteenth-century, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 53.

<sup>103</sup> David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, p. 388.

<sup>104</sup> Letter from David Barrows to Benjamin Wheeler, December 4, 1906; Box 1, Folder: February-December 1906, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Philippines: The Development of the Filipino Peoples.” His introductory lecture posed these questions: “Are all races — any race except our own — capable of assimilating Western civilization? Is their adoption of it bound to be a mere veneer or is it sometimes genuine? What is the future of the darker races in the next one hundred years? How does this future affect ours?”<sup>105</sup>

Barrows’ concern for the intertwined futures of Anglo-Americans and Filipinos made him a unique advocate for Filipinos pursuing higher education in the United States. He helped to incorporate the Filipino Student Association, which began in 1908, and presided over the club’s Board of Trustees from the late 1920s to the mid-1930s.<sup>106</sup> During that period, Barrows took credit for shaping a generation of Filipinos who experienced the benefits of American empire.

There is a growing class of young men in the Philippines who have been educated in American schools — in many cases, in this country — and who are now approaching the age of thirty-five or forty. ... These young men will respond, in a way, to patriotic and disinterested appeals, and they are the only hope that I see for creating a balanced, honest and loyal public opinion. I know scores of these young men, and they all know me and remember me; and probably the best asset I have is the regard which they feel for me and a belief that I do not equivocate and do not compromise with what is not right.<sup>107</sup>

Much to his delight, Filipino students at Berkeley supported Barrows’ nomination to succeed Governor-General Leonard Wood, who died unexpectedly in 1927.<sup>108</sup> Although Barrows did not secure the nomination, he consoled himself with the conviction that

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<sup>105</sup> David P. Barrows, “What to do with the backward peoples of the world?”; lecture for “Education in the Philippines: The Development of the Filipino Peoples,” University of California, Berkeley, August 24, 1911; Carton 10, Folder: Lecture Notes, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>106</sup> Pamphlet, “A Statement by the Trustees of the Filipino Students Association,” ca. 1927; Carton 17, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>107</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Caspar G. Hodgson, February 12, 1929; Box 4, Folder: February 1929, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>108</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Caspar G. Hodgson, February 12, 1929; Box 4, Folder: February 1929, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

colonial education would justify U.S. colonization in the historical record.

In addition to arguing against Philippine independence, Barrows threw his political support for restricting Filipino immigration to the United States. Testifying in the 1930 hearings of the House Committee on Immigration, he argued that the Filipino peasants seeking work in Hawai'i and the Pacific Coast sacrificed their moral and cultural development for dreams of economic wealth. "Everything in our rapid, pleasure-seeking life, and the more or less shameless exhibitionism which accompanies it," he stated, "contributes to overwhelm these young men who, in most cases, are only a few years removed from the even, placid life of a primitive native barrio."<sup>109</sup> While defending Filipinos' right to enter into American institutions, Barrows stated that only the educated "middle class" could thrive in the United States. These statements suggest how colonial knowledges of Philippine ethnology and social structures contributed to class and racial divisions of Filipinos in the United States. To a large extent, the students who supported Barrows' nomination as head of the colonial administration sought to advance their own elitist versions of political rule and Philippine historiography.

As I have argued, Barrows believed in the potential of Filipino intellect but defined Filipinos as an "adolescent race," with an undeveloped moral character. In this evolutionary view, it mattered greatly whether Filipinos came to the United States as "students" or as "workers." Yet even students underwent considerable trials. As a thesis adviser, Barrows recommended in 1931 that his student, Felipe Brewster Gamboa, return to the Philippines to teach in a public school for several years. The professor wrote to the interim Governor of the islands to secure Gamboa a position in a high school. In the letter, Barrows explained that the student needed to prepare for his qualifying exams by learning how to organize and present political and economic information on Philippine independence, the subject of his dissertation. In this letter, Barrows singled out his student for displaying a modest disposition not usually found in Filipinos. Nevertheless, he felt that Gamboa needed "to test out his competence as a teacher and as a student of

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<sup>109</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Exclusion of Immigration from the Philippine Islands: Hearing on H.R. 8708*, 71<sup>st</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., April 10-12; May 7-8, 1930.

higher studies.” Evidently, Gamboa’s work supported Philippine independence, and its immature views warranted further, albeit unconventional, training.<sup>110</sup>

Barrows’ support for Filipino immigration restriction implies that very particular conditions were needed to reproduce the colonial encounter in the United States. In the following chapter, I will reconstruct Filipino students’ everyday social relations in the U.S., as they tested Barrows’ hypothesis that the Filipino-American relationship contributed to human progress. Filipinos seeking education in the United States appealed to the responsibilities of race development that Barrows claimed were Americans’ birthright. In ways that he did not intend, however, a number of Filipinos invoked Barrows’ imperial idealism to appeal for their sovereignty from the colonial state and to assert their right to enter the United States.

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<sup>110</sup> Letter from David P. Barrows to Governor George C. Butte, April 15, 1931; Box 5, Folder: April-June 1931, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**Student Migrations:**  
**Racialized Bodies, Cosmopolitan Nationalism and the “New Filipino”**

Introduction

American educators in the turn-of-the-century Philippines used racial discourses to understand their students and the populace surrounding colonial public schools. To place their students within the scale of progress and to naturalize hierarchical relations, teachers identified Filipinos as semi-barbaric and savage peoples. Drawing upon metaphors of culture and biology, many Americans in this period used the term “race” to signify “national culture” and “civilization.”<sup>1</sup> While marking them as distinct from Americans, racial traits did not signify a common culture or shared blood ties among Filipinos. Dean Worcester and David Barrows, both colonial administrators and trained anthropologists, differed on the use of the term “tribe” to describe the various groups in the islands, but they shared the view that no “native” or “folk” culture served to unify the populace. Furthermore, many dominant groups possessed a racial attribute that hampered nation-formation: the powerful tended to subjugate the weak, thereby profiting from the isolation of “tribes” from each other and from civilization.<sup>2</sup> Barbarism and savagery, in other words, signified a host of cultural conditions that precluded Americans from

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<sup>1</sup> George W. Stocking, Jr., “The Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race” *Modernism/Modernity* 1: no. 1 (1994): 4-16.

<sup>2</sup> On the debate between Worcester and Barrows on the term “tribe,” see Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early Twentieth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), p. 49. Racial conceptions of Philippine tribalism and feudalism persisted in the social science literature on the failure of democracy in the late twentieth-century Philippines. Reynaldo Ileto, “Orientalism and the Study of Philippine Politics” *The Burns Chair Lectures* (Manoa: University of Hawai‘i, Center for Philippine Studies, 1999), pp. 41-66.



imagining Filipinos as an authentic national community.

To the extent that racial discourse incorporated theories of culture and politics, they cannot be seen apart from the rationales for retaining the Philippines as a colony. Indeed, many Americans doubted that public school curricula could produce a unified, national culture, and strategically pursued economic and social reforms to delay decolonization. While collaborating with open-ended colonial reforms, politically active Filipinos also protested what they saw as a vague policy of semi-permanent colonialism.<sup>3</sup> This chapter concerns the interrelated meanings of nationality and race that shaped Filipinos' scholarly pursuits in America. Through a fellowship program, the colonial state sent selected students, also called *pensionados*, to the United States. With education, Filipinos attempted to supplant the prevailing racial discourses of savagery and semi-barbarism that had so far forestalled national independence. What were the signs of civilization and self-governance? In what ways did Filipinos constitute a people that could be recognized as an independent nation? Since sovereignty was a political impossibility in this period, they invented, performed and practiced virtues of self-governance, such as moral character, proper social behavior, and healthy bodies. Students viewed a rational mind and a rehabilitated body as the means by which to represent the nation.

In Filipino American historiography, *pensionados* have played ambiguous and under-analyzed roles in the larger narrative of Filipino labor immigration. Following the lead of Philippine nationalist writers, Asian American historians have viewed government scholars as evidence of a Filipino "colonial mentality." *Pensionados* came from either elite land-owning classes or the expanding middle-class in provincial capitals. By seeking a metropolitan education, they contrasted sharply with labor migrants who came from rural Philippine barrios and worked in agribusiness in the American West.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: the Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).

<sup>4</sup> Renato Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino" in *The Filipinos in the Philippines and Other Essays* (Quezon City: Filipino Signature, 1966), p. 52-3. Jovina Navarro, ed., *Diwang Pilipino: Pilipino Consciousness* (Davis: University of California, 1974), pp. 24-5. On the other hand, a colonial administrator noted that *pensionados* joined labor radicals and nationalists in demanding immediate

At the same time, historians have proposed that government scholars and “self supporting students” built the foundational organizations for Filipino American public life before World War II. A significant number of students who migrated in the 1920s without government funds settled in the U.S., partly because the Great Depression made it difficult for them to return. Except for those who extend their theory of Filipino immigration to the sixteenth-century settlements that developed from the Manila galleon trade, most Asian American historians identify pensionados as the “first wave” of Filipino Americans.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, pensionados have represented a prefigurative Filipino ethnicity. Their cultural affiliations with the U.S. educational system and policies of English language instruction have served as a functional explanation for Filipino immigration in general. In a significant number of accounts, Filipino migrants recalled their American teachers in the Philippines as pivotal figures in their migration story. American school teachers gave their students a sense of connection with America. A.B. Santos, a Filipino interviewed in a recent study, stated, “I had an American teacher who used to tell our class that in the United States, as long as you are willing to work and you are not weak, you can survive very well. ... It was this kind of information that gave me all the courage.”<sup>6</sup> To some extent, their “colonial mentality” can be interpreted as a variation of the immigrant “American Dream.”

The historical literature on Filipino immigration during the early twentieth-century raises compelling questions about the influence of empire and Philippine nationalism upon ethnic formation. I do not believe, however, the process of becoming a “Filipino American ethnic” accurately illustrates the ways in which students saw their residence in the United States during this period. Ethnic assimilation was not a project

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independence from Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison in 1913. Reynaldo C. Ileto, “Orators and the Crowd: Independence Politics, 1910-1914” in *Filipinos and their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1998), p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Barbara Posadas and Roland Guyotte, “Unintentional Immigrants: Chicago’s Filipino Foreign Students Become Settlers, 1900-1941” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 9 (Spring 1990): 26-48. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretative History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> Yen Le Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), p. 38.

that the colonial government, Philippine elites, or the racially segregated U.S. society made available to Filipino students. The demands of Philippine nationalism and the pressures of U.S. national interests sometimes overlapped and, at other times, created split allegiances. It was possible that Filipino students' loyalty to the U.S. colonial state, particularly to its educational policies and rhetoric of democracy and modernization, was construed as loyalty to Philippine national development.

In the larger context of imperial progressivism, the United States was only one privileged site in which Filipinos sought education as a vehicle for nation-building. This paradigm did create a hierarchy of place: students pursuing Philippine progressivism in the United States were more impressive than those who traveled only to Manila. In the form of the educational degree, Filipinos gained cultural and political power from training in the America. Nevertheless, for those who believed in liberal, secular and technically-driven nationalism, education was a universalist institution and an inherently cosmopolitan endeavor. To understand how Filipino immigrants embraced and resisted Americanization, we must ask how the migration of colonial students internationalized U.S. culture. Filipino student nationalism took hold in U.S. progressive circles at two moments in which Americans looked forward to expanding their conceptions of progress around the world: the turn-of-the-century and World War I.

I will discuss three moments in which Filipino racial identities in the U.S. were central to discussions of Philippine nationality. From 1903 to the 1930s, the government scholars and other students in the U.S. discussed the challenges of becoming educated colonials and racialized cosmopolitans. In the first section, I will discuss the participation of government scholars at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. Employed briefly by the Philippine Exposition Board, pensionados attempted to intervene in the cultural event that had brought the largest number of "non-Christian" Filipinos to the United States for exhibition and profit. The second moment of racial formation that I will discuss is the staging of social encounters between Filipinos and Americans in the private homes of YMCA members during World War I. In these cultural rituals, Filipino students found themselves at the intersection of Americanization and internationalism that marked contemporary debates concerning ethnicity. Lastly, Filipino students found an institutional base and discursive community in post-war cosmopolitan culture within

U.S. universities. In this third section, I will examine the intersections of gender, nationalism and cosmopolitanism that defined the “New Filipino” of the early 1920s.

While we can clearly distinguish pensionado elites from subaltern migrant agricultural workers, identifying student nationalism as a distinct culture within the larger narrative of labor immigration remains a considerable conceptual challenge. Students were certainly a tiny minority: demographically, they paled in comparison to the numbers of Filipino workers in America. At their peak in 1924, two thousand Filipinos studied in the United States; between 1923 and 1929, in contrast, 4,100 laborers entered California alone every year. Because of their status as wards of the United States, Filipino men and women were able to travel to America without passports or visas.<sup>7</sup> After the United States restricted Japanese immigration in 1924, the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association took advantage of Filipinos’ colonial status when it began recruiting workers from the Philippines. From the mid-1920s to World War II, Filipino labor immigration totaled over 50,000.<sup>8</sup> While we are able to count the numbers of government scholars, particularly during its inception in the early 1900s and its revival in 1919, any endeavor to quantify working students remains difficult. Private agencies regularly undercounted Filipino students because they got their information from university administrators who tended to count them as “Latin American” due to their surname or first language.<sup>9</sup>

To address such methodological issues, I have opted to piece together the institutional structure of Filipino student life from a number of colonial, national and

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<sup>7</sup> Melchora Alayu stated in an interview that the only reason for Filipinos to get passports was to disembark in foreign ports on the way to the United States from the Philippines. Estrella Alamar’s interview with Francisco and Melchora Alayu, undated, transcribed by Kimberly Alidio; Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago.

<sup>8</sup> Yen Le Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, p. 8; and Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> When it has been possible to compare the statistics kept by private and governmental organizations for a given year, the discrepancies have been striking. Manuel A. Adeva, ed., *Directory of Filipino Students in the United States 1936-1937* (New York: Filipino Students’ Christian Movement in America, 1937). Other sources include: Folders 1-4, 6; Box 3; Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (CONFRAS) Records; YMCA of the USA Archives, International Division; and Record Group 350, Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More than One Island Possession; General Classified Files 1914-1945; Box 1245, Folder 27698-9 & withs; National Archives and Record Administration II, College Park, Maryland.

local organizations. My research draws from the records of the Philippine Bureau of Education, the U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, and the YMCA of Chicago. This network was discursive as well as institutional; primarily didactic and ideological, it gave form to a distinct public identity for Filipino students. Furthermore, I will approach student publications as the thread between top-down organizations and students' informal associations. These sources include *The Filipino Student Magazine*, *The Philippine Herald*, *The Filipino Nation*, and *The Filipino Student Bulletin*. With this approach, I will distinguish between government students, working students and laborers. The taxonomy of social categories available to Filipinos in the United States included "pensionado," "self-supporting student," "foreign student," "cosmopolitan," and, to lesser degrees, "immigrant" and "laborer." Signifying ways to view and order the world, these identities exerted the power to incorporate lived experience and, in turn, shaped public activities.

As I will argue, the cosmopolitan public sphere was based upon class hierarchies and the "high" culture of the university. Being a cosmopolitan student signified an affiliation with formal institutions of learning, including full governmental scholarships and part-time or irregular enrollment. While the increasing immigration of Filipino laborers threatened the project of cosmopolitan travel, it also created a multitude of social organizations and overlapping networks. Some workers maintained a student identity by virtue of informal associations, membership in a student organization, or part-time and seasonal occupations that students regularly filled. The kinds of discursive and institutional spaces in which a Filipino moved indicated his or her access to different social identities.

#### The St. Louis World's Fair: pensionados on display

The program to send Filipinos to America for study marked a new moment in the relationship between Western education and elite Philippine nationalism. The first

Filipino students in the U.S. studied at the University of Michigan in 1900.<sup>10</sup> Because they were privately funded, the students were not formally under the aegis of the colonial government. Nevertheless, Governor-General William H. Taft commended them to the president of the university. Taft saw the education of well-chosen young Filipino men in America as the means of democratizing Philippine politics and society. “I hope that it is the beginning of the education of a great number of young Filipinos in America,” he wrote, “where they can breathe in the air of Anglo-Saxon individual liberty and Anglo-Saxon civilization.”<sup>11</sup> This letter provided an early statement of support for what was to become the pensionado program. Taft aimed to divert wealthy Filipinos’ cosmopolitan journeys from European to American universities.

While historians have noted that American colonial policies co-opted Filipino elite nationalism, the inverse was equally true.<sup>12</sup> The desire for European education in science and liberalism, historians have concurred, stimulated the Revolution of 1896 against Spain. The constitution of Emilio Aguinaldo’s short-lived Philippine Republic promoted secularization, rationality, and science. From the mid-nineteenth century, Filipino elites saw the need for secular education as a central issue of their reform movement against the Spanish regime. Despite reforms that Spain implemented in colonial schools in 1863, the local friars had resisted the spread of Western education to the provinces, and firmly maintained a curriculum centered in Catholic doctrine. Students agitated for Spanish citizenship, greater access to education, and the dissolution of friars’ political and cultural domination. To break away from friar-controlled institutions, *ilustrados* followed liberal philosophy, supported the founding of a Philippine independent church, and many converted to Protestantism and Freemasonry.

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<sup>10</sup> Letter from Dean C. Worcester to James B. Angell, July 14, 1900, Box 6, Folder 180: Correspondence, July-September 1900, James B. Angell Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from William H. Taft to James B. Angell, June 26, 1900, Box 6, Folder 179: Correspondence: May-June 1900, James B. Angell Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

<sup>12</sup> On the “policy of attraction” at the center of U.S. colonization in the Philippines, see Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*.

As a consequence of their actions, a number of students in 1870 were exiled to Europe, where they joined small communities of Filipino students already in Madrid, Barcelona, Berlin and Paris. In his analysis of an 1890 photograph of José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Mariano Ponce in Madrid, Vicente Rafael has argued that the imagery of manly and disciplined bodies demonstrated their enlightened and rational intellects. Widely circulated photographs of the ilustrados in Europe helped to spread Philippine nationalism; by displaying European clothing, serious facial expressions and masculine poses, ilustrados refuted prevalent Spanish racial ideas that Filipino subjects were ignorant children.<sup>13</sup>

Ilustrados' anti-clerical, elite nationalism merged well into the United States' cultural opposition to Catholicism and to Spain. From the territorial expansion into the American West, and the political and economic interventions in Latin America, ideas of corrupt Spanish whiteness and Catholic feudalism played a role in the development of an Anglo-American identity on the world stage. With the political parrying between the United States and European powers, competing ideas of "whiteness" and Western civilization marked the emergence of the United States empire.<sup>14</sup> These ideas mobilized the U.S. into the Spanish-American War, and, after the defeat of Spain, legitimized American military and civil rule in the Philippines. U.S. colonial schools set out deliberately to counter Spanish education. Despite the economic and social reforms that the monarchy had pursued in the late nineteenth-century, Filipino elites and American colonizers sought to relegate Spain as archaic and outside the realm of historical progress. American teachers taught a kind of progressivism in which Filipinos distanced themselves from both Spanish civilization and "native" culture. These lessons supported American plans to expand free market capitalism in Asia, including economic open door

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<sup>13</sup> Vicente L. Rafael, "Nationalism, Imagery, and the Filipino Intelligentsia in the Nineteenth Century" *Critical Inquiry* 16: no. 3 (Spring 1990): 605.

<sup>14</sup> María DeGuzmán, "Consolidating Anglo-American Imperial Identity Around the Spanish-American War (1898)" in Reynolds J. Scott-Childress, ed., *Race and the Production of Modern American Nationalism* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), pp. 97-126; Rafael Rojas, "The Moral Frontier: Cuba, 1898 — Discourses at War" *Social Text* 17: no. 2 (Summer 1999): 145-60.

policies and counter-insurgency military interventions.<sup>15</sup>

By the turn of the century, the United States had become the favored destination for ambitious young Filipinos interested in progress, individualism and national development. The leader of the collaborating political party, H. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera hoped that sending young Filipino men to the United States for higher education would lead to the cultural regeneration of the islands. "I want [my sons] to be educated in America so that they may be Americans," Pardo wrote to Taft in January 1902. "I, also, wish to pass some time in the U.S. to learn American principles, to know their social and political customs, to meet their men and to be able, *el día que vuelva a mi país*, to be more useful in advancing the civilization and the progress of the Philippines."<sup>16</sup> Through the apparatus of U.S. colonial government, an increasing number of Filipinos pursued higher education outside the islands. The Bureau implemented a meritocratic system that nevertheless favored the sons of the elite. To be eligible for government funding, students had to pass a version of an American high school equivalency exam that was given in English. While primary school education was a means of spreading civil rule among the populace, higher education was part of the "policy of attraction" to create and sustain elite support of U.S. rule.

The effort to portray modernizing Filipinos, however, produced counter-images of colonial subjects who resisted or escaped improvement. As one hundred pensionados sailed to the U.S. in October 1903, many Americans charged that the students' intellectual promise was greatly exaggerated. Although the fellowships came out of the insular government's budget, the *New York Times* criticized the cost borne by the

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<sup>15</sup> As diplomatic historian Emily Rosenberg has argued, a shifting coalition of American individuals, organizations, and government agencies in the twentieth-century expanded United States' influence abroad by promoting ideals of international co-operation. Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), p. 112. While Walter LaFeber has asserted that the search for markets and resources alone stimulated American policy makers, the language of cosmopolitan idealism embraced economic motives within larger programs of modernization. LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963). For essays on the cultural politics of neo-colonial capitalist expansion, see Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd, eds., *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, p. 72.



American people to carry out what amounted to a propaganda campaign about the future of Philippine civilization. To cast strong doubts that Filipinos could benefit from an American university education, the writer attested that “they are now about as proficient as the average child in the United States at the age of twelve.” To press this point, the article described the improper classroom behavior of grown women from rural villages. In the presence of a male American teacher, the writer attested, Filipinas were prone to irrepressible giggling. They used their English language lessons as opportunities to flatter the instructor, and when reprimanded, gave into sudden bouts of crying. The writer portrayed rural womanhood as the authentic, unguarded expression of Filipino character; beneath the semblance of intellectual development lay erratic emotions and ultimately messy bodies. Like the *barriowomen*, the reporter cautioned, the pensionados were apt to be “spoiled” by too much of Americans’ attention.<sup>17</sup>

Once in the United States, pensionados negotiated a complex host of racial ideologies, nationalist ideals and imperial demands. Within months of their arrival, the colonial government shipped to America a vast array of materials, goods and peoples to be exhibited in June 1904 at the St. Louis World’s Fair. As political and cultural historians have discussed, various groups involved in the construction of the Philippine Exposition pursued overlapping agendas. The world’s fair, as a cultural form, incorporated commercial entertainment, pedagogical exhibits, and advertisements for the new empire. The fairs juxtaposed highbrow and lowbrow cultures in ways that corresponded to racial discourses of civilization and savagery.<sup>18</sup> Within the colonial government, there were contradictory meanings attached to the Philippine Exposition. While Governor-General Taft sought to publicize the universal benefits of U.S. colonization by displaying the newly-civilized Filipino, officials from the Bureau of Non-Christian Affairs sought to exhibit ethnologically “authentic” specimens. The display of

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<sup>17</sup> “Teaching the Filipinos” *New York Times* (December 6, 1903), p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Kramer, “Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905” *Radical History Review* 73 (1999): 74-114; and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 170

peoples from the mountainous interiors and Muslim regions of the islands, therefore, engendered a series of controversies for pensionados, their colonial sponsors, and American audiences.

Among the many fairs that took place in early-twentieth-century America, the colonial government invested the most money and ideological purpose into the Philippine Exposition at St. Louis. The Exposition Board, composed of colonial officials and American museum directors, sought to inform the American public about the colonial order in the islands. It defined Filipinos' participation in organizing the exhibitions as "proof of their patriotic pride, which has induced them to make a great effort in order that the resources and conditions of their country may appear in a dignified manner before the civilized world."<sup>19</sup> The sentiments of patriotism drew the products of Filipinos' cultural labor to the St. Louis. During the first months of the Fair, more than a thousand Filipinos visited or worked on the fair grounds. Each group had its own task: over one thousand performed dances, craft demonstrations and military drills, fifty political leaders provided official sanction at the opening of the Exposition, and one hundred pensionados gave exhibition tours.

The particular kinds of cultural and ideological work that diverse groups provided indicated their role in an imagined Philippines that was put on display for Americans' entertainment and edification. To enter the forty-seven-acre "Philippine Reservation," fairgoers traveled across an artificial lake that separated the Exposition from the rest of the fairgrounds. Past the replica of Manila's Walled City, four government buildings surrounded a town square. 1200 Filipinos, including six ethno-linguistic groups from Luzon and the Visayas, two groups of Moros from Mindanao, a battalion of a Philippine military force and a unit of the Philippine police, resided in reconstructed settlements just beyond the town. In each village, visitors witnessed everyday subsistence activities,

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<sup>19</sup> *Official Handbook of the Philippines and Catalogue of the Philippine Exhibit*, Part 1 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905), p. 11.

demonstrations of fishing and basket-weaving, and musical performances. For an admission fee, they watched ceremonial dances.<sup>20</sup>

Through the labor of Filipino performers, the Exposition Board sought commercial and cultural profit for the colonial state. To provide the Exposition the stamp of political approval, Taft created an “Honorary Board of Filipino Commissioners” four months before the Fair opened. This group was composed of prominent Federalista party leaders, including the two Filipino members of the Philippine Senate, two supreme court justices and eleven provincial governors. Because the display of allegedly savage Filipinos contradicted the colonial policy of collaborating with the educated elite, Taft’s plan had an unintended effect. Many of the leaders came away from the exhibits with a renewed skepticism about Americans’ promises to uphold the principle of Philippine sovereignty.<sup>21</sup>

As a part of their civic duty, government scholars provided the Exposition Board clerical services and other “voluntary” labor three hours each day. Their most important contribution consisted of guiding American visitors through exhibitions of natural resources and industrial, craft and agricultural products. Before entering college in the fall of 1904, the students spent the month of August working in St. Louis. They were assigned to the one hundred exhibition buildings on a rotating basis. The pensionados’ supervisor, William Alex Sutherland, justified this work as a part of their general education in the United States. By giving tours, the students gained an understanding of the Philippines’ value to world markets and U.S. military security in the Pacific. Sutherland argued that the Exposition provided the students with a much-needed view of the islands from the point of view of the metropole. As cultural mediators, they

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<sup>20</sup> Tim Fox, *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World’s Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997): 191-193. See also Eric Brietbart, *A World on Display: Photographs from the St. Louis World’s Fair, 1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1997): 51-53.

<sup>21</sup> “Brief Biography of the Members of the Honorary Board of Filipino Commissioners to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition” (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904). See also Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, p. 116.

“received a broader and more detailed knowledge of their own country ... than they had been able to contemplate in their entire lives before leaving the islands.”<sup>22</sup>

Instead of explaining the exhibits, the pensionados often chose, however, to describe their lives and the spread of civil society and government in their hometowns. Adapting their role as cultural intermediaries to the American public, they put themselves on display. In his report, Sutherland encouraged these interventions; the official encouraged pensionados to associate Filipinos with “high culture” in place of the supposedly uncivilized rituals and peoples on display.<sup>23</sup> These efforts were qualified, however, by domestic racism. While Sutherland claimed the conversations between educated Filipinos and fairgoers were educational experiences that illustrated the value of face-to-face discourse, vigilantes at the St. Louis Fair attacked Philippine Constabulary members for socializing with Anglo-American women. In a caustic article published several years after the fair, a student pointed out that, due to the power of Jim Crow in world’s fair sites such as St. Louis and Norfolk, pensionados were never to be considered as profitable exhibits at Philippine Expositions.<sup>24</sup>

Contradictory racial agendas associated with domestic racism, colonial anthropology, world’s fair commercialism, and the imperial civilizing mission shaped crises of Filipino representation. Framed by the duality of the civilized and the uncivilized, government scholars defined their identities in the U.S. against the racial imagery that the St. Louis World’s Fair popularized. Half a century later, a former government scholar commemorated his visit to the Exposition: “In St. Louis we enjoyed the Pike/ with spectacles we did like/ As guides in the Philippine Exhibits/ where we

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<sup>22</sup> Report of William Alex Sutherland, Superintendent of Filipino Students in the US, for the Year Ending June 30, 1905, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905*, Part 4, Bureau of Insular Affairs and War Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 450

<sup>23</sup> Report of William Alex Sutherland in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905*, pp. 480-1.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Kramer, “Making Concessions”; and “Seeks an Exhibit,” *Filipino Students Magazine* II: no. 4 (December 1906): 11.

were thought Igorots, we had fits.”<sup>25</sup> From the moment in which the Exposition Board invited St. Louis journalists to see a dog-eating ritual, Igorots represented Philippine national culture and racial identity. Such images persisted in the form of postcards, stereo views and other souvenir portrayals of Filipino cultural performances. The staging and circulation of visual souvenirs transmitted voyeuristic shock and delight. Photos captured the debates held at the time of the Exposition concerning whether to preserve the “authentic” nakedness of the Filipino body, or to demand that the performers wear clothing. Claims about the scientific accuracy of the exhibit clashed with moralistic concerns about the proximity of nearly naked “savage” bodies to audiences of Anglo-American women and children.<sup>26</sup>

In their everyday social relations, pensionados sought to reverse the idea that “those who wear clothes and are educated are the exception.”<sup>27</sup> They sought to represent themselves not only as the natural leaders of the archipelago, but as the embodiments of the nation. Students displayed the visual and social markers of education and high culture: “Western” clothing, proper bodily comportment, and a mastery of the English language. In their endeavors to demonstrate an educated Filipino subject, they encountered a curious dimension of Americans’ racial knowledge. Students who had been to St. Louis wrote the common misconception on the part of the Americans that they were Chinese or Japanese. When they identified as the “same nationality as Aguinaldo,” Americans praised their rapid transformation from unclothed savage to English-speaking university student. One student derisively paraphrased Americans’ reactions:

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<sup>25</sup> Jorge Bocobo, “Odyssey of the 1903,” sung at Riverview Lunch, Escolta, Manila, October 10, 1950. Excerpted in José Batungbakal, “Some Recollections about the 1903 Philippine Government Students in the United States” *Journal of History* 10: no. 2 (June 1962): 290.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Kramer, “Making Concessions,” p. 83. Vicente Rafael and Benito Vergara have shown how photography illustrated the differences between the official 1903 census categories of “civilized” and “wild” peoples in the Philippines. Rafael, “White Love: Surveillance and Nationalist Resistance in the U.S. Colonization of the Philippines” in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 185-218. Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos*.

<sup>27</sup> “Seeks an Exhibit,” *Filipino Students Magazine* II: no. 4 (December 1906): 11.

“Wonderful! How the hand of Uncle Sam made in a few months such a perfect type of gentleman!”<sup>28</sup>

The encounters between pensionado tour guides, Philippine Exposition performers and American fairgoers comprised a formative moment for student cultural politics. Students often sought to interrupt what they termed “exhibitions of head hunters and other mountain peoples.” Nearly a decade after the St. Louis World’s Fair, a group of students organized the Filipino Association of Chicago in response to a public lecture series on the archipelago. To protest the travel lectures, the group published a twenty-four-page pamphlet called, “The Truth about the Philippines,” and distributed four hundred copies to the audience assembled at Chicago’s Orchestra Hall. Supporters of extended American colonization of the islands, according to the pensionados, used images of Igorots to misrepresent the cultural conditions and self-governing potential of the islands. In the pamphlet, the students refuted the existence of “tribal divisions” and “boss rule” in the islands. They de-emphasized the differences between regional languages and attempted to persuade the audience that the archipelago possessed a national community and culture. The roots of Philippine nationality, they argued, lay in the spread of Western culture and Christianity. Although they defined “non-Christians” as marginal members of the imagined community, the students identified “Filipinos” as racially Malayan, rather than a mestizo people, with European or Chinese blood. Regardless of cultural influences from the West, students argued, the Philippine people had maintained a singular and irreducible racial character. More important, the students invoked the nation by describing the unifying struggle for self-determination against Spain and the United States: “In our struggle for honest government, popular education, religious freedom and finally for independence, we were one and a united people.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> “Wrong Ideas” *Filipino Students Magazine* II: no. 4 (December 1906): 3. One student wrote, “My year’s experience in this country is an evident proof of the fact that a considerable number of Americans still believe that the Filipino people are composed of Igorrottes, Moros, Negritos, etc., and ignore that there exist civilized classes.” P. Taga Sulong, “The Truth about the Filipinos” *Filipino Students Magazine* II: no. 4 (December 1906): 17.

<sup>29</sup> Filipino Association of Chicago, *Truth about the Philippines: The History, Facts and Affairs of the Country Briefly Told by Filipinos* (Chicago: The Filipino Association of Chicago, 1913): 19. Antonio

### Culture and politics: Filipinos in Trans-National America

After 1912, the Philippine insular government sent only graduate students to the United States through the pensionado program. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Bureau of Education had focused almost all of its resources on expanding primary schools, and the pensionado program filled the gap of higher education. The founding of the University of the Philippines in 1908 made sending high school graduates to the America unnecessary, and an economic depression during World War I made the program impractical. For most of the 1910s, only one or two government scholars ventured to the United States each year. In spite of their decreasing numbers, Filipino students achieved a considerable amount of visibility in American progressive circles. In the tradition of cultural politics that they developed during the St. Louis World's Fair, students sought to engage Americans in an active and purposeful way by distributing pamphlets or participating in genteel conversations sponsored by cosmopolitan clubs. In 1913, the same year that the Filipino Association of Chicago protested the lectures taking place at Orchestra Hall, a pensionado presided over the International Congress of cosmopolitan clubs.<sup>30</sup> In these pedagogical forums, students strove to draw Americans' attention away from images of Filipino savagery and towards the sovereignty question.

As a result of American mobilization for World War I and Woodrow Wilson's ensuing calls for open international borders and national self-determination, many groups approached the United States to aid their particular anti-colonial struggles. Irish immigrants pressed for the Republican cause on the floor of Congress, which, in turn, sponsored an Irish delegation to Versailles. With varying degrees of success, Asian and African nationalists convened to present their demands at the Paris Peace Conference. In a speech to the University of the Philippines' graduating class of 1921, a prominent national leader, José Laurel, addressed what he called the "Wilsonian doctrine."

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A. Gonzalez, "The Filipino Association of Chicago" *The Philippine Herald* 1: no. 6 (May 1921): 3. See Larry Arden Lawcock, "Filipino Students in the United States and the Philippine Independence Movement: 1900-1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1975), p. 138.

<sup>30</sup> "For international peace" *Literary Digest* 47 (August 30, 1913): 325.

Who will deny to the Filipinos the possession of a common, imperishable tradition, of memory of agencies heroically endured, and deeds and victories won under the leadership of national heroes whose personalities represent an embody the character and ideals of our country. .... As members of this great fraternity of mankind, it is our bounden duty to expedite the establishment of the reign of peace and order upon this world by fostering nationalism.

The politician articulated the challenge of nationalist aspirations within the regional contexts of Asia and the Indian subcontinent. “The truth is that internationalism is not possible until nationalism has established itself,” Laurel told the students. “Indifference and even hostility to the international idea cannot but result when a nation feels unjustly divided or subjugated or denied the opportunity of development of its characteristic modes of life.”<sup>31</sup>

Despite the rhetoric of the Fourteen Points, U.S. expansionism in the Americas and the Pacific did not alter course. At the same time that Americans pledged to make the world “safe for democracy,” the U.S. government occupied Haiti and the Dominican Republic, intervened militarily in the Mexican Revolution, and extended territorial status to Puerto Rico, bringing the island fully under the aegis of the American state. Philippine nationalism arose in reaction to Wilson’s vague policy objectives to grant independence at an unspecified future date. In 1912, Virginia Congressman William Jones had proposed the first version of a Philippine independence bill that would later be passed as the Jones Act of 1916. In this bill, the U.S. Congress declared its intention to grant the Philippines independence when it proved to be a modernized society and democratic state capable of self-government. Dominated by the emergent Nacionalista Party, colonial politics for the next two decades revolved around the question of the timetable of decolonization. If Wilson were to oppose colonialism and closed borders all over the world, Nacionalistas argued, then the United States had to prove itself to be an

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<sup>31</sup> José P. Laurel, “Loyalty to National Situations,” Graduation Address, UP, April 4, 1921, in *Thinking for Ourselves: A Collection of Filipino Essays* (Manila: Oriental Commercial Publishing Co., 1928), pp. 349-50. Excerpted in José V. Abueva, ed., *Filipino Nationalism* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999), pp. 267-68.



exceptional colonial power, one that advocated Philippine sovereignty in concrete terms.

From within the United States, the Philippine representative to the American Congress raised a critical question concerning the borders between the domestic spheres of the colony and of the metropole. How might the U.S. preserve Filipino self-determination while implementing its policies of democratic tutelage and nation-building? Resident Commissioner Manuel Quezon, who later became the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, addressed remarks to the Washington, D.C. as the U.S. entered the war. Calling for a definitive separation between the domestic policies of the United States and the Philippines, he argued that some issues were internal affairs which would best be settled by “home rule.” Woman’s suffrage and slavery in the southern Philippines, for example, were irrelevant to the question of whether Filipinos were capable of running a sovereign, democratic government. “Few, if any, nations are able to govern dependencies in a purely objective way,” Quezon noted, “as if the internal affairs of those dependencies were wholly divorced from those of the governing nations.” He proposed that the U.S. Congress guarantee Philippine autonomy over domestic affairs, and thereby move away from the internationalist ambitions which characterized U.S. expansionism. “Neither in debate, nor in legislation, nor in administration, ought the political ideas, prejudices, views, [and] theories of any country be forced upon another.”<sup>32</sup>

Under Quezon’s direction, the Philippine Independence Mission traveled to the U.S. in 1919. Congress, however, was more concerned with the reconstruction of Europe than with amending colonial policy.<sup>33</sup> It became the provenance of pensionados to convey the message of national sovereignty, not to the federal government but to the American public. As benefactors of American colonial education, and as students in the

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<sup>32</sup> Manuel Quezon, “Obscuring the Philippine Issue” *The Filipino People* 3: no. 2 (October 1914): 13. The definitions of woman suffrage and of slavery in Southern Philippines, and their implications for Philippine nationalism, were debated into the 1920s and the 1930s. For an insightful study of anti-slavery ideology and Philippine independence, see Michael Salman, “The United States and the end of slavery in the Philippines, 1898-1914: A study of imperialism, ideology, and nationalism, Volumes I and II” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1993). Encarnación Alzona describes the social and political process toward gaining female suffrage in 1937. Alzona, *The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic and Political Status, 1565-1937* (Manila: Benipayo Press, 1934).

<sup>33</sup> Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, pp. 256-57.

United States, Filipinos sought to bring wartime rhetoric to bear upon their nationalist politics. Matthew Frye Jacobson has discussed how Irish, Polish and Jewish peoples within the United States agitated for national liberation within ethnic enclaves.<sup>34</sup> In contrast to European nationalists, pensionados relied on individual contacts with Americans, largely because they lacked the numbers to create a critical mass before the 1920s. Filipinos took every social opportunity with Anglo-Americans to foster Philippine self-determination as a moral and progressive principle.

Within the United States, “foreign students” pursued anti-colonial politics within nominally apolitical spaces. At a national meeting of cosmopolitan clubs in 1919, Filipinos found common cause with students from Eastern Europe and South Asia. According to an observer,

Their fear was that imperialism had not perished from the earth and might yet thwart the aspirations of subject races for self-determination. Spokesmen — and spokeswomen — for Poland, Lithuania, Ukrainia, Jugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, the Philippine Islands, and India all voiced the American as well as their own desire for self-government of peoples the world over.

The cosmopolitan association, the Corda Fratres, followed the motto, “Above all nations is Humanity.” University and Protestant social groups sponsored these forums because they sought to create a vanguard of educated experts who could treat nationalist struggle as an administrative issue. As one observer wrote, the sponsorship of “foreign student” organizations permitted nationalists to engage in anti-colonial politics “without flying at each others’ throats.”<sup>35</sup>

Filipino student activities suggest that discussions concerning the prospects of liberal nationalism in colonized nations of Asia, Latin America and Africa were woven into the fabric of American progressive culture. As a measure to convince the populace

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<sup>34</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: the Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).

<sup>35</sup> *Educational Guide: A Handbook of Useful Information for Foreign Students in the United States of America* (New York: CONFRAS, 1917), p. 25; and “Practising Internationalism” *Survey* 41 (January 18, 1919): 533.

to enter the conflict in Europe, Wilson's administration had promoted Americans' awareness of the interconnectedness of the world. Some Americans embraced anti-colonialism and peace programs. It remains uncertain, however, to what extent American college students showed interest in the issues that cosmopolitan fraternities raised. In his 1916 essay, "Trans-National America," Randolph Bourne called upon young Americans to take advantage of their college experience to become acquainted with peoples from other nations. Contact with the foreign students in their midst would lead them to experience a creative disorientation in which the familiar terrain of "America" would become de-familiarized. Bourne asserted that the cosmopolitan university

suggests that the contribution of America will be an intellectual internationalism which goes far beyond the mere exchange of scientific ideas and discoveries and the cold recording of facts. It will be an intellectual sympathy which is not satisfied until it has got at the heart of the different cultural expressions, and felt as they feel.<sup>36</sup>

Out of this experience, Bourne hoped to see an intelligentsia of world citizens emerge. He hoped that American students would come to realize that the spaces structured for foreign students were actually designed for them to formulate a cultural revival of American democracy.<sup>37</sup>

U.S. historians have interpreted Randolph Bourne's "Trans-National America" as a radical critique of how the American state managed ethnic differences during the war.<sup>38</sup> Bourne spoke for a small faction of progressives who were deeply patriotic to the United States but opposed being mobilized into a nation that exploited its own workers or

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<sup>36</sup> Randolph S. Bourne, *War and the Intellectuals: Collected Essays, 1915-1919* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 119.

<sup>37</sup> Randolph S. Bourne, *War and the Intellectuals*, p. 117.

<sup>38</sup> David Hollinger credits Randolph Bourne for articulating the central ideas of American multiculturalism, or, in his words, "trans-nationality." To Hollinger's dismay, recent multiculturalists have turned away from the possibility of forging a more rigorous universalism and a "rooted cosmopolitanism" that can redeem America's promise as a diverse polity. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: BasicBooks, 1995).

practiced “predatory economic imperialism among the weaker peoples.”<sup>39</sup> Wilson’s policies of military preparedness had set forth a debate concerning ethnic difference as potential disloyalty. To assert economic and political dominance over Europe, Wilson had encouraged the suppression of dissidents and labor activities among European immigrants within the U.S. Bourne believed that immigrants should be able to support the national integrity of the old country while managing the assimilationist demands of the new one. Like Wilson, he defined an American identity deliberately in opposition to European belligerence. Yet Bourne considered the possibility that the “weary old nationalism” of Europe had the chance to be redeemed into a new transnational American culture.<sup>40</sup> Filipino students contributed their part in asserting that cosmopolitanism would forge a new American nationality. While Bourne spoke of the “world-federation in miniature” that existed within U.S. borders, Filipino cosmopolitans reminded Anglo-Americans that they lived within an empire that required reform and redemption.

The presence of Filipino students in local spheres offered the occasion to celebrate Americans’ evangelical, military and business influence abroad. American expansionists created a fund of knowledge about the world and foreign peoples for the cosmopolitan purpose of spreading democracy and capitalism. In certain progressive arenas, Americans arduously sought out and promoted information about and contact with the “foreign,” particularly the “Oriental,” and believed that returning students would promote American political and economic influence within their home countries.<sup>41</sup> With a combination of Protestant evangelism and non-denominational social work, the YMCA outlined the religious path to cosmopolitanism. In various sites within the U.S. empire and across Asian diasporas, the YMCA pursued a similar ideological agenda of evangelical social service and education. By 1908, it had established a branch for

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<sup>39</sup> Randolph S. Bourne, *War and the Intellectuals*, p. 119.

<sup>40</sup> Randolph S. Bourne, *War and the Intellectuals*, p. 114.

<sup>41</sup>In a 1931 report, an officer explained that “we are most anxious to see is a group of foreign students capable of understanding Americans and of dealing with them in affairs of business and politics in the future. J. van Vleeck, Jr., “Report of a Survey of the Work of the Friendly Relations Committee, June

Filipinos in Manila and, in 1924, sponsored an umbrella organization for Filipinos students in the United States.<sup>42</sup> Through the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students [CONFRAS], the YMCA extended the missionary tradition in Asia to the “home mission field” of Japanese and Chinese students in the United States. The CONFRAS’s director, Charles Hurrey, was a son of missionaries in China, and viewed East-West relations as his primary interest. Asian student nationalism developed in the context in which China possessed a compelling economic market and Japan posed an increasing threat to European and American colonial interests. Philippine national sovereignty, Americans agreed, must be capable of facilitating U.S. interests in China while defending itself from Japanese political domination and its pan-Asian rhetoric.

Some YMCA members professed their intention to unite “in Christ” with foreign students from Asia, Latin America and Africa. The more secularized version of the YMCA agenda valued rational discourse, nominally apolitical associations and “friendly relations.” The women’s auxiliary of the YMCA branch located near the University of Chicago held a series of social events for foreign students from 1916 to 1918. By inviting the students to receptions in their private homes, the women intended to “teach in a very practical way the social customs of American home life.” At tea parties especially arranged for them, Filipinos listened to informal talks about cosmopolitan ideals, YMCA programs for Allied soldiers, and U.S. history. In return, they performed on “native instruments” and showed their appreciation for the opportunity to enjoy themselves “in an unusually home-like way.” On special occasions, the cosmopolitan encounter took on

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1931,” p. 10; Surveys 1922-1925; 1931; 1933; Box 3; Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (CONFRAS) Records; YMCA of the USA Archives, International Division.

<sup>42</sup> By spreading “muscular Christianity” and Victorian manliness for male youth all over the world, the YMCA simultaneously pursued G. Stanley Hall’s theories of child psychology and race development. The large bureaucracy of the YMCA, however, reflected and constructed class and racial differences among the male populations it served. The Manila YMCA, like most city YMCAs in the U.S., was racially segregated. Among the Asian men who traveled to the U.S., the YMCA industrial department served laborers, the city YMCA branches addressed diplomatic and business visitors and the CONFRAS specialized in students and teachers. Benjamin G. Rader, “The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behaviour, Moral Reflexes and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920” in J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 123-34; and Kenneth Latourette, *World Service: A History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men’s Christian Associations of the United States and Canada* (New York: Association Press, 1957).

a more formal, choreographed aspect. At a Christmas banquet for foreign students, the women's auxiliary took pains to decorate the room with flags from around the world. To ensure that each table would represent an array of nationalities, the YMCA women arranged name cards at each seat. Most of the guests, however, chose where to sit and disregarded these instructions.

A year later, the women's auxiliary gave a more successful event: a tea party for Filipinos to celebrate Abraham Lincoln's birthday. Upon arrival, the guests were given small lapel flags, a picture of Lincoln, and a story or anecdote about him. A university professor gave a talk entitled, "Lessons for Filipinos on the Life of Lincoln." Proceeding like a Christian service, several Filipinos read selections from Lincoln's speeches and gave formal remarks on the "Gettysburg Address." A local minister gave the final talk, and the afternoon came to a close with group singing of American patriotic songs. "Whole evening was made patriotic," the YMCA auxiliary concluded.<sup>43</sup> These Americanization rituals, which were part of the wartime rhetoric, were not a departure for pensionados who graduated from U.S. public schools in the islands.<sup>44</sup>

Based upon the YMCA auxiliary's efforts, Filipino bodies were to be arranged in the following ways: seated next to students from other nations, adorned with lapel pins of American heroes, or featured as "native" entertainment. The events also prohibited certain kinds of social behavior across differences of race, gender and political agendas. As the national board reviewed the YMCA's foreign student activities, several problems became apparent. The Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students [CONFRAS] recommended that Anglo-American hosts caution against inviting "young

<sup>43</sup> Report 1916-1917, Volume 54: Foreign Students Activities, McKinlock Campus, Newsclippings and Announcements, 1916-1933; YMCA of Chicago; Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>44</sup> During World War I, 6000 Filipinos enlisted in the U.S. Navy, mostly as stewards. In the Philippines, the public schools served as centers for Liberty Bond Drives, Red Cross efforts, military enlistment, and clearinghouse for the Committee for Public Information. Walter William Marquardt, "Notes from U.S. Trip, 1917," Box 6, Bound Volume: Travel Notes, 1917-1918, Walter William Marquardt Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Library, University of Michigan. In early 1917, members of the Filipino Association of Chicago publicly supported the entry of the United States and the Philippines into the war. They asserted their willingness to be drafted "to enforce neutral rights" of the islands. Larry Arden Lawcock, "Filipino Students in the United States and the Philippine Independence Movement: 1900-1935" (Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), p. 246.

men from races whose 'customs are apt to be different' from our own" when their households include a young woman. The racialized language of the foreign threat came to the surface as a concern about sexuality and white womanhood; in these instances, foreign students could not be incorporated into the American home.<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, Indian, Korean and Filipino students tended to violate the code of apolitical, cosmopolitan exchanges. According to Hurrey the students' "active propaganda" for national independence frequently had interfered "with their acceptability as guests and speakers."<sup>46</sup> He began to reproach Filipino students by asserting that only through their moral and intellectual development would they truly contribute to the nationalist cause. The Committee's censure of Asian nationalist politics suggests the ambivalence of the cosmopolitan vision. Attempting to separate what was political from other modes pro-nationalist student activity, the CONFRAS revealed its own political agenda to foster U.S. global hegemony and to draw education people all over the world away from the lure of communism. Exclaiming, "Let us not fool ourselves!" Hurrey wrote that young people from colonized nations leaned toward socialist and communist solutions to address problems of uneven development and Western monopolies over national resources. He warned that if the wealthy and educated classes

do not speedily apply their knowledge and financial resources to a solution of modern social and economic problems, [others] will be compelled to do so through violence, and all that they have will be taken from them. Loyalty to Jesus and his principles demands a fair chance for every man to enjoy the abundant provision of the Creator.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> W. Reginald Wheeler et. al., eds., *The Foreign Student in America* (New York: Association Press, 1925).

<sup>46</sup> Charles D. Hurrey, "Looking Ahead with Migrating Students," Folder: Articles by Charles D. Hurrey, n.d.; Box 3; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students; International Division; YMCA of the USA Archives.

<sup>47</sup> Charles D. Hurrey, "What Price Brotherhood?"; Folder: Articles by Charles D. Hurrey, n.d.; Box 3; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students; International Division; YMCA of the USA Archives.

The cosmopolitanism of Bourne's university students and Hurrey's anti-socialist Christian elites rested squarely upon intellectual hierarchies that were inflected by class.

Against the specters of class warfare and socialist politics, the Committee attempted to organize Filipino students by confining their activities to the educational and religious sphere. This was an unevenly successful strategy. At an annual YMCA student convention in 1921, the Filipino Student's Federation adopted a resolution to settle the political status of the islands. They proposed three solutions that had been debated within the lower house of the Philippine senate: the colony would become a U.S. protectorate, would be granted neutrality by the major world powers, or would be given "absolute freedom." In response to this action, the CONFRAS nearly withdrew its support of the association.<sup>48</sup> Several months later, the Federation disbanded, largely due to the Committee's endeavor to make the group an "essentially religious enterprise." For several years, the CONFRAS had no organizational base for Filipinos.<sup>49</sup>

By 1924, however, students found an outlet for nationalist politics in the CONFRAS-sponsored Filipino Student Christian Movement. While situating themselves in the historical and political context of progress, Filipino cosmopolitans invoked the spread of a democratic and spiritual subjectivity beyond history and secular time. Juan Rodriguez, whom the Committee chose to organize Filipinos, wrote, "We hold that God has called the Filipino people to a high mission of service to humanity ... through a free and sovereign Filipino State under the leadership of Jesus Christ."<sup>50</sup> By describing sovereignty as a divine right, Rodriguez articulated absolute independence, rather than protectorate-status or mere political neutrality, as the ultimate goal. Rodriguez's explicitly political language was acceptable to Hurrey because he prophesized that the

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<sup>48</sup> "Filipino Students Ask for Independence" *Philippine Herald* 11: no. 1 (November 1921): 5; and Minutes, September 28, 1921, Box 2, Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (CONFRAS), International Division, YMCA of the USA Archives.

<sup>49</sup> Report to the Executive Secretary, May 25, 1922, Box 2, Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (CONFRAS), International Division, YMCA of the USA Archives.

<sup>50</sup> Juan de G. Rodriguez, open letter, December 5, 1929, Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More than One Island Possession; General Classified Files 1914-1945; Box 1245; National Archives and Record Administration II, College Park, Maryland.



future Filipino state, while achieved by human efforts, would be led by divine will. By using moral persuasion, the student asserted that the struggle for a sovereign Philippines had redemptive outcomes beyond political independence, as it was narrowly conceived.

Hurrey characterized Rodriguez as a “true cosmopolitan”: while trusted by Americans, he was “one hundred percent Filipino.”<sup>51</sup> As an historical figure, Rodriguez illustrated Bourne’s vision of university-trained intellectuals who would be able to balance nationalist politics with cosmopolitan culture. In his essay, Bourne used an evangelizing and prophetic language to invoke a democratic and secularized cosmopolitan culture; the strategy of seeking cultural renewal before political reform characterized his “Beloved Community.”<sup>52</sup> Drawing upon the YMCA’s structured social encounters between Americans and the “foreign student,” as well as the institutional structure of the Committee on Friendly Relations, Filipino cosmopolitans pursued social rituals of fellowship in addition to their university training. Through these activities, they forged moral communities that incorporated the domestic and the foreign. As such, Filipino cosmopolitans created the cultural conditions for a “world brotherhood” that would include their political independence from the United States.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Charles D. Hurrey, “The FSCM As I Know It” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: no. 9 (June 1927): 3.

<sup>52</sup> Leslie J. Vaughan, *Randolph Bourne and the Politics of Cultural Radicalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), p. 112; and Casey Nelson Blake, *Beloved Community: The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 120.

<sup>53</sup> For an example, see Avelina Lorenzana, “The Philippines and the United States as friends in Christ” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: no. 3 (December 1929): 2, 3. My thinking has been influenced by Partha Chatterjee, who has asserted, “The greater one’s success in imitating Western skills in the material domain, therefore, the greater the need to preserve the distinctness of one’s spiritual culture. This formula is, I think, a fundamental feature of anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa.” Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* p. 6. Filipino nationalists, however, did not consign their spiritual culture to the domestic, private sphere, but used religion as an “idiom of struggle.” Raul Pertierra, *Philippine Localities and Global Perspectives: Essays on Society and Culture* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995), p. 33; Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979).

### The question of place: The New Filipina

Emerging from university cosmopolitan clubs and YMCA members' parlor rooms, Filipino student culture in the U.S. reached a new level of maturity during the 1920s. The colonial government funded a new generation of scholars to travel to the United States, and the expanding labor migration from the Philippines engendered an overlapping, movement of "self-supporting" students. Whether or not they were sponsored by the colonial state, Filipino students journeyed to America within the ideological framework of circular migration. They defined themselves as a new generation of national leaders and anticipated that the islands would be sovereign within their lifetime. In this section, I will discuss how Filipino students viewed American society and culture as part of their leadership training and nationalist imagination. By tracing gender and cosmopolitanism from the post-World War I pensionados to the 1920s construction of the "New Filipino," I will illustrate shifting ideas of the Philippine nation.

In 1919, over one hundred students traveled to the U.S. under the colonial government's sponsorship. The pensionado movement in the early 1920s reflected a culmination of bureaucratic and political changes in the Philippine government during the previous decade. Under Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, the colonial state had implemented new policies of governmental reform. The efforts to simplify bureaucracy included reducing American supervision and replacing lower-level American colonial servants with Filipinos. The managerial route to achieving national sovereignty fulfilled Manuel Quezon's nationalist vision, as well as American progressive reform in general. In this context, the colonial government revived the pensionado program as a vehicle for creating "native" administrators whose technical and professional expertise qualified them to inherit control of the state. Most government scholarships went to civil employees who already had bachelors' degrees. All pensionados were under contract to serve the government one-and-a-half years for every

year in the program.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, the bureaucratic class in Manila expanded rapidly after World War I, and became a central feature in the urban economy.<sup>55</sup>

The pensionado program must be seen in the larger context of “Filipinization” of the government and the mobilization of political and economic power in Manila. The state sent larger numbers of students to specialized schools in the capital than to the United States. For example, the Bureau of Education in 1920 sent eighty-two teachers from the provinces to the centralized teaching schools in the capital, while sending half that number to the U.S. Upon return to their provincial posts, many pensionados who were teachers became assistant superintendents. The Bureau of Education promised that returning pensionados would gain a higher salary than his or her previous position had provided.<sup>56</sup> Whether Filipino teachers pursued undergraduate or graduate degrees at the Philippine Normal School in Manila or at the University of Chicago, their metropolitan education was a necessary phase of pursuing a career in educational administration in provincial public schools.

This training was as much cultural as it was professional. The lesson the pensionado learned in Manila or in Chicago was to treat local interactions as a manifestation of an expanding global order. In 1920, a Filipino government scholar defined his duty to “bridge the gap” between the cultures and conditions of his country and the modern progress of America. Studying in the United States afforded him “the unusual opportunity of becoming in many ways a citizen of the world without lessening his one hundred per cent ‘Filipinism.’”<sup>57</sup> Reflecting the increasing numbers of Filipinos

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<sup>54</sup> In 1903, 2697 Filipinos had held forty-nine percent of all government posts; in 1913, 633 had filled seventy-one percent. Peter Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, p. 204; and Leopoldo T. Ruiz, “Filipino Students in the United States,” (M.A. thesis in political science, Columbia University, 1924), p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> Daniel F. Doeppers, *Manila, 1900-1941: Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, Monograph Series No. 27, 1984), p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> Luther Bewley, Bureau of Education Annual Report, 1920, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> Leodegario Victorino, “Bridging the Gap,” *The Philippine Herald* 1:2 (December 1920): 9. Isidoro Panlasigui wrote in 1927, “I do not think it arrogant on my part to state here that the Philippines are going to be the bridge that would join the West and the East, and the Filipino people the interpreter between the occident and the orient.” Isidoro Panlasigui, “What the Filipino Youth Is Thinking Today” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: no. 1 (January-February 1927): 4. Filipino ideals of global co-operation

traveling to the U.S. by government sponsorship or other means, students no longer demanded national sovereignty on the basis of an existing Philippine civilization but rather on the emergence of cosmopolitan leadership. In the new era of global relations, they argued, the educated class of Asia would be the mediators between the “East” and the “West.”

The colonial government extended an infrastructure of support for pensionados in the United States, through the Bureau of Insular Affairs and a colonial educator appointed to supervise the pensionados in the U.S. By 1921, government scholars pursued their studies in thirty-five towns and cities throughout the continental United States. While concentrated in universities along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, they were also scattered across the western and midwestern states, with a notable absence in the deep south.<sup>58</sup> Their administrator, Walter William Marquardt, was the closest link that they had to the Bureau of the Education in the Philippines. In yearly visits to all the towns and cities where pensionados lived, Marquardt conducted meetings with government and non-government scholars, local YMCAs and Catholic Clubs, and American sponsors. In addition, he held unannounced inspections of government scholars’ residences.

Cosmopolitanism helped Filipino students to maintain a coherent identity during the process of development and modernization. It explained their presence in the U.S., their goals in the Philippines, and the way they understood their place in the world as “foreign students” from a colonized territory. A prevailing theme of Marquardt’s lectures and articles concerned students’ acculturation in U.S. society. In his pamphlet, *What Filipinos Coming to the United States Ought to Know*, he recommended whether students should move to a city or to a rural area, how and where they should spend leisure time, and what kind of housing arrangements they should seek. He encouraged Filipinos to continue boarding with American families, a tradition started with the 1903

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paralleled Pan-Americanism during the 1920s. Robert David Johnson, “The Transformation of Pan-Americanism” in Robert David Johnson, ed., *On Cultural Ground: Essays on International History* (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1994), pp. 173-96.

<sup>58</sup> Walter William Marquardt, “1921 Annual Report.” Walter William Marquardt Papers, Box 7, Bound Volume: Letters 01-06; Articles 19-21, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

pensionados. Marquardt recommended small, midwestern college towns where this practice was prevalent. While organizations such as the CONFRAS more effectively facilitated exchanges between Filipino students and middle-class Americans, institutional arrangements patterned themselves after familial supervision. In 1921, government scholar wrote that the middle-class domestic sphere was an extension of cosmopolitan education. “It is not enough that we enter her universities and other seats of learning,” the pensionado wrote, “we must also enter her homes, if that be possible, and study, as it were, the real American life in all its phases and activities, its expressions and idiosyncrasies.”<sup>59</sup> Cognizant of the working-class ethnics and racialized minorities with whom Filipinos could associate in the big city, the “American” family was the mainstay of middle-class respectability and democratic culture.<sup>60</sup>

In this period, the colonial government established a closer link between pensionados’ pursuit of a university education and their national duties. The administrator wrote that the colonial government held their scholars responsible not only for fulfilling their civil service labor contracts but also for the progress of the colony towards sovereignty and democracy. The colonial state laid moral claims upon the students’ personality development. Marquardt used Philippine patriotism as incentive for pensionados to display of “high moral standards” in all social rituals with Americans. “For patriotic motives alone, if for no other reason,” the administrator wrote to his charges, “you are duty bound not only to live an exemplary life yourself but also to encourage other Filipino students to live the same.”<sup>61</sup> In overseeing students’ funding and how they used government money during the agricultural depression of 1921, Marquardt endeavored to confer what he called a “group consciousness of obligations.” “The strength of family ties is one of the finest traits of Filipino character,” he exhorted.

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<sup>59</sup> Anastacio Morelos, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Philippine Herald* 1: no. 3 (February 1921): 41.

<sup>60</sup> Annual report, Philippine Educational Agent, 1921; Box 7, Bound Volume: Letters 01-06; Articles 19-21, W. W. Marquardt Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Walter William Marquardt, *What Filipinos Coming to the United States Ought to Know* (Washington, D.C.: 1921).

Is the spending of family money for things that could be dispensed with a reflection upon one's love of the family? The love of country is one of the chief virtues ascribed to the Filipino race. Isn't the spending of government funds except with the most rigid economy a rather peculiar manifestation of love of country?<sup>62</sup>

Marquardt defined pensionados' personal choices as demonstrations of national character and racial traits.

The administrator articulated a central paradox of pensionado cosmopolitanism: how would cultural engagement with American society heighten Filipinos' commitment to the "homeland"? How could the culture of the metropole become an object whose function was to create leaders of the colony and the province? Marquardt advised pensionados to sustain their familiarity and devotion to the Philippines. In several instances, he made it students' "patriotic duty" to return to his or her town or province. "You should not stay in the United States too long if your home and career are to be in the islands," he warned. "Long absence from home will tend to estrange you from your own people, their customs, and their aspirations."<sup>63</sup> What was undesirable was a Filipino student becoming an alienated individual who belonged in neither the colony nor the metropole, who fell victim to the flux of travel and modernity. Clearly, the pensionado program was not meant to stimulate Filipino immigration to the United States. The choice to stay in America constituted an abandonment of the Philippines and a loss of identity.

In the search for equilibrium between the demands of America as a place and of the Philippines as a nationalist ideal, Filipino male students idealized the women among them. Similar to other colonial situations, "native" womanhood symbolized an invented national culture. As carriers of tradition, educated Filipinas illustrated a more or less

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<sup>61</sup> Walter William Marquardt, "Some Searching Questions," *The Philippine Herald* 1:3 (February 1921):19.

<sup>62</sup> Walter William Marquardt, "Some Searching Questions," pp. 3-4.

stable Philippine identity in the process of modernization.<sup>64</sup> In the Philippines, women increasingly attended co-educational schools, entered the professions and debated their roles in the national community. Only a few Filipinas came to America, mostly for degrees in medicine, education, social work and domestic science. *Pensionadas* like their male counterparts, were supervised but their chaperones were American women, such as Alice Hollister, W. W. Marquardt's wife. In the 1920s, women students found self-realization and nationalist purpose by entering cosmopolitan circles. The editor of the *Filipino Student Bulletin* argued that the "New Filipina" was merely an ideal in the Philippines but a concrete, lived reality among women students in the America.<sup>65</sup>

Despite their small numbers, Filipina students' ideological role in cosmopolitan culture was substantial. "Pinays Constitute Elevating Influence Among Filipinos," the *Filipino Student Bulletin* proclaimed, "Lead in Social, Religious and Cosmopolitan Club Activities." In addition to their public activities, Filipinas acted as surrogate sisters and wives: they also "Serve[d] Adobo to Homesick Boys."<sup>66</sup> Representations of women's bodies figured centrally into Filipino students' considerations of cosmopolitan identities. Regarding his fellow women students in Westernized clothing, Isidoro Panlasigui became disturbed. He wrote,

The Filipina dress! Why, it is the only Filipino thing which is pure and unadulterated by foreign elements! Everything we have, even our own blood in our Filipino arteries and veins, is a mixture of many elements, native and foreign. but the dress of the Filipino girl, — the *camisa* and the *pañuelo*, the *saya* and the

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<sup>63</sup> Walter William Marquardt, *What Filipino Students Coming to the United States Ought to Know*, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990). A good review of the literature on colonialism and female gender politics is Madhu Dubey, "The 'True Lie' of the Nation: Fanon and Feminism" *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 10: no. 2 (1998): 1-30.

<sup>65</sup> Isidoro R. Collado, "Hail! The New Filipina!" *Filipino Student Bulletin* V: no. 8 (April-May 1926): 4. See also Damiana D. Dolorico, "Should Filipino women go abroad? Travel gives breadth of outlook, wealth of personality, and elevation of home" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 5: no. 9 (June 1926): 2, 4.

<sup>66</sup> "Pinays Constitute Elevating Influence Among Filipinos" *Filipino Student Bulletin* V: no. 8 (April-May 1926): 1.

*tapis*, — is the purest thing we have. ... In her own native dress, one can discern in the Filipino girl the true picture of every thing that is dear to the hearts of the Filipino people, the living embodiment of the ideals and aspirations of our country.<sup>67</sup>

On the other side of this debate, Filipina writers described how they freely switched between costumes as they went from school to home. Soledad Garduño dressed in a “native costume” for the “special benefit” of an American woman writer, but stated that middle-class, educated Filipinas wore it only for socializing after work. Culture and tradition were like garments that could be put on and taken off.<sup>68</sup>

The emergence of the “New Filipino” as a nationalist cosmopolitan in the U.S. depended upon gendered models of development and reconciliation. Her role in national development was to mediate the introduction of American ideas into the Philippine domestic sphere. Ramona Tirona, another student in the United States, transformed cosmopolitanism with gendered meanings. “The representative Filipino woman of today is a curious combination of three influences — the Malayan, the Spanish, and the American,” Tirona observed. “In her heart she keeps the fundamental traditions of her native ancestors, which in a way, act as a check, or a balance, or a means to temper whatever exotic influences she acquires.”<sup>69</sup> As cosmopolitan Filipinos viewed themselves as bridges between the local and the global, and between east and west, the New Filipina embodied the transitions between the public and the private, home and society.

In Filipino men’s quest to balance cosmopolitan and national identities, Filipina writers and lecturers symbolized the “home” from which they came and to which they would ultimately return. Women’s achievements in the political and scientific world and their embodiment of the nation were complementary. Maria Paz Mendoza de Guazon, a

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<sup>67</sup> Isidoro Panlasigui, “The Filipina Dress” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: no. 1 (January-February 1927): 11.

<sup>68</sup> Caroline Crawford, “The Present Filipino Women” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 4: no. 5 (January 1926): 5.



former government scholar, returned to the U.S. in 1926 and gave a talk to the Filipino Students' Association at Columbia University. By then, she had become one of the first Filipina doctors, the first female regent of the University of the Philippines, and the first president of the National League of Filipino Women, a pro-suffrage organization. Having applied her American education towards national progress and professional success, Mendoza appealed to her audience to return to the Philippines. She addressed her remarks to those who had become "stationary in his position," pointing out that economic opportunities for Filipino students lay in the islands and not in the U.S. Mendoza noted in her speech that many of the Filipinos in her audience had entered the country through labor recruiters of corporations such as the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association. The experiences of working on Hawaiian plantations and Alaskan canneries could be applied to emergent industries in the Philippines, she suggested.

Judging from a student article, however, Mendoza's audience was swayed less by rational decision-making than by the sentiment that the figurative motherland awaited the return of her prodigal sons. "To be sure, her appeal was not addressed to the intellect, much less to cold and calculating reason," the student reported. "It was, rather, an appeal to our emotion, to our sense of patriotism."

It seemed to us that it was not only a woman that spoke to our better and nobler nature. We felt also a gentle stroke on our forehead by a hand we know, a hand we love with tender devotion, bidding us return and making us realize that, after all, eternal wanderers as we think we are, we have a home, humble though it be.

As an offshoot of nationalist representations of *Inang Bayan*, the mother of the nation who resisted Father Spain, Mendoza represented how reunion with the homeland countered the cruelties of U.S. immigration.<sup>70</sup> Mendoza suggested how Filipinas, even in

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<sup>69</sup> Ramona S. Tirona, "The Filipino Woman: What She Is and What She Is Not" *The Philippine Herald* 1: no. 2 (December 1920): 4.

<sup>70</sup> Juan Collas, "Dr. Maria Paz Mendoza de Guazon Urges Us to Return" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 6: no 1 (November 1926): 3. On Mendoza de Guazon's career, see Encarnación Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930*, p. 61. On gendered Philippine nationalism, see Raul Pertierra, *Philippine Localities and Global Perspectives*.

non-traditional Philippine clothing, provided a moral compass to male students in the United States.

Mendoza remarks adapted the ideology of cosmopolitan nationalism to Filipinos who had made their way to New York City outside the networks of colonial education and American universities. As more students migrated to the U.S. in search of work as well as education degrees, Filipina writers sought to make sure that they experienced American culture for the ultimate benefit of the Philippine nation. While women assumed moral superiority accorded to them by the ideology of separate spheres, the male-dominated student community had to assume the virtues usually associated with womanhood. In a typical advice column that typically ran in the *Filipino Student Magazine*, a Filipina student cautioned her male counterparts to remain rational, goal-oriented and virtuous. “What a pathetic sight is that of a young man, capable of doing really big things, but who is handicapped by intemperate living and is lacking self-control,” Clara Palafox admonished. “Purity should be a masculine as well as a feminine honor.”

Upholding the ideal of the masculine, controlled and healthy body, Palafox counseled her readers against “intemperate living” in the United States. She recommended physical exercise and religious practice, which ensured “a red-blooded fellow from yielding to passion and lust.”<sup>71</sup> Unlike contemporary ideas of masculinity, which feared that middle-class Anglo American men were over-civilized, Filipino cosmopolitanism required that students completely master the regressive forces within their own character. Cosmopolitanism rested with Filipino men who claimed manly character and self-mastery over desire and temptation.

Non-government scholars dominated the Filipino Student Christian Movement, which sought to include Filipinos on the basis of self-identification, irregardless of full- or part-time enrolment. As the publication of the FSCM, *The Filipino Student Bulletin* published columns that made a narrative distinction between educated cosmopolitans and those who were appeared morally unprepared to handle American society. In a dramatic

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<sup>71</sup> Clara Palafox, “Is This You?” *The Filipino Student Bulletin* IV: 8 (April-May 1926): p.4.

fashion, advice literature asserted that students who participated in domestic, agricultural and service sector labor could be viewed alternately as cosmopolitan elites or immigrant workers. For middle-class Americans, Filipinos associated with racialized labor were not “authentic” students, and hence ill-qualified to be participate in cosmopolitan culture. Charles Hurrey, the director of the CONFRAS, advised, “In communities where color and racial prejudice abound, the Asiatic or African student will do well to adopt some means which will promptly identify him as a student. Nothing is gained by courting discrimination or becoming embittered through unpleasant social contacts.”<sup>72</sup> Filipinos were responsible for asserting education and elite status, rather than displaying racialized bodies.

*The Filipino Student Bulletin*'s emphasis on religion, self-mastery, ethics and manliness defined nationalist aspirations for working students. Because their struggle for an American education was more arduous than the migration experience of pensionados, self-supporting students described the sojourn to the United States as requiring moral character and discipline. Gonzalo Manibog asserted that working students proved to Americans that Filipinos' educational ambitions permitted them to tolerate prejudice and ignorance. He pointed to their “endurance, spirit of self-sacrifice” and “dogged determination to succeed in spite of difficulties.” In his larger argument, Manibog carefully differentiated working students from other immigrants. Rather than seeking economic opportunities, Filipinos journeyed to the U.S. with “a dream of the wonderful institutions of learning that are to be found here.” Manibog, who became a Spanish language instructor at the University of Kansas, had lived in a working class neighborhood in Chicago in 1917. He had found it possible to live in a transient, mostly male-dominated community while defining himself against his immigrant neighbors.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Charles D. Hurrey, “Looking Ahead with Migrating Students,” Folder: Articles by Charles D. Hurrey, n.d.; Box 3 Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students; International Division; YMCA of the USA Archives; and “The FSCM As I Know It” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: no. 9 (June 1927): 3.

<sup>73</sup> Gonzalo Manibog, “The Invasion of American Schools” *The Philippine Herald* 1: no. 3 (February 1921), p. 28.

The *Bulletin* advised students to join cosmopolitan organizations. One column portrayed two paths that students could take through U.S. society. Stating that “my funds are limited,” the “good” Filipino competed in college athletics, joined an exclusive fraternity, spent holidays at homes of American friends, and became an honor student. Contrasting statements illustrated the other path that self-supporting students could take: “I find that race prejudice is strong. Foreigners are not welcome here. I meet no nice American families. I belong to no organizations. I take part in no school activities. I am not having a good time.”<sup>74</sup> Within middle-class, educated spaces, Filipinos would participate in proper social interactions. If they refused to affiliate wholeheartedly with cosmopolitanism, they would suffer psychological problems, such as demoralization, a loss of ambition, and unhappiness.<sup>75</sup>

The colonial administrator, W. W. Marquardt, asserted that urban labor relations erected significant social divisions between the “right” Americans and colonial students. “To secure an education by means of menial labor is far from being a disgrace. It is really an honor of which one may well be proud, but it may be at the same time a temporary barrier to wholesome social life.”<sup>76</sup> Labor activity could be a virtuous way of attaining cosmopolitanism; but it could also be too strenuous for the “morally unfit.” The demonstration of moral character was the means by which self-supporting students could approach American culture as a site of education, rather than as a site of temptation and racial exclusion. The only way in which U.S. culture could benefit the progress and future sovereignty of the Philippines was for Filipino cosmopolitans to reduce their intimacy with American racism, service sector employment, and consumer culture.

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<sup>74</sup> “A Social Problem” *The Philippine Herald* 1: no. 3 (February 1921), p. 20.

<sup>75</sup> Isaac A. Calupig, “Paisanos’ Forfeit Ambition for Pleasure: Few Self-Supporting Students Finish Schooling According to Official Report of Insular Affairs,” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 5: no. 7 (March 1926), p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> Marquardt, *What Filipino Students Coming to the United States Ought to Know*, p. 13. “The cost of living is naturally very high in the large cities. The opportunities of really getting acquainted with Americans are very slight.” Marquardt, *What Filipinos Students Coming to the United States Ought to Know*, p. 6.

## Conclusion

Considering the cultural cosmopolitanism and nationalist politics of Filipino students in the early twentieth-century United States, gender and class emerged as significant factors in Filipino racial formation. Cosmopolitanism emphasized moral communities, university social circles, and spiritual purpose that depended upon manly, middle-class representations of the racialized body. Isidoro Panlasigui, the student who had described Philippine traditional clothing with such nostalgia, wore a double-breasted blue suit to his home-coming celebration in his hometown of Santa Lucia in the northern Luzon province of Ilocos Norte. While speaking in Ilocano about the virtues of American education and democracy, Panlasigui most impressed a young writer, Manuel Buaken, with his physical appearance. “His face was aglow with the deep expression of joy. His five-foot, five-inch stature bowed to the crowd and he began to tell of his great adventure.”

In contrast to his audience, the returning student no longer wore traditional clothing to withstand the tropical heat. Buaken and his mother had traveled eight miles from their *barrioto* to the town center, where the provincial governor, town mayor, Catholic priest and Protestant minister welcomed Panlasigui after ten years of study in America. To show their respect for the guest of honor, the travelers hurriedly changed into formal *fiesta* clothing. “Mother’s dress was sheer and flowing, made of piña cloth with huge fluffed sleeves and up-standing collar,” Buaken wrote. “Beautiful, like the sampaguita flowers, I thought.” In his account, his mother admired only the student who had returned from America with a university degree.

Mother said, “How he has changed! He is as a tall tree now, with poise and dignity. He towers above us all.” Part of this impressive change was in his very clothing. His double-breasted blue suit was so different from our tropically sheer costumes of home-woven piña and cotton. America had been kind to him and kept him young in appearance.

The returning student embodied all the positive changes that an American education could bestow upon a Filipino. Through his participation in colonial elite-formation and rational, enlightened cosmopolitan culture, the New Filipino was capable of engaging in cross-racial “friendly relations.” According to Buaken, Panlasigui stimulated his desire

to go the United States and eased his parents' fears of allowing him to travel unaccompanied. In retrospect, Buaken wrote of Panlasigui's speech, "How false his picture of the life of a Filipino seeking knowledge in the United States."<sup>77</sup>

In a post-World War I article on North American-European cultural relations, a British writer noted that the ability of student cosmopolitans to understand differences between countries and to bridge them was due to class privilege. Workers' experience of global networks and their travels to the United States were very different from the reception of businessmen and foreign lecturers.<sup>78</sup> In sharp contrast to the competitive relations between Filipino and American workers, the cultural exchanges between middle-class pensionados and American university students were akin to equal trade relations, while the Filipino student seeking to gain knowledge of democratic culture and specialized skills was a respectable cultural consumer. The cosmopolitan was an economic actor who was neither a menial labor nor an aristocrat. A woman student argued that the New Filipina was a wage-earner but that "she has never been allowed to become an industrial tramp seeking her work afar."<sup>79</sup> Rather, her self-sufficiency suggested the cultural traits of citizenship in a democratic, independent Philippines.

As many historians of Filipino American immigration have noted, successful students spurred a new generation of students who were marked more by their racialized labor than by their cosmopolitan visions. University-based cosmopolitanism came to be threatened by the figure of the Filipino worker, whose mobility within the U.S. empire was weighed down by race, labor and immigration. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the discourse of character-building and morality increasingly shifted to questions of social environment. The questions concerning place and belonging that shaped the identity of the New Filipino intensified as social scientists began to study the impact of the working-class, modern, American city upon the colonial student.

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<sup>77</sup> Manuel Buaken, *I Have Lived with the American People* (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948), pp. 29-33.

<sup>78</sup> Henry de Man, "On the Difficulties of World-Citizenship" *Scribner's Magazine* 68 (November 1920): 584.

<sup>79</sup> Ramona S. Tirona, "The Filipino Woman," p. 6

## CHAPTER 4 *The Taxi-Dance Hall :*

### The Chicago School of Sociology and the Invention of Filipino Ethnicity

#### Introduction

A University of Chicago student, Paul Cressey, began a masters thesis in 1926 on the “taxi-dance hall,” a type of urban leisure that excluded women as patrons, instead employing them to dance with men for a ten-cent fee, half of which they earned. Some of the racially segregated taxi-dance halls were known for catering to Filipino men, who composed nearly forty percent of clientele. An early work from the Chicago School of sociology, Cressey’s *The Taxi-Dance Hall* examined the highly contested world of Filipino-white heterosocial relations in the city’s rooming-house districts.

Cressey’s community study took place in the transitional period between post-World War I students’ cosmopolitan networks and the formation of visible “ethnic” immigrant communities.<sup>1</sup> Historians of Filipino immigration to the U.S. have suggested that labor and leisure participation in 1920s and 1930s shifted Filipino men’s orientation from the Philippines to the United States. The era of sexual modernity, expanding labor and increasing immigration provided new ways for Filipino students to participate in American domestic society.<sup>2</sup> *The Taxi-Dance Hall* documented how Filipino men

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<sup>1</sup>By the time Cressey had finished his masters’ thesis in 1929, another Chicago-trained sociologist, Emory S. Bogardus, had published the first of a series of articles on Filipinos in California. Bogardus began training a number of Filipino social scientists, most notably Benicio Catapusan. Bogardus expanded Park’s race relations cycle into seven quantifiable stages towards assimilation. In late 1920s California, Mexicans and Filipinos were stuck in the middle of the cycle. See Stow Persons, *Ethnic Studies at Chicago 1905-45* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Posadas and Roland Guyotte, “Unintentional Immigrants: Chicago’s Filipino Foreign Students Become Settlers, 1900-1941” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 9 (Spring 1990): 26-48.

entered both the American university life and U.S. urban popular culture. Cressey's research showed that Filipino men's "assimilation" was particularly controversial because it took place in a commercialized leisure that sociologists and reformers viewed as a place of vice. At the very beginning of his research, the sociologist asserted that "there is no opportunity for [Filipino] assimilation" in the United States.<sup>3</sup> He nevertheless identified Filipino taxi-dance hall patrons as "ethnic" subjects, meaning that the American city had created a group of people who were substantially different from those in the Philippines. As this contradiction indicates, Cressey did not define Filipino ethnicity to suggest cultural citizenship in the United States. Rather, the sociologist hewed to the cyclical theories of social interaction, such as ethnic assimilation. To explore this theoretical concept, Cressey charted how the colonial student underwent significant changes in the racially segregated, American city, even without settling in the United States.

*The Taxi-Dance Hall* marked the first time that Filipinos became a subject of American racial discourse within U.S. national borders. In one chapter of his masters' thesis and his published book, Cressey sought to determine how Filipino men contributed to the functioning and equilibrium of American domestic society. He used the sociological theory of "disorganization" to explain why young people and marginalized groups created social orders that seemed to violate conventional morality. Portraying European ethnic taxi-dancers and Filipino patrons as figures in transition, Cressey charted the "cycles" in which members of the leisure subculture made their way from traditional local communities to transient and anonymous social relations. He explained the social delinquency of taxi-dancers and patrons as part of their adjustment to the "monotony and humdrum of the mechanized city."<sup>4</sup> The sociologist called this process various names: demoralization, personal disorganization and retrogressive cycle. Because both women

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<sup>3</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Report on Summer's Work with Juvenile Protective Association, November 26, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>4</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969 [1932]), pp. 286 and 294.



and men in Filipino-dominated taxi-dance halls had hailed originally from other countries, Cressey introduced the concept of ethnicity to describe Filipino men, as well as the Eastern European women who danced with them.

I will trace the overlapping discourses of race and progress that the sociologist negotiated in his study of Filipino colonial students in the American city. Cressey's work made a notable, but incomplete, departure from the substantial literature on Filipinos which colonial administrators and travel writers had produced. This departure revolved around the changing role of race in social science theories of modernization. While colonial educators and administrators charted Philippine social progress and national sovereignty as a cultural trajectory from savagery to civilization, the sociologist elaborated a grand theory of social adaptation to industrial modernity.<sup>5</sup> As a sociologist, Cressey borrowed from the natural sciences to describe social change as organic and natural, and sought to replace racial explanations with cultural and social theories.<sup>6</sup> As reformers investigated interracial relationships within taxi-dance halls, the leisure centers and neighborhoods became key research fields for the emerging discipline of American sociology. Cressey attempted to supercede dance hall reformers' efforts to provide moral uplift to young, white women who worked in the urban leisure economy. The sociologist supported reformers' efforts to regulate taxi-dance halls but argued that "scientific studies" held final authority on explaining and correcting how urban society functioned. The study followed the new precepts of Chicago sociology, which subordinated reformers' fixation on "race" in Filipino-dominated taxi-dance halls to cyclical theories of sociological change.

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<sup>5</sup> My approach to Chicago urban sociology draws from the vast literature concerning anthropology and colonialism. Talal Asad, for example, has asked "What concepts of dominant power did [anthropologists] assume, modify, or reject, as they tried to observe and represent the lives of 'traditional' populations being transformed in a 'modern' direction?" Talal Asad, "From the History of Colonial Anthropology to the Anthropology of Western Hegemony" in *Colonial Situations: Essays in the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* edited by George W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 315-16.

<sup>6</sup> See Jon Gjerde, "New Growth on Old Vines: The State of the Field: The Social History of Immigration to and Ethnicity in the United States" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18: no. 4 (Summer 1999): 40-65; and Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

Many historians have argued that Chicago sociologists paved the way for racial liberalism of the mid-twentieth century. Social scientists in the 1920s like Robert Park and Franz Boas (in sociology and anthropology, respectively) argued that biological racialism were weak explanations for societal and cultural phenomena.<sup>7</sup> Other scholars have noted, however, that Chicago sociologists and their colleagues in anthropology did not seek to disrupt racial hierarchies, either in their intellectual work or in their sociopolitical views.<sup>8</sup> By examining reform investigations, police reports and social science research on interracial, heterosocial relations, I will reconstruct the multi-layered contexts in which Filipino men found their way into public discussion about urban leisure. By depending on regulatory and reform texts that pursued racial segregation in taxi-dance halls, Cressey's work exemplified how intellectual revisions of American racial hierarchy slowed down considerably around the subject of interracial sexuality.

Reflecting the anti-miscegenation politics of vice reform, Cressey identified Filipino patrons as "ethnics" for the purpose of settling them away from taxi-dancers, rather than to guide their acculturation into American society. His research project also drew from Filipino students' debates about their social and cultural relations in Chicago. *The Taxi-Dance Hall* described the vagabond, opportunist and political zealot as three social "types" which illustrated how Filipino migrants changed under the influence of U.S. urban leisure. Attempting to explain the stages in which an immigrant "Pinoy" became an Americanized "Flip," Cressey expanded his research beyond the local

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<sup>7</sup> Stow Persons, *Ethnic Studies at Chicago 1905-45*; and R. Fred Wacker, *Ethnicity, Pluralism, and Race: Race Relations Theory in America Before Myrdal* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983).

<sup>8</sup> Michael Omi and Harold Winant have asserted that social scientists, despite their claims, maintained an "adherence to biologicistic perspectives on race" that prevented them from ideologically opposing the revival of both Jim Crow and Asian exclusion movements in the 1920s. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States From the 1960s to the 1990s*<sup>2nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 10. Peggy Pascoe has argued that social scientists in the 1920s created a new racial discourse. She defined the "modernist racial ideology" as the "belief that the eradication of racism depends on the deliberate nonrecognition of race. ... It is therefore important to see it not as what it claims to be — the nonideological end of racism — but as a racial ideology of its own, whose history shapes of many of today's arguments about the meaning of race in American society." Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America" in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* edited by Martha Hodes (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), p. 467.

community to the transnational phenomena of Americans educating Filipinos in the colony and in the metropole.

In this chapter, I will examine a multitude of social contexts and discourses surrounding Filipino-dominated taxi-dance halls. By looking at the intellectual and social processes by which Cressey conducted his research, I will analyze how moral reformers, sociologists and Filipino student elites crafted contesting ideas about Filipino men's cultural position in the American domestic landscape. I will examine how different ideological narratives about immigration, race, gender, sexuality, class and urban public space converged in the intellectual concept of Filipino ethnicity. How did this particular definition of "ethnicity" absorb and adapt two opposing ideologies of American racial segregation and U.S. imperialism? Using the scientific and objective theory of "ethnic assimilation," Cressey attempted to measure social change in a quantitative fashion. The sociological methods of collecting personal documents, conducting interviews and performing participant-observation, however, meant that Cressey relied heavily on the subjective narratives of moral reformers and Filipino student nationalists. Both groups believed that Filipino migrants should leave the United States for the colonial Philippines. By describing the tensions between objective theory and the unquantifiable, dynamic contexts of Cressey's social investigation, I identify *The Taxi-Dance Hall* as an example of what scholars have called the "crisis in social science."<sup>9</sup> Combining subjective materials with sociological theory, Cressey concluded that the European women who left the taxi-dance hall were likely to continue on the path of ethnic assimilation. Filipino students, in contrast, were meant to create their new society in the Philippines.

#### Filipino taxi-dance halls at the intersection of social science and moral reform

The opening chapter of Paul Cressey's book, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, provided a composite portrayal of the leisure centers in 1920s Chicago. "A Night in the Taxi-Dance Hall" brought the reader into the Eureka Dancing Academy, a fictional locale. In this

description, the most disorienting and distinctive aspect of the taxi-dance hall is that men from all over the world had taken over a leisure space in an American city.

The patrons are a motley crowd. ... Sometimes they speak English fluently. More often their broken English reveals them as European immigrants, on the way toward being Americanized. Still others are dapperly dressed Filipinos who come together, sometimes even in squads of six or eight, and slip quietly into the entrance. Altogether, the patrons make up a polyglot aggregation from many corners of the world. The girls, however, seem much alike.<sup>10</sup>

While reformers tended to depict victimized young women who worked in taxi-dance halls, Cressey turns his focus to the men who paid women to dance. When it was published in 1932, the portrayal of the taxi-dance hall gave rise to questions concerning the rapid rise of immigration to Chicago over the past decades. What role did urban leisure play in the “Americanization” of European immigrants? More importantly, the description of Filipino patrons made interracial sexuality the predominating aspect of the reader’s understanding of taxi-dance hall culture.

Despite Cressey’s portrayal, most taxi-dance halls in the segregated city were exclusively white. While all of the venues across the board excluded African-American patrons and employed white women, only a few permitted the patronage of Asian and Mexican immigrant men. Cressey’s depiction of the Eureka Dancing Academy reflected reformers’ view that the “worst” examples of taxi-dance halls were interracial and could be found in a working-class, rooming-house district called the Near West side. While the sociologist did not share reformers’ aim to close down vice districts and institutions, he did seek to define the taxi-dance hall and its surrounding neighborhood as culturally distinct from “conventional” American society.

Cressey vacillated between somewhat opposing visions of social change and progress in Chicago’s heterosocial and interracial relations. In the first case, reformers sought to eliminate the conditions for leisure activities resembling prostitution,

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<sup>9</sup> Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan, eds., *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

particularly in cross-racial taxi-dance halls. The Juvenile Protective Association worked closely with the city police and courts to achieve this end. The JPA had helped to close down the city's red-light district after World War I, which had been located in the segregated "Black Belt." The JPA also found an ally in Chicago sociologist Ernest W. Burgess, who headed the university department with Robert E. Park. "With assistance from the University of Chicago," the JPA reported, "we have made exhaustive reports on these centers of recreation and have come to the conclusion that for the most part they should not exist."<sup>11</sup> Burgess was also Cressey's thesis adviser and sponsored the student's internship with the JPA as a reform investigator. In their developing the discipline of urban sociology, Burgess and his colleagues favored strict regulation over the eradication of urban areas related to delinquency. Following the new research protocol, Cressey defined taxi-dance halls as places with definite and necessary functions in sociological change. Reformers, he argued, failed to analyze how and why unconventional morality helped some men and women to adjust to the demands of city life. Along with his colleagues, the researcher claimed that social science theory and ethnographic methods provided superior methods for assessing and managing society.<sup>12</sup>

For several months during the summer of 1925, Cressey conducted fieldwork as a JPA reformer. His first and foremost affiliation, however, was to the new discipline of urban sociology at the University of Chicago. Cressey's intellectual goal was to explore the theory of "disorganization" that appeared in the seminal sociological studies, William I. Thomas's *Old World Traits Transplanted* and Thomas's collaboration with Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*. At its best, *The Taxi-Dance Hall* demonstrated the flexibility of sociological theories of change in several different, but intertwined, contexts. In the taxi-dance hall, where the diverse clientele and workforce mingled

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<sup>10</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi Dance Hall*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Juvenile Protective Association, Annual Report 1921-22, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> *The Taxi-Dance Hall* called for "the collective thought of our best 'social engineers,'" which included the range of business, governmental and social work groups of Chicago's progressive reform

regularly, all social interactions shared the five stages of the ethnicity cycle. In *The Polish Peasant*, Thomas and Znaniecki described these stages as contact, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Building upon *The Polish Peasant*, Cressey expanded the narrative of modernization to describe Eastern European immigration, Filipino student migration, delinquency, and, most importantly, the rise of interracial relationships within urban subcultures.

On a practical level, however, Cressey found that creating regulations for new forms of interracial sexuality proved to be difficult. As I will describe, his ideas about the relationship between race and vice drew upon reformers' anti-miscegenation politics. Because their population was relatively small in Illinois, Filipinos in Chicago were not subject to the same organized opposition that plagued Filipinos in many western states. Despite the absence of an anti-miscegenation law and labor groups calling for Filipino restriction in the midwest, Cressey's ethnography of taxi-dance halls had important bearing upon the regulation of Filipino communities in Chicago. He worked for a dance hall reform agency for several months in 1925. At this time the Chicago police commission and reformers cooperated to close down the taxi-dance halls that welcomed Filipino patrons. When Cressey completed his thesis in 1929, reformers and police had closed nearly all the taxi-dance halls in the neighborhood where most Filipinos lived.

When regulatory agencies began to investigate the new form of dance hall in the early 1920s, they found a few venues that permitted Filipino patrons. According to Cressey, one of the first taxi-dance halls in the city actively pursued Filipino clientele. Several years before opening his business in Chicago, a white man had provided room and board to Filipino students in Detroit. After learning that most Filipinos in America were young, single men who worked their way through school and sometimes received financial support from their families in the islands, the taxi-dance hall owner decided to cater his new business to them. "I knew they were nice fellows," he stated. Before launching a racially integrated dance hall, the owner secured patronage and protection

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movements. Cressey makes a particular place for sociologists to "measure the results of the programs and the institutions created to meet the patrons' needs." Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 294.

from his alderman and local leaders.<sup>13</sup> Within a few years, several taxi-dance halls followed suit by targeting Filipino students as potential clients. According to one Filipino, “There were many dance halls in Chicago and there was no way to stop the Filipino boys from going to them.”<sup>14</sup>

One night in late 1923, a Juvenile Protective Association investigator at the Athenian Dance Hall recognized a Filipino among those buying ten-cent tickets for three- or four-minute dances. The two men had been fellow students at the University of Chicago. The reformer reported, “He is now working at a bank, he says, downtown. He seemed embarrassed to see me, said it was a bum, rotten place and to not tell his friends at the University I had seen him there.” Despite his shame, the patron guardedly gave the investigator a key piece of information.

He said he had a date with one of the girls after twelve-thirty, but would not tell me where he was going to take her. He said I could get one of the girls after the dance if I wanted her, but he would not tell me where I could take her. He said there were no improper relations between the men and girls at that place.<sup>15</sup>

The reformer had entered the taxi-dance hall to inspect a list of conditions, including physical contact between dancers, adequate lighting and ventilation, alcohol sales, jazz music, proper clothing, and the age of the women employees. Finding that patrons, including Filipinos, extended their interactions with taxi-dancers after the halls closed was a significant sign of immoral conduct. The reformer concluded that the Athenian Dance Hall permitted women to exchange sexual favors for money.

Shortly after this encounter, the JPA and city police began investigations that led to the licensing and closing of taxi-dance halls. They then turned to the leisure centers in a particular part of the city. In the Near West neighborhood during the mid-1920s, five

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<sup>13</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi Dance Hall*, p. 197.

<sup>14</sup> Robert V. Vallangca, *Pinoy: The First Wave (1898-1941)* (San Francisco: Strawberry Hill Press, 1977), p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Russell, Report of Athenian Dance Hall, December 15, 1923, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

taxi-dance halls opened at one time along West Madison Street, a main thoroughfare that ran west from downtown and was accessible by several streetcar lines.<sup>16</sup> Reflecting the surrounding area, most of the halls drew racially diverse single men and employed white women, mostly second-generation European immigrants. Like most of the people from the neighborhood, patrons and taxi-dancers were single young adults living in converted apartment buildings and hotels with as many as one hundred furnished rooms. Three of these rooming-house districts surrounded Chicago's downtown Loop. To the south was the former "vice area" and to the north, organized labor, radical left groups, artists and cultural bohemians converged. By the 1920s, the Near West side became home to Filipino, Mexican and Arab immigrants. In all three areas, growing numbers of young white women lived independently of their families. Many were the daughters of recent Eastern European immigrants who found work in manufacturing, clerical and service sectors. Women who worked in taxi-dance halls and other sectors of urban leisure were exempt from the family wage scale, earning more than other workers did.<sup>17</sup>

In 1926, the JPA tried to redraft an existing ordinance to prohibit the new form of urban leisure. Failing this, the agency sought to include taxi-dance halls in the current system of dance hall licensing. Several halls obtained licenses under the new ordinance, including two places patronized by Filipino men.<sup>18</sup> Taxi-dance hall owners frequently circumvented licensing efforts by gaining court injunctions against police interference. Another way that proprietors avoided the need to get a dance hall license was to claim that their business employed women to teach men how to dance. Names such as Madison Dancing School suggested a veneer of propriety that reformers set out to contest. The JPA deliberately used the term "closed dance halls" to emphasize the exclusion of

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<sup>16</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, pp. 214-15.

<sup>17</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 72. Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1988), pp. 11 and 40.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth L. Crandall, "Memorandum for Miss Jessie F. Binford, Re: Closed Dance Hall Licenses," ca. 1928, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 103: Public Dance Halls, Closed, December 1923 - February 1929, University of Illinois at Chicago.



women patrons, which distinguished taxi-dance halls from ostensibly respectable and exclusively white dance “palaces.”

While reformers worked to disrupt any connection between commercialized leisure and high culture, Filipinos referred to the taxi-dance hall as their “school.” Using Spanish, the language of the cultured elite in the Philippines, Filipino patrons called the dance hall “escuela,” and taxi-dancers, “colegialas,” or co-eds. In English, when the Filipino said, “I have a class,” he often meant, “I’m going to the taxi-dance hall.”<sup>19</sup> Most patrons knew how to dance, however, and did not attend dancing “schools” for lessons. These terms carried another meaning for Filipinos who had migrated to the U.S. for degrees in higher education. As I will describe, Cressey paid considerable attention to the various meanings which Filipinos ascribed to taxi-dance hall culture. Reformers, on the other hand, had their own views of cultural conflict and racial difference.

#### Race and respectability

By mid-decade, the majority of Filipinos enrolled in U.S. schools lived and worked in Illinois. More than one thousand Filipinos lived in Chicago, mostly in the Near West side. Since WWI, they had attended professional schools of law and medicine in the neighborhood. Most were working students, rather than government scholars, who attended affordable or tuition-free schools in the neighborhood, such as Crane Junior College, Lewis Institute, the University of Illinois Medical and Dental Schools, and McKinley High School.<sup>20</sup> A University of Chicago student called the Near West side an “unfavorable environmental section” with a “great variety of colleges.” Taxi-dance halls were located in nondescript buildings near schools and advertised actively in Filipino

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<sup>19</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> For population statistics after World War I, see Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, *Directory of Filipino Students in the United States, June 1, 1917* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917). See also “Registration, Christmas Dinner, December 27, 1917” Volume 54: Foreign Students Activities, McKinlock Campus; Newsclippings, Announcements, 1916-1933; Y.M.C.A. of Chicago Papers, Chicago Historical Society. Data on Filipinos in the midwest by the 1920s can be found in Leopoldo T. Ruiz, “Filipino Students in the United States,” (M.A. thesis in political science, Columbia University, 1924), p. 60. See also Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago” (M.A. thesis,

communities. The Filipino Association Clubhouse, which was then the largest Filipino organization in the U.S., was also in the Near West side. It also held weekly dances which taxi-dance hall proprietors attended to pay their respects.<sup>21</sup>

The area facilitated a variety of social relationships among white “women adrift” and Filipino working students around taxi-dance halls. Taxi-dancers and Filipino patrons accompanied each other to interracial “black-and-tan” cabarets in the South side and to social functions at the Filipino Association Clubhouse. To a large extent, Filipino men and white women engaged in the social practice of “treating,” in which men financially supported the women they dated. Within the broader context of dating, which distinguished the practice from prostitution, men “treated” women to cash, gifts and, sometimes, rent. Like white working women in the rooming-house districts, Filipino students tended to dominate particular boarding houses; at times, white taxi-dancers and Filipino patrons shared living spaces.

In a house raid in early 1926, the police arrested six white women found in a Filipino residence. The Morals Court sent three of them to a girls’ home for treatment of venereal disease. Cressey had the opportunity to copy a series of confiscated letters that the detained women wrote to their friends. The letters reveal a social network composed of white women and Filipino men who attended the same taxi-dance halls. In their correspondence to their female friends, the three women frequently referred to the same circle of Filipino students. One of the women wrote to her friend to request to the Filipino man she was dating to buy her fruit, candy, and cigarettes. She also asked him to send money for sewing material. “Tell him to write to me as I do not know how to spell his last name,” she wrote her girlfriend.<sup>22</sup> Another woman arranged for one of her friends to keep her furnished room because her boyfriend had offered to continue paying the rent.

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University of Chicago, 1926). He marked the boundaries of the Near West side as Western Avenue on the west, Racine Street on the east, Lake Street on the north, and Roosevelt Street on the south.

<sup>21</sup> Gelacio Tongko, “Filipinos in Chicago,” Paper for Sociology 6: The Immigrant, University of Chicago, Winter Quarter 1923, Chicago Theological Seminary, Filipino Study, Interview Documents. See also Leopoldo T. Ruiz, “Filipino Students in the United States,” p. 60. Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, 217-18

To her boyfriend, a Northwestern evening school student, the taxi-dancer wrote, “Wishing you are well and happy and hope everything is fine and dandy. Don’t forget and go to school as you promised me. I am lonesome and blew [*sic*] and hope I were out and happy.”<sup>23</sup>

The gender politics at the heart of dance hall reform seemed on the surface to have more to do with the cultural category of class rather than that of race. To Juvenile Protective Association reformers and city police officers, interracial sexuality was a functional sign of immorality. The visual spectacle of an interracial couple seemed to be irrefutable evidence of behavior that needed to be eliminated. The need for such evidence arose due to the shifting sexual and economic relations between young men and women. In the 1920s, the explosion of youth culture and the rise of heterosocial mixing in the workplace, on college campuses and commercialized leisure prompted reformers to search for new rules concerning sexuality. While “modern” sexual ideologies increasingly legitimized women’s pleasure, the principle of sexuality as a woman’s personal right in turn strengthened reformers’ efforts to demarcate the boundary between ostensibly legitimate premarital sex and prostitution.<sup>24</sup>

Taxi-dance halls posed this particular problem for the JPA and the city police. Although they commodified their sexuality by making it available to patrons for ten cents per dance, not all taxi-dancers combined work and sexual activities in the same ways. While reformers and other observers presumed a high incidence of extra-marital sex in these relationships, taxi-dancers, according to Cressey’s fieldwork interviews, frequently negotiated the terms of the sexual contract. In several cases, women continued to work in taxi-dance halls after they were married. Whether married or single, working as a taxi-dancer and being “treated” by patrons provided women financial support and an outlet for

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<sup>22</sup> Letter from M.K. to J. B., February 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from C. W. to G. V., February 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

exercising sexual and social autonomy.<sup>25</sup> Reformers believed that working-class women who sold dances could lay a claim on virtuous womanhood if they kept their sexual desires out of their work. In early 1927, a police officer escorted a woman out of a hall because she was “rotating her hips and throwing herself against her partner.”<sup>26</sup>

The JPA worked closely with undercover police to eject disorderly taxi-dancers and patrons from licensed dance halls. Reform investigators wielded the power to withhold dance hall licenses if they objected to women’s working conditions. Under pressure by reformers and police, some taxi-dance halls instituted new hiring and supervisory policies. In one of its more successful endeavors, the JPA provided women supervisors for the Plaza Dancing School, a hall in the Near North side. During the early months of 1927, an investigator found that a supervisor fired taxi-dancers who failed to wear “slips and bloomers” or to refrain from eroticized dancing. In this taxi-dance hall, the rules to regulate the sexual activities of working-class women were inextricably tied to the politics of race. By working in places that regulated the conduct not only between men and women but also between whites and Asians, taxi-dancers could stake a claim for middle-class respectability. The Plaza’s supervisor specifically banned a dance in which two women performed suggestive movements with each other on the dance floor. The homoerotic display, presumably intended to attract male patrons, was called “the South Side,” a reference to Chicago’s segregated African-American neighborhood.

In addition to abolishing a dance that connected blackness with vice and prostitution, the supervisor managed to maintain the only respectable multi-racial taxi-dance hall in the city. According to the JPA investigator, the Plaza Dancing School attracted a “most polyglot group [of] Filipinos [*sic*], Japs [*sic*], Chinese and even

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<sup>24</sup> Indexes of “modern sexuality” are contraceptive use, dating practices, and peer-regulated eroticism. John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

<sup>25</sup> Joanne Meyerowitz has traced patterns of “treating” in Chicago in the 1910s. Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift*, pp. 101-108. For a turn-of-the-century study of treating in New York City, see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

Hawaiians.” With a mix of self-congratulatory rhetoric and amazement, the reformer continued, “The crowds, however, are held very strictly to their conduct.” The only Filipinos who attended the Plaza, the investigator noted, were those who “wished to dance decorously with nice girls.”<sup>27</sup>

Although reformers and proprietors could regulate interracial relations within taxi-dance halls, mixed-race socializing was a constant threat to women’s respectability. Speaking of Filipino patrons in an interview, a taxi-dance hall proprietor stated, “We can’t afford to have that kind of fellow around our studio.” Because white patrons frequently refused to socialize with men of color, his taxi-dance hall fired employees who dated Filipinos. “We want to keep strictly high class girls because we want only high-class trade,” the informant said.<sup>28</sup> At the Reliable Dancing Hall, another Near North side venue, the owner attempted to institute policies of dress and conduct among his employees and patrons. In a case that justified reformers’ views of the taxi-dance hall’s essential indecency, the owner failed to rehabilitate the women and men in his dance hall, and sold the business. According to an employee, he had “wanted to make the girls and fellows act like they were in the ball room of the Congress Hotel.” Cressey, then a JPA investigator noted that, in the absence of any supervisory efforts, the dance hall began to cater to a specialized clientele: Filipino men seeking to have sexual intercourse with white women. As a result, Cressey stated, no white men attended the Reliable, even if they “wanted essentially the same type of girl.”<sup>29</sup> The visual indications of racial difference signaled a tenacious threat to working-class women’s chances for middle-class propriety.

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<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth L. Crandall, Report on the Royal Dancing School, April 10, 1927, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>27</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Report on the Plaza Dancing School, February and May 1927, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>28</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Interview, February 6, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>29</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Report of the Reliable Dancing Hall, January-April 1927.

The JPA and Chicago police established a close link between women's respectability and the attempts to segregate Filipino men from white women. Reformers and the police counted how many Filipino patrons were present at any given night, no matter how small. Like licensing violations such as "immoral dancing" and "lack of supervision," the presence of Filipino men negatively affected the respectability of a particular dance hall. As regulatory agencies spotted Filipino patrons and white taxi-dancers together, they believed they had grounds to judge local taxi-dance halls as fundamentally immoral. In the most egregious Near West dance hall, the New American Dancing School #2, officers depicted disorderly heterosocial relations, such "sensual" dancing and disruptive verbal fights between Filipino men and white women.<sup>30</sup>

The sight of Filipino men and taxi-dancers helped reformers to detect which women's activities in commercialized leisure spaces were improper and, perhaps, criminal. The term "taxi-dance hall" referred to heavy traffic of taxicabs transporting patrons and dancers after the hall closed. Patrons and dancers preferred to taxis rather than the streetcars that ran all night because they could escape notice on the streets. For interracial couples, cabs were essential for avoiding local hostility. While working with the JPA, Cressey reported that in the New American Dance Hall #2 "all [the] girls go home with boys in cars."<sup>31</sup> Regulatory agencies, however, viewed the transportation primarily as an extension of "vice" into the streets, restaurants and rooming houses of the neighborhoods. According to reformers, cabs provided the space for continued sexual impropriety between patrons and clients. Police officers extended their surveillance into taxis that left the dance halls. "One blond girl came out with a Filipino and got in a

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<sup>30</sup>Roy van Herik and Thomas M. Lowery, Police report of the New American Dancing School #2, October 11, 1928, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>31</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Report on Summer's Work with Juvenile Protective Association, November 26, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library; Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 172; and Paul G. Cressey, "Selections of case material and interviews, November 10, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

checker cab,” an officer reported, “and after getting in, the Filipino put his arm around the girl and started to hug and kiss her. The checker cab went west on Madison Street.”<sup>32</sup>

Reform and police records traced the movements of interracial couples on the streets of the Near West side. The ways in which taxi-dancers and patrons appeared in public together had clear material consequences. The police interpreted the practices of interracial treating to represent Filipino men as potential rapists and procurers. One night in October 1928, two police officers saw a couple leaving the New American Dance Hall #2 and followed them through the Near West side for more than two-and-a-half hours. After trailing them to a Chinese restaurant and to her residence, the officers arrested the couple, charging them with disorderly conduct. According to police reports, the man had gotten his date drunk at the restaurant and then proceeded to sexually assault her in an apartment vestibule. The police believed that the arrests aided the taxi-dancer’s efforts to resist the man’s advances. Ultimately, the Morals Court released the woman while giving a warning to the man.

In their line of questioning, the officers attempted to reveal the sexual desire of racialized foreign men for white women as a sign of criminal activity yet to come. The officers reported that the patron “took the girl out for the purpose of taking her to his room for the purpose of taking her to his room for the purpose of having intercourse with her; that she refused to go.”<sup>33</sup> Although the police report emphasized that the couple had no existing relationship, the woman, a Swedish immigrant, and the man, a postal worker who had arrived from the Philippines seven years before, stated that they had been dancing together at the New American Dance Hall for two months. To a significant degree, the officers’ justification for their actions obscured some of the couple’s individual statements.

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<sup>32</sup> Roy van Herik and Thomas M. Lowery, Police report of New American Dance Hall #3, October 10, 1928, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Lowery, Police report of the New American Dance Hall #2, October 11, 1928, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

The night they were arrested was part of a process of social exchange and negotiation. "How did you happen to take her out tonight?" the officer asked. The man responded, "I had a dance with her and she said I could take her home." After the meal, they took a cab where they hugged and kissed. "I asked her to go to my room," he stated, "but she said she would rather go home." In her front hallway, he continued to ask her to spend the night with him. In her interrogation the woman said, "He put his arms around me and kissed me." The police instead reported that the couple were "struggling together for twenty minutes." The main point of contention was whether she was drunk. The police wrote, "when leaving the restaurant the girl appeared to be intoxicated." When they asked her what she drank, she responded, "He said it was sweet wine. It made me sick but I knew what I was doing."<sup>34</sup> Whether or not the taxi-dancer experienced sexual assault, she was not forthcoming with the police.

In segregated Chicago, the anti-miscegenation politics that marked the upsurge of lynching and Ku Klux Klan activities in the 1920s served as a lens for judging interracial activity in Near West side taxi-dance halls. A Filipino patron remarked to Paul Cressey that he was reluctant to become sexually intimate with a taxi-dancer. "I was afraid to try it with an American girl," he confided. "I had heard what they do to negroes who have sex relations with white girls."<sup>35</sup> During the reform campaign, police frequently raided Filipino boarding houses in search of white taxi-dancers. The city closed down a Near West taxi-dance hall because a fifteen-year-old white woman had been caught by the police in the room of a Filipino man. The young man and woman had met at a taxi-dance hall and later socialized at a Filipino Association Clubhouse dance. While the woman had insisted that she had not been sexually intimate with the Filipino, the police arrested her and her two women friends.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Thomas Lowery, Police report of the New American Dance Hall #2, October 11, 1928, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>35</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Selections of case material and interviews, November 10, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>36</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 217.



Reformers continued their efforts to segregate urban leisure culture. Toward the end of the 1920s, nearly all the Near West taxi-dance halls were closed down. With support from the Democratic administration of Mayor Anton Cermak in 1931, the JPA and the police exerted greater power in regulating taxi-dance halls. The police commission passed a new ordinance that required all dancing schools to be licensed and outlawed all taxi-dance halls during the Century of Progress Exposition of 1933.<sup>37</sup> By 1934, only two leisure venues were open to Filipino men. Neither of them had white men as patrons.<sup>38</sup> Because taxi-dance halls were inordinately tied to the question of “race” and linked to the specter of miscegenation, reforming urban leisure meant removing the racial differences. Accordingly, the JPA’s published reports never mentioned investigators’ efforts to eradicate interracial sexuality in their quest to regulate taxi-dance halls.

In America but of the Philippines: resisting ethnicity

As I have noted, Filipino working students chose to live in rooming-house districts that were largely working-class and somewhat racially diverse. In the arenas of housing and leisure, city agencies and white ethnic residents attempted to implement de facto segregation. While researching taxi-dance halls for seven years, starting in 1925, Cressey noted that violence within these neighborhoods followed a pattern of white harassment and Filipino retaliation. After several months in which groups of white men ambushed Filipino men walking alone or in twos, ten Filipinos organized an attack of whites outside a Near North dance hall in early 1926. Several white men were injured and hospitalized after the incident. While the municipal court dismissed the disorderly conduct charges placed on seven men, three Filipinos came to trial, charged with intent to kill. A local newspaper characterized this skirmish as a competition between white and

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<sup>37</sup>“The city now has the upper hand, and it is the owner of the hall who has to take the initiative and bear the expense if he wishes to contest the refusal or the revocation of a license.” Jessie F. Binford, “Taxi Dance Halls” *Journal of Social Hygiene* XIX: no. 9 (December 1933): 507.

<sup>38</sup> Juvenile Protective Association, “Report of investigations made to date,” July 12, 1934, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Division III, Folder 90: Century of Progress, 1934, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Filipino men to “monopolize the dancing girls.” In a similar incident that took place two years later, a fight ensued between a Filipino and a white man who insulted the Filipino’s white wife.<sup>39</sup>

Many confrontations between white and Filipino men, however, did not take place in the presence of a white woman. In records of violent clashes between working-class European ethnics and Filipino students, the cultural markers of class and professional aspirations were as critical as markers of race. Describing how groups of young white men set out to fight Filipino taxi-dance hall patrons, a seventeen-year old Polish immigrant told a social worker,

Us guys were standing outside one of those dance halls on Madison Street waiting for the niggers to come out. When our gang goes to one of those halls we just about run it. These niggers came out and they said real polite-like, “We don’t want to fight. We want to be your friends.” They would have gotten away with it, but somebody yelled, “Don’t let them get away so easy!” So we all chased after them. One nigger was wearing a big new topcoat, and a big fellow from our gang chased after him and would have caught him. The Filipino took off his coat as he was running, and threw it right into the big fellow’s face. Of course the nigger got away but the big fellow didn’t care because he had a good topcoat.<sup>40</sup>

In this statement, the young white man called Filipinos with a name usually reserved for African Americans.<sup>41</sup> While this slur brought attention to the physical dimensions of racial difference, the white man’s story also pointed out the critical role of clothing. Although middle-class Anglo reformers viewed leisure consumption as an offense to respectability, white residents of the Near West side saw the Filipino’s “good topcoat” as a sign of his economic power as a consumer.

To a significant extent, Filipinos used clothing to demarcate their class difference from the other people who lived in rooming-house districts. More than other dance hall

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<sup>39</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, January 3, 1926. *Chicago Journal* September 8, 1928.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with a 17-year-old Polish boy, reported by Mr. W. R. Ireland, Northwestern University Settlement House. Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 219.

<sup>41</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, pp. 35-6.

patrons, Filipino men were known for spending a great deal of money on dress and leisure, both for their taxi-dancer dates and themselves. Dressing to attract white women's attentions, they invested in the display of masculinity and heterosexuality. As Linda Maram has stated, by wearing the McIntosh suit in taxi-dance halls, Filipinos exhibited sexual and financial prowess in the urban leisure economy.<sup>42</sup> Historians have approached leisure consumption as a marker of acculturation and ethnicity. An example is Lizbeth Cohen's skillful history of labor and leisure in interwar Chicago. This concept of ethnic identity, in fact, parallels Cressey's theory that immigrants' involvement in taxi-dance halls constituted a fundamental break from their "cultural heritages." Considering the discursive conditions that prevented Filipino students from identifying with American culture and immigration during the 1920s, I propose that Filipinos saw leisure consumption as a part of their privilege as colonial students, rather than as a measure to embrace an "American" identity.<sup>43</sup>

In an interview with Cressey, a Filipino student addressed the ways in which segmented labor markets and segregated neighborhoods formed a corresponding link between physiological signs of racial difference, such as color, and the cultural notion of the immigrant labor problem.

If [the Filipino] stays here in this country he will always be handicapped because of his color. He will always have to live in the poorer parts of the city, to continue to remain calloused [*sic*] to rebuffs he is constantly receiving. He will only be able to associate with second- or third-class American women, while in the Philippines he could get the best there is.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Linda Nueva España Maram, "Negotiating Identity: Youth, Gender, and Popular Culture in Los Angeles's Little Manila, 1920s-1940s" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996).

<sup>43</sup> Lizbeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Following this view, scholars who have examined Filipino bachelor communities in California have argued that Filipino men identified with and helped to shape an American, urban working-class youth culture. See Linda Maram, "Negotiating Identity," and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, "'White Trash' Meets 'Little Brown Monkeys': The Taxi Dance Hall as a Site of Interracial and Gender Alliances between White Working Class Women and Filipino Immigrant Men in the 1920s and 30s" *Amerasia Journal* 24: no. 2 (1998): 115-34.

<sup>44</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Selections of case material and interviews, November 10, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

The interracial relationships between the elite Filipino male student and the working-class Eastern European woman in taxi-dance halls clashed heavily with idealized interracial relations in the colonized territory. The U.S. administration in the Philippines valued its collaborations with Filipino elites; in fact, American power in the islands depended on training a Filipino professional class to lead an independent democracy. In Chicago's interracial leisure centers, a quite different kind of progressive project greeted Filipinos, whom reformers perceived as threats to working class European women's claims to virtuous womanhood.

Positioning themselves within the racial hierarchy in U.S. domestic society, Filipino students at the University of Chicago stated to Cressey that their class status in the Philippines gave them social power over working-class European immigrant taxi-dancers, Asian immigrants, Mexican workers and recent African American migrants from the rural South. The informant referred to this hierarchy to make his case against Filipinos staying in the United States. He told Cressey,

If he stays here he will be continually associated with Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans. As long as he stays in this country he will continually be looked down upon. The best thing for him to do is to go back and help make the Philippines great. Then he can help her get her independence and maybe then he can travel and live in the United States without so much inconvenience and handicap.<sup>45</sup>

The student invoked the Philippine nation as the last resort for migrants resisting U.S. "racial formation." Among government scholars at the University of Chicago, assertions of class privilege were common. The claim to a professional identity was also important for the most of the Filipinos who attended smaller, less expensive colleges and vocational schools, often part-time. While participating in segmented labor markets and living in working-class neighborhoods, students claimed that they were not part of the racialized labor force. Instead, they attempted to incorporate their work and leisure into their

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<sup>45</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Selections of case material and interviews, November 10, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

identities as colonial student elites. Filipinos resisted segregationist efforts, in part, by declaring their privileged status as visiting students, rather than as immigrating workers. Denying the intention to settle in the U.S. meant that Filipinos forsook any claims to cultural or political citizenship. In return, they sought to protect their right to move across racial boundaries in American society.

To fund their education, less privileged students occupied marginal positions in domestic work, the service industry and the factory contract-labor system. A select few became lower-level civil servants in the postal service and attendants on Pullman trains. Some Filipinos also held respectable semi-skilled jobs in Chicago's hospitals.<sup>46</sup> The expanding market for service sector and domestic labor in Chicago encouraged students to migrate without government funding or high school degrees. Upon arriving in Chicago in 1924, Anacleto Gorospe enrolled in night classes at Crane Junior College, got a job at the post office and later pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree from DePaul University. For almost three years, he worked while attended to night classes three times a week. He recalled, "On the first Saturday evening I was there, I asked some of my friends for help to get a job. The following Monday I was working in a steel plant. Chicago was a paradise for anyone who wanted work."<sup>47</sup> Gorospe's comments reflected the significant increase of Filipinos migrating to Chicago, relative to the numbers who departed the city after attaining their degrees. The community of over one thousand in 1924 jumped to approximately 1800 by 1930.<sup>48</sup>

The temporary and part-time labor market was, in some ways, ideally suited for colonial students. Carmelito Llapitan remembered that "the only job available was hotel, restaurant, dishwasher, busboys and what have you." Speaking of the few Filipinos he knew who held unskilled factory jobs, Llapitan stated that Filipinos were last to be hired after Eastern European, Irish and African American workers. "So the best thing for us

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<sup>46</sup> Isidoro R. Collado, "Secretary Reports Filipino Conditions in the Middle West: Less Than Half of Filipinos Enrolled In Schools; Social and Moral Conditions Discourage" *The Filipino Student Bulletin* IV: no. 8 (April-May 1926): 5.

<sup>47</sup> Robert V. Vallangca, *Pinoy*, p. 81.

<sup>48</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "The Closed Dance-Hall in Chicago."

was to take any job that was available — hotels and restaurants were very eager to get us,” he recounted. “Maybe because of our willingness to work. We were clean; we know how to smile. I don’t want to be conceited, but we have pleasing personalities.” Arriving first in Hawai’i and then migrating to Chicago in 1927, Llapitan lived with ten other students who’d moved to the Near West side to attend Crane Junior College. For a two years, he commuted to a service job at a hotel in a North side neighborhood. When he saved enough money, he stopped working and entered McKinley High School. In a similar pattern, Llapitan continued to create enough savings by performing service sector work until he acquired a college degree in accounting.<sup>49</sup>

Because so many students chose to live in urban areas to work in the service economy, student organizations laid down new rules to prevent Filipinos from becoming “undesirable immigrants.” The student organization believed that no Filipino should be in the United States unless he or she was enrolled in an educational institution. Students should not work too long in between semesters, nor should they stay in the U.S. after graduation. In the mid-1920s, the Bureau of Insular Affairs issued statistical reports on Filipino students in the U.S. The BIA found that, in the effort to balance schooling with part- or full-time employment, approximately half of the Filipinos in the continental U.S. were not enrolled in school. In December 1926, the Filipino Student Christian Movement held its first national conference, drawing members from its active chapters in New York City, New Haven, Des Moines and Chicago.<sup>50</sup>

While taking pride in the large numbers of working students who traveled to the United States, the FSCM worried that many migrants would be lured to settle by plentiful jobs. Not surprisingly, the target of these new rules concerned attendance in taxi-dance halls, rather than segregated work and housing. FSCM directors, such as Isidro Collado, Isidro Panlasigui and Juan Rodriguez, criticized the amount of money that students spent to attract and support white taxi-dancers. Panlasigui stated that students who were

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<sup>49</sup> Although Llapitan had received a scholarship to the University of Chicago, he lost his funding as banks closed during the Great Depression. Estrella and Justo Alamar’s interview with Carmelito Llapitan, April 13, 1976, transcribed by Kimberly Alidio; *Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago*.

<sup>50</sup> *Filipino Student Bulletin* VII: no. 1 (January-February 1927).

partially funded by their family or the Philippine government wasted their funding and their time on commercialized leisure. The Filipino Student Christian Movement assumed that regulating sexual and social behavior — particularly by restricting interracial relations to school-sponsored activities — would prevent students from settling in the United States. By highlighting issues of consumption, masculinity and sexuality, the FSCM waged a cultural war over the loyalties of Filipino students. Like Chicago's dance hall reformers, Philippine nationalist elites argued that Filipino men should refrain from attending taxi-dance halls. Filipino leaders argued that students' interracial relations with working-class American women endangered their professional training and their nationalist obligation to return to the Philippines.<sup>51</sup>

Urban leisure consumption and nationalist ritual converged during the yearly commemoration of the execution of José Rizal by the Spanish colonial government. In Chicago, New York City and Boston, Rizal commemorations combined solemn civic ritual with dancing. Some Filipinos brought women they met in taxi-dance halls. Even when taxi-dance hall culture seemed distant to Filipinos studying in smaller towns, students sought to transform nationalist observance into occasions for heterosocial leisure activities. It didn't seem to matter that, as one student wrote, "many of us could invite the best types of guests, having much more happy connections with family life in Cambridge than our friends could boast of in either New York or Chicago."<sup>52</sup> A student at the University of Chicago observed, "Whenever an American hears of a Filipino in an American city, it is either in connection with a stabbing where a taxi-hall dancing girl is

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<sup>51</sup> Isaac A. Calupig, "'Paisanos' Forfeit Ambition Because of Pleasure: Few Self-Supporting Students Finish Schooling, According to Official Report of Insular Affairs" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 5: no. 7 (March 1926): 6-7; Isidro Collado, "Secretary Reports Filipino Conditions in the Middle West"; Isidoro Panlasigui, "The Filipinos in the United States" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: nos. 7 & 8 (April-May 1927): 3-4; and Juan D. G. Rodriguez, "The Middle-West as Seen by the Secretary" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7: no. 9 (June 1927): 12.

<sup>52</sup> Cristino Jamias, "A Personal Reaction" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 2: no. 4 (February 1924): 4. For a similar reaction, see Francisco M. Santos, "Letter to the Editor," *Filipino Student Bulletin* (January 2, 1924).

involved, or in connection with a well executed social function.”<sup>53</sup> In the national publication, *The Filipino Student Bulletin*, a writer lamented the form of patriotism, which involved “the lure of the jazz and the flicker of the bright lights.” Comparing New York’s Rizal Day to civic rituals in American colonial schools, the student asked, “When we honor the memory of Washington, Lincoln, Harding or Wilson on their death anniversaries do we do these in the form of a hilarious good time?”<sup>54</sup>

Visiting students all over the U.S., FSCM directors conducted a series of surveys to investigate educational progress and morality. Four leaders surveyed their fellow students from 1924 to 1927 and, in the *Filipino Student Bulletin*, they cited statistics similar to those in the BIA reports.<sup>55</sup> Pedro Orata, who like Isidoro Panalasisgui would become a prominent educational administrator in the Philippines, wrote an article criticizing the methodology and the biases of FSCM surveys. He argued that FSCM researchers reinforced stereotypes about “slick, well-dressed Pinoys,” government scholars with “political pull,” and flunking students who were “parasites and burdens to the Filipino tax-payers.” Charging that leaders applied a “Philippine standard” to the social and cultural context of student life in the U.S., Orata asserted, “How ridiculous a sight it would be for a couple to be a yard apart while dancing a fox trot before an American audience.”

Orata also protested the methods by which FSCM directors posed as “regular Pinoys” in Chicago taxi-dance halls. In effect, he reinstated the boundary between insiders and outsiders in the space of urban leisure, and charged that observers who played the role of “detective” failed to account for the changing modes of morality in the process of social adaptation. This critique suggested that pride and honor in social

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<sup>53</sup> Egmedio L. Cabillonar, “Why Filipinos in Chicago Become Immigrants,” undated, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 186, Folder 4, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>54</sup> Ernesto J. Carballo, “An Appeal to Reason” *Filipino Student Bulletin* 3: no. 4 (February 1925): 1.

<sup>55</sup> In 1926, Collado surveyed 1656 Filipinos in the midwest. “We find also that out of the 1656 Filipinos residing in twenty-five cities visited only 574 are attending school, or only 34.66%. What are the 65.34% doing? Fellow students, can we lift up the standard?” Isidoro R. Collado, “Secretary Reports



contexts of the Near West side included being a consumer in urban leisure and displaying the masculine body. "Being well-dressed," Orata contended, "has its advantages in making the individual at least respectable."<sup>56</sup> The writer pointed to disagreements about how to approach and to understand the socio-cultural activities of the working student.

The intervention of Chicago sociology: the retrogressive cycle

Cressey's masters' thesis chapter included one of the first studies of Filipino "immigration" to the U.S. It was also unpublished and, therefore, fairly hidden from public view. In the process of revising his thesis for publication in 1932, Cressey omitted a significant portion of his Filipino community study, particularly his analysis of Philippine culture and Filipino-white intermarriage. This left a shorter chapter version in *The Taxi-Dance Hall*. Cressey intended to use the remaining material for magazine articles but these were never published. This editing decision suggests that Cressey found it difficult to include Filipino students' issues with Philippine nationalism and American popular culture in a book that primarily addressed the social problem of "fallen" women in urban leisure. Cressey's audience of social scientists and city leaders did not see the rehabilitation of Filipino men's moral behavior as a solution to the problem of taxi-dance halls. Therefore, the research on Filipino "disorganization" was a separate topic from vice reform.

Cressey explained the function of the taxi-dance hall as the receptacle for dissatisfied men and women leaving their families and homes. Like his colleagues, he sought to translate Chicago into more or less predictable patterns of spatial use, social organization, and personality types. Sociologists charted land-use patterns, divided the city into thirty-six "natural-area" neighborhoods, and conducted numerous ethnographic studies. Because the city had experienced dramatic industrial growth and population increase during the late-nineteenth century, Chicago appeared to embody the

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Filipino Conditions in the Middle West: Less Than Half of Filipinos Enrolled In Schools; Social and Moral Conditions Discourage" *The Filipino Student Bulletin* IV: no. 8 (April-May 1926): 5.

<sup>56</sup> Pedro T. Orata, "What Is the Matter with Our Critics?" *Filipino Student Bulletin* VII: no. 1 (January-February 1927), pp. 6-7. For a similar view, see Leandro C. Ismael, "Why the Unnecessary Criticism?" *Filipino Student Bulletin* 7. no 4-5 (January-February 1928): 5.

industrialized modern society without governmental or cultural interference. University of Chicago sociologists saw their city as developed by uninterrupted social process. Under Burgess and Park, the Local Community Research Committee trained and funded University of Chicago graduate student research in 1924. As a LCRC research fellow, Cressey approached the taxi-dance hall the way anthropologists, such as Franz Boas, sought to identify distinct cultural folkways of American Indians.<sup>57</sup> He described the taxi-dance hall as “a distinct world, with its own way of acting, talking, and thinking. It has its own vocabulary, its own activities and interests, its own conception of what is significant in life, and — to a certain extent — its own schemes of life.”<sup>58</sup> Robert Park and W.I. Thomas believed anthropology, formally restricted to the study of non-European peoples in their “natural setting,” was useful for studying social change in the heavily populated, anonymous and industrialized American city, where newcomers formed their own patterns of living.

Urban sociology borrowed two concepts from anthropology, culture and space. These two concepts helped confer difference within the modern city. As a living entity, the city encompassed a “moral” order, and certain places developed as the expression of “latent” energies. Urban subcultures, such as the taxi-dance hall, arose as certain people adjusted to modernity by creating new social and moral rules. Robert Park counseled his students that “we must then accept these ‘moral regions’ and the more or less eccentric and exceptional people who inhabit them, in a sense, at least, as part of the natural, if not normal, life of the city.”<sup>59</sup> In contrast to reformers, Cressey argued that the taxi dance hall was a “natural” phenomenon of the city, not unlike a blister or a boil. As a manifestation of “social forces,” the taxi dance hall was a viable functioning part of the

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<sup>57</sup> Robert E. Park, “The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment” in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City*, 4th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967[1925]) p. 3. See also Barbara Ballis Lal, *The Romance of Culture in an Urban Civilization: Robert E. Park on Race and Ethnic Relations in Cities* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), p. 69.

<sup>58</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 31.

urban body politic. However unsightly, it was futile to try to stop its growth. In Cressey's opinion, reformers imposed standards of behavior inappropriate to the moral region.<sup>60</sup> The Juvenile Protective Association represented the desire of Anglo-Americans to recreate homogeneous, small-town communities in the large, cosmopolitan city. Arguing that the taxi-dance hall arose because reformers had successfully closed down Chicago's red-light district following World War I, he stated that the leisure venues should be able to function if they adhered to rules of propriety and supervision.

Such tolerance was an intellectual, discipline-building strategy rather than a new cultural logic. Cressey faced a difficult dilemma of bridging moral reform and ostensibly objective social science. Taxi-dance hall culture in the Near West side raised the question of how racial difference facilitated, rather than restricted, social interaction. The predominance of socially unconventional desires, including desire across racial difference yielded a particularized language. In his first impression of the multi-racial taxi-dance hall, the sociologist wrote that people in taxi-dance halls "spoke of 'Black and Tans,' 'Joe's Place,' 'Pinoys,' 'nigger lovers,' and used other terms with which I was not familiar. I left the place feeling that I had been permitted to witness but not to participate in the real life revolving around the hall."<sup>61</sup>

For Cressey and his mentors, the social disorganization of local and provincial groups was an ambivalent phenomenon. Sociology regarded disorganization as a crisis from which people exercised rational choices to improve their lives and to create new social relations. As men and women who left "traditional" communities for the taxi-dance hall engaged in delinquent social behaviors, they exerted individual agency. On a personal level, the "discarding of the habitual," wrote Park and Burgess, was marked by

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<sup>59</sup> Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* 4th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967[1925]), p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Report on Summer's Work with Juvenile Protective Association, November 26, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>61</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 31.

feelings of “emancipation” as well as “personal loss.”<sup>62</sup> Reflecting this ambivalence in sociological theory, Cressey asked whether taxi-dancers and patrons could be rehabilitated as functioning members of society, a question that dance hall reformers had posed. *The Taxi-Dance Hall* was part of ongoing efforts to theorize and shape the social education of children, working immigrants and racialized newcomers. Concerned with the balanced functioning of society, social scientists adapted evolutionary models of progress and civilization which characterized colonial civilizing missions. One scholar has acknowledged that Chicago sociologists adapted, rather than departed from, evolutionary theories of history that had been linked traditionally with racial ideologies of progress.<sup>63</sup>

Ultimately, Cressey used sociological theory that was ostensibly racially progressive to argue that interracial sexuality threatened to disrupt taxi-dancers’ and patrons’ formation of functional social identities. Since “miscegenation” was one of the specific concerns of dance hall reformers, Cressey took on the project of explaining the function of the taxi-dance hall for the two groups: Filipino men at leisure and Eastern European women at work. The study of urban leisure demonstrated how people who were formerly members of “primary group associations” became isolated, transient individuals. Taxi-dance hall culture was far removed from the conventional relationships in the taxi-dancers and patrons’ past experiences. The men and women who depended upon the leisure venue for most of their social relationships cut off their contacts with their families and neighborhoods, or else practiced a “double life” of deceit. These adaptations represented “personal disorganization” in which taxi-dancers and patrons tried to manage a fragmented subjectivity and a compartmentalized life. He argued that,

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<sup>62</sup> William I. Thomas’s theory of disorganization charted the formation of new rational subjectivities in the experience of modernization. Burgess argued that the cycle of disorganization and reorganization tended toward “moving equilibrium of social order toward an end vaguely or definitely regarded as progressive.” Ernest W. Burgess, “Growth of the City” in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* 4th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967[1925]), p. 54. See Eli Zaretski, “Introduction” in William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, ed. and abridged by Eli Zaretski (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 4.

in relation to American society, white taxi-dancers and Filipino patrons were culturally “mixed.”

The women who worked in taxi-dance halls were American-born daughters of Eastern European immigrants. Following the lead of his mentors and colleagues, Cressey viewed their “delinquency” as a product of “intercultural” conflict within their families.<sup>64</sup> As young second-generation “ethnics,” taxi-dancers were in a critical point in their search for belonging. Thomas and Znaniecki, the authors of *The Polish Peasant*, argued that the “[European immigrant] second generation, unless brought in direct and continuous contact with better aspects of American life than those which the immigrant community is usually acquainted, degenerates further still.”<sup>65</sup> Cressey analyzed juvenile delinquency with the same theoretical framework with which he approached immigrants’ adaptation to American society.

Drawing from *The Polish Peasant*, Cressey traced the path of the second-generation European immigrant woman from her immigrant community to the taxi-dance hall, “a life quite detached from that of her neighborhood.”<sup>66</sup> Thomas and Znaniecki had argued that Polish families and communities in the U.S. underwent dramatic changes in the transition to modern U.S. society. Face-to-face social relations that characterized the Polish peasant village no longer held the same cohesion. Partly because Anglo-American ethnocentrism undermined its strength, the Polish-American community could not fulfill the four “fundamental wishes” of its members — the needs for security, new experiences, response and recognition.<sup>67</sup> Immigrant children looked beyond the home and neighborhood for ways to gain the response and recognition that their families and

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<sup>63</sup> Fred H. Matthews, *Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1977), p. 131.

<sup>64</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Report on Summer’s Work with Juvenile Protective Association, November 26, 1925,” Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>65</sup> William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*

<sup>66</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 81.

communities could not provide. A section of the two-volume *Polish Peasant* described the gender-specific avenues of social delinquency: while boys experienced “vagabondage,” girls took the route of sexual immorality.

Sociologists who trained in the Chicago School incorporated familiar cultural ideas of adolescence as the critical stage in social interaction and education. As I have examined in previous chapters, academic, administrative and popular discourses of child development relied upon descriptive hierarchies of race. In the same way that child psychologist G. Stanley Hall equated the condition of savagery with childhood, Chicago sociologists defined juvenile delinquency as the subjective state of interrupted social adaptation.<sup>68</sup> More so than adult “savages” and “non-white” European immigrants, second-generation European adolescents represented what Robert Park called “the natural depravity of mankind.”<sup>69</sup> Thomas and Znaniecki argued that second-generation immigrant children consequently followed only “temperamental tendencies” and “momentary moods.” In the absence of educative forces that provided them with rational capacities of social co-operation, immigrant children were “individualized.” Rather than losing their moral personality in the process of modernization, they were amoral. In this vein, Cressey defined taxi-dancers as “literally ‘wild young people,’ with no universally accepted code or body of practices to guide them.”<sup>70</sup>

The historical narrative and theoretical principles in *The Polish Peasant* set the stage for Cressey’s explanation of why a “daughter of Polish peasants, living in the Stock

<sup>67</sup> William I. Thomas, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York and London: Harper and Bros, 1921), p. 28.

<sup>68</sup> Almost two decades before Cressey’s study, Thomas taught a course on “Savage Childhood,” which compared child development with ideologies of race development. His course on comparative child development covered “the education of the child among Africans, Australians, Malayans, Polynesians and American Indians.” Franklin Ng, “Knowledge for Empire: Academics and Universities in the Service of Imperialism” in Robert David Johnson, ed. *On Cultural Ground: Essays in International History* (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1994), p. 135.

<sup>69</sup> Robert E. Park, “The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment” in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* 4th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967[1925]), p. 99.

<sup>70</sup> William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 1777. Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 253.

Yards district” would with “men of alien culture and race” in Chicago’s taxi-dance halls.<sup>71</sup> Each successive advance from the taxi-dancer’s home to the world of interracial sexuality constituted one of four stages of personal disorganization, which Cressey called a “retrogressive cycle.” Formulated for an emergent circle of social scientists at the University of Chicago, Cressey’s retrogressive cycle argued that social contexts within particular “moral regions” shaped identity. “Stages in [taxi-dancers’] life-cycle appear, on careful inspection, to be so regular and almost inevitable,” he claimed, “that in its generalized aspects, [it] may be considered valuable for prediction.”<sup>72</sup> In their pursuit of personal fulfillment, second-generation European women eventually exhausted the sexual and emotional possibilities of racially segregated urban leisure. Their search for “reorganization” in turn led them into further “disorganization,” which would then spur them to the next stage. As the term “retrogressive cycle” indicated, the young woman who ventured into the public urban spaces of work and leisure faced the nearly inevitable fall to prostitution. Cressey’s theory described a naturalized decline.

By leaving her family and her home community in search of money, glamour, “prestige,” and “masculine contacts” in the taxi-dance hall, the young woman experienced the first step, the “supposed transgression of the established moral code.”<sup>73</sup> The next stage articulated the hierarchy of taxi-dancers according to ideals of respectable womanhood. A woman may work at a hall briefly between adolescence and marriage or as supplementary income and retain her virtue. Those who gained their livelihood and social life from taxi-dance halls, however, inevitably trespassed the rules of respectability by engaging in treating to be able to survive off this form of labor. These women quickly proceeded to the third stage: specializing in Filipino clients. Consorting with Filipino men in interracial spaces in the Near West and South sides then led women to the social world of black-and-tan cabarets. Cressey did not bother to describe the practices of

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<sup>71</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 268.

<sup>72</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 86.

<sup>73</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 89.

treating among white women and African American men. Rather, he attributed such relationships to prostitution.<sup>74</sup>

Cressey did not have much evidence of taxi-dancers reaching the final stage of his retrogressive cycle. He pieced together the white woman's journey through Filipino and African American leisure spaces from the stories told by his Filipino informants. Justo Juliano, who taught Spanish at Carl Schurz High School in the West Town neighborhood, was a part owner of the New Majestic Dance Hall. He told Cressey a story that was the key evidence to support the retrogressive cycle theory. According to Juliano, a nineteen-year old Polish-American woman left her husband because he didn't give her enough money. She began working in a taxi-dance hall popular with Filipinos but refused to dance with them until she fell in love with a patron. After their relationship ended, the young woman started going out with other Filipino men to cabarets in the South Side, where she met African-American men. Without much explanation, Juliano concluded, "She is still pretty and dresses well. She is now an independent prostitute and carries on her business mostly with Chinese and Negroes."<sup>75</sup>

Cressey's theory of the retrogressive cycle suggested that, for taxi-dancers, the pull towards prostitution was inevitable without a necessary intervention from an external, benevolent influence. Social scientists, reformers and advice columnists in the 1920s portrayed working-class women's sexuality as passive, irrational and unconscious, and therefore incapable of making rational choices about their sexual desires and their bodies.<sup>76</sup> Cressey argued that taxi-dancers, because of their youth and their lack of "social education," faced with very difficult choices at a relative disadvantage. The

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<sup>74</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, pp. 86-90.

<sup>75</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Interview with Justo Juliano, February 20, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 6, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas and Znaniecki saw young Polish-American women's sexual desire as a functional vehicle for fulfilling their unmet "wishes." Because of their youth, "their sexual desire is seldom sufficiently conscious or strongly developed." William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 1818. Pamela S. Haag, "In Search of 'The Real Thing': Ideologies of Love, Modern Romance, and Women's Sexual Subjectivity in the United States, 1920-40" in John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantillo, eds., *American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender, and Race since the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 165.



decisions to “engage in sensual dancing and other immoral conduct” and to dance with Filipino patrons were critical in determining a taxi-dancer’s chances of escaping the retrogressive cycle.<sup>77</sup>

Nearly all of Cressey’s interviews with taxi-dancers centered on whether they danced with Filipino men. The crucial dimension of this line of questioning was to capture how taxi-dancers narrated their desires for Filipino men. The most interesting dimension for Cressey was white women’s romantic desires for the exotic other. The sociologist sought written statements that described “how [white women] became acquainted with Filipinos, what experiences they had had with them, what they thought of them, and whether they would marry one if they found themselves in love.”<sup>78</sup> Social science as well as popular advice columns in the 1920s promoted ideologies of “true love” as the legitimate way in which young women should frame their heterosexual experiences and desires outside of the institution of marriage and monogamy. Romance allowed young girls and women to articulate an awakening of sexual desire that, in turn, propelled them to transcend conventional morality and social barriers. According to cultural historian Pamela Haag, the ideology of romantic love allowed middle-class women to participate in urban commercialized leisure and posed an alternative sexual subjectivity for working-class women who appeared more likely to use their sexuality for economic gain. Haag described how, for example, advice literature counseled young women about the proper exchange of gifts.

The contested boundary between virtue and vice blurred even more as taxi-dancers found themselves, often under duress, having to describe interracial relationships to sociologists, reformers and police. Romance magazines and reform surveys did not formulate another set of rules crafting a “morally legitimate sexuality” in multi-racial taxi-dance halls.<sup>79</sup> Should taxi-dancers frame their dating Filipino men as romantic love

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<sup>77</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 251.

<sup>78</sup> Ida Olitsky, “What I Know of Philippine Fellows,” November 7, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>79</sup> Haag identified a “expressive taxonomy of vice” that required “a girl [to] tell the right kind of story to authorize her sexuality.” Pamela S. Haag, “In Search of ‘The Real Thing,’” p. 165.

or as economic opportunity? Which way of narrating desire would lead the white woman to the privileges of middle-class respectability and whiteness? Both taxi-dancers and patrons, in differing ways, experienced the conflict between the transcendence of romantic love and the contractual relations of the taxi-dance hall's sexual economy.

Cressey argued that white women socialized with Filipino men for "utilitarian" reasons, which then allowed them to become overwhelmed by romantic love. A few of the taxi-dancers who spoke to Cressey asserted that they maintained their beliefs in monogamy, marriage and romantic love despite the barriers posed by racial segregation. One woman described her relationship to a Filipino patron:

Right now I'm trying to make up my mind whether I love him enough to give up everything else for him. And if I do marry him, I won't run away. Even if I find I've made a mistake I'll stick by him just as long as he'll stick by me. I'm either going to marry for good, or not at all.<sup>80</sup>

A young Jewish woman who attended the weekly dances at the Filipino Association Clubhouse also considered the possibility of intermarriage. "I know that these fellows go with nice girls and marry them for the improvement of the race," she wrote in a short essay that Cressey requested. "But as to my idea of whether I would marry one or not I will say that I do not know. No one knows what he or she would do until the time comes, for 'love' knows no creed, race or color." In a postscript to the woman's essay, Cressey noted that the author was fifteen years old. The sociologist made an effort to explain that her belief in romantic love reflected her relative youth and inexperience. "She is still a little girl in dress and behavior. She does not dress with the 'dash' of the older dance hall 'sheba.'"

With this characterization, Cressey predicted that the young woman's search for romantic love, which transcended social boundaries, would give way to more cynical attitudes toward Filipino patrons. To a certain extent, he sought to police the ideologies of romantic love that contained the possibility of eradicating racial boundaries for Eastern

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<sup>80</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Report of the Plaza Dancing School, November 5, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 6, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

European women.<sup>81</sup> On the subject of intermarriage, Cressey noted that although cross-racial socializing could be part of the daily culture of taxi-dance halls, tolerance was limited to the boundaries of the “moral region.” Cressey counted twenty-four legally married Filipino-white marriages, four of which he studied in detail. He concluded that patrons and taxi-dancers might form relationships that would lead out of urban leisure, but their social interactions would be restricted to the rooming-house district, a state which he called “pathetic isolation.”<sup>82</sup>

Describing women’s “fall” from the taxi-dance hall to prostitution, the sociologist codified a hierarchy based in anti-miscegenation discourse. By dancing, socializing and having sex with Filipino men, the woman entered the gate to racially marked spaces that were segregated from the rest of the city. In Juliano’s story, Filipino patrons transported the Polish-American woman from her immigrant household to the “Black Belt.” Her claim to whiteness, as well as her respectable womanhood, was at stake.<sup>83</sup> Cressey described a European immigrant woman whose sexual immorality in relation to Filipino men prevented her assimilation into American society. In a Near West side taxi-dance hall, he met a white woman who made her living from dating men who recently arrived in Chicago from the Philippines or via Hawai`i. “She has gone so far as to learn one of the native dialects which most Filipinos [*sic*] know, the Tagalog,” Cressey noted. In contrast to the “professional ‘fisher of Filipinos’ [*sic*]” who exploited newcomers to the city, he stated that, in the taxi-dance hall, “most of the girls, however, are quite

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<sup>81</sup> Ida Olitsky, “What I Know of Philippine Fellows,” November 7, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>82</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 345. Viewing interracial sexuality as a function of “culture contact” between “Orientals” and “Whites,” Robert E. Park’s Pacific Coast Survey theorized intermarriage as the closest value in measuring “social distance.” Henry Yu, “Mixing Bodies and Cultures: The Meaning of America’s Fascination with Sex between ‘Orientals’ and ‘Whites’” in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* edited by Martha Hodes (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), pp. 444-463.

<sup>83</sup> According to Kevin Mumford, Filipinos were provisionally “black” in Chicago taxi-dance halls. Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University, 1997). Other historians have argued that Filipinos were “caught” in Chicago’s black/white racial paradigm. Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte, “Filipinos and Race in Twentieth Century Chicago: The Impact of Polarization between Blacks and Whites” *Amerasia Journal* 24: no. 2 (1998): 135-54.

respectable young women.”<sup>84</sup> The ways in which this particular taxi-dancer sold her sexuality in the urban marketplace became evident by her facility with a foreign language. The terms of respectability, in this case, dictated against cultural assimilation into the Filipino bachelor community, even for the purpose of economic pragmatism. Cressey’s retrogressive cycle thus portrayed the European immigrant woman who relinquished an “American” identity by adopting Filipino culture. He argued that the gendered politics of saving taxi-dancers from prostitution held a broader significance: women in interracial leisure centers needed to be guided toward ethnic assimilation and the privileges of whiteness.

“Vagabond, Opportunist, Zealot”: Flexible definitions of Filipino ethnicity

Cressey wrote to his adviser, Ernest W. Burgess, that the Filipino study was one of three “divergent paths” of research. The first two approaches consisted of examining the history of the institution and analyzing the delinquency of the women who became “taxi-dancers.” The third avenue of research concerned “the life of the oriental in an occidental, metropolitan city.”<sup>85</sup> The study of Filipino patrons demonstrated the primary concerns of the new discipline: what were the influences of the American city, and, more broadly, of modernity on the peasant or on the “oriental”? In 1926, Park and several associates conducted a sociological study of Chinese and Japanese immigrants along the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey; in doing so, they defined “the oriental problem” in the United States. For Park, the cultural confrontations between the “oriental” and the “occidental” dramatized unexpected consequences of modernization and global capitalism. The Asian American subject represented a considerable “social problem” for researchers who valued cultural consensus and functionalist thought. Henry Yu has argued that Park’s Pacific Coast Survey blended two racial concerns of making Eastern

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<sup>84</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Report of the Oakley Dancing School, May and July 1927, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>85</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autumn Quarter Work Diary: Objectives and Methods in Special Research Problem,” Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

Europeans white and integrating African Americans into U.S. society.<sup>86</sup> While stimulating a generation of Chinese- and Japanese-American social scientists, the Survey excluded Filipinos, as well as South Asians, from the parameters of the “oriental problem.”

Written at the same time that Robert Park was initiating social science studies of Chinese and Japanese in California, Cressey’s work bridged the studies of “orientals” and Filipinos. His interest in urban delinquency provided a framework for conceptualizing Filipinos as “orientals.” Cressey defined the taxi-dance hall as the Filipino men’s entry into American life. The subculture “provides [the Filipino with] his first opportunity for social contacts with American young women,” Cressey wrote. “It is, in a sense, a ‘school’ by which he gains self-confidence and a certain degree of social ease when among white Americans.”<sup>87</sup> While researching taxi-dance halls, the sociologist noted that Filipino assimilation deviated from the “oriental” model. He wrote,

Instead of being difficult to assimilate, the young Filipino in this country is, from the point of view of some people, too readily Americanized. In contrast to the earlier complaint of Pacific Coast whites [regarding] the other Oriental groups — that the Chinese and Japanese did not assimilate fast enough — the fault which many have found with the Filipinos is that they assimilated all too rapidly.<sup>88</sup>

By tracing the formation of new Filipino identities in the crucible of interracial sexual relations, Cressey found a variation in the newly established concept of the “oriental problem.”

According to *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, Filipinos in the leisure subculture made a definitive break from Philippine society and created a new social world. Cressey’s portrayal of Filipino ethnicity concerned the migrants who were most likely to use taxi-dance halls as the center for their social life. These included the students and workers

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<sup>86</sup> Henry Shuen Ngei Yu, “Thinking about orientals: Modernity, social science, and Asians in twentieth-century America” (Ph.D. dissertation: Princeton University, 1995), p. 25.

<sup>87</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, pp. 152-3.

<sup>88</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 149.

who lived in the neighborhoods surrounding the leisure spaces: the Near North and Near West sides. Using sociological theories of urban space, Cressey looked at the Near West side as the first destination for Filipinos in Chicago. His thesis advisor, Ernest W. Burgess, had located the city's three rooming-house districts as "zones of transition" for immigrant peoples. According to Burgess, all racialized peasant groups first settled in Chicago near the downtown Loop and eventually moved outward as they adjusted to American life. The Loop was Zone 1, the center of industry and formal, rational social relations. As I have noted, the rooming-house neighborhoods surrounded the Loop on three sides, the fourth border being Lake Michigan.

In a concentric pattern, the three districts formed Zone 2, the "mixed areas" of business and workers' residences, which encompassed Little Italy, Chinatown and the Black Belt. The rings continued outward to the immigrant neighborhoods of Zone 3, and to the fourth and fifth zones, which were residential and suburban "commuter" areas. Burgess theorized the relationship between each zone as aggressively expansive, from the center to the suburbs. In his cyclical theory of "ecological succession," industrialized modernity pressed upon and "invaded" residential neighborhoods and local communities. In an article in *The City*, he located such racialized migrants as Filipinos within "interstitial areas in the throes of change from residence to business and industry."<sup>89</sup>

Cressey traced Filipino adjustment within a "natural" course of urban settlement. Arriving in the Near West side was the first, and most critical, point in Filipino men's encounter with modernity. Their "first critical adjustment to Mid-western American life" was a "deteriorating area [of] vice, gambling, bootlegging, and closed dance halls."<sup>90</sup> Cressey used data from local and regional Filipino associations to depict the residential patterns of working students who lived in the city. Some Filipinos had moved from the Near West to other rooming-house districts with a higher socioeconomic level, and a

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<sup>89</sup> Ernest W. Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 140 (1928): 105-15. Excerpted in Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Albert Hunter and James F. Short, Jr, eds., *Ernest W. Burgess: On Community, Family and Delinquency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 56.

<sup>90</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago," p. 326.

small number found housing farther north of the Loop.<sup>91</sup> Cressey interviewed a Filipino contracting engineer who lived, with his white wife and children, in an outlying suburb. The man worked in the city but socialized “wholly with Americans” in suburban Baptist Church and civic clubs.<sup>92</sup> The few Filipinos whom the sociologist located outside the rooming-house districts proved to him that Filipino assimilation would take place individually, rather than through the creation of a new “Flip” community in America.

Using membership lists from the Filipino Association of Chicago and the Filipino Student Christian Movement, Cressey created a spot-map of Filipino boarding-houses in the Near West side. Like his adviser, he associated the neighborhood with sexual promiscuity and demoralization. The sociologist represented Filipino identities by describing the contrasting a pre-modern society against his perceptions of the culturally and racially diverse rooming-house district. Within the sociological framework of urbanization and immigration, the Filipino migrant represented tradition and small-scale communities of pre-modern societies. Cressey claimed,

The young Filipino comes from a small isolated community in his native land, made up of homogeneous people, whose cultural heritages do not prepare the young fledgling for the experiences in store for him in this country. With an entirely different background, the Filipino youth is projected into the teeming polyglot ‘West Side’ with its racial prejudices and conflicting standards.<sup>93</sup>

The sociological theory of modernization used the illustration of peasant traditionalism giving way to complex and rationalized social relations in industrial “civilization.” In this sense, Chicago sociologists theorized modernization with a romantic, nostalgia eye

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<sup>91</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 308. Two historians have suggested that de facto racial segregation prevented Filipinos from buying homes after World War II. Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte, “Filipinos and Race in Twentieth Century Chicago: The Impact of Polarization between Blacks and Whites” *Amerasia Journal* 24: no. 2 (1998): 135-54.

<sup>92</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Interview with Caesario Tierra, November 7, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library. Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 365.

<sup>93</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 310.

on the pre-industrial past.<sup>94</sup>

As in the case of Eastern European taxi-dancers, Filipinos who participated briefly in urban leisure culture could escape the dangers of disorganization. By regularly attending taxi-dance halls, however, Filipino men would develop new kinds of social personality. Cressey listed three “immigrant types” which described varying modes of Filipino adjustment: the opportunist, the vagabond, and the political zealot. Similar to taxi-dancers’ ethnic formation, disorganization theory was the heart of the new social identities. The cultural breakdown of Philippine “traditional” culture was a necessary dimension of Filipino ethnicity. Cressey described how the social education of the taxi-dance hall “school” transformed the immigrant into an ethnic. “While the term ‘Pinoy,’ of Island origin, describes the young Filipino new to America, the word ‘Flip’ is more clearly the ‘Americanized’ Filipino’s name for himself,” the sociologist reported. “It is the ‘Pinoy’ who enters the closed dance hall life in America. It is the ‘Flip’ who successfully graduates from it.”<sup>95</sup>

According to Cressey, one of the immigrant types resisted American popular culture and heterosocial interactions. The strict discipline of Philippine nationalist identity required the “political zealot” to focus exclusively on attaining his education degree in the U.S. and contributing to the abstract goal of political sovereignty in the colonized home country. This portrayal was based less on Cressey’s regard for Filipino cosmopolitan nationalism than on a theoretical model of the “colonist,” one of the immigrant types that appeared in *The Polish Peasant*. According to Thomas, the

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<sup>94</sup> Throughout the first half of the twentieth-century, Robert Park expounded upon the basic ideas that William Thomas had introduced in *The Polish Peasant, Source Book of Social Origins and Old World Traits Transplanted*. During the 1930s or 1940s, Park wrote, “I use the word *culture* to refer to a society that has a moral order and *civilization* to refer to the order that applies to a territorial group... that comes about by trade and commerce. Civilization is built up by the absorption of foreign ethnic groups, by undermining them, and by secularizing their cult and sacred order. .... It undermines smaller cultures and by secularizing them furnishes release to the individual from the controls to which he is accustomed.” Robert E. Park, “Culture and Civilization” in *Race and Culture* (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 16.

<sup>95</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” pp. 343-4.



“colonist” was burdened by the memory of the homeland.<sup>96</sup> In this vein, the Filipino political zealot sought to finish school by sublimating his desires to form intimate social relations in the U.S. Cressey wrote, “The goals [of education] are most certainly secured by the Filipino’s deliberate refusal to participate in whatever feminine society is available to him in this country.”<sup>97</sup>

Cressey’s fieldwork notes did not feature interviews with any Filipino student who qualified as a “political zealot.” The figure represented Chicago sociologists’ theory that forces of modernity imposed rational order upon the organic, instinctive and traditional elements of people’s social natures. In his portrayal of the political zealot, Cressey commented upon some Filipino students’ efforts to focus solely on their studies. In line with American colonial ideologies of Filipino racial identity and modernization, students claimed a manly self-control as part of their efforts to display civilized identities. The political zealot, therefore, represented gendered virtue, which rested upon middle-class respectability and disciplined mastery over one’s sexual, or “lower,” desires.

Because the zealot completely by-passed taxi-dance halls, his was the only personality type who did not contribute to the controversy of interracial sexuality in Chicago’s leisure culture. Cressey was not interested in a figure that refused to adapt to a new environment. The nationalist Filipino student failed to enter the cyclical dynamic of disorganization and assimilation. Cressey asserted that acting upon heterosexual desire was a natural and fundamental part of male adolescence. According to him, the assiduous Filipino student suffered “a loss of opportunity during his young manhood for development in personality and the social graces through normal social activities.”<sup>98</sup> The Chicago sociologist articulated a suspicion, shared by his colleagues, that civilizing goals, such as educational achievement and nationalism, interrupted a presumably natural course of human development. Cressey’s criticism of the political zealot figure presumed

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<sup>96</sup> Cressey modeled his categorization of Filipino ethnic identities after William I. Thomas’s description of seven Polish “immigrant types.” William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 97.

<sup>97</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 348.

<sup>98</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 348.

a masculine identity that departed from manly self-control and claimed a naturalized power, thought to characterize “savagery.”

By outlining the other two personality types, Cressey crafted a versatile definition of Filipino ethnicity. The “opportunist” and the “vagabond” denoted comparatively positive and negative outcomes of Filipino migration to Chicago. The opportunist exerted sociological agency by adapting to city’s racially segregated society. In the process, he became a modern, individualized and amoral subject. The individualized opportunist represented the seed of a new Flip culture. Rooming houses and social clubs in Chicago’s Filipino community were divided among the three major ethno-linguistic groups in the Philippines. Each settled in a different rooming-house district and lived in the same apartment buildings: Ilocanos in the Near West side, Tagalogs in Near North and Visayans in Near South. Only in schools and the Filipino Association Clubhouse did the three groups mingle. The opportunist Flip, however, adapted to his surroundings and associated freely with all Filipinos in the city, irrespective of provincial and linguistic differences. By speaking English to all Filipinos, he abandoned the language of intimacy and local identity.<sup>99</sup>

Alternately, the vagabond Flip demonstrated how the “runaway” peasant lacked the training or discipline to navigate American modern society. By creating this figure, the sociologist explored how the peasant heritage and racialized identities of Filipino migrants made them closer to a state of natural savagery. To susceptible migrants, the pleasures of the modern clashed with the sober necessities of moral self-development, technological discipline and industrialized efficiency. Remaining in the eternal present of the transient and anonymous social world of the taxi-dance hall, the vagabond lost sight of the future and the past. As such, the vagabond represented the rising problem of “undesirable” Asian immigration. “These Filipino youths, frequently runaway boys from the Philippines, or those less fortunate in making adjustments to American life,” Cressey claimed, “are the young men who remain indefinitely in this country.”<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 310.

<sup>100</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 343.

Completed in 1929, Cressey's masters' thesis reflected the political climate surrounding Filipino nationals entering the continental U.S. The importation of Filipino laborers, similar to the status of visiting students, was intended to be part of a circular migration system within the U.S. empire. Partly addressing the political limbo of Philippine national sovereignty, the sociologist described the vagabond as a "marginal man" who stood outside of the social structures of family, government or school. While acknowledging that Filipinos were ineligible for American citizenship and maintained a "transient" status as U.S. colonial subjects, Cressey ultimately blamed the vagabond's personality for their dilemma. He claimed that this type of migrant neither put down roots in the new country nor made the effort to return to the homeland, and eventually lost contact with immediate family in the Philippines. As an immigrant type who resided in between national identities, the vagabond symbolized the unsettled condition of Filipino migrants in America. Cressey concluded that the Filipino vagabond was "truly a man without a country."<sup>101</sup> Since Filipinos were temporary residents, Chicago leaders did not feel obliged to incorporate them into their efforts to reform the city. As long as Filipino men were segregated from white women, their "delinquency" was the responsibility of American colonial administrators and Philippine national leaders. Cressey defined a new social subjectivity which Filipino migrants formed in the United States. His invention of Filipino ethnicity raised the dilemmas of political status and cultural belonging which the U.S. civilizing mission had raised at the turn-of-the-century.

### Collaborations

The theory of Filipino ethnicity arose from Cressey's close collaborations with Filipino leaders who sought to manage the "social problems" associated with the migration of working students to the U.S. While the federal Bureau of Insular Affairs attended to the few hundred government scholars, no government agency regulated nor administered to the students who worked to finance their education in the U.S. During the Filipino Student Christian Movement's survey of students in the midwest, Cressey

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<sup>101</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, pp. 146-7; "The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago," p.

conferred with the organization's director. The sociologist then attended an FSCM-sponsored planning meeting to launch a religious social service group for Filipinos, to be run by a Filipino theological student, local Protestant churches and the YMCA.<sup>102</sup> Aside from the resources offered by the FSCM, Cressey approached Filipinos at the University of Chicago as cultural mediators to the "runaway peasants" who ostensibly lived in the Near West side. To a large extent, wealthy, land-owning families supported the students at the expensive and private university. Many University of Chicago students were *pensionados* who were funded by the Philippine government, under American colonial supervision.

While religious adherence separated evangelical FSCM leaders from Cressey's informants at the University of Chicago, both groups of students helped the sociologist to represent working students as an unsocialized, pre-modern and "oriental" community of young men in the U.S. Privileged Filipino students argued that only the land-owning, Westernized Philippine elite were educated enough to navigate American society in a successful way. The Filipino migrants who failed to adjust were peasants who had failed to benefit from Spanish and American colonial schools. A colonial government scholar described recent migrants as coming from "second-rate families" in Philippine society. Unlike elite students, the newcomers were not legitimate visitors to the United States, and merely posed as "students" to avoid racial and class discrimination from American residents. The informant claimed that most working students in Chicago had been stowaways on military and commercial ships going to America, and, once they arrived in the country, they caught freight trains from the Pacific Coast to the midwest. They were

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<sup>102</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago," pp. 451-2. Paul G. Cressey, Letter to Samuel Kincheloe, October 17, 1932, Chicago Theological Seminary, Filipino Study. Isidoro R. Collado, "Filipino Secretary Thanks Friends Who Helped Trip" *Filipino Student Bulletin* V: no. 8 (April-May 1926): 4. Only one writer associated with the Filipino Student Christian Movement proposed a governmental solution to address the needs of working students in the U.S. Isidoro Panlasigui argued that the American-led Bureau of Education in the Philippines should extend its fellowship program to Filipinos already in America, rather than paying for the transport of new students from the colony. He asked, "Why provide some one to take care for the welfare of the pensionado whose monthly allowances come to him regularly, and neglect the welfare of the working student who does not know where to get his meals in the following day?" Most writers preferred tighter immigration restriction as the solution to governing Filipino migrants, a position that Panlasigui advocated as well. Panlasigui, "The Filipinos in the United States," p. 4.

wayward, disorderly and dissatisfied members of the Philippine nation, or “vagabonds of our people.” Once they escaped from colonial civil society, they then joined the ranks of Asian immigrants in the U.S.<sup>103</sup>

Through the incidental cooperation of the existing pensionado community in Chicago, Cressey adopted the ideologies of American empire into his theory of Filipino ethnic identity. His model of the “vagabond” incorporated cultural ideas of class and culture that brought together American colonial administrators and Filipino educated elites to define who would lead the future Philippine nation. In a University of Chicago sociology paper, a student named Gelacio Tongko claimed that Filipinos who adapted successfully to Chicago were those who had greater access to Western colonial education and culture in the provincial capitals, particularly in Manila. “A people so Europeanized for centuries and Americanized in many ways for a quarter of century, do not find very many difficult problems of accommodating to the United States of America,” Tongko claimed. In contrast, those who migrated from the provinces and rural *barrios* — the ostensible sites of “peasant” and “traditional” Philippine culture — experienced culture shock in the American city.<sup>104</sup>

Addressing the differences between his elite informants and his “peasant” subjects, the sociologist defined Philippine “cultural heritage” as both oriental and western. He attempted to contrast Filipinos’ physical appearance against his cultural background. “Culturally he is an Occidental,” Cressey wrote. “Though an Oriental from the point of view of geography and in physical appearance, much of the Filipino’s present-day culture can be traced to the Western world.”<sup>105</sup> William Thomas and Robert Park also saw the opposition of Western and Oriental as analagous to the binary categories of modern and traditional, industrialized and feudal peasant. Cressey identified two different ways that young Filipino men became socialized to U.S. culture

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<sup>103</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Selections of case material and interviews, November 10, 1925,” Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>104</sup> Gelacio Tongko, “Filipinos in Chicago,” Paper for Sociology 6: The Immigrant, University of Chicago, Winter Quarter 1923, Chicago Theological Seminary, Filipino Study, Interview Documents.

<sup>105</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 148.

and, by extension, to Western modernity. Contrasting him to the “opportunist” figure, he claimed that the “vagabond” became educated about American society through the U.S.-imported movies and newspapers, rather than by colonial public schools.

According to this theory, American movies and periodicals awakened in young Filipino men the possibilities to satisfy their fundamental “wishes” for new experience. For example, they sought to socialize with young women outside the Philippine custom of chaperoned dating. In addition, Cressey argued that these influences replaced Anglo-American women as objects of Filipino men’s sexual desires. While colonial public schools imparted images of the U.S. as a nation of democracy and industrial efficiency, popular culture portrayed America as a site for adventure and sexual freedom. Following his mentors, the sociologist looked to the impact of modernization on Philippine “traditional” society as the first stage in a cycle of disorganization that would eventually bring the immigrant into “moral regions” in the American city. In *The Polish Peasant*, Thomas and Znaniecki had argued that industrialization brought cultural and social upheaval in Polish villages, which, in turn, produced the “push” factor for emigration to the United States. Cressey pointed less to economic factors than to cultural influences. Since the vagabond had received what he called a “distorted” view of the U.S., this type of Filipino ethnic chose Chicago’s taxi-dance halls as his entry into American society.<sup>106</sup>

Although the organization was not the subject of study, most of Cressey’s community research took place in the Filipino Association of Chicago clubhouse. As befitting the ethnographic writing practice on cross-cultural encounters, Cressey narrated his sensual experience within the cultural space of the Filipino clubhouse. In particular, he noted carefully when FAC members veiled his entry and suspected his motives.

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<sup>106</sup> In a report to Burgess, Cressey wrote, “The Catholic faith, the Spanish culture standards, Spanish and American schooling, and even his standards of art and music are of Occidental origin. With this Westernized culture has been acquired something of the Caucasian standard of feminine beauty and whiteness of skin. While racial distinctions are not so rigidly held as in America, there is — as a result of American occupation — an increasing emphasis placed upon it. ...One of the most disorganizing factors in the life of the young Filipino today is a great many really consider the American girl more attractive than those of their own race.” Cressey, “Summer’s work with Juvenile Protective Association, November 26, 1925,” Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5: Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library. See also Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 300; and *The Taxi-*

“Went to the dining room,” he wrote. “Noted that there was a continual entrance and return from the kitchen but that door was kept carefully shut and pointed efforts were made to keep me from seeing what was going on in the kitchen.” In his fieldwork notes, the sociologist recorded every concession which he made to maintain good favor among Filipino subjects. For example, Cressey pointedly ignored what he thought were illegal activities, such as gambling. Portraying himself as a benevolent and sympathetic presence within Filipino social activities, the sociologist constructed his racial identity during the course of his research.<sup>107</sup>

The sociologist relied on the social mediation of elite students to gain interviews with Filipinos outside of the University of Chicago. At the University, Cressey became acquainted with a fellow student, Francisco Roque, who became his research assistant. Roque was a Philippine government scholar who was in a pre-professional program. While taking a sociology course, he expressed interest in researching Filipino-dominated taxi-dance halls. The Local Community Research Committee then assigned him to Cressey’s project.<sup>108</sup> The sociologist recognized that Roque, like other Filipino students at the University of Chicago, was a member of the Philippine elite, and therefore socially prominent among the city’s Filipinos. To a colleague, he wrote, “Individuals who represent the privileged class of land owners or government official in the Philippines [*sic*] have a status with the large run of Filipinos in Chicago which it is difficult for us to

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*Dance Hall*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>107</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Report of the Filipino Association of Chicago Clubhouse, April 2, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library. Examining the labor relations in the classic forms of anthropological fieldwork, Renato Rosaldo has argued that ethnographer and informant inhabited clearly distinct and unequal roles in the production of knowledge. Moreover, these relations stemmed from the material conditions of colonialism. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993). In later written accounts, members of the organization viewed *The Taxi Dance Hall* as “adequate criticism” of the community. A few, however, were disturbed that private matters were exposed to academic and public perusal. The secretary of the Filipino Association of Chicago protested, “Why does not [Cressey] say something of the large numbers who keep away from places of vice? He should not wash our dirty linen in public. He is disgracing us as a race.” Luis Quiano, “The Plight of the Filipino,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 1932, p. 16.

<sup>108</sup> Winifred Rauschenbush, *Robert E. Park: Biography of a Sociologist* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979), p. 189; Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology*, pp. 105 and 118.

recognize at first. Endorsement of a 'puti' (white man) by such a person of standing, even though he has no political office, is exceedingly valuable in gaining entre to their confidence."<sup>109</sup> Although he interviewed over fifty Filipinos, Cressey singled out university students for endorsing his research. With Roque's help, Cressey held seventeen interviews and collected about thirty-five "life-histories" at the Filipino Association of Chicago clubhouse in the Near West rooming-district.<sup>110</sup>

Reflecting the cross-racial partnerships which U.S. state-sponsored public schools had forged in the Philippines, Cressey and his Filipino assistants together assumed the intellectual identities of urban researchers. Roque practiced sociological research methods with the confidence of an elite colonial student who had been trained in American schools for most of his life. Similar to Robert Park's study of second-generation Asian immigrants in California, Cressey was startled to find commonality with people whose physiology was "oriental." Through ethnographic practice, the sociologist had discovered that he had an intellectual kinship with Roque. His conversations with working students notwithstanding, the sociologist perceived his research assistant to be an "intelligent and open-minded" authority on the "poorer classes" of Filipinos in Chicago. While the sociologists concluded that "racial masks" hid common cultural values and human desires, they also defined racial difference as an inexorable mark of social hierarchy.<sup>111</sup>

With Roque, Cressey practiced urban ethnography as a form of modernist travel across racial and cultural borders within the city. Tracing the path of Filipino taxi-dance hall patrons, Cressey and Roque traveled from the high culture of the university to the prurient culture of commercialized leisure, rooming-districts, and late-night Chinese

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<sup>109</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Letter to Samuel L. Kincheloe, October 17, 1932, Chicago Theological Seminary, Filipino Study.

<sup>110</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Outline Diary," no date, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>111</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Outline Diary," no date, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library. Robert Park saw second-generation Asian immigrants as Americans in "oriental drag." Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and Henry Yu, "Thinking about orientals."



restaurants. By performing the intellectual labor of observing men at leisure, the researchers claimed the power to cross cultural boundaries. Cressey recorded his research methodology and experiences in an unpublished article, which he wrote in 1927. This article codified the intellectual and cultural roles that the sociologist played as he moved from being a professional academic to an authentic taxi-dance hall patron.<sup>112</sup> He grounded participant-observation methods in the sociological theories that, during the rise of industrial modernity in Europe, people who were free of sentimental relationships and local folkways could best initiate commercial exchange and interactions. Like this “cultural stranger,” the Chicago sociologist trained to enter the point of view of the people being studied. “The anonymous person is essentially a non-moral person, and when playing that role the person must himself be non-moral,” he wrote.<sup>113</sup>

Participant-observation methods reflected what sociologists viewed as the modern, industrialized city. Cressey wrote that “the typical social situation is one where there is a meeting of isolated persons, in transient contact with each other, and when they have idle time on their hands.”<sup>114</sup> In an urban commercialized leisure culture in which strangers formed close physical contact, the sociologist saw an opportunity to gain “impersonal confessions” that he could use as material for research. He based his method on social relations among patrons, which he described as “casual acquaintances who, under the cloak of anonymity, exchange mutual experiences and sympathies.”<sup>115</sup> In this setting, people displayed one particular aspect of their personalities to an economic or sexual goal in their social relations.

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<sup>112</sup> Parallel to anthropological texts, urban ethnography was a form of travel writing. According to Carla Cappetti, William I. Thomas’s *The Unadjusted Girl* “familiarized the ‘strange’ — deviant behavior — and estranged the ‘familiar’ — middle-class morals — thus bridging the gap that separates the modern, urban, middle-class, male self from the primitive, the immigrant, the female, and the deviant.” Carla Cappetti, “Deviant Girls and Dissatisfied Women: A Sociologist’s Tale” in Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 155.

<sup>113</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “A Comparison of the Roles of the ‘Sociological Stranger’ and the ‘Anonymous Stranger’ in Field Research” *Urban Life* 12: no. 1 (April 1983 [1927]): 112.

<sup>114</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “A Comparison of the Roles of the ‘Sociological Stranger,’” p. 110.

<sup>115</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “A Comparison of the Roles of the ‘Sociological Stranger,’” p. 109.

Cressey researched dance halls as an “anonymous stranger” because identifying as a sociologist would not elicit relationships or informal conversation with dance hall patrons who shared a “universal desire ... to withhold the details considering themselves from everyone.”<sup>116</sup> Participant-observation was Cressey’s primary mode of research because he found that formal interviews with patrons, taxi-dancers and proprietors to be unsatisfying. He stated that the boundaries around the taxi dance hall were made and guarded by the people seeking to protect themselves from social censure and from police intervention.<sup>117</sup> To avoid being detected as a professional academic, Cressey adjusted his personal conduct by acting “tough” and “cynical of other peoples’ motives.” He sought to display aspects of what he considered to be working-class masculinity and, therefore, initiate seemingly casual conversations with taxi-dance hall patrons.<sup>118</sup>

In his methodology article, the researcher professed that he found his interactions with male patrons to be most fruitful. The homosocial ideal suggests Cressey’s interest in performing a masculine gender for the approval of other men, including Filipino informants and taxi-dance hall patrons.<sup>119</sup> Researching urban leisure allowed Cressey to perform a different kind of masculinity than in his university life. Historian Gail Bederman has investigated how the discursive connections between race and civilization accompanied a cultural shift in male gender identities, from manliness to masculinity. Bederman argues that, in the early twentieth-century, middle-class Anglo-American men expressed a new gender identity in working-class leisure activities.<sup>120</sup> In his ethnographic

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<sup>116</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Report on Summer’s Work with Juvenile Protective Association.”

<sup>117</sup> Other sociologists used participant-observation methods to study urban hoboes and boy gangs. Nels Anderson, *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923) and Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

<sup>118</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “A Comparison of the Roles of the ‘Sociological Stranger,’” p. 111.

<sup>119</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “A Comparison of the Roles of the ‘Sociological Stranger,’” p. 111.

<sup>120</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995)

In contrast, Timothy Gilfoyle has provided a different historical narrative of respectability and manhood. Gilfoyle views middle-class men’s participation in public displays of heterosexual leisure activity during the mid-1800s as a discrete period between Victorian manliness and the masculine

portrayals, Cressey explored how leisure consumption and heterosexual aggression gave men a new, empowered respectability.

As both American and Filipino men asserted the rational and objective perspectives of social scientists, Cressey, in turn, romanticized Filipino interracial desire as authentically masculine. To him, Filipino taxi-dance hall patrons represented an idealized and embattled manhood. During the course of his research, he wrote an apologia for Filipinos' presence in taxi-dance halls.

The Filipino's interest in meeting a young woman is not different fundamentally from that of any other young man, except very probably that his desire and need are more intense. The Filipino's conduct, even in the taxi-dance hall, is one to which he can point with pride. He is seldom guilty of sensual dancing, and is much more the pursued than the pursuer in his contacts with taxi-dancers.<sup>121</sup>

While defending Filipino men's honor, Cressey presumed that a man's prerogative to experience sexual pleasure with women in public leisure spaces should prevail over racial boundaries. To a certain extent, Cressey celebrated Filipino patrons' expression of heterosexuality in spite of American racial segregation and very low numbers of Filipina migrants in Chicago. "Young people marooned in a country of another culture and race, where there is no opportunity for assimilation," he reported, "are certain to be forced to that type of social satisfaction which can be secured in this abnormal situation." Considering that Filipino men had to pay for "social satisfaction" in taxi-dance halls, the sociologist declared his surprise that "not more promiscuity exists" among patrons and taxi-dancers.<sup>122</sup>

The sociologist frequented taxi-dance halls and other interracial social events with pensionados who lived with Roque in a Hyde Park boarding house. Conducting participant-observation research in taxi-dance halls required that the men display sexual prowess. The project of urban ethnography produced a discursive space for Cressey and

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domesticity of the "modern" 1920s. Timothy J. Gilfoyle. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York: Norton, 1992).

<sup>121</sup> Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 155.

his Filipino assistants and informants to connect their intellectual identities with working class masculinity and heterosexual desire. The sociologist and his informants asserted masculine prerogatives to engage in aggressive heterosocial behavior. Apparently researching taxi-dancers' sexual promiscuity and interracial leisure practices, Cressey conducted his interviews on the dance floor and asked at least three women for dates. Unlike police officers, sociological researchers ostensibly pursued intimate investigations with scientific objectivity. Nevertheless, his notes record his frustrated desire and voyeuristic curiosity about taxi-dancers.<sup>123</sup>

In practice, Cressey unsuccessfully used participant-observation to research taxi-dancers' "retrogressive cycle." Instead, he relied upon Juvenile Protective Association reports and confiscated evidence from the Morals Court. The sociologist attempted to get women to talk about themselves by seeking dances and dates with them as a patron. Aside from his frustrations in getting dates, he couldn't get a taxi-dancer to confide in him. "While some very intimate studies of certain 'instructresses' have been made possible," Cressey reported to his advisor, "there yet remains an opportunity to secure a better and more complete statement of [their] inner conception of the patron, and of her conception in the dance hall situation." In his methodology article, Cressey theorized that gender difference, like racial barriers, interrupted the possibility of gaining the intimate confidence of "anonymous strangers." The sociologist did not adjust his ethnography to include women whom he portrayed as subalterns who had little to say on their behalf. Cressey viewed women in the urban public sphere as pawns of dance hall proprietors and other unsavory men. At one point, he asked his dance partner, "You'd rather work at a place like this, and have to dance with all kinds of tough guys and Filipinos and all kinds of fellows than to live in a nice little home of your own?" The

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<sup>122</sup>Paul G. Cressey, "Report on Summer's Work with Juvenile Protective Association."

<sup>123</sup> At least one Filipino observer noted that Cressey pursued sexual relations with taxi-dancers during the course of his research. "You ought to study the prostitutes the way Paul Cressey did. He came and spent the night with them and had a good time. He was a happy-go-lucky fellow. That is the way to learn about them." Theodore K. Noss, Interview with Luis Quiano, December 10, 1932, Chicago Theological Seminary, Filipino Study, Interview Documents.

woman replied, "Well, at least you don't have to wash dishes."<sup>124</sup> According to Cressey, taxi-dancers constantly thwarted his romantic and ethnographic advances with rapid, boiler-plate retorts.<sup>125</sup>

The quest for a modernist ethnographic subjectivity, despite claims to objectivity and mobility, required the sociologist to understand and then to exploit social biases for the sake of research. Cressey explained that sociologists who interviewed subjects with "higher status" could gain "factual data," a sense of "fundamental attitudes of life," but no "insights verging upon taboos."<sup>126</sup> In this connection Roque wrote,

I never had any serious difficulty in getting the Greek proprietors (of taxi-dance halls) to converse with me. These proprietors were willing to talk about themselves and their business plans for making their halls better and better. Of course they would say unpleasant things about the Italian and Polish fellows to us because it is these fellows who are always trying to catch a Filipino alone to beat him up. But I never could get him to talk about the girls to me.<sup>127</sup>

According to Cressey's methodology article, the physiological boundary of color obstructed the flow of intimate information between the Filipino student and Greek men who owned the taxi-dance halls. Instead, the research assistant served as a conduit between Cressey and women who entered Filipino leisure spaces. He collected a written statement by a woman at a Filipino Association Clubhouse dance. Cressey noted, "To make sure that she could write uncomplementary [*sic*] things about [Filipino men] it was

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<sup>124</sup> Paul G. Cressey, Interview with M. K., New American Dance Hall #2, January 16, 1926, Juvenile Protective Association Papers, Folder 104: Public Dance Hall Reports, University of Illinois at Chicago.

<sup>125</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Objectives and Methods in Special Research Problem," Burgess Papers, Box 129, Folder 5, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 5, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>126</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "A Comparison of the Roles of the 'Sociological Stranger,'" p. 111.

<sup>127</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "A Comparison of the Roles of the 'Sociological Stranger,'" p. 108.

arranged that she was to seal her statement in an envelop, which would be delivered unopened to me.<sup>128</sup>

Although Roque and Cressey performed similar work to bridge the university and urban leisure, they had different experiences as social researchers. While Cressey could approximate working-class leisure practices, Roque faced a barrier when trying to interview white men in the dance halls. Filipinos' racialized identities signified their sexual nature rather than their intellectual curiosity and sociological objectivity. To a certain extent, Cressey theorized how research methods negotiated the conditions of racial segregation and anti-miscegenation reform. He wrote that urban ethnography was possible only for researcher who was a white man because neither women nor people of color could enter most urban subcultures without considerable notice. He wrote, "Anyone bearing a racial or linguistic mark will face extreme difficulty in seeking to enter any special group where a certain pattern of anonymity is maintained."<sup>129</sup> While united with students such as Roque in the quest for intellectual legitimacy, Cressey excluded Filipinos from the new methodology of urban ethnography.

**Progress and regression: the disorganization of a government scholar**

Researching taxi-dance halls and the Filipino Association of Chicago took Cressey out of the University of Chicago environs into the frontiers and margins of urban subculture. A large number of his sources on interracial sexuality and taxi-dance hall patrons, however, came from interviews and social relations that Cressey conducted closer to home: among Filipino government scholars at the University of Chicago. Cressey's masters thesis and fieldwork notes recorded his forays in the social world of elite Filipino students in Hyde Park. Through Roque, Cressey met other Filipinos who

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<sup>128</sup> Postscript of Ida Olitsky, "What I Know of Philippine Fellows," November 7, 1926, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>129</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "A Comparison of the Roles of the 'Sociological Stranger,'" p. 111. Interestingly, Cressey was remembered by a peer as being "short, stout and dark." In the University of Chicago sociology department, there were two graduate students named Paul Cressey, distinguished by their middle initial. The writer of *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, Paul Goalby Cressey, died in 1955. At the death

lived in the university neighborhood, which was located in Chicago's South side. In 1926, Cressey constructed a fifty-page "life-history" that he called "An Autobiography of a Filipino." A twenty-year old University of Chicago junior wrote an account of his childhood in the Philippines and his migration to the U.S.

The confidentiality of the document indicates that Cressey and the Filipino student shared interest in the research project and took different roles to pursue the common goal. Both sociologist and informant felt it was important to capture an intensely personal dimension of Filipino immigrant men's experience in the American city. The sociologist and his informant crafted the "Autobiography of a Filipino" to explore current sociological theories of delinquency and socialization. The student's childhood memories centered upon his learning the ethical and moral rules of provincial, upper-class society. In the influential book, *The City*, Robert Park stated that the phase of childhood aptly demonstrates the conflict between human desires and rational social organization. "So ill adapted is the natural, undomesticated man to the social order into which he is born," Park wrote. "So out of harmony are all the active impulses of the ordinary healthy human with the demands which society imposes."<sup>130</sup> Park's essay argued that, during the course of childhood and adolescence, men and women had to socialize themselves into progressively rational forms of social community. He listed these forms, from the most "intimate," "natural," and "traditional" to the most abstract: the body, the family, the local community, the city and nation, and, lastly, the global community.<sup>131</sup> By using Park's theory, Cressey and his informant described a Filipino boy's childhood, Philippine cultural "heritages," and immigration to the US within a grand narrative of socialization and delinquency.

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of Paul F. Cressey nearly fifteen years later, the sociologist, Robert E. L. Faris, memorialized both men. R. E. L. Faris, "In Memoriam: Paul F. Cressey, 1899-1969" *American Sociological Review* (1969): 259.

<sup>130</sup> Robert E. Park, "Community Organization and Juvenile Delinquency" in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* 4th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967), p. 99.

<sup>131</sup> Robert E. Park, "Community Organization and Juvenile Delinquency" in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* 4th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967), pp. 101-4.

The creation of the life-story was itself a textual event in which the informant, through reflection and memory, became a sociological subject.<sup>132</sup> Cressey drew upon the informant's "life-history" in his masters' thesis chapter, "The Filipino and the Closed Dance Hall." *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, like *The Polish Peasant*, juxtaposed sociological theory with the collection and interpretation of personal, autobiographical documents. In most of his interviews with Filipino students, Cressey explicitly requested descriptions of past sexual experiences as the social context for their desire for working-class, white women. After commissioning "life-history" documents from Filipino men, Cressey initiated further conversations about the role that sexuality played in Filipino men's "disorganization." The sociologist inserted these conversations into the document. In the "Autobiography," the Filipino man described how his sexual desire transformed him from a privileged colonial student into a taxi-dance hall patron. According to the narrative, the informant's sexual curiosity and budding masculinity were opposed to his class position as part of a wealthy family that supported Philippine liberal nationalism. In the last sections, the tone of the document changes because it incorporated, from memory, informal conversations in which the Filipino student sought advice about his sexual desire for his current girlfriend.<sup>133</sup>

Two years before writing the "Autobiography," the Filipino had arrived in the United States from his hometown, a provincial capital in central Luzon. Displaying his familiarity with urban sociology, the student described the impact of the new sugar mill in his community. Similar to other settled areas, only wealthy families lived in the town-centers, near the Catholic Church and Spanish government buildings. He described the influx of workers from the rural villages to the town, writing that "the mill has done to

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<sup>132</sup> "Sociology is interested more in attitudes, wishes, and conceptions of the world, and the life-story which is not essentially correct in every detail may be more valuable by reason of the fact that these inner aspirations and fantasies are revealed." Paul G. Cressey, "A Comparison of the Roles of the 'Sociological Stranger,'" p. 119. For a historical survey of sociological research methods, see Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology*, p. 55.

<sup>133</sup> Cressey included information "concerning sex life" of a Filipino informant into a life-history. He explained, "The following material was given orally by the subject after the body of the paper had been concluded, I have inserted it here as it seems appropriate to do so." Paul G. Cressey, Interview with



my hometown what the stockyards did to Chicago. The primary group relations in the simpler community [were] becoming secondary group relations.”<sup>134</sup> In the context of the socioeconomic changes in the town, his personal tale of “disorganization” was related to the new social relations between the Spanish-educated elite and the rural poor within the town. Until he went to public school, the informant played with children with “more or less the same kind of training” which he was undergoing, as a child of privilege. “In school,” he remembered, “I associated with rough-necks and at home with refined kids, but I liked the bully crowd better.”<sup>135</sup> He was drawn to activities involving unrestrained masculinity, bravery and “toughness,” such as gambling, fighting, and swearing.

In the industrializing town, sewage, paved roads, water and electricity were only beginning to be widely available. The student, however, grew up in a stone house with a private artesian well for drinking water and a private electric light plant, which was a newer acquisition. In the account, his family’s house figured prominently as the locale upper-class provincial respectability and the seat of tradition. His family represented a cultural merging of the landowning *principalia* and urban merchant classes within the nationalist movement to reform Spanish colonial society. His father had left the Catholic Church and become a Freemason. During the Revolution of 1896, he had been part of Emilio Aguinaldo’s exiled republican government in Hong Kong. His father then married into a prosperous family in central Luzon with large sugar plantations and close alliances with the powerful Catholic Church.

Both parents encouraged their son to become a professional leader of Philippine society. Invoking the model of nationalist hero and doctor, José Rizal, the father guided his son toward a career in medicine so he could help his country. “I want some day to be able to go back to the Islands and be a great doctor,” the informant declared, “and cure people ... of cholera and the other epidemics which people in most of the Islands still

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anonymous, Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>134</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, p. 9.

<sup>135</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 10.

have to contend with.”<sup>136</sup> Like all of his siblings, the informant attended U.S. colonial public schools, where he excelled as a social and intellectual leader. He claimed that he became successful on his own individual merits, rather than due to his family position and wealth. In this vein, the student articulated the new standards of individual merit by which elite professionals in U.S. schools claimed their right to lead the Philippines.

The informant described how he absorbed cultural values and morals within the household and then violated those values in the search for adventure and pleasure outside the home. His social education took the form of reprimands and disciplining. While his family expected him to train to be an elite professional, the young man repeatedly sought out the company of less privileged company. The child’s socializing with children outside his social class showed up in his behavior at home, usually at the dinner table. He spoke out of turn to adult guests, and, when displeased with domestic servants, he practiced swear words and slang he had learned from his “market” friends. After each of these episodes, the informant’s mother handed down a severe reprimand about social propriety. In one memorable instance, the informant remembered that as a five-year-old child he saw one of the domestic servants disrobing. “I told everybody at the supper table ... that I had seen the maid without clothing and that she had hair between her legs,” he wrote. “My brothers began laughing but my mother explained to me that I must not say those things because it was bad to say them, and that if I ever saw anything like that I should not look at it.”<sup>137</sup>

As the informant became an adolescent, the tension between his individualistic desires and his family’s tenets of respectability and intellectual attainment increasingly revolved around his relations with women. While working towards becoming his high school valedictorian, the informant intermittently asserted his desire to assert his virility. He violated social rules by dancing with young women at a formal ball before reaching the age when he would be allowed to enter society. At that event, he also got into a fight

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<sup>136</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 29.

<sup>136</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 29.

<sup>137</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p 14.

with a young man whom he felt had insulted his manhood. The student was impatient to enjoy the privileges of becoming a young man. Such privileges included dancing in his girlfriend, fighting with other young men and gaining sexual experience.

Although the writer had a girlfriend, he chose to impose his sexual will upon young women and girls who worked for his family. He portrayed their sexual services as an extension of their plantation and domestic labor. At sixteen, while managing one of his family's plantations, he sexually assaulted several young girls. According to the informant, the teenagers were merely "ignorant peasant girls." Nevertheless, the young women reported his assaults to others and the writer's father decided to make monetary reparations to their families. "My father reprimanded me severely for it and my mother spoke very sharply about it," the student wrote, "but of course it was impossible for them to think of marriage because these people were my father's peasants."<sup>138</sup> Later, his mother fired domestic servants who were having sex with her son against their will. She did not fire them to protect them but because they lacked discretion. At the dinner table, they had giggled and refused to take orders from the informant. Although his mother hired older women, he continued to induce sexual relations with them for three years, until he left for the United States.

In the episode that precipitated his migration to America, the informant initiated sexual relations with a less privileged cousin who had come to live with his family while attending the provincial high school. His mother was angered that he would cause a "bigger scandal if it got out [that] I had now not only done it with people that were below me but ... with my own relatives." After he spent one year at the University of the Philippines, he left the Islands. Because he had good grades and a relative in the executive branch of the insular government, the student won a government fellowship to attend the University of Chicago. The legitimacy of migrating as a government scholar, however, hid a secret motive to shunt his sexual "immorality" away from the eyes of his hometown. His mother consented to his traveling to the United States because she was

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<sup>138</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Autobiography of a Filipino," pp. 24-5.

“afraid I would cause a scandal in the town, and because we were such important people that would be a very bad thing.”<sup>139</sup>

Because the women whom the informant assaulted were employees of his family, aside from the case of incest, his parents did not see marriage as an option. His sexual exploits were neither in the service of romantic love, which would have been “respectable,” nor within the institution of marriage. Limited by social convention, the family reprimanded him without making him responsible for his actions. Rather than pressing him to learn self-control, his family emphasized social discretion. In this way, the son maintained the appearance of educational achievement at the same time that he took the masculine prerogative to be sexually aggressive.

From childhood in his hometown to his young adulthood in Chicago, the student pursued cross-class relationships. According to the “Autobiography,” the student who ended up going to taxi-dance halls in the U.S. had a history of barely suppressed sexual deviance. Once in Chicago, the student continued to socialize with people outside of his professional circles and social class. He began to attend the Athenian Dancing School, where he grew accustomed to the “very dirty walls,” “poor equipment” and the smell emanating from the dog and chicken store on the building’s ground floor. The student also discovered eastern and southern European men in the taxi-dance hall, who were to him a new “kind of white man” than those in the Philippines and at the University of Chicago. He then began a relationship with a woman who worked at the taxi-dance hall. Like his experiences with Filipina peasants and domestic servants, the informant saw his girlfriend as an outlet for his sexual desires. In his relationships with non-elite women, he did not worry about their virtue.

Yet he assumed from his girlfriend’s appearance that she was a “nice girl,” until he discovered she was already married and had a child. “I had of course thought that she was a good girl,” he explained, “altho’ I did know that some of these girls were not, because the Filipino boys told me they were not. But I thought Doris was so pretty and

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<sup>139</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” pp. 31-2.

talked so nice that she could not be very bad.”<sup>140</sup> Moreover, the student found that he had to provide gifts and rent to maintain his sexual relationship with the American taxi-dancer. He began to live with her in a rooming-house apartment in the Near South side, “far enough so that she would not be in my way round the University.”<sup>141</sup> When shuttling between Hyde Park and the Near South side became inconvenient during his final exams, he ended their relationship.

Although many Filipino men pursued sexual experiences in the U.S. outside the realm of marriage, they laid a claim to virtuous manhood. After initial dalliances with sexual “freedom” in the American city, the student declared that he essentially wanted a “nice girl.” Describing his failed attempts to date women on campus, he lamented that he could only date “a girl who would become bad with me.”<sup>142</sup> In the narrative, the only virtuous woman was his current girlfriend, a white woman who did not work at a taxi-dance hall. To him, she was respectable because she refused to rely on him financially. When he slept with her, he “knew she was very inexperienced.” Because his family found out about their relationship, the informant wrote to his parents that “she was a nice girl, a good girl and not the kind of girl that most of the Filipinos had.” The couple kept their sexual intimacy a secret from their friends. Among their social circles in the rooming-house district, interracial socializing was respectable, but premarital, interracial sex was not.

Soon after they became sexually intimate, the young woman accused the informant of seducing her, and he began to feel guilty about becoming “too familiar” with her. The student addressed in his interviews the problematic subject of intermarriage. He feared that his sexual desires threatened the virtue of his girlfriend, a white woman who worked in an office downtown. Despite his girlfriend’s insistence that she didn’t want to marry anyone, especially a non-white man, he became apprehensive that if he didn’t marry her, she would “go to the bad.” In light of the informant’s “exile”

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<sup>140</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 36.

<sup>141</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 37.

<sup>142</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 39.

from his family and hometown, he wrote a striking passage describing his alienation from his sexuality.

No, I don't know what that something is that I have. It isn't money alone because others have money. It isn't because I'm good-looking because there are better looking Filipinos who can't get anywhere with these girls. ... I don't know what it is, but I must have it. ... I seem to be a real danger to society, somebody that ... society [should] put out of the way.<sup>143</sup>

In this statement, the informant described his subjective conflict to contain a heterosexual desire that defied social conventions in the Philippines. At the same time the student worried that his interracial and cross-class relationship threatened the respectability of his upper-class family in the Islands. In considering marriage, he confided that the "one difficulty ... is that she is just a common American girl without money or family."<sup>144</sup>

The informant concluded his "life-history" by declaring a new focus on his intimate relationships and professional career. By learning how to be accountable for his sexual desires, the student reported that his relationship with his girlfriend had resumed successfully. "I feel my responsibilities to [her] more than I have ever felt about my responsibilities to anybody else," he stated, "[and this] makes me feel that I must be changing."

Of course I wanted to be a doctor partly because I could help people, but I suppose the real thing was that I wanted a position in the community such as a degree from an American medical institution would give me. ... Today I want to make my life really mean something for good and not just selfish pleasure as I have felt up to this time.<sup>145</sup>

The student claimed that, by experiencing sexual and social crises in Chicago, he had gone beyond his family's expectations to uphold the socioeconomic order in provincial

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<sup>143</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Autobiography of a Filipino," p. 48.

<sup>144</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Autobiography of a Filipino," p. 51.

<sup>145</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "Autobiography of a Filipino," p. 54.

Philippine society. Rather, the informant began to develop a personal meaning to his education. Reflecting the widespread discourse of redemption and self-control offered by the Filipino Student Christian Movement, the student stated that he wanted to return to religious ethics and morals. "I believe that every man suffers for his sins here in this life and that we make our own hells and our own heavens right here. And I am the one who ought to know about the hells that people make for themselves," he declared. "I think my religion as far as you can say I have any is social helpfulness and good will. That is the newest thing in my life."

The "Autobiography of a Filipino" helped Cressey to connect subjective experiences of change with the broader sociological shifts in Filipino cultural identities as they migrated to the United States. The student's memories of childhood and adolescence illustrated how the history of Western colonization of the Philippines produced cultural layers. Cressey identified three "racial traits" that shaped his informant's personality development. The vestiges of traditional social order, such as the patriarchal family and the feudal plantation system, represented an unchanging "Oriental" culture. Sociability, Roman Catholic culture, the inclination toward music and dancing, and the "romantic conception of the role of the lover" were part of Spanish colonial society. Lastly, the U.S. colonial order taught Filipinos the values of "government supervision," public schooling, and business ethics.<sup>146</sup> In the "Autobiography," the student described these three influences, telescoped within his upper-class family. Cressey's masters' thesis placed the cultural identities within a familiar narrative of historical progress in the Philippines.

The "Autobiography" states that, from his mother, the informant learned tenets of Philippine "culture," such as hierarchical relationships between the young and the old, the landowners and the peasants, and the faithful and the Catholic Church. "In the home I was taught my first lesson in ethics," he wrote, "how to behave, how to eat, and how to act with respect toward the old people. That is the difference between the American and

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<sup>146</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago," p. 300.

the Filipino.”<sup>147</sup> In contrast, the lessons he learned from his friends outside his family’s privileged class lay beyond “traditional” Philippine cultural values. His father, however, transmitted the values of manhood, progressive education and the struggle for national independence. Under the influence of his father’s anticlericalism, the informant declared himself a “Free Thinker.” The father supported his son’s efforts to become virile and independent, while the mother taught him to become a respectable member of the landed gentry.

Several points emerged from Cressey’s analysis of Philippine heritages. First, the privileged “mestizo,” rather than the peasant or worker, was the subject of his story of Filipino acculturation in Chicago urban leisure culture. The sociologist claimed that the taxi-dance hall patron was “ a strange product of the crossing of the Orient and the Occident. Exposed to Spanish influences for four centuries he has, in many ways, been rather effectively occidentalized.”<sup>148</sup> As late as 1931, Robert Park attempted to reconcile the apparent polarities between nature and nurture. He discussed an individual’s “double inheritance” of cultural and racial characteristics. Moreover, he argued that any genetically transmitted characteristics lay dormant until an individual learned and, then adopted, his or her cultural heritage. The vitality of one’s “race” and “nationality” depended upon “cultural borrowing,” and upon conquering or being conquered. Without the conflict and confrontation implied in “culture contact,” racial character remained dormant and ineffective. Nevertheless, “racial temperament” determined which traits would be adopted and to what extent.<sup>149</sup>

Referring to these sociological theories, Cressey interpreted the “Autobiography” as evidence that urbanization brought about a racial resurgence in Filipino character. The American city didn’t necessarily demoralize the informant. Rather, it allowed him to continue his pattern of social and sexual behavior by providing places where he could

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<sup>147</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “Autobiography of a Filipino,” p. 13.

<sup>148</sup> Paul G. Cressey, “The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago,” p. 300.

<sup>149</sup> Robert E. Park, “The Problem of Cultural Differences” in *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, IL.: The Free Press, 1950), p. 4. Park presented this article in 1931.



indulge his desires, without detection or punishment. In Chicago's taxi-dance hall culture, the informant acted upon the sexual aggression and decadence that Cressey had identified as part of his Spanish cultural heritage. From this narrative, the sociologist suggested that the sons of the Filipino land-owning elite might turn away from the progressive path of American cultural transmission. By traveling to the American city, the Filipinos' latent traits of feudalism and sexual corruption would come to the surface. In this sense, Cressey's research project associated deviant sexuality with a supposedly barbaric Spanish culture, an ideological tenet that was part of U.S colonial discourse. The "regression" to Spanish romantic traits, according to Cressey, allowed Filipino men to compete with white men for the affections of taxi-dancers.<sup>150</sup>

### Conclusion

Recent studies in Asian American history have drawn attention to the cultural designation of Filipinos as "forgotten" within American ethnic-national literatures.<sup>151</sup> Accordingly, the field of Filipino American studies has undertaken the critical task of historical recovery. Frequently, the main character of these recovered narratives is the single, virile working man — a figure somewhat akin to the Chinese sojourning bachelor. Barred by the laws of the state and the culture of vigilantism in pre-World War II America, Filipino "bachelors" gave their youth in the service of American capital, rather than in the reproduction of nuclear families, of the nation of origin, and of ethnic community. The pathos of Filipino men's unfulfilled desire signifies their exclusion from the American polity.

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<sup>150</sup> Paul G. Cressey, "The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago," p. 313.

<sup>151</sup> For discussions of Filipino "invisibility" in contemporary culture and American historiography, see two articles by Oscar V. Campomanes: "Filipinos in the United States and Their Literature of Exile" in *Reading the Literatures of Asian America*, edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Amy Ling (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992): 49-54; and "The New Empire's Forgetful and Forgotten Citizens: Unrepresentability and Unassimilability in Filipino American Postcolonialities" *Critical Mass: A Journal of Asian American Cultural Criticism* 2: no. 2 (Spring 1995): 145-200. References to "invisibility" appear in the introductions of two otherwise contrasting approaches to Filipino American history: E. San Juan, Jr., *On Becoming Filipino: Selected Writings of Carlos Bulosan* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995): 1-2 and Yen Le Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995): 1-2.

In his reconstruction of the life of Fermin Tobera, who was killed in the Watsonville riot of 1930, the poet Jeff Tagami meditates on the sexual and political dimensions of Filipino men's desire.

It was in my hoe.  
When I swung it,  
desire cut the weeds  
between the long rows  
of sugar beet

Desire, not loneliness  
bought the tickets  
to hang around my neck  
like a braided rope  
until we were a flock  
of men unashamed  
to spend a week's wage  
for a dance.

Yes, a man gets lonely,  
but he has to do something  
to stop from going crazy

....

where they are not wanted  
in a country  
where they are not welcome.  
And to do this over and over  
like a man slapping  
his own face again and again.<sup>152</sup>

Tagami's poem speaks to a cultural fascination that Asian American artists and scholars share about the depth of desire that frames early Filipino immigration history. The study of Filipino immigration history has prompted scholars to seek explanations of Filipino men's sexual practices: the surrounding racial discourse of anti-miscegenation, the seeming contradiction between heterosexual romance and economic exchange in the

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<sup>152</sup> Jeff Tagami, "Tobera" *October Light* (San Francisco: Kearny Street Workshop Press, 1987, 1990), pp. 47-8.

commercialized venue, and the significance of masculine sexual display and consumer power.

The primary site for Filipino men's gendered and sexual citizenship was the taxi-dance hall. Within the shifting systems of sexual regulations, meanings, and politics in interwar America, Filipino men possessed what Jennifer Ting has called "deviant" heterosexuality.<sup>153</sup> Scholars on gender and sexuality have suggested that normative heterosexuality — the ability to reproduce the community in nuclear families — was a fundamental vehicle for immigrant Asians' ethnic assimilation and cultural citizenship in America from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries.<sup>154</sup> Suggesting Filipino men's unfulfilled desire and frustrated sexual vitality, the trope of "loneliness" rivals that of being "forgotten" as a fundamental organizing value of Filipino American historical imagination.

Scholars interpret the spectacle of cross-racial couples in the taxi-dance hall, and Filipinos' gendered and consumer performativity, within the dialectic of sexual repression and sexual liberation. One representational strategy is to read sexual portrayals against the grain, as a claim to the right to the pursuit of happiness. In these narratives, Filipinos desired stable, familial relationships but were excluded from them because of structural factors: a skewed sexual ratio, racial segregation, and anti-miscegenation laws in sixteen states. One historian has written, "From the perspective of

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<sup>153</sup> Jennifer Ting has argued that "the particular kind of heterosexuality constructed within the historiographic tradition of the bachelor society is working, at the level of representation, to develop, secure, and reproduce certain cultural logics (such as those underpinning the racial and class meanings of Asians and Asian Americans or ideas of U.S. national identity)." Jennifer Ting, "Bachelor Society: Deviant Heterosexuality and Asian American Historiography" in *Privileging Positions: The Sites of Asian American Studies* edited by Gary Y. Okihiro, Marilyn Alquizola, Dorothy Fujita Rony and K. Scott Wong (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995), p. 278.

<sup>154</sup> Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), p. 11. In her reading of Carlos Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*, Rachel Lee argued that "U.S. laws both withholding American citizenship from Filipinos and preventing Filipino men's sexual mixing with white women work toward the same end: to exclude Filipinos from properly belonging to the body politic." Rachel C. Lee, *The Americas of Asian American Literature: Gendered Fictions of Nation and Transnation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 31. See also: David Eng, "Queer/ Asian American/ Canons" in *Teaching Asian America: Diversity and the Problem of Community* ed. by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), pp. 13-33.

the men, the choice of an ‘American’ wife is readily understandable, given the likely alternative — remaining single.”<sup>155</sup> As suggested by this argument, most historians plead the case of intermarriage, rather than to champion extramarital, interracial exchanges of money, pleasure and sentiment. Yet, Filipino men’s actual desiring practices — cross-racial, commercialized, heterosocial and extra-marital — remain problematic to scholars, as they were for pre-World War II observers.

Attempting to resolve the humanistic impulse with the “deviance” of Filipino men’s pleasured pursuits, recent historiography has turned to functionalist explanations of sex. Filipino American history has largely identified “bachelor” sexuality as a survival strategy that men undertook pending the arrival of Filipino women who could reproduce a discrete, racially-homogenous ethnic community. Filipino men’s desire for women, regardless of race or color, was ostensibly an organic, “humanist” impulse of good citizenship, proper ethnicity, and normative heterosexuality. Following this cultural logic, many historians have closed off the possibilities of imagining the multiple dimensions of sexuality within a homosocial community. Re-thinking our approach to heterosexuality as normative and deviant poses one way in which we might imagine Filipino men’s subjectivity in America during the period of formal U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines. Filipino ethnicity articulated the contradictions and connections between two racial discourses, the transnational ideology of colonial tutelage and the immigrant exclusions of neo-colonial nationalism.

The ethnographic project that produced *The Taxi-Dance Hall* illuminated the vexed intimacies of colonial tutelage and migration. In an interview with Cressey, a pensionado confided, “There is no girl existing of the kind I should marry. I’m a product of the crossing of Filipino and American ways and there’s no Filipino girl who’s had the same kind of experiences and same kind of attitudes I have.” He told the sociologist that he supported national sovereignty because he did not wish to be unequal partners with Americans. “Why, we come over here and can only get second-class American girls to go with us,” the student exclaimed. “[My girlfriend] doesn’t stand as high in American

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<sup>155</sup> Barbara Posadas, “Crossed Boundaries in Interracial Chicago: Pilipino American Families

society as I do in Philippine society. Is that equality? You can't have a federation between people who aren't treated as equals."<sup>156</sup> In Cressey's ethnography, Filipino informants and researchers placed themselves on the contested border between "deviant" heterosexuality, which was interracial and commercialized, and "normative" heterosexuality, which was intra-racial, reproductive and private. Filipinos framed their sexual desire for Eastern European taxi-dancers within the equally troubled cross-racial practices of U.S. immigration and imperialism. Like Chinese immigrant "bachelors," Filipino men formed working-class, urban communities which were largely homosocial in the local sphere, with links to girlfriends, wives and extended families in the trans-national sphere.<sup>157</sup> Unlike Chinese immigrants, Filipinos also pursued cross-racial relations — sexual and otherwise — within the political and cultural context of formal American empire.

Scrutinizing the cross-racial relations in Chicago's taxi-dance halls, Paul Cressey asserted that, while Filipinos remained racially "foreign," they also appeared too familiar. While his ethnography put into play the categories of foreign and native, Cressey's published monograph drew voyeuristic attention to Filipino sexuality to point out an example of American urban modernity gone awry. *The Taxi Dance Hall* thus launched the racial discourse of immigration restriction which sought to reinforce Filipinos' foreignness, particularly for those who chose to stay in the U.S., and make claims upon American society beyond the limited terms of their tutelage contract.

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since 1925," *Amerasia Journal* 8: no. 2 (1981): 40.

<sup>156</sup> In response, Cressey asserted that Filipinos in the U.S. were not equal to Anglo-American men. Instead, the working-class woman who occupied a "lower status in a 'higher' group almost equaled [the Filipino migrant] in his higher position in a lower social group." Citing his progressive credentials, Cressey was quick to add that "that while neither true nor Christian, such measuring of relative status of peoples always had existed." Paul G. Cressey, "Selections of case material and interviews, November 10, 1925," Ernest W. Burgess Collection, Box 129, Folder 8, Regenstein Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>157</sup> On the historiography of Chinese immigration, gender and sexuality, see: Ting, "Bachelor Society"; Sylvia Yanagisako, "Transforming Orientalism: Gender, Nationality, and Class in Asian American Studies" in *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis*, ed. by Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 275-298; and Henry Yu, "Mixing Bodies and Cultures."

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **The Question Of Borders:**

#### **Legal Discourse, Ethnic Space and the Filipino Community Center of Chicago**

##### **Introduction**

Filipino ethnicity and community-formation emerged from the changing relations between the Philippines and the United States in local, national and global spheres. Heralded by the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, Philippines' decade-long transition from colony to sovereign nation necessitated a simultaneous shift in the lives of Filipino residents in the United States. This shift was marked by two legislative actions: the extension of immigration restriction to Filipinos in Tydings-McDuffie, and the 1935 Repatriation Act, which asserted America's imperial power to return its colonial subjects to their ostensibly rightful home. Filipino residents attempted to represent a community shaped by contradictory laws, emergent neo-colonial politics, and a changing relationship of Filipino residents to the U.S. state in the New Deal era.

This chapter maps out Filipino ethnicity as a set of theoretical and historical connections between law, community-formation and cultural representations. I examine how the cluster of immigration, anti-miscegenation and colonial laws constructed ethnicity from the historical trajectory of colonization and within the context of changing colonial relations. I approach legal discourse with two framing questions. First, how did the legal constructions of Filipino racial identity intersect with the shifting political status of Filipino residents in the U.S.? Second, I examine the legal debates about administrative and judicial jurisdiction of Filipino residents as a discourse connected to the cultural practices of forging imagined and institutional spaces of ethnicity. Race was

the ground where different ideas of citizenship met. The discourse of race connected various kinds of legal-cultural issues, such as immigration, colonization, and sexuality.<sup>1</sup>

I define ethnicity as the cultural and social site of an ambivalent Filipino citizenship. Ethnic identity- and community-formation turned upon the distinct relationship of Filipino residents to the U.S. state.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, this chapter builds upon the work of legal analysts, cultural studies scholars and immigration historians who suggest how the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion structured Asian American historical identities. Neil Gotanda, for example, has argued that exclusion laws delineated for Chinese residents a racialized path of “accommodation,” rather than merely marking them as “totally foreign.” Bill Ong Hing has analyzed how immigration laws have shaped the demographic characteristics, such as population, gender ratios and family formation, of Asian American communities, as well as the communities’ political agendas and labor experiences. Situating immigration exclusion in the context of American expansionism, Lisa Lowe portrays the U.S. state as a contradictory entity that negotiated the national claims of diverse citizens against the contrasting claims of global capital.<sup>3</sup>

“Ethnic assimilation,” was a disciplinary project in which culture (or socially situated, common-sense knowledge) increasingly stood for race. The formation of citizenship and belonging depended upon the figure of the immigrant-alien who took

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<sup>1</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York: New Press, 1995). See also Robert S. Chang, *Disoriented: Asian Americans. Law, and the Nation-State* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Linda Kerber has illustrated the inconsistencies of U.S. citizenship by listing the differential experiences of nine groups of people. These included: women, enslaved Africans and their descendants, Native Americans, “involuntary migrants” after the Mexican American War, “noncitizen nationals,” “voluntary immigrants” from Asia who were barred from citizenship during the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, and refugees. Linda K. Kerber, “The Meanings of Citizenship” *The Journal of American History* 84: no. 3 (December 1997): 883-854.

<sup>3</sup> Neil Gotanda, “Exclusion and Inclusion: Immigration and American Orientalism” in Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Across the Pacific: Asian Americans and Globalization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), p. 133; Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

proper steps to achieve an appropriate form of citizenship. To undergo the process of ethnic assimilation, Filipinos had to transform themselves, or be transformed, into aliens. Their national status was a point of contention by those who wanted to resolve the ambiguous dilemmas of colonial tutelage: Americans who wanted to exclude Filipinos from the domestic sphere and Filipinos who longed for an independent nation. Filipino residents, in response, redefined ethnic assimilation by invoking the responsibility of the American Congress to protect them from alien exclusions, as reciprocity for their political status as nationals who owed allegiance to the U.S.

Lowe has theorized how the uneven legal status of the immigrant in relation to national culture and polity allowed Asian immigrants' to produce aesthetic and artistic works which critiqued the "nation" as universal and inclusive.<sup>4</sup> I will build upon Lowe's theory by examining the interplay of legal discourse and intellectual-cultural strategies. The categorization of Filipino aliens, nationals and citizens had both legal and cultural dimensions, particularly in the process of defining the Filipino Community Center, as a legal-political institution and an imagined ethnic space. In light of the complicated relationship of Filipinos to the U.S. nation-state, the Center represented Filipino residents within the language of "needs," which was a rhetorical strategy of ethnic-formation. At the same time, the Center supported repatriation as a practical and ideological measure of forging Filipino ethnicity. In doing so, the organization called for Filipino residents' integration and equal access to the American polity as entitlements due to colonial nationals.

This chapter weaves together legal discourse, correspondence between Filipino residents and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and organizational records regarding the construction of ethnic space, community and identity at the Filipino Community Center of Chicago. The Tydings-McDuffie Act brought together the neo-colonial and ethnicizing projects of creating difference, which was naturalized by nationalist ideologies in the colony and in the metropole. It therefore created a crisis of representation in which Filipino residents questioned their position in the changing



sphere of colonialism. In the first part of this chapter, I examine how Filipinos' correspondence and published essays narrated the disruptive effect of new legislation for the resident communities. Without delivering direct attacks on the prerogatives of the U.S. Congress to extend alien legislation to them, Filipino residents pointed to the contradictions between their treatment as aliens and their political status as colonial nationals.

I discuss how the politics of defining the Filipino resident community was fundamental to the operation of Filipino Community Center of Chicago through the late 1920s and 1930s. In its various incarnations from 1926 to 1943, the Center was a religious uplift organization influenced by the social gospel movement emerging from Protestant Christian churches. Supervised by an Anglo-American, interdenominational Protestant committee, the Center was directed by two interracial couples and several Filipino ministers. By the early 1930s, Center became a mediating organization between Filipinos, private philanthropy, and government welfare provisions. To draw upon a mix of private and public welfare sources, the settlement house promoted its visibility, on local and national levels, as a Filipino organization. By evaluating the Center's services in comparison to non-racially-marked city agencies, Filipino directors and American funders helped to define the ethnic community as a local constituency.

The second part of this chapter reconstructs the crisis of representing Filipino residents prior to the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. I look at the widespread, ongoing practices of extending exclusionary measures to Filipino nationals on the federal, state and local levels. Filipino petitions for naturalization, which spanned from the 1910s to the 1940s, resulted in a pattern of decisions that devalued the legal saliency of "owing allegiance to the U.S.," particularly after *Toyota v. U.S.* deemed race to be the dominant criteria in conferring citizenship to Filipino veterans. I will also discuss five anti-miscegenation cases in California during the year of 1930. Building upon gender scholars' analyses of the links between the institution of marriage and civil citizenship, I explore how these cases delegitimized Filipinos' political status as nationals.

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<sup>4</sup> Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*. See also Amitava Kumar, *Passport Photos* (Berkeley: University of

Finally, the last section of the chapter situates the question of Filipino ethnicity within the global context of repatriation. The government-sponsored program of repatriation had numerous effects on Filipino lives in the 1930s. Offering Filipinos free passage to the islands while restricting their return, the program complicated Filipino residents' choices to remain in the U.S. or to return in the Philippines during the economic depression. This last section describes how Filipinos negotiated the terms of charity and benevolence in the language and execution of repatriation law. By examining inquiries to the Bureau of Insular Affairs and the "common-sense" approach of the Filipino Community Center, I propose that the contested implementation of repatriation policies illuminated the complex relationship between the U.S. nation-state and its colonial nationals. In that sense, repatriation fundamentally shaped the formation of Filipino ethnicity.

Aliens and nationals: the crisis of representation in the 1930s

The Tydings-McDuffie Act legislated both Filipino immigration restriction and Philippine independence. Public debates about the United States colonial policy were spurred by calls by labor groups to restrict the migration of Filipino workers. At the same time, debates about Filipino eligibility to intermarriage, relief and citizenship included discussion about U.S. colonialism. The coalition between pro-independence and pro-exclusion factions in the U.S. and the Philippines was not just a matter of convenience. The two groups, in different ways, defined Filipinos as citizens of the Philippines only, as a separate national people. The Tydings-McDuffie Act attempted to resolve the question of whether race or national status was most salient in political identification. The Act subjected incoming Filipinos to the 1924 Immigration Act, which relied on a complex statistical categorization of race and nationality to designate the "quota alien."<sup>5</sup>

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California Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> The Tydings-McDuffie act is also known as the Philippine Independence Act of 1934, 48 Stat. 456 (1934). Mae M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924" *Journal of American History* 86: no. 1 (June 1999): 91.

Reflecting the bundling of Philippine independence with Filipino immigration restriction within one single law, the separation of the colony from the metropole allowed for an argument that racial exclusion was in the spirit of anti-imperialist respect for Philippine sovereignty. The ideological links among racial discourse about Filipinos, racist exclusion and “anti-imperialism” had been at the heart of the U.S. colonial ideology in the Philippines since 1898. Although the transnational partnership of colonial tutelage repositioned and negotiated the borders of difference between Filipinos and Americans, it did not remove or question those borders in a fundamental way. Because the U.S. was supposed to develop Philippine nationalism, it was not to trespass upon Filipinos’ right to sovereignty, but instead to hold that sovereignty “in trust” for a limited period of time.

According to a ruling from the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1950, the Tydings-McDuffie Act and the inauguration of the independent Philippine Republic confirmed what Americans had already assumed: that Filipinos fundamentally belonged to the colony and not the metropole.

In the light of the undeviating non-imperialistic policy of the government of the United States, it seems to us that the expression “people of the Philippines” is all-inclusive excepting only those who have by their own volition taken authorized steps to separate themselves from a national relation to the government of the Philippines.<sup>6</sup>

In the language of this decision, Filipino residents were “people of the Philippines,” regardless of where they resided, when they had migrated to America, or how they enacted their national status as owing allegiance to the U.S. Although Filipino nationals remained Philippine citizens before 1946, their citizenship was not sovereign. With the birth of the Philippine Republic, according to the logic of neo-colonial nationalism,

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<sup>6</sup> In this case, a Filipino sought a U.S. passport to Guam by arguing that his political status as a U.S. national was not affected by the 1946 Philippine Independence Act. The Court of Appeals denied the petition. *Cabebe v. Acheson* 183 F.2d 795 (U.S. App. 1950).

Filipinos could no longer identify as “people of the United States” at the same time that they remained loyal to their homeland.<sup>7</sup>

Subsequent pieces of restrictive legislation employed the definition of Filipinos as a trans-historical, transnational and racially distinct body of people. Soon after its passage in 1935, the Repatriation Act was extended to include any Filipino in the continental U.S. and organized territory, including those who had naturalized. The 1940 Smith Act required all Filipinos in the United States, regardless of status, to register themselves to the U.S. government as aliens. To further separate the sovereignties of the U.S. and the Philippines, Filipinos became eligible in 1943 to undergo the process of U.S. naturalization. Lastly, the Philippine Independence Act of 1946 protected American property rights in the archipelago, but guaranteed neither civil rights nor political status. Within the terms of colonial separation, Filipino ethnicity emerged in the fissures between the American and Philippine national imaginaries.

While marking a major turning point in the relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines, the Tydings-McDuffie Act brought to light the political limbo that Filipinos in America had inhabited since the turn-of-the-century. The Act was a cultural and legal attempt to correct the vague and uncertain ways that the United States had governed the Philippines and its people since 1898. As it legislated the future separation of the Philippines from U.S. governance, the Act transferred the administration of Filipino immigration from Congress to the INS. In both matters of colonization and immigration, the Act constructed right-line legal standards to strengthen the national borders between the colony and the metropole. Filipinos who sought entry into the U.S. after the 1934 were designated “aliens,” subject to quotas and other restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act.

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<sup>7</sup> “Arguments for either exclusion or independence were framed within contexts of evolutionary progress and racial purity. ... Conflicts between indigenous American workers and immigrant Filipino workers, for example were considered inevitable because, despite intermarriage and considerable elements of Hispanic influence in many Filipinos, essential geographical differences between the two ‘races’ were thought to exist.” James A. Tyner, “The Geopolitics of Eugenics and the Exclusion of Philippine Immigrants from the United States” *Geopolitical Review* 89: no. 1 (January 1999): 66.

The Act redefined the entity of the domestic nation from its colonial possessions. In international contexts, the “United States” included the Philippines and other territories, but this was not so in domestic affairs. In the latter instance, the Philippines was deemed a foreign country. After the ten-year transition, the Commonwealth would become a foreign country in every aspect. From the point of view of the Philippines, however, the transition toward independence set the stage for neo-colonial relations rather than an equal partnership between two sovereignties. During the Commonwealth period, the U.S. executive maintained full power to veto any legislation passed by the Philippine legislature. The Act also protected American property rights, especially property occupied by the U.S. military. The Tydings-McDuffie structured a new sort of dependency in the name of national independence.<sup>8</sup> Aside from neo-colonial relations, the contract of U.S. colonial tutelage persisted in the form of Filipino communities which had formed in the United States before 1934. In the language of the Act, the shift in political status from national to alien was neither even nor complete. Resident communities in the U.S. were composed mostly of aliens and nationals, and a minority of American citizens, either naturalized veterans or second-generation immigrants.

Filipinos who were already in the U.S. before the passage of the Act remained nationals, were under the Congressional jurisdiction. Immigration restriction, however, replaced colonial administration as the dominant force in shaping the lives of all Filipinos in the U.S., regardless of their particular immigration experience. Although the Tydings-McDuffie Act had no power to extend alien status to Filipinos already residing in the U.S., it informally sanctioned existing efforts on the state and local levels to designate all residents as aliens. Historian Erika Lee has argued that immigration law shaped more than the experience at the border. “Immigration law” was not just legislation but judicial cases, administrative decisions; and local, state, and federal policies that regulated other

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<sup>8</sup> Walter Pomeroy has argued that neo-colonial relations were presaged by Taft’s “dollar diplomacy” in Cuba at the turn-of-the-century, and that this form of imperialism does not contradict American democracy. William J. Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), p. 10.

aspects of immigrant life.<sup>9</sup> Filipino residents who tried to find work within New Deal programs, practice law, or marry white women came against the specter of an alien identity.

The political ambiguity encouraged such endeavors to bring Filipino nationals under ostensibly proper jurisdiction. The federal government played an ambivalent role in safe-guarding some privileges accorded to nationals against state legislatures and courts, which ought to extend exclusionary measures reserved for aliens. Administrative agencies and local governments sought to apply existing restrictions, and, in doing so, engendered debates with Filipinos and Congress about applicability and jurisdiction. In Washington, Congress clashed with the state legislature about the alien status of Filipinos who leased lands from the Yakima Indian Reservation. The efforts to include Filipinos in discriminatory clauses against aliens, in this case, started in the Department of Interior, and then included local and state jurisdictions. Congress intervened to remind both political bodies that Filipino residents, who had entered the U.S. before 1934, were nationals. Although the Filipino Community of Yakima Valley, Inc., did not win the right to lease Indian lands until after World War II, the organization, according to Gail Nomura, articulated the powerful connections between changes in U.S. colonial policy, Filipino residents' political status, and their livelihood. Moreover, the historian Chris Friday has noted that a Filipino local in Seattle, the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union, actively protested the extension of alien land laws and anti-miscegenation proposals in the state legislature.<sup>10</sup>

Aside from its legal significance, the Tydings-McDuffie Act formalized the exclusionary practices which U.S. state officials had extended to Filipinos since the 1920s. Later in this chapter, I trace the legal and cultural rationales for excluding

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<sup>9</sup> Erika Lee identifies a range of legislation which she regards as "immigration law," such as admission regulations for refugees, naturalization and citizenship policies, and laws relating to the control and deportation of illegal immigrants. Erika Lee, "Immigrants and Immigration Law: A State of the Field Assessment" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18: no. 4 (Summer 1999): 85-114.

<sup>10</sup> Gail Nomura, "Within the Law: The Establishment of Filipino Leasing Rights on the Yakima Indian Reservation" *Amerasia* 13: no. 1 (1986-7): 99-117. Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American*

Filipino nationals in naturalization and anti-miscegenation cases. Filipinos' national status began to be threatened, or at least supplemented, by the knowledge-structures of immigration law nearly a decade before the passage of Tydings-McDuffie. By the mid-1920s, the California Department of Industrial Labor had begun to gather statistical information on Filipino immigration at Angel Island and San Pedro. While legally at the discretion of the local immigration authorities, the practice of recording Filipino immigrants directly contrasted with the federal policy to allow the entry of nationals. Codifying their a "special check-up" of Filipino arrivals, the California immigration authorities published an extensive statistical study in 1930. It found that over 31,000 Filipinos were admitted through San Francisco and Los Angeles ports through the 1920s. The Department's published results provided the necessary information for regional and national debates over Filipino exclusion and Philippine colonization.<sup>11</sup>

With these statistics in hand, anti-immigration forces represented Filipino immigrants as dependent savages who were coerced by steamship companies to enter the United States. In his correspondence with the leader of the California Commonwealth Club, the former educational administrator, David Barrows, supported immigration restriction by employing, rather than abandoning, the colonial discourses of race development and benevolence. Barrows and Daniel R. Williams considered using the Philippine law against displaying "uncivilized" peoples to restrict Filipino nationals from the U.S.

Evidently the framers of the law, in using the term "uncivilized" in addition to the classification of "non-Christians," had in mind other classes of the population aside from the so-called wild peoples. Many of the poor *taos* now persuaded by steamship advertisements and other agencies to embark for the US and elsewhere, are, to all intents, as helpless and "uncivilized" as are the Igorots and other of the non-Christians.<sup>12</sup>

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*Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 145.

<sup>11</sup> State of California, Department of Industrial Relations, *Facts about Filipino Immigration into California* (San Francisco: State Building, 1930), p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Daniel R. Williams to David P. Barrows, March 14, 1930. Box 32, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Appearing as expert testimony in the 1930 congressional hearing on Filipino immigration exclusion, Barrows advised that Filipinos should be excluded on the account of the racial trait of sexual passion. By defining immigration restriction as a benevolent measure, the former colonial administrator sought to resolve the quandary of excluding Filipino nationals while advocating the continued U.S. colonization of the Philippines.

### The politics of representation

The Tydings-McDuffie Act did not provide a legal structure to identify Filipino residents' legal standing as definitively aliens or nationals. In a letter to the Bureau of Insular Affairs in 1935, Francisco Palma inquired,

Since the Filipinos in this country fall under the jurisdiction of this Bureau and since there are many of us not fully inform [*sic*] as to the status of Filipinos specially in reference with the bill in Congress prohibiting the employment of an alien and the fact that the Philippine government is under American flag ... what is the legal status of Filipinos? Are the Filipinos an alien in this country?<sup>13</sup>

Like Palma, the writers assumed that the BIA was still the central office for colonial administration, but this was not so. Under the Commonwealth period, the BIA lost its function as an institutional link between Filipino residents, American investors, Washington, D.C. and Manila. The Office of the American High Commissioner in Manila took over the liaison duties between the peoples and the governments. Often, the Bureau responded to Filipinos' legal questions by sending copies of relevant legislation. It also forwarded the requests to the appropriate government body, often the INS or the

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<sup>13</sup>Letter from Francisco Palma to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, April 27, 1935. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.



Philippine Resident Commissioners, who were non-voting members of the U.S. House of Representatives.<sup>14</sup>

As it lost its formal role, the BIA, however, fulfilled a more important function in the lives of Filipinos in the U.S. From 1935 to 1941, the agency received approximately seventy letters, mostly from Filipino men about the matters of their political status, immigration, and repatriation. Similar questions were posed in letters written by American women who were married to Filipino men, private charities, welfare offices in the U.S. and in Manila, Filipino American organizations, and relatives of Filipino residents living in the Islands.

In two very different letters, a Filipino man, Melquiades Ygay, wrote to the U.S. federal government about political status in 1934. His first letter was to the BIA. Ygay asked about the immediate and long-term eligibility of Filipinos to work in federal civil service jobs. Many Filipinos in Detroit and Chicago worked in the post office, partly because the Civil Service Commission had stated, in 1920, that such jobs were open to nationals. Although Tydings-McDuffie did not technically disturb the ruling, Filipino postal workers were often the first to be fired during the Depression.<sup>15</sup> The practical concern about livelihood led Ygay to inquire how Filipino residents could make claims upon the U.S. state if they were neither aliens nor citizens. "Supposing that the Philippines establish their constitutional government in July 1935, what is the immediate effect of the Filipinos who are holding federal jobs under the rules of civil service? If the Philippines is free and certain Filipinos do not intend to go back to the Islands, would

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<sup>14</sup> While lacking statutory power, the BIA had used its administrative and legal resources to recruit American investors, tourists and civil servants to the archipelago. It also exerted some influence by reporting to the U.S. all legislation which the Philippine government passed. Romeo V. Cruz, *America's Colonial Desk and the Philippines, 1898-1934* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1974).

<sup>15</sup> On November 24, 1920, the U.S. Civil Service Commission ruled that U.S. nationals were eligible to compete for federal jobs. Letter from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to Jorge V. Aviñante, April 29, 1935. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945; 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1. The sociologist, Bruno Lasker, recorded that Filipinos lost civil service and factory jobs in the early 1930s Chicago. Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), p. 84. See also Luis S. Quianio, "The Plight of the Filipino" *Chicago Sunday Times* (July 10, 1932): 16.

they be given ‘minority rights’?”<sup>16</sup> Ygay drafted his letter to negotiate a new contract of “minority rights” after the expiration of colonial tutelage. The conferral of alien status constituted a diminution of colonial tutelage as an ideological rationale for Filipinos to enter and reside in the United States. No longer at the invitation of the colonial “teacher,” Filipinos wanted to know what would replace the colonial contract to frame their subject-position and social relations in the America after the independence of the Philippines.

Perhaps because the BIA did not give him a satisfying answer, Ygay repeated his questions several months later in a letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt. “Dear Honorable President,” he began,

As a whiteman’s burden and pending the induction of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, I, as a citizen of the PI and owe allegiance to the sovereignty of the US, am a resident of the US for the last thirteen years and due to my long absence I am entirely ignorant [of] the true economic conditions over there. Will you, as supreme ruler of this wonderful Republic, kindly advise me what will be the real status of the Filipinos, who, in the eyes of immigration and naturalization laws, [are] not citizen[s] of the US, [but] are holding federal jobs through civil service examinations? I hope to hear from you, dear President, as soon as possible although you are enveloped of the national programs and problems for the national recovery. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.<sup>17</sup>

Ygay ended the letter by signing off, once more, as a “humble whiteman’s burden.” The tone of supplication to the U.S. executive brings to mind Lizbeth Cohen’s analysis of working-class European immigrants’ personal devotion to Roosevelt. Certainly the immigrants who placed Roosevelt’s portrait in their parlors and saloons saw the president

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<sup>16</sup> Letter from BIA to Jorge v. Aviñante, April 29, 1935: “You are advised that a pertinent ruling of the US civil service commission dated 11/24/20 is still in force: ‘Persons who owe allegiance to the US are equally eligible to examination with citizens. Native inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have the same rights and privileges under the civil service rules as our own citizens.’ RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Melquiades M. Ygay to Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 12, 1935. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

as a paternal figure who provided them direct aid and sympathy during the depression. As a Filipino writing to the American president, Ygay took on the identity of a “whiteman’s burden,” and, therefore, layered upon New Deal paternalism a different form of obligation. Ygay’s correspondence to Roosevelt, in comparison to his letter to the BIA, distinctly performed colonial submission, with some shadings of parody.<sup>18</sup>

In the overlapping contexts of exclusion, decolonization and economic depression, Filipinos’ everyday life in the United States became open to scrutiny and challenge by American exclusionists and some Philippine nationalists. While the Tydings-McDuffie Act did not erase Filipinos’ allegiance to the United States during the Commonwealth period, it declared that the allegiance was no longer “permanent.” It sought to limit Filipinos’ claims that their political allegiance delineated an exceptional subject-position within American domestic law. Whether they were legally aliens or nationals, Filipino residents identified themselves as exceptions to prevailing laws and racial taxonomies when it suited them. Their lived experience necessitated politicized claims, which, in turn, contested racial ideologies associated with alien status.

While many looked to technical language to argue, on a case-by-case basis, that they were not aliens, many Filipinos contested that the conferral of alien status evinced a convenient forgetting of the unfulfilled contract of U.S. imperialism. Shortly after witnessing the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, Filipinos in the United States marked, protested and celebrated the disjuncture between the recent colonial past and the sudden, neo-colonial present. A Chicago resident declared, “Day by day he notices that the ‘father and son’ affinity of the Philippine and the United States is being slowly swayed into a stronger relation. No longer can a Filipino feel that he is in his guardian’s home.” He concluded, “Not until a Filipino will not owe allegiance to the United States will he stop thinking that he should be and must be treated and protected as he used to be before the enactment and formation of the Commonwealth.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> “The Filipino versus the American” *Associated Filipino Press* VII: 18 (October 1, 1936).

Filipino residents narrated their experience of the impending neo-colonial system by invoking a crisis of representation that intertwined the political, legal, intellectual and cultural realms of discourse. Their struggles for political identity and cultural representation were more complex than appeals for inclusion, citizenship and recognition of their historical presence in American soil. In a 1931 issue of the Los Angeles-based *Filipino Nation*, a student demanded the privilege of being “subjects of the American people” rather than the right of citizenship.

Whether or not we are fit for American citizenship only the American people have the right to give judgment. But they must understand that we are not here asking for their judgment in giving us the high privilege of becoming U.S. citizens. Rather we are here enjoying the opportunities of which we have the rights to enjoy as subjects of the American people. We are here demanding our independence which they so promised us on their word of honor. Nothing else. ... We have been ideal subjects. We have been taught the American histories and fables. We have committed to memory the beautiful passages of their literature. We are debating their social problems. We are staging their plays and singing their songs.<sup>20</sup>

Under American laws, Filipinos did not easily fit into the alien-citizen dichotomy that framed the experience of most Asian immigrants. Instead, they occupied a triangulated framework of political status: alien, citizen, and national.

In letters to the BIA, Filipinos articulated the multiple “jurisdictions” in which they contracted employment, marriage, schooling, welfare and transnational migration. Several writers described how the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act apparently divided them from members of their family in the Philippines. A second-generation immigrant of Filipino and Italian descent raised the widespread fear that their relatives would not be barred from completing their round-trip from the Philippines to the U.S. Louis Billones wrote on the behalf of his father, a professional photographer who migrated from the Philippines in 1907 and raised a family in Stockton, California with an Italian

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<sup>20</sup> Valentine A. Daclan, “How We Understand the American People” *Filipino Nation* (June 1931): 25-26.

woman. Billones' father had traveled to the Islands on business, and remained there during the passage of the immigration restriction. The writer asked whether his father, who was not a U.S. citizen, had become an alien, subject to the immigration quota. Asserting the personal claims of residency, Billones asked, "Can he possibly return to the U.S., considering the fact that he made his residence herein the U.S. for twenty-seven years, that his children are Americans and that he left his family here in the U.S.?" The Bureau of Insular Affairs replied that Filipino nationals were able to leave and re-enter the U.S. without passports, as long as they had proof of residency before 1934.<sup>21</sup> To some extent, the application of the immigration law recognized national status, or at least that it didn't apply to Filipinos already residing in the U.S.

Billones asserted personal and familial claims as the basis for making his father an exception to immigration restriction. These claims did not hold for Filipinos whose relatives did not begin their journey to the U.S. before May 1, 1934. The wife of a resident national, Luis Palmejar, had planned to sail just as the Philippine legislature approved the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Palmejar complained to the BIA that, "it appears that she has, by virtue of the Independence Act, become a quota alien." The Bureau verified that his wife was subject to the immigration quota and referred him to the U.S. consulate in Manila for a visa application.<sup>22</sup> One of the "privileges" of being a national had been family reunification. Due the immediacy of the quota enforcement, Tydings-McDuffie erected new border criteria of timing and residency, thereby limiting the families that Filipino men forged in the U.S. by bringing over their relatives. As I will

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<sup>21</sup> Letter from Louis Billones to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, July 2, 1934. In response, the BIA cited General Order #209, Paragraph 4 of Subsection 3. This stated that Philippine citizens' re-entry into U.S. without visa or permit required statements or affidavits of persons competent to certify to residence before May 1, 1934. By contrast, U.S. and Philippine citizens did not need passports to enter the Philippines. Letter from Bureau of Insular Affairs to Louis Billones, July 11, 1934. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Luis Palmejar to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, July 12, 1934. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

later show, the 1935 Repatriation Act, by excluding those who were not “native” Filipinos, further divided the families that had developed from intermarriage.

Correspondence to the BIA reveals that, toward the late 1930s, Filipino residents were no longer puzzled about political status. Instead, they sought to continue the practices of family reunification under the new law. Gregorio Cristobal wrote that he supported his orphaned teen-age nephew in the Philippines, and wished to bring him to the United States. Stating that he was a citizen, Cristobal implied that his dependents should be exempt from immigration quotas. In the course of his letter, Cristobal reviewed the legal and cultural rationales which made him eligible to be naturalized. He emphasized his honorable discharge from the U.S. Navy, and his active membership in the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion. The other evidence of Cristobal’s good citizenship was that he had sustained a business and family in Denver since 1921.<sup>23</sup> Writing from Detroit, Catalino Catalan similarly presented himself as a proper legal subject, entitled to bring his sons from the Philippines to finish their college education in the United States. Catalan underscored his decade-long residency and employment in the post office. Including information on his clerk’s salary, he emphasized his capacity as an independent head of a household.<sup>24</sup>

#### Ethnic community as client population: the Filipino Community Center

According to Bartolomé Nicolas, the owner of a pool hall and barbershop in Chicago’s Near West side, neighborhood hostility and police investigations centered on the perceived privileges which Filipinos possessed as U.S. nationals.

There are some people around here that don’t act right towards us. They don’t

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<sup>23</sup> Letter from Gregorio Cristobal to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, May 24, 1937. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Catalino Catalan to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, January 27, 1937. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

know us. They say that we are paid by the United States. They tell us that we don't have to work that we are getting money from the United States. They think that the government pays our transportation over here and then gives us money each month. The police come in here every day. They must think we are criminal the way they act towards us, or we are undesirable neighbors.<sup>25</sup>

The cultural and social relations of colonial tutelage complicated the formation of Filipino ethnicity. In Chicago's rooming-house districts, local practices of segregation and racial hostility arose from the broad awareness of government scholarship program, which sponsored Filipino students to American universities. In the context of the depression, cultural and social reinterpretations of Filipinos' national status complicated the process of ethnic-formation.

Filipino residents sustained discursive and institutional spaces which met the challenge of representing aliens and nationals. Historian Barbara Posadas has argued that the economic depression resolved the uncertainties of Filipino identity, by making it increasingly difficult for students to return home, and compelling them to alter their identity from temporary student-migrant to permanent immigrant. Posadas demonstrates that, as circular migrations ceased by the 1930s, Filipino residents struggled to maintain their visibility in residential, leisure and labor spaces, such as Pullman cars, hotel floors, junior colleges, and taxi-dance halls. Recounting the participation of Filipino men in the Pullman strikes and in family formation, Posadas suggests that their interactions with African American workers and Eastern European women constituted their ethnic integration.

Voluntary associations and stable employment led to an ethnic community which sustained newly-created Filipino "aliens" in the United States.<sup>26</sup> With its roots in YMCA's foreign student networks, the Filipino Community Center of Chicago by the early 1930s became an incorporated organization with a three-story brick building in the

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<sup>25</sup> John L. Mixon, Interview with Bartolomé Nicolas, October 23, 1932; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>26</sup> Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte, "Unintentional Immigrants: Chicago's Filipino Foreign Students Become Settlers, 1900-1941," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 9 (Spring 1990): 39.

city's Near North side rooming-house district. The Center served at least four functions: religious services, education, social activities, and relief. Overseen by a fifteen-member interdenominational Protestant board, and directed, successively, by José Deseo (1926-1934) and Antonio Gonzalez (1934-1943), the Center was one of the most public Filipino organizations in the city, rivaling the Filipino Association of Chicago, a coalition of clubs. During the depression, Filipino students developed communities in major American cities. Stemming from student cosmopolitanism, they used practical alliances with self-consciously progressive Anglo-Americans, based in Protestant churches and universities.<sup>27</sup>

Social gospel and sociology anchored an urban network of Anglo-Americans who pursued social relations and knowledge-production across the racial divide. Due to the Center's position within religious and scholarly networks, Filipino residents became objects of curiosity among reform-oriented Chicagoans. The racial, labor and sexual marginalization of Filipino nationals became better known among these Chicagoans through the ideological framework of "social problems" which called for racial "healing." Thirty sorority members from the Northwestern University Christian Social Action group visited the Center in the Fall of 1932, while for one month, an Anglo-American man boarded in one of the Center's furnished rooms. In his words, the man spent his time with Filipinos "just to know them."<sup>28</sup>

As Deseo sought public visibility for the Center in various private-sector advocacy networks, both in Chicago and nationwide, the institution was the focal point for debating the shape and substance of the Filipino "community" in the city. In the process of institutional recognition, the Center underwent periodic review of its program and client population by its Board of Directors, who commissioned two sociological

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See also Barbara M. Posadas, "At a Crossroad: Filipino American History and the Old-Timers' Generation," *Amerasia Journal* 13: no. 1 (1986-87): 89-90.

<sup>27</sup> For a comparative view of visible Filipino communities in Los Angeles, see Severino F. Corpus, "An Analysis of the Racial Adjustment Activities and Problems of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles" (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1938).



researchers from the Chicago Theological Seminary to conduct an ethnographic survey. In this project, John Mixon and Theodore Noss investigated which of the Center's services replicated those given by city public welfare and by Filipino clubs. Following the publication of Paul Cressey's *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, Filipino informants entered the new ethnographic encounter with a degree of caution. Bartolomé Nicolas, the owner of a poolroom and barbershop, interrupted John Mixon's questions with some of his own: "Let me ask you something before I tell you that. Just what is it you are doing? I want to know first. Are you going to publish anything?" Mentioning his earlier study on Mexican immigrants in Chicago, Mixon framed his investigation as part the effort to create structural changes in economic inequality and racial segregation. Admitting that he didn't know whether the Chicago Church Federation would publish his ethnography, Mixon pressed to Nicolas to explain Filipino social activities.

If I am to really understand what the Filipinos have to face I must be able to see things through their eyes. To do this I must know [the] good and [the] bad, ride the elevators where they work, see how the bus boy is treated, go into the basement of the post office and live that world for a time, visit their rooms, you see. It doesn't mean that I have to lay open all these personal things. I don't have to tell all the bad. You have said to me, "That is all people want to know." What I want to do is to show this other side too. I can't do all these things unless I know things just as they are. Can you help me to understand these clubs?<sup>29</sup>

Mixon's request raised a boundary between public and private "ethnic" knowledge that Filipino residents sought to maintain. In his attempt to cross that boundary, Mixon sought to create public representations of Filipinos, in the hope that such knowledge would aid their ethnic-formation.

Ethnographic practices came together with a social-gospel belief in the power of personal witnessing. Both forms of knowledge production generated a public identity for

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<sup>28</sup> Theodore K. Noss, Interview with Helen Rusilla, March 20, 1933; and Theodore K. Noss, Interview with Alan Volkmar, October 21, 1932; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>29</sup> John L. Mixon, Interview with Bartolomé Nicolas, October 23, 1932; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

Filipinos within the Center. In the early 1930s, José Deseo gave “friendship tours” to Chicago-area students and young people. Deseo led sociology students from Northwestern and the University of Chicago on excursions throughout the city. The first stop was the Field Museum of Natural History to look at the anthropological and historical collections gained through U.S. colonial forays into the Philippines. The anthropological segment of the tour was continued at the Filipino Community Center where the students viewed a slide lecture on the Philippines and performances of “native” music and folk-dancing.

The visitors had a chance to see the grounds of the Center: poolroom, barbershop, restaurant and kitchen on the ground floor, the living room, offices, director’s apartment on the second floor, and the furnished rooms that Filipino men rented on the third floor. Next door, the Center held religious services and meetings in a small chapel, which they had permission to use from a nearby Armenian church. In the Center’s living room, the Anglo-American students and a group of Filipinos engaged in a facilitated discussion on the Philippine “independence question.” The tour climaxed in a “fellowship, a confessional, as to one race to another.” In the Los Angeles-based *Filipino Nation*, Deseo claimed that these interactions “will not only correct the mistakes that the American public entertains in its mind about the Philippines, but will also to a large measure make stronger the bond of fellowship and understating between the races of mankind.”<sup>30</sup> In one instance, an Anglo-American woman who worked for the Chicago Methodist Board continued interacting with Filipinos after touring the Center. In an interview with John Mixon, the woman narrated her cross-racial experience with a sense of independent bravery: “I was interested in Filipinos because I had stopped at a Filipino Club on the west side on a tour, you know those tours, about two years ago. I decided that I was old enough to care for myself and went.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> José G. Deseo, “Reconciliation Trip Conducted by Chicago Branch Filipino Federation of America” *Filipino Nation* (July 1930): 22.

<sup>31</sup> John L. Mixon, Interview, October 25, 1932; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

The religious rhetoric of racial fellowship took on a particular resonance in the institutionalization of racial-ethnic space in Chicago. Appealing to churches for help in establishing a permanent meeting place for the Center, Deseo offered his services as a lecturer on the “independence question.” In a pamphlet, he wrote, “Probably no other racial group in the city of Chicago responds with more sincere appreciation to the friendly overtures of the American people than do the Filipinos. Is your church eager to take as a special charge a part of this worthy work?”<sup>32</sup> The Chicago Church Federation and Chicago Congressional Union, however, rejected Deseo’s application, although the Federation continued to subsidize the salary of a Filipino minister. Deseo, therefore, got a steady salary.

In 1930, the Deseos acquired a building by getting funds from the Los Angeles-based Filipino Federation of America, led by the controversial figure, Hilario Moncado. As the heads of the Chicago branch of the nationwide of fraternal-religious organization, the Deseos continued their work as part the Federation, and published numerous articles in the *Filipino Nation*.<sup>33</sup> The Center reverted to the Chicago Church Federation because, several months after its opening, Deseo and Moncado broke off relations over disagreements about the financing and programming. Sponsorship and funding from the citywide organization was an important step for the Center. Because the Chicago Church Federation took over the Center while it was in debt, Deseo began the new relationship under considerable strain. In 1933, the Center filed an application for membership to the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, which accepted the organization six years later. The Church Federation of Greater Chicago subsidized the salary of the Center’s minister, while a subcommittee of the Chicago Comity Commission supervised the religious program. The Community Chest contributed heavily to the Center budget while Council

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<sup>32</sup> José G. Deseo, “The Philippine Islands: America’s Opportunity,” Pamphlet, Folder Filipino Study, File 4: Filipinos’ printing matter, no date; University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>33</sup> For a study of the Filipino Federation of America, see Steffi San Buenaventura, “Nativism and Ethnicity in a Filipino-American Experience” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai’i, 1990). See Lydia Glover Deseo, “Does America Welcome the Filipino?” *Filipino Nation* (May 1930): 28; José G. Deseo, “Whither are we Bound?: Man’s Highest Objective” *Filipino Nation* (August 1930): 10-11; José G. Deseo, “Christianity and Internationalism” *Filipino Nation* 7: no. 9 (July 1931): 10-13.

of Social Agencies, and, to a lesser extent, the Works Progress Administration, evaluated the Center's programs and provided volunteer teachers and staff.<sup>34</sup>

### Forging ethnic space

In evaluating the institutional space of the Center, the sociological survey and membership application to the Chicago Social Agencies sought to define the obligations of Americans and Filipinos during the depression. These two projects asked the following questions: Why did adult Filipino men need the Center? What did their lives lack in the city that the Center provided? How should Americans be involved in the administration and support? The debate was over which parts of the Center, and which services, should receive philanthropic aid. The Center had commercialized aspects: it rented its furnished rooms with relatively low fees, and got part of its budget from services in the restaurant, barbershop and poolroom and dances. In addition, one of the leaders, Antonio Gonzalez, used the Center space for an employment and travel agency.

The most controversial of the activities were the dances held several times a week in the Center's living room. The institution itself sponsored and gave a dance on Friday night, and collected an entry fee to pay for the orchestra. In 1933, the Juvenile Protective Association sanctioned a temporary police closing of the institution because it lacked a dance license. For a while, the Center stopped holding dances after pressure was placed upon it to obtain a dance hall license, and racially-motivated red tape aborted attempts to do so.<sup>35</sup> The Center's visibility stemmed from its multi-racial character on two levels: in the Center's administrative board and its cross-racial heterosocial relationships. The debates about how the Center should regulate the latter paralleled the legislative debates

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<sup>34</sup> Letter from Ernest Graham Guthrie to Chicago Social Agencies, October 8, 1936. Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>35</sup> Minutes of meeting of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Congregational Union held September 26, 1933; and minutes of the meetings of the Comity Commission, October 4, 1933 and November 1, 1933; Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

about sustaining or delegitimizing Filipino men's families through immigration restriction, anti-miscegenation statutes and repatriation policies.

The major issue was justifying the Center's relief program, which then prompted the administrators and funders to evaluate why Filipinos should receive relief, from which sources, and for which sectors of the resident community. This debate about the deserving and undeserving constituted one site of shifting colonial benevolence to the language of ethnic "citizenship," which was then complicated by alien legislation. Out of its four services, the Board of Directors and researchers focused on the Center's objective to "shelter those who are in need."<sup>36</sup> Between 1931 and 1933, the Center turned most of its resources to emergency relief. By the end of that period, it had served meals to approximately two hundred Filipino men, with a high daily turnover. The living room was used for sleeping quarters. As one of the Board's investigators noted, "On crowded nights the halls and stairways have been used. On nights on which there are dances, the men have to wait until after midnight before they can retire. This happens two or three times a week."<sup>37</sup> Those who defended the Center's relief program represented its clientele as isolated from other Filipino groups and victims of discrimination within other shelters. The opposing view emphasized that Filipinos had equal access to Filipino clubs, city shelters, and state-administered Federal Emergency Relief funds. Because of the Center's high visibility in the city as a service organization for Filipinos, those who relied on its relief programs were often new to the city, but not recent immigrants to the U.S. In all, the Filipinos who used Center services ranged from new immigrants, petty criminals, university students and skilled workers.<sup>38</sup>

During the depression, the Center had two public functions: a soup kitchen and shelter for the unemployed, and an educational settlement house for aspiring students. Run by volunteers from Hull House, and, later, from the Works Progress Administration,

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<sup>36</sup> John L. Mixon and Theodore K. Noss, "A Study of the Filipino Community Center," Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Box 317, Folder 12, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>37</sup> John L. Mixon and Theodore K. Noss, "A Study of the Filipino Community Center," p. 86.

<sup>38</sup> John L. Mixon and Theodore K. Noss, "A Study of the Filipino Community Center," p. 27.

the Center provided a variety of classes. These included: English language, folk dancing, "Philippine-American Relations," Spanish language, social hygiene, gymnastics, athletics, "Christian Ethics," chorus and music, arts and crafts, and three debate societies. During the early 1930s, the Center focused attention on relief and recreation, rather than an educational program. José Deseo made it clear to the investigative researcher, John Mixon, that the Center was neither a commercial social club nor a relief shelter. Instead the original impetus was to provide room, board and serious social activities for Filipino students.

I had planned to have the rooms upstairs for students. They could have a home upstairs at a nominal price \$1.50 a week to pay for towels and such things. I intended it for those students that pay for themselves, the self-supporting students, so they could go back home and be a success there.<sup>39</sup>

Rather than as an institution of ethnic assimilation into the United States, Deseo established the Center to support the circular migration of Filipino students. Although the depression shifted the Center's activities, Deseo insisted that its target audience remained a resident community which prioritized education over work.

Linda Kerber has approached the reorganization of federal benefits under the New Deal as a critical period of extending and restricting social citizenship. The restriction of New Deal legislation to skilled, unionized workers and their dependents excluded African Americans in the South, women and racialized labor force in the agricultural sectors.<sup>40</sup> For Filipinos, New Deal exclusion worked on the axis of national status. With the specter of repatriation, Filipino were not supposed to enjoy the privilege of their residency by becoming dependent on the U.S. welfare system. The extent to which Filipino residents gained access to federal employment and relief signified the relative value of their political allegiance to the U.S. state.

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<sup>39</sup> John L. Mixon, Interview with José Deseo, February 17, 1933; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>40</sup> Linda K. Kerber, "The Meanings of Citizenship."

Correspondence between the Bureau of Insular Affairs and the California Emergency Relief Administration illustrated Filipinos' shifting eligibility to state programs. In 1934, Frank Obera applied for federal employment in the Works Progress Administration but was turned down by California's relief director, who cited a ruling by the U.S. Attorney General which identified Filipinos as aliens, and, therefore, barred from federal employment. For clarification, Obera appealed to the Philippine Resident Commissioner, who turned to the director of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Edward Stockton. Stating that the Justice Department's opinion on Filipino's alien status "cannot be found and is not believed to exist," Stockton wrote that two administration agencies, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, viewed Filipinos as aliens. The INS was empowered to do so by the Tydings-McDuffie Act, but the BIA sought to challenge FERA's jurisdiction. The War Department, which oversaw the BIA, asked Congress to place Filipinos into a "preferred status," but, as Stockton wrote, it could do nothing more.

With the Relief Appropriation Act of 1937, Congress passed an "anti-alien" ruling. In correspondence with the Philippine Resident Commissioner, Hopkins stated that Filipinos' eligibility rested upon a declaration of intent to become citizens before the passage of the Act in 1937. This of course did not make sense, since Filipinos were commonly understood to be ineligible to citizenship, whether nationals or aliens. Later that year, Hopkins wrote the New York WPA that Filipinos, whether nationals or aliens, were not citizens and therefore could not be "given preference" in employment.<sup>41</sup> While the Federal Emergency Relief Administration sought to make Filipinos aliens under the National Industrial Relations Act, Congress altered its policy by including a clause in its 1939 appropriation bill which allowed "persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need" to be employed through the WPA. The WPA Administrator, F. C.

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<sup>41</sup> Benicio T. Catapusan, "Filipino Immigrants and Public Relief in the United States" *Sociology and Social Research* (July-August 1939): 551. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Naturalization of Filipinos*, 78<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., November 22, 1944. Maximo C. Manzon, *The Strange Case of the Filipinos in the U.S.A.* (New York: American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, 1938), p. 9.

Harrington, notified the state and local relief agencies of that Filipinos should not be denied provisions on the grounds of political status.<sup>42</sup>

The distinction between “political allegiance” and “alien” had material effects. Searching for funding in the midst of the Depression involved representing Filipinos as students who counted as “deserving poor.” In their application for the Council of Social Agencies, Deseo and Gonzalez further emphasized that relief was not the primary function of the Center. Instead, it was “a meeting place for these strangers in our midst, young men mostly, where they could hold their club meetings, talk together on topics interesting to them, hold their social affairs, [and] bring their problems for solution.”<sup>43</sup> More privately, the leadership struggled to maintain their vision, conceding that the Center, at times, appeared to function as a commercial social club and a relief shelter.<sup>44</sup>

The feature that made the Filipino Community Center distinct from city agencies and Filipino associational clubs was its multi-racial leadership. By comparison, city agencies and church groups were suspicious of Filipinos’ informal networks. In the early 1930s, Filipinos dominated a boarding house in the city’s Near North Side, a rooming house district populated by single young men and women. Because at least one Filipino in 1930 attended the elite University of Chicago while in residence, one can argue that a mix of students and workers lived in this dwelling. In 1936, when over forty Filipinos resided there, an article in the Chicago-based *Philippine Messenger* sentimentally described the rooming house as a “second home” for Filipinos in the city. Although the

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<sup>42</sup> Public Resolution No. 1, 76<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> sess, February 4, 1939. *Filipino Center Monthly* 2: no. 7 (March, 1939). Manzon pointed to a section of 1938 WPA Appropriation that extended eligibility to those “owing allegiance to the U.S.” Maximo C. Manzon, *The Strange Case of the Filipinos in the U.S.A.*

<sup>43</sup> Walter Templeton and Jessie O. Babel, “Application for Membership into the Council of Social Agencies, October 26, 1933”; Letter from José Deseo and Antonio Gonzalez to Elizabeth Webster, October 26, 1933; Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>44</sup> “This downstairs part should be free, a free program, dances and an occasional moving picture. Now it is just like any other club pay for everything. They pay for the dances so we don’t have any social control. If we charge we have to meet their demands for certain things. The only thing we are doing is relief work and the city is doing that. Then our little meetings of worship. It is just like a commercial club except for the relief.” John L. Mixon, Interview with José Deseo, February 17, 1933; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, Chicago Theological Seminary.



proprietor, Louise Berg, was valorized in Filipino newspapers as a maternal figure, at least one Anglo-American researcher vilified her house as a center for prostitution.<sup>45</sup> The absence of a reliable figure who would protect Filipino migrants from exploitation drew from widespread assumptions about rooming house districts as places of juvenile delinquency and “disorganization.”<sup>46</sup> The benevolent supervision of its Anglo-American board of trustees made the Center appear to the Council of Social Agencies as legitimate and official. Accordingly, a Filipino distinguished the Center as “a link to the city, the state, the Philippine Commonwealth and the United States Government.”<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps prescriptively if not materially, the Board defined the humane intervention that Americans could enact in what they saw as the Filipino social problem: whether to settle the residents in the U.S. or in the Philippines. The Board defended the Center’s existence as an “unofficial consulate,” alluding to the Council of Social Agencies that Filipino residents were a stateless community in the U.S.<sup>48</sup> Preceding the Tydings-McDuffie and Repatriation Acts, the Center negotiated the meanings attached to alien status. In doing so, it mediated several “autonomous” realms, including state and society, public and private. The organization was a significant site in which Filipinos engaged with their changing political status and the shifting meanings of “benevolence” at the heart of depression-era welfare.

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<sup>45</sup> “70 W. Oak Street is Home for Many Filipinos in the City” *The Philippine Messenger* III: no. 1 (January 1936); Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, Chicago Historical Society. John L. Mixon interview’s with Antonio A. Gonzalez, November 8, 1932; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, Chicago Theological Seminary. Registration lists from the Filipino Employment Bureau, 1930; Box: Filipino Study, Folder: Address Lists, Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>46</sup> Three rooming house districts surrounding Chicago’s Loop emerged in the late-nineteenth-century and expanded through the 1930s. In these neighborhoods, single women migrating to the city formed economic and social ties that fell outside the realm of familial control. Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 108-110.

<sup>47</sup> Unidentified participant in Estrella Alamar’s interview with Mateo and Mary Vergara, August 31, 1979, transcribed by Kimberly Alidio; Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago.

<sup>48</sup> Filipino Community Center Board of Directors to Chicago Social Agencies, “Application for Membership,” October 26, 1933. Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

For several months in 1933, the Center received funding from the State Emergency Relief Administration for sleeping cots, food and maintenance. As federal laws encouraged local communities and state governments to represent Filipinos as aliens, the Center's relief program became increasingly interrupted by city police and health investigators. In response, the directors reported that they had pared down its relief work to "a limited few, deserving" students and families.<sup>49</sup> The Center continued to receive state benefits for its education program, which allowed the institution to continue a form of colonial tutelage within the New Deal. The Illinois Works Progress Administration provided for adult classes throughout the 1930s, with an interruption in 1936, and a resumption in 1939 and 1940.<sup>50</sup>

The alien clause of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act encouraged state legislatures and the courts to place Filipinos under exclusionary laws, despite the technicality of the "national" status. Since Filipino residents had a precarious hold on New Deal benefits already, the director of the Center, Antonio Gonzalez, requested information from the Bureau of Insular Affairs about political status, the immigration quota, and civil service employment.<sup>51</sup> Translating federal laws to the local community, the Center fulfilled its function as an "unofficial consulate." It sought to represent Filipinos at a time when individuals, whether new immigrants or older residents, found it difficult to represent themselves legally and culturally.

Paralleling the debates of jurisdiction in the naturalization petitions and anti-miscegenation cases, the Board of Directors, through its investigation, was divided about

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<sup>49</sup> "Work of the Center," March 12, 1938; Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>50</sup> Harold Brigham, Meeting of the Membership Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, June 6, 1936; Lucy Carner, Report on Filipino Community Center for the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, 1939 and 1940; Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Antonio A. Gonzalez to General Creed F. Cox, October 9, 1934. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

their responsibilities and obligations to Filipino residents. The differing agendas attached to the Centers' services — relief, recreation, education and religion — illustrated how the social-gospel tenet of racial fellowship slid easily into the racialized suspicion of Filipino indigence. Even before the passage of the repatriation act, Emaroy June Smith, a member of the Board, strongly backed the educational and social aspects of the Center's program, and complained that providing emergency relief was merely a distraction. The philanthropist proposed that the Center should carry out a two-tiered policy, according to the differing needs that she perceived among the client population. By delivering the indigent members of the community to the Philippines, Smith argued, the Center would be more efficient and effective as a welfare organization. "She said that she thought the mass of the unemployed be broken up," Noss noted. "The ill and the homesick should be sent home. The students should be studied individually and their problems attacked on this basis. She was strong for the existence of the Center."<sup>52</sup> With a slight shift in this thinking, the Center's leadership would later pursue the U.S. federal policy of repatriation as one arm of their broad welfare program. In the Center, the discourse of scarcity shaped the ideal of Christian abundance, thereby prompting Filipino leaders and some Board members to advocate repatriation and exclusion as acts of mercy.

The option of repatriation, government-sponsored or otherwise, significantly framed the administration of the Filipino Community Center, and, by extension, illustrated how Center produced an ethnic identity for Filipino residents. Deseo's visions of the Center and Smith's support of it were undoubtedly divisive along class lines, and based on middle-class ideas of self-governance and moral virtue. The categorization of Filipino groups against the cultural ideas of proper "jurisdiction" was a complex response to the racial discourses in naturalization and anti-miscegenation laws. With parallel exclusions, the Center represented its clients as an ethnic community.

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<sup>52</sup> "[Smith] felt that the presence of the unemployed boys in the Center was a serious handicap to the social and educational program which the Center was trying to carry on." Emaroy Smith willed part of her estate to the FCC, which no longer existed by the time she died in the mid-century. Theodore K. Noss, Report of Filipino Community Center Board of Directors meeting, March 14, 1933 and April 4, 1933; Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church

On the other hand, Deseo pushed the racial boundaries of Filipino ethnic-formation by recognizing young, white women as part of the Center's targeted client population. Deseo proposed to extend his services to white women whose Filipino partners neglected them. He did so in clear opposition to the board's policy to exclude white women from entering the Center's living room during the day, on the basis of rumors that prostitutes worked within the settlement house.<sup>53</sup> This policy suggested how the board sought to narrow the Center's services to racially homogenous and morally virtuous population. In response, Deseo, and his Anglo-American wife, Lydia Glover Deseo, attempted to advocate a social-gospel policy of inclusion and abundance, while recognizing the practical needs of an interracial community.

Naturalization petitions: Race and political status in legal discourse

Exclusionary laws, such as anti-miscegenation and naturalization, racialized Filipinos to delineate different political and cultural jurisdictions. To justify excluding Filipino residents from the United States while maintaining colonial retention of the Philippines, some U.S. policymakers viewed Filipino residents as differently racialized than Filipinos in the islands. The anti-Filipino movement portrayed immigrant labor as "very poor product" from the Philippines, with low morals and overripe sexual passion.<sup>54</sup> In this sense, the racial categorization of exclusion was reminiscent of U.S. colonial discourse. Behind the widespread contention that Filipinos residents were "unassimilable," however, was the notion that colonial assimilation was an undesirable form of ethnic-racial formation in the U.S. The social scientist, Bruno Lasker, acknowledged that Filipinos in the U.S. saw themselves as exceptions to prevailing racial

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Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>53</sup>"Filipino Center: Further report on condition and work, January 3, 1934"; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>54</sup> In a 1932 Congressional hearing, Rep. Ralph Horr stated, "We have a lower type of Filipino. ... Morally, they have not made a very high contribution to our city. They have aligned themselves with people of extremely low morals. ... Now, I do not attribute [the negative characteristics] of Filipinos, as a people, but we have either gleaned a very poor product from the islands, or else in their association with

hierarchies in the U.S., and, were, therefore, “too assimilated.” Assimilating Filipino residents was complicated by “prior” assimilation by colonial tutelage. In his 1930 book, *Filipino Immigration to the United States*, Lasker argued that Filipinos thought they were white men. He used the terms of race and color to describe the clash between the implied obligations of the colonial contract within a transnational context and the ethnic-racial hierarchies of immigrant assimilation.<sup>55</sup>

Lasker observed that Filipino residents negotiated the civilizing mission and the racial exclusions of ethnic assimilation. The subsequent confusions of cultural and racial subjectivity in the United States paralleled the unresolved issues of legal and administrative jurisdiction. From 1898 to 1946, U.S. colonial policies defined the peoples, commodities, resources and land of the Philippines as both within and beyond American domestic law. The Treaty of Paris placed Filipinos beyond the territorial boundaries of the U.S., and thus outside the jurisdiction of the U.S. constitution. The Organic Act of 1902, however, stated that “native inhabitants” of the Philippines during the Treaty of Paris who were Philippine citizens were “entitled to the protection” of the U.S., unless they maintained allegiance to Spain.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, Filipinos were defined as nationals who “owed permanent allegiance” to the United States. The anomaly of this political status became more apparent after the inhabitants of Puerto Rico and Hawai‘i were granted limited citizenship.<sup>57</sup>

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our people they are occupying a place that we do not like to have them occupy.” Excerpted in James Tyner, “The Geopolitics of Eugenics,” p. 68.

<sup>55</sup> “In public resolutions, the Filipino is often described an unassimilable; but what is meant evidently is that his assimilation is considered undesirable. For, speaking the English language, predisposed by his schooling in the Philippine Islands for a love of America and all its traditions and customs, anxious to acquire the skills and knowledge which America has to offer and to mix socially with Americans, the more educated Filipino is, if anything, *too* assimilable to accept the limitations imposed upon him by public opinion; and the problem which he creates is not that of the stranger who cannot be Americanized, but rather that of the would-be American who refuses to remain a stranger. ... [He] caus[es] hostility through his unwillingness to look upon himself as racially inferior to the white man, or indeed as anything other than a white man.” Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration*, pp. 331-32.

<sup>56</sup> William J. Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism*, p. 122.

<sup>57</sup> Puerto Ricans became eligible to citizenship in 1917, and American Samoans remain non-citizen nationals to this day. José A. Cabranes, *Citizenship and the American Empire: Notes on the*

Reflecting the unresolved conflicts surrounding the American empire, the U.S. government lacked an executive office for colonial administration; the closest institution, the Bureau of Insular Affairs, lacked statutory power.<sup>58</sup> Regardless of whether they resided in the colony or the metropole, Filipinos came under the jurisdiction of Congress, which was empowered to include or exclude them from constitutional and federal laws on a case-by-case basis. Unlike Asian immigrants, Filipinos who traveled to the United States were not subject to the executive purview of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Rather, Congress oversaw Filipino migration, much as it regulated international commerce. The Insular Cases of 1902 deemed this so in its consideration of property and tariffs.<sup>59</sup> During the first two decades of the twentieth-century Filipinos were exempt from legislation that restricted other Asian immigrants as “aliens,” such as the 1917 and 1924 immigration acts.<sup>60</sup>

The legal activity surrounding naturalization and anti-miscegenation statutes demarcated the racial categorization by which Filipino residents were placed as “aliens” within domestic law before the passage of immigration restrictions in the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act.<sup>61</sup> Naturalization petitions, or prerequisite cases, and anti-miscegenation court cases produced multiple meanings of race and status from academic, statutory, and “common-knowledge” rationales. The variety of these meanings reflected the attempts by diverse interlocutors to deliberate how the legal policies and cultural relations of

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*Legislative History of the United States Citizenship of Puerto Ricans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

<sup>58</sup> Romeo V. Cruz, *America's Colonial Desk and the Philippines*.

<sup>59</sup> *DeLima v Bidwell*, 182 US 1 (1901); *Fourteen Diamond Rings v. US*, 183 US 176 (1901); *Downes v. Bidwell*, 182 US 244 (1901); *Dooley v. US*, 182 US 222 (1901).

<sup>60</sup> “In Department Rules of February 1, 1924, on pages 92 and 93, is inserted a map introduced by the following title: “Map showing Asiatic zone prescribed in section 3 of the Immigration Act, the natives of which are excluded from the United States, and certain exceptions (sections indicated by diagonal lines covered by treaty and laws relating to Chinese). The Philippine Islands are United States possessions and therefore not included in the barred zone.” *Ex parte Palo* 3 F.2d 44 (D.C., W.D., 1924).

<sup>61</sup> Byron Martyn included both naturalization and anti-miscegenation laws as continuing the litigatory constriction of legal whiteness after *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Byron Curti Martyn, “Racism in the United States: A History of Anti-Miscegenation Legislation and Litigation” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1979).

colonial tutelage worked in the American domestic sphere. In other words, what did colonial assimilation have to do with the racial order in U.S. society?

Many Filipinos and Americans recognized the inconsistent definitions of racial identity and political status across legal discourse, scholarship and local policy decisions. Moreover, these forms of knowledge were internally contradictory. The legal historian, Ian Haney Lopez, argues that “common knowledge” became increasingly important to the legal discourse of naturalization cases in the early twentieth-century. The rising importance of this form of knowledge pointed to the contradictory messages about Filipino racial formation and political status. Common-sense meanings reflected a broader process by which Filipinos and, to some extent, Americans sought to resolve the contradictions that arose as 1930s-era legislation pressed them to sort out their loyalties and spheres of belonging.<sup>62</sup>

Presaging the widespread debates whether they were alien or national after 1934, Filipinos petitioned for the right to naturalize in nearly twenty cases from 1912 to 1950. Summary research of naturalization petitions illuminates a pattern in the language of the courts. Most decisions that denied naturalization petitions reasoned that Filipinos were excluded from citizenship on the basis of race. In response, petitioners emphasized the obligations inherent in their political status as nationals. The prevailing question was whether Congress had intended to admit Filipino nationals as exceptions to the racial and color exclusions delineated in the 1870 Naturalization Act. Was allegiance more significant to citizenship rights than being a “free white person” or a person of African descent?

Following standard practice of jurisprudence, the judges of the district circuit courts first regarded the plain language of the existing statutes on Filipino political status within the United States. The petitions focused on Section 30 of the 1906 Naturalization Act, which stated that naturalization should be open to those “owing permanent

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<sup>62</sup> Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1996). Robert G. Lee has argued that the “common understanding” of the Oriental figure in the majority opinions of *Ozawa* and *Thind* “originates in the realm of popular culture.” Lee, *Oriental: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), p. 5.

allegiance” to the United States. In addition, nationals would have to meet the following two requirements: a previous declaration of the intention to naturalize and residency in “any state or organized territory of the United States.” Judges also evaluated the 1918 Act, which extended citizenship to Filipinos who served more than three years in the U.S. military.<sup>63</sup> In some rulings, the requirements were the critical issue. The courts found that the petitioners did not make a preliminary declaration to naturalize. In addition, they argued that residency in the occupied Philippines did not count as residency in the U.S.<sup>64</sup> Regardless of the outcome of the petitions, the courts acknowledged the vagueness of each statute’s language. In turn, the courts attempted to interpret Congressional intent, and, later, to cite legal precedent.<sup>65</sup>

Instead of the scientific discourse or “common knowledge” of racial identity, the courts mainly ruled on the basis of congressional intent. In the 1917 petition, *In re Bautista*, a Filipino veteran of the U.S. military petitioned for citizenship the U.S. District Court of California. Because Bautista was born in the Philippines before the Treaty of Paris, the court declared him to be an alien-national eligible to citizenship. In addition, the petitioner had served in the U.S. Navy. It is important to note, however, that Bautista argued that his status as a national exempted him from the requirement to declare an intention to naturalize. The judge took the logic of this exception to argue that Congress

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<sup>63</sup> Hyung-chan Kim, *A Legal History of Asian Americans, 1790-1990* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 122-3.

<sup>64</sup> According to the *Harvard Law Review* (circa 1929), the courts defined the “United States” as exclusive of its territories. Consequently, birth in the Philippines after 1902 “probably” did not confer citizenship as birth in the U.S. and residency in the Philippines did not qualify as residency in the U.S. Furthermore, it argued that Congress intended to consider Filipinos as aliens, with enough ambiguity to leave open judicial interpretation of that intent. Excerpted in Charles McClain, ed., *Asian Indians, Filipinos, Other Asian Communities and the Law* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1994).

<sup>65</sup> These cases denied naturalization to Filipinos: *In re Alverto* 198 F. 688 (E.D. Pa. 1912); *In re Lampitoe* 232 F. 382 (S.D. N.Y. 1916); *Matter of Alfredo Ocampo*, 4 U.S. Dist. Ct. Hawaii 770 (1916); *In re Rallos*, 241 F. 686 (E.D. N.Y. 1917); *In re Mascarenas*, 271 F. 23 (D.C. Ca. 1921); *Ex parte Palo* 3 F. 2d 44 (W.D. Wash. 1924); *U.S. v Javier* 22 F. 2d 897 (D.C. Cir. 1927); *De La Ysla v. U.S.* 77 F. 2d 988 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1935); and *De Cano v. State* 110 P.2d 627 (Wash. 1941). The following allowed naturalization: *In re Giralde*, 226 Fed. 826 (D. Md. 1915); *In re Lopez*, Naval Digest 1916, 207 (Sup. Ct. D. C. 1915); *Matter of Marcos Solis*, 4 F. 686 (D.C. Hawaii 1916); *In re Mallari* 239 F. 416 (D. Mass. 1916); *In re Bautista* 245 F. 765 (N.D. Calif., 1917); *In re Cariaga* 47 F. 2d 609 (E.D. Mich. 1931); *In re Rena* 50 F.2d 606 (E.D. N.Y.



had given nationals the right to naturalize “with full knowledge that the Filipino belonged to the Malay or brown race.” As the *Bautista* decision illustrates, courts that ruled in favor of naturalization did not question the scientific or legal basis of Filipino racial identity. In other words, the legal discourse of Filipino naturalization, in contrast to racial prerequisite cases submitted by Asian Indians, did not argue the flexibility of the term “free white person,” but instead on the category of political status. The judge for the *Bautista* petition plainly stated, “The petitioner belongs to the brown or Malay race. He is therefore not an alien of the white race, nor is he an alien of African nativity or of African descent. It is therefore contended that he cannot be admitted to citizenship.” While upholding the racial and color limits of citizenship, the judge argued that the courts should submit to the power of Congress to extend the eligibility to citizenship to Filipinos “owing permanent allegiance.”<sup>66</sup>

Subsequent courts opposed the *Bautista* decision by linking Filipino petitions to those of other Asian immigrants. The 1921 petition, *In re Mascarenas*, interpreted the 1918 Act that admitted servicemen to citizenship, and, as such, the San Diego District Court considered it with a similar petition by a Korean man. The Court emphasized that the men, who both were honorably discharged from the U.S. military were non-white aliens. The judge argued that the phrase “any alien,” from the 1918 statute, was not racially inclusive. In the *Mascarenas* decision, the court interpreted the plain language of the 1906 statute to mean that Congress did not mean to “provide for the admission of aliens generally” but instead to allow qualified aliens to waive the requirements of residency and preliminary declaration.<sup>67</sup>

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1931); and *In re Ayson et al.* 14 F. Supp. 488 (N.D. Illinois, 1936). Most of these cases appear in Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law*.

<sup>66</sup> “We conclude, therefore, that the distinction of color contained in section 2169 of the Revised Statutes must yield to the clearly expressed purpose of Congress to modify that section by the Act of June 29, 1906, in favor of the natural-born Filipino coming into the United States and acquiring the other qualifications provided by law. The power to establish rules of naturalization is vested exclusively in Congress, and a rule so established must be observed by the courts.” *In re Bautista* 245 F. 765 (N.D. Calif., 1917).

<sup>67</sup> *In re En Sk Song*; *In re Mascarenas*, 271 F. 23 (D.C. Ca. 1921).

In the 1925 suit, *Palov. Weedin*, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a decision to deny the application of a Filipino-Chinese mestizo for naturalization. Paulo Palo had entered the United States with a passport issued by the Philippine Governor-General identifying his political status and right to entry. The immigration authorities in Seattle detained Palo by arguing that he was a Chinese laborer barred by the Exclusion Act of 1880. Palo won his case in the Washington district court but lost on appeal. Alleging that Palo's Filipino mother and Chinese father were unmarried, the appellate court definitively placed the petitioner in the category of the Mongolian alien.<sup>68</sup> As a Filipino-Chinese mestizo, Palo's exclusion from the United States illustrated the more general effort to place Filipinos as racially marked beings under existing immigration law, despite or in opposition to Filipinos' political status as nationals and Congressional jurisdiction on colonial affairs.

The task of interpreting congressional intent gave way to the judiciary assuming control over the matter of naturalizing Filipino nationals. The 1925 case, *Toyota v. United States*, set a powerful legal precedent, not only in the language of its decision but in the assertion of racial difference over political status. In *Toyota*, the Supreme Court overturned the decision of the District Court of Massachusetts to approve the naturalization petition of a Japanese immigrant on the basis of race. From there, the Court extended the racial prohibition to Filipino petitioners. While acknowledging the "strong reasons" for making exception for Filipino nationals, it stated that Congress had made only a limited extension of naturalization rights to Filipino servicemen in the 1906 statute. In short, Congress did not intend to "disturb" the racial exclusions of existing naturalization law.<sup>69</sup> Within the period of the immigration quota system, these three cases

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<sup>68</sup> *Palov. Weedin* 8 F. 2d 607 (1925) reversed the ruling that Palo's identity could be split into racial and political components. In the original petition, the Washington district court argued: "Racially the petitioner may be a person of Chinese descent. Politically he is a native of the Philippine Islands. He is under the immigration laws neither an 'alien' nor an 'immigrant.' He is in a class by himself, as is a Chinese born on the mainland of the United States, and is not within the intent and meaning of the exclusion laws." *Ex parte Palo* 3 F. 2d 44 (W.D. Wash. 1924).

<sup>69</sup> *Toyota v. United States*, 268 U.S. 402, 410 (1925); Hyung-chan Kim, *A Legal History of Asian Americans, 1790-1990*, pp. 122-3; and Charles McClain, ed., *Asian Indians, Filipinos, Other Asian Communities and the Law*, p. xi.

affirm historian Mae Ngai's argument that the 1924 Immigration Act conflated the racial and nationality-based identities for non-European immigrants. While technically exempt from the alien quotas, Filipinos came under a corresponding racial jurisprudence. For a Filipino writer, *Toyota* did so by "placing [Filipinos] in the same classification as the Japanese."<sup>70</sup>

Ian Haney Lopez has noted that "common knowledge," rather than science prevailed in naturalization cases through the first decades of the twentieth-century.<sup>71</sup> The significance of "common-sense" meanings is not merely to herald the decline of scientific thinking of race or the legal arguments about citizenship. The "reality" of Filipino racial identity may have been more complex than the hubristic quests for scientific and legal objectivity. More significantly, the legal rationale of congressional intent, was equally constituted by racial discourse, particularly the pattern of identifying Filipinos as subjects of tutelage and colonial rule. Both science and common knowledge illuminated social beliefs about racial difference and identity.<sup>72</sup>

In Filipinos' petitions for naturalization, the political status of "national" was a slippery term in between the two poles of "alien" and "citizen." "Owing political allegiance" was deeply implicated in the discourse of race development, which made it possible for Filipinos to be subjects of the United States while simultaneously excluding them from citizenship. Shortly after the 1906 Naturalization Act, the legal counsel for the Bureau of Insular Affairs recommended that Congress remain aware of the historical and social contexts of colonial tutelage. The BIA lawyer, Paul Charlton, argued that Filipinos lacked inherited traits qualifying them for U.S. citizenship, and their education under American rule was rudimentary. Congressional jurisdiction to naturalize Filipino nationals should recognize the executive administration in the colonial sphere. "If timely

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<sup>70</sup> Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens: United States Immigration Policy and Racial Formation, 1924-1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1998); Maximo C. Manzon, *The Strange Case of the Filipinos in the U.S.A.*, p. 15.

<sup>71</sup> In his discussion of *United States v. Thind*, Haney López argues, "In the Court's opinion, science had failed as an arbiter of human difference, and common knowledge was made into the touchstone of racial division." Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law*, p. 8.

relief is afforded by Congress, and with patient effort these people are led and encouraged by education and example in lines of integrity, and order, and industry, such progress ... will constitute them valuable accessories to our national development.” More interestingly, Charlton equated one of the goals of race development in the Philippines to achieve the “point where amalgamation [into] the United States ... will produce no national disturbance.”<sup>73</sup> Considering that race development would take several generations, the BIA lawyer argued that U.S. citizenship should come no sooner. In the meantime, Charlton wrote, the law should heed how American society deemed Filipinos to be menacing aliens.

While it lacked the power to make and revise naturalization statutes, the Bureau of Insular Affairs fulfilled its designated role to Congress about Filipinos. Charlton’s recommendation that lawmakers keep in mind both colonial tutelage and domestic harmony reflected the confidence of the colonial administration in the early-twentieth century. Several decades later, litigation of Filipino racial identity occurred in state courts that heard anti-miscegenation cases. Similar to Charlton’s legal advice, anti-miscegenation decisions evaluated Filipino racial identity against overlapping standards of domestic and global order. Rather than claiming the right to marry whites as a “privilege” of owing allegiance to the United States, Filipinos fought against the anti-miscegenation statutes on the field of racial categorization.

#### Legal and common-sense meanings of race: anti-miscegenation cases

By attempting to place Filipinos in the category of Mongolians, the anti-miscegenation movement sought to reassert the racial rationale for understanding Filipino residents as aliens. This move would then herald the immigration restriction of the Tydings-McDuffie Law. This section discusses the cultural-intellectual war between rival racial discourses in the 1930s — in simplest terms, between those who defined race as blood and those who sought to displace racial language for culture. In response to

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<sup>72</sup> Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law*, p. 66.

anti-miscegenation cases, sociologists competed with eugenicists to define Filipino racial identity. They did so by asserting the political and historical contingency of Filipinos' racial composition, and thereby interpreting colonial discourses of race development. Anti-miscegenation discourse, I argue, prompted scholars and courts to determine how the political jurisdictions and cultural knowledges associated with the U.S. colonization of the Philippines transferred to the governance of Filipinos residing in America.

For most Asian immigrants, ethnic integration was fraught with the contradictory impulses of normative inclusion, including sexual and gender normativity, and the practical, historical needs of resident communities around work, education, and social services. Anti-miscegenation law was the site for two interrelated factors: the legal constructions of race, and the extension of citizenship. The ability to contract marriage signified civil and political status. Nancy Cott has pointed out that "sexual reproduction not only secures a population to the state ... but also creates the qualities and characteristics of the 'body politic.'"<sup>74</sup> By regulating sexual reproduction, the nation-state articulated the connection between the ideologies of normative heterosexuality and racial purity.

Around the same time that Congress opened the door of naturalization to qualified Filipino nationals, the Indiana state legislature considered a proposal to include Filipinos in anti-miscegenation law. In 1905, the legislative effort arose in response to Filipino government scholars dating Anglo-American women at the state university. The extension of state anti-miscegenation laws produced two noteworthy debates: the first question concerned governmental jurisdiction of Filipino *pensionados*, and second dealt with the question of how Filipinos fit into existing racial categories under the law. The state legislature sought to regulate Filipino men's social relations with white women, in conflict with or without regard to the federal-insular administration of Filipino

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<sup>73</sup> Paul Charlton, "Naturalization and Citizenship in the Insular Possessions of the United States" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 30: no. 1 (July 1907): 114 and 113.

<sup>74</sup> Nancy F. Cott, "Giving Character to Our Whole Civil Polity: Marriage and the Public Order in the Late Nineteenth-Century" in *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays*, ed. by Linda K. Kerber, et. al. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 119.

government scholars in the United States. Subsequently, representatives of the insular government intervened on the behalf of their charges. The president of Indiana University, Elmer B. Bryan, a former director of public education in the Philippines, and educational administrator, William A. Sutherland, pressured the Indiana Senate to drop the proposal. In the end, Bryan and Sutherland prevailed.

The legislative effort to ban Filipino-white dating through an anti-miscegenation bill generated a debate on racial identity that had long-term effects for Filipino residents. After a white newspaper proposed that Filipinos had “African blood,” the *pensionados* asserted that they represented a mixture of Malayan and Spanish heritages, and allegedly resented the imputation. Bryan and Sutherland, representing the U.S. colonial administration, vehemently denied that Filipinos were black. In response, an African-American newspaper charged that the federal government had never intervened on their behalf and parodied Filipinos’ fear that they may be included in domestic segregation laws.<sup>75</sup> The attempt to extend the anti-miscegenation statute to Filipino nationals necessitated a new consideration of the racial categories set out by the law. The statutory discussion of race led lawmakers and courts to identify Filipinos through comparisons with excluded categories.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the racial category by which Filipino identity was measured in Chicago was African-American. In California during the 1920s and 1930s, a series of anti-miscegenation legislation and litigation compared Filipinos to the established category of “Mongolian.” In the process, they raised the question of racial identity and political status without the intervention of the federal-insular government. By 1933, the California State Assembly amended the anti-miscegenation code to include Malaysians as a racial group prohibited from marrying white women. The legislature, in addition, required county clerks to record “Malayan”

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<sup>75</sup> Predictably, Bryan blamed Filipino men’s socializing with Anglo-American women on Spanish, or Latin, “blood.” In a letter to former Governor-General William H. Taft, Bryan counseled against granting educational fellowships to Filipino-Spanish mestizos. “The greatest care should be taken to get as pure a strain of Filipino blood as possible.” Bryan to Taft, March 1, 1905; RG 350, File No. 11533-2. Excerpted in David H. Fowler, *Northern Attitudes towards Interracial Marriage: Legislation and Public*

on all relevant marriage licenses.<sup>76</sup> In doing so, California led the way in classifying Filipinos as racially alien, despite the technicality of their national status which the federal government delineated in colonial policy. By 1939, thirteen states, mostly in the west, specifically or implicitly, included Filipinos in their anti-miscegenation statutes.<sup>77</sup> More broadly, other states followed California's example of using racial categorization to render useless Filipinos' national status, in the arenas of New Deal benefits, professional practice and civil service employment. Anti-miscegenation, therefore, pointed the way for states to extend the immigration clause of "alien" in the Tydings-McDuffie Act to other areas of Filipinos' lives, based on race.

Before California legislature added the category of Malayan to its statutes in 1933, academic, legal and popular discourses focused on whether Filipinos were racially Mongolian, and, thus, politically alien. Six cases came before the Los Angeles Superior Court and the California Appellate Court. In addition, legal scholar Leti Volpp has surveyed the range of racial arguments made in the advisory opinions of the California State Attorney General and Los Angeles County counsel.<sup>78</sup> Debates on Filipino's racial classification took place mainly between the L.A. County Clerk and the California District Attorney. In addition the litigation involved ethnological evidence, drew Filipino protest, and attracted Anglo-American sociologists.

Throughout the early 1920s, County Counsel interpreted the anti-miscegenation code to bar intermarriage between whites and "yellow" people, not between whites and

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*Opinion in the Middle Atlantic and States of the Old Northwest, 1870-1930* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), p. 292.

<sup>76</sup> Nellie Foster, "Legal Status of Filipino Intermarriages in California" *Sociology and Social Research* 16 (May-June 1932): 454. The anti-Filipino movement in California framed anti-miscegenation cases. See Howard A. DeWitt, *Anti-Filipino Movements in California: A History, Bibliography, and Study Guide* (San Francisco, R and E Research Associates, 1976).

<sup>77</sup> Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America" in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* edited by Martha Hodes (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), pp. 464-490.

<sup>78</sup> "We can understand these efforts as attempts to shift the legal entitlements bundled with the marriage contract away from Filipino men, symbolizing the desire to deny Filipinos membership in the national political community." Leti Volpp, "American Mestizo: Filipinos and Antimiscegenation Laws in California" *University of California-Davis Law Review* 33: no. 795 (Summer 2000), pp. 797-8.

“brown” people. The County Clerk, L. E. Lampton, continued to issue marriage licenses to Filipino men seeking to wed white women. By mid-decade, a criminal lawsuit against a Filipino, Timothy Yatko, who allegedly stabbed the lover of his estranged white wife, brought the legality of Filipino-white marriages before the Los Angeles Superior Court. To permit Yatko’s wife, Lola Butler, to testify, the state counsel argued that her marriage had been contracted illegally with a Filipino. Setting a trend for subsequent cases on Filipino racial identity, the counsel presented scholarly tracts on race, as well as legal precedents in naturalization cases, to argue that Filipinos were “Mongolian.” While defining Filipinos as Mongolians, the counsel for the state represented Yatko with a classically colonial image of Malays as easily angered and “running amuck.”<sup>79</sup>

Judge Carlos S. Hardy agreed with the state counsel and allowed Butler to testify against Yatko, who was subsequently convicted. While hearing arguments, the judge affirmed the “jurisdiction” of the “dominant race of the country” to set racial exclusions, and, implicitly, to set racial categories in immigration law and marriage codes. Interestingly, Judge Hardy explained exclusion in the terms of colonial tutelage.

Here we see a large body of young men, ever-increasing, working amongst us, associating with our citizens, all of whom are under the guardianship and to some extent the tutelage of our national government, and for whom we feel the deepest interest, of course, naturally.

Hardy stated that it was in the interests of the Filipino people to bar its residents from immigrating to the U.S., and marrying white women. His decision asserted that racial purity was the key to race development, whether for Filipinos or for African Americans. He concluded that, “The Filipino is a Malay and the Malay is a Mongolian.”<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Nellie Foster, “Legal Status of Filipino Intermarriages in California,” p. 445. For colonial portrayals of Filipinos “running amuck,” see Syed Alatas, *The Myth of the Lazy Native: A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and Its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism* (London : Cass, 1977).

<sup>80</sup> *California v. Yatko*, No. 24795, Superior Court of Los Angeles County, May 11, 1925. Excerpted in Nellie Foster, “Legal Status of Filipino Intermarriages in California,” p. 446. See also Leti Volpp, “American Mestizo,” pp. 813-816.



In the debate over the racial equation in the *Yatko* decision, a variety of evidentiary sources emerged and combined: ethnology, common-sense knowledge, color, and physiognomy. The relevance of ethnological theories, especially those of the German physician, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, were set out in *Yatko* and then debated at all levels, from the California State Attorney to the county clerks. Blumenbach had argued that four races — Mongolian or yellow, American or red, Malay or brown, and Negro or black — had devolved from the fifth race, the Caucasian or white.<sup>81</sup> The question, therefore, was the relationship of the Malay and the Mongolian. Issuing an advisory opinion that concurred with the *Yatko* decision, the Attorney General surmised that the populace of the Philippines illustrated how the blood of the Malay and the Mongolian had mixed. At the same time, he used a common-sense indicator to assert that Filipinos were Mongolian, but that “Hindus” were not. That was “more a question of fact than of law.”<sup>82</sup>

L.A. county clerks expressed their own anthropological theories in their decisions to grant or to withhold marriage licenses to Filipino men and white women. In an early 1930 civil case, L.A. County held fast to its policy that Filipinos were not under the anti-miscegenation statute, in contrast to the prosecuting attorney’s argument that all “brown” people were Mongolian.<sup>83</sup> After L.A. County started turning away Filipino-white couples seeking to wed, the controversy moved to cases in which estranged spouses applied for annulments on the basis that their marriage was voided by the recent racial reclassifications. All in all, three judges of the Los Angeles Superior Court gave the opinion that Filipinos were not Mongolian. In particular, Judge Thomas Gould diverted from contemporary science and instead interpreted the intent of the lawmakers in

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<sup>81</sup> Keith E. Sealing, “Blood Will Tell: Scientific Racism and the Legal Prohibitions Against Miscegenation” *Michigan Journal of Race and Law* 5: no. 559 (Spring 2000): 574-75.

<sup>82</sup> *California v. Yatko*, No. 24795, Superior Court of Los Angeles County, May 11, 1925. Excerpted in Nellie Foster, “Legal Status of Filipino Intermarriages in California,” p. 446.

<sup>83</sup> *Stella F. Robinson v. L. E. Lampton*; *Gavino Visco v. L.A. County*, *Estanislao P. Laddaran v. Emma P. Laddaran*, and *Illora Murillo v. Tony Murillo, Jr.* In the second case, the California Superior Court affirmed the legality of the marriage between Gavino Visco and Ruth Salas because it disputed that Salas, who was Mexican, was white.

amending the anti-miscegenation code in 1880 and 1905. In Gould's historical interpretation, Section 60 of the California Civil Code was directed toward Chinese immigrants only.

The move away from scientific rationales and from classifying Filipinos as Mongolians characterized the landmark case, *Roldan v. Los Angeles County*, which was decided by the California Appellate Court in 1933. In this case, the court, in a split vote, affirmed the decision by the Superior Court that Roldan was Malay and not Mongolian. The judges for the deciding opinion wrote, "We are not interested in what the best scientific thought of the day was, but in what was the common use of the word 'Mongolian' in California at the time of the enactment of the legislation above mentioned." Reviewing the diverse rationales and contradictory decisions of the lower courts, the judge acknowledged that the legal category of race should, at times, differ from the ethnological definitions of racial difference.<sup>84</sup> In response, the State legislature amended the civil code to include Malays as one of the groups barred from marrying white people. Nevertheless, *Roldan* raised significant questions about the legal construction of race in connection with scholarly and popular discourses. What were the sources of "common" usage of racial terms that underscored statutory racial meanings? While the outcome in *Roldan* appeared to strike against the exclusionary tendencies of the California legislature and State Attorney, the common usage of the term "Mongolian" was neither monolithic nor fixed. To the extent that it rejected the "fictions" of objectivity and precision required in ethnological and statistical sciences, common knowledge could be mobilized in any number of ways.

Twentieth-century anti-miscegenation discourse, as historian Peggy Pascoe has argued, was fractured into two warring camps, "racialists" and "culturalists."<sup>85</sup> Filipino

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<sup>84</sup> *Roldan v. Los Angeles County*, 129 Cal. App. 267, 18 P.2d (1933). In its analysis of the *Roldan*, a law review stated that "in keeping with the general trend, [the case] recognized that the statutory meaning usually does not conform to the ethnological." *California Law Review*, 1933. Excerpted in Charles McClain, ed., *Asian Indians, Filipinos. Other Asian Communities and the Law*, p. 117.

<sup>85</sup> The legal strategy of contesting the constitutionality of racial categories themselves did not prevail until the post-World War II cases overturned anti-miscegenation laws, most notably *Perez v. Sharpe* in 1948 and *Loving v. Virginia*. Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law," p. 57.

litigation in this area drew eugenicists, labor organizations and local exclusionist groups from the former camp, while social scientists took up the opposite position.<sup>86</sup> Directly responding to the court actions around California's anti-miscegenation laws, the sociologists Emory S. Bogardus and Nellie Foster asserted their authority to measure social beliefs on race, and translate those social beliefs into common-sense knowledge. Bogardus and Foster articulated an argument shared by their colleagues, that law should not try to solve the organic social process of race relations. They contended that legislation and litigation should avoid defining racial identity, which, they further asserted, was composed by a shifting number of "culture traits." In a language familiar to the discourse of race development, the sociologist wrote, "The Filipinos are daily becoming culturally more like Caucasians. They are a people *on the move racially*, from Mongoloid toward Caucasoid, but still colored by an ancient tinge of Negroid. They are approaching an average of the whole human race."<sup>87</sup>

Taking this definition into account, Bogardus urged lawmakers and courts to acknowledge how Filipino men could share similar "temperaments" and "culture traits" with Anglo-Americans, and thereby, contract a functional, valid marriage with white women. Although the sociological critique heralded the contextual and fluid definitions which moved racial discourse into the realm of culture, Bogardus assumed that the "given community" surrounding a successful intermarriage would tolerate it. His functionalist assumptions mirrored, rather than diverged, from *Roldan's* assertion that common use of racial terms should prevail over statutory ones. The opposition to "racialism," to use Pascoe's terminology, was limited by functionalist assumptions that common-sense knowledge, and consensus itself, would be a reliable indicator of justice. The instability of Filipino racial and political identities illustrated these limits.

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<sup>86</sup> Californian business, civic and labor organizations promoted arguments that Filipino immigration would endanger American society by producing "new type of mulatto." See Megumi Dick Osumi, "Asians and California's Anti-Miscegenation Laws," in *Asian and Pacific American Experiences: Women's Perspectives*, ed. Nobuya Tsuchida (Minneapolis: Asian/Pacific American Learning Resource Center and General College, University of Minnesota, 1982), p. 18.

<sup>87</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, "What Race Are Filipinos?" *Sociology and Social Research* 16 (1931-2), pp. 278-79. *Original emphasis.*

Litigation and legislation of naturalization and intermarriage generated active public debate. Filipinos who engaged with these laws brought to attention the conflicting jurisdictions of the federal and state governments, as well as those of the judiciary and the legislature. At the same time that the different courts heard the naturalization petitions and anti-miscegenation cases, Congress entertained a number of legislative proposals to restrict Filipino immigration. As the Philippine Independence Act, alternately known as Tydings-McDuffie, passed in 1934, Filipino residents negotiated their subject-position along two fronts, political status and racial identity, which had become increasingly intertwined.

### Anti-miscegenation discourse and Filipino ethnic-formation

Social-gospel witnessing and ethnographic investigation were two forms of knowledge production about Filipino ethnicity that made the boundaries of Filipino “ethnic” community permeable, and open to scrutiny. Anti-miscegenation discourse, and, by extension, the specter of alien status, permitted ethnographic investigators to push past the borders dividing public and private knowledge of the Filipino Community Center of Chicago. The sociologist, Theodore Noss, conducted his research, in large part, to expose the allegedly overdetermined and inauthentic marriage contract between the Filipino director and his Anglo-American wife, José and Lydia Glover Deseo.

Interracial unions between Filipino men and Anglo-American women created problems for the Center’s representation as an ethnic space. Examining the racial discourse and community gossip, filtered through ethnography, with which Anglo-Americans and Filipinos criticized the authenticity of intermarriage, I explore how the Center mediated contested realms of private relations and political debate. I discuss the intellectual and cultural texts written by an interracial couple, José and Lydia Glover Deseo, who got married in Los Angeles when anti-miscegenation discourse in California was running high. Unlike the scandals of vice and prostitution which closed down Filipino taxi-dance halls by the early 1930s, the Deseos’ marriage challenged the hegemonic notions of homogeneous ethnicity.

In the process of institution-building, the Center made claims to an extra-political, private sphere which was based on the Protestant social gospel, with which the leadership

legitimized Filipinos' residency in the United States. In doing so, it produced the common-sense knowledge about the borders of racial difference, culture and nationality in the neo-colonialist order. In other words, the fellowship of man ostensibly took place without regard to the political status, and with deliberate intention to cross racial borders. Religious community represented an alternative axis to the debates on Filipino political status and racial identity.

A source of Lydia Glover Deseo's social commitments is a book she published in 1931. *Looking at Life Through Drama* reflected her experience working in the Methodist Church in Chicago, where she wrote and produced dramatizations of the New Testament for young people. In her book, Glover Deseo described the cultural and aesthetic dimensions of "racial friendship," as well as its religious basis. Defining religious work as the social obligation to reform prevailing social problems, she urged church groups and ministers to use cultural forms to further the social gospel. Glover Deseo designed exercises in which the church would lead groups of young adults to discuss social problems by reading aloud social realist plays and then engaging in discussion. Her book provided four plays that relate to issues of race, labor, prison conditions, and "international good will," and promoted identification with the marginalized groups through the act of collective reading. The literary and social imagination, she argued, was not merely for recreation or escapism but for inspiring young people to develop a "Christ-like" subject-position within the outside world, beyond their "often limited circle of interest."<sup>88</sup> The social gospel, according to Glover Deseo, produced cultural, aesthetic and subjective strategies, and, most of all, forged institutional spaces to discuss contemporary problems, such as lynching and the penal system. Through a personal, emotional and subjective relationship across the racial divide, young Anglo-American Christians would acquire sympathy and identification with the other.

Cross-racial sexuality occasioned discussions about whether the relations among Filipinos and Americans, within a shared space, could be "natural." Following the example of Paul Cressey's *Taxi-Dance Hall*, the two researchers for the Chicago Church

Federation, John Mixon and Theodore Noss, examined the subject of Filipino racial-ethnic formation by discussing the relationships between white women and Filipino men. Rather than focusing on interracial sex in commercialized leisure, Noss' ethnographic research collected subjective statements, including testimonials, observations, rumor and gossip, about the Deseos' romantic and political partnership. By assessing the viability of the Filipino-white intermarriage at the helm of the Center, the research project denaturalized the sentiments between Filipinos and whites, and questioned whether church, state and society should recognize such relationships.

José Deseo and Lydia Glover contracted their marriage in the language of cross-racial fellowship and moral reform. When attending high school in the capital of the Cagayan province, Deseo had lived in a Methodist dormitory. Soon after arriving in the U.S. in 1921, he repeated some of his high school work and enrolled in the divinity school at Occidental College, where Glover's father was the Methodist chaplain. Deseo began a Filipino religious study group at the Los Angeles YMCA, while Glover wrote plays based on the Bible. Although it was not difficult for them to obtain a marriage license from the L.A. County Clerk, Glover's family and Deseo's school expressed their opposition to the marriage. Soon after, they moved to Chicago and continued their work, becoming involved in the Filipino Student Christian Fellowship, a precursor to the Filipino Community Center.

The debates about the Deseos' marriage revealed the cultural and social contexts of anti-miscegenation discourse in Chicago, even as Filipinos were not illegally barred from marrying white people in Illinois. The Chicago Church Federation's survey of the Center coincided with the impending break-up of the Deseos' marriage. In this light, Noss and his interviewees considered whether the marriage had been a political experiment in response to anti-miscegenation laws in California, rather than an organic and romantic union. While Glover Deseo attested to the pressures which caused them to leave Los Angeles, Noss and others emphasized how the marriage disturbed the social fabric. One story circulating around the Center was that Glover Deseo's decision to

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<sup>88</sup>Lydia Glover Deseo and Hulda Mossberg Phipps, *Looking at Life through Drama* (New York:

marry a Filipino caused her father to fall ill and pass away.<sup>89</sup> While reserving their judgment about anti-miscegenation statutes, the interlocutors emphasized how social censure destabilized domestic relations.

When we look at these sources, we must acknowledge what we cannot know about the “private” nature of the relationship. We have to reconstruct the Deseos’ marriage through the limited historical record of how contemporary observers assessed the authenticity of intermarriage. The limited nature of these sources, moreover, allows us to analyze the ideological frameworks which filtered through subjective observations. The dialectic of public and private structured the ways in which observers viewed Glover Deseo’s decision to marry. Many accused her of entering her marriage for purely political reasons, as an act reflecting her social-gospel commitment to racial fellowship. *Replacing politics for sentiment, her marriage was cast as formal, mechanical and hollow.* In this binary construction, romantic love opposed deliberate, political negotiations with racial exclusion. The connection between the gendered exclusions of citizenship and the private sphere of family and community was the object of Noss’ ethnography. To what extent did legal discourse and political ideology construct Filipino ethnicity, including cross-racial relations within ethnic space? Alternately, which realms of ethnic-formation, particularly intermarriage, were private and cordoned off from scrutiny?

Between 1932 and 1933, the Deseos separated, largely as a result of financial struggle. During this period, the Chicago Church Federation could not provide José with a salary and Lydia scaled down her job to part-time to help him run the Center. Eventually, she spent the winter teaching English at a college in Texas. The marital separation coincided with the investigations of the Center by the board of directors. After

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Abingdon Press, 1931).

<sup>89</sup> “A Filipino friend here at the University [of Chicago] told me that he thinks Lydia Deseo’s marriage helped to hasten her father’s death. He was the chaplain of the University. When her engagement was announced he became ill. After she was married he died.” Theodore K. Noss, Interview with Lydia Deseo, February 22, 1933; *Filipino Study*, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

an interview with Glover Deseo, Noss wove a number of observations, including his own, into a clear ideological statement of anti-miscegenation.

She feels that as long as she is his wife she will have to be the man in the family, and that Mr. Deseo will not stand on his own feet, but will continue to lean on her. Mrs. Deseo, I have found, has always been tremendously respected by the Filipino community. In all my work with Filipinos, I have heard Mr. Deseo criticized again and again, but no one has uttered a word against her. The general feeling has been one of pride that a Filipino can marry a woman like her. She has also kept the respect of the Americans in contact with the Center. A member of the board of Directors said at one time: 'I have often been surprised and puzzled when I have met Mrs. Deseo. I have tried to understand how a woman like her, of her intellect and charm, could marry a Filipino, and especially Mr. Deseo.'<sup>90</sup>

While hardly alone in his beliefs, the Anglo-American researcher could not imagine the private realm of affection or the public space of racial equality that could bind the Deseos together in a true union. In questioning the authenticity of the Deseos' marriage, Noss and his interviewees attacked the formation of a Filipino ethnic identity. Anti-miscegenation discourse surrounding Filipino residents, like the immigration restriction and neo-colonial contract of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, sought to end the perverse "experiment" of colonization by invoking a natural, common-sense idea of difference.

Framed by legal revisions and anti-miscegenation statutes, the Deseos' relationship illustrated how the institution of marriage lay in both the private and public spheres of contracts. In this sense, intermarriage, like interracial treating, revealed the overdetermined ideas of social institutions of heterosexuality as natural and elemental. Noss interviewed Glover Deseo about the public context of the "private" decision to marry a Filipino. Even as her marriage was dissolving, she justified it as only partly motivated by political opposition to anti-miscegenation laws.

They met as students together in the University of Southern California, in the middle of the '20s. After a considerable friendship, during the period of which she more than once decided firmly never to marry a Filipino, she accepted his

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<sup>90</sup> Theodore K. Noss, Interview with Lydia Deseo, February 22, 1933; Filipino Study, Interview Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.



proposal and married him. She denies that she did this to prove that interracial marriages are possible, but she said that she hoped her marriage would help prove that.<sup>91</sup>

Because both of them sought to be public figures, Lydia and José brought a particular deliberation and consciousness to their decision to marry. In their interviews, neither narrated their partnership as purely romantic. Yet they did not confirm the portrayal of an unnatural relationship which many Filipinos and Americans gave to the ethnographers. Glover Deseo stated that she had placed some of her hopes for a successful and meaningful marriage in the space of sexual desire, romantic love and domestic commitment, which anti-miscegenation discourse sought to delegitimize and pathologize. Through their religious, social and cultural activities, the Deseos contracted their marriage to seek both divine sanction as well as state sanction of cross-racial relationships.

Enacting the cultural shifts before the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Center became a contested space and a stage for multiple representations of Filipino residents. Under the overlapping pressure of the depression and the immigration exclusion proposals in Congress, the Center transformed the religious discourse of racial fellowship into a tool to alter the contract of colonial tutelage into a contract of ethnic needs. As anti-miscegenation statutes deemed Filipinos as aliens because of race, the Center used race to define Filipinos as neo-colonial partners

#### Representing the resident community through repatriation: internal and external borders

Repatriation was a site of Filipino ethnic-formation in several ways. First, it drew local and international attention to the Filipino resident community in the U.S. The Philippine press, Filipino leaders in America, U.S. administrators and legislators, private and state-sponsored welfare organizations produced contesting images of Filipino residents as an unsettled population. Moreover, the policy prompted repatriates to negotiate the terms of departure from the U.S. and the terms of arrival in the Philippines.

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<sup>91</sup> Theodore K. Noss, Interview with Lydia Deseo, February 22, 1933; Filipino Study, Interview

In the following sections, I trace the discourses of colonial benevolence and neo-colonial nationalism as repatriation demanded that Filipino residents cast their lot in the U.S. or in the Philippines.

Congress passed the Repatriation Law in 1935. The program ran for five years, and sent over two thousand Filipinos to the Philippines. From 1936 to 1939, approximately two-thirds of the repatriates were single men from California, and fifteen percent came from state institutions, such as prisons, mental asylums, and hospitals. Despite the questionable dimensions of consent in the cases of institutionalized repatriates, Congress and state administrators took pains to define repatriation as voluntary return to the Philippines, rather than coerced deportation.<sup>92</sup> A significant curtailment of Filipino repatriates' freedom of movement, however, was that they were not allowed to return to the U.S., except under the fifty-per-year quota which the Tydings-McDuffie Act implemented.

As an addition to immigration restriction, the Repatriation Law sought to reorganize Filipino resident communities and to disrupt viable networks between the U.S. and the Philippines. Because it failed to uproot the majority of the 45,000 Filipinos residing in the U.S., the law did not live up to the enactors' expectations of a significant exodus. Nevertheless, the discourse and implementation of the repatriation law significantly framed the formation of Filipino ethnicity. The rising importance of national borders, moreover, affected all Filipinos in the U.S., whether they participated in the program or not. Repatriation reinforced Filipinos' alien identities, not only for those who chose to return but also those who chose to stay.

Repatriation placed Filipino residents at the center of the contested process of U.S. and Philippine nation-formations in the era of decolonization.<sup>93</sup> It also gave rise to the need for Filipino residents to define their racial and national subjectivities in relation

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Documents, University of Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>92</sup> Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens," pp. 300, 306 and 309.

<sup>93</sup> "If the repatriation had limited numerical success, the cultural impact of the project — and the broader movement for decolonization and exclusion within which it was embedded — was more far-reaching." Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens," p. 313.

to their immigrant-alien identities in the U.S. In his analysis of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the geographer, James Tyner, noted, “the issue of representation, a question of who the Filipinos were, was an important component of the geopolitical decisions of colonization and immigration legislation.”<sup>94</sup> The reconstruction of national borders in the mid-1930s produced a post-colonial form of Filipino ethnicity and citizenship.

The debates surrounding repatriation law placed Filipino ethnicity in the context of growing demands to regulate the racial borders of the U.S. nation. Repatriation law outlined an ambivalent set of relations and obligations between Filipino residents and the U.S. state. The legislature, INS agents, and popular forums attached widely varying meanings to repatriation. These meanings ranged from social welfare, mercy and charity on the one hand, to exclusion, deportation and racial purity on the other. The legislative debates on Filipino repatriation began with two proposals which Samuel Dickstein sponsored in the House of Representatives in 1933. Dickstein framed repatriation as a governmental measure to assist indigent and unemployed Filipino residents by offering free passage to the Philippines. The Philippine Resident Commissioners, Camilo Osias and Pedro Guevara, supported Dickstein’s proposal to help “stranded” Filipino residents.<sup>95</sup> Representative Richard Welch added the provision that Filipino repatriates would be unable to return to the U.S., except under quota.<sup>96</sup>

The Filipino Community Center of Chicago sponsored a discussion of the Dickstein proposal at meeting of a local political club, the Junior House of Representatives. While the Center’s newsletter reported a “stiff opposition” to the repatriation proposal, the political club opposed the measure with only a slight margin of nine to eight. The split decision at the Center indicates how Filipino residents heatedly

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<sup>94</sup>James A. Tyner, “The Geopolitics of Eugenics,” p. 69.

<sup>95</sup> Casiano Pagdilao Coloma, “A Study of the Filipino Repatriation Movement” (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1939), pp. 34-5.

<sup>96</sup> Welch bill, House Resolution 6464.

debated the meanings of repatriation for their local community, and their subject-position in regards to the U.S. and Philippine nation-states.<sup>97</sup>

Another local Chicago group entered their support for the repatriation proposal in Congressional hearings. Eight Filipino provincial, athletic and city-wide clubs from the city drafted a letter of support to Dickstein, which the representative then submitted to the House. In this letter, the Filipino Associated Clubs of Chicago appealed to Congress to intervene in anti-alien discrimination in state and local relief agencies:

Several cases came to the attention of the Associated Clubs where Filipinos are refused relief by the state, county and city welfare stations because they considered Filipinos as aliens. Consequently even private charitable institutions stop giving relief to distressed Filipinos, most of whom are married and have families depending on them. It will indeed be an act of mercy by the American Congress to extend its helping hands to those unfortunate Filipinos by acting upon any measure or legislation to provide for their free return to the Philippine Islands. I am sure the Filipino people will forever cherish such generous and merciful act.

After submitting this letter, Dickstein concluded, "They will go voluntarily back home and stay there. It is not a mandatory deportation. It is a good investment and will save the Government money."<sup>98</sup>

The pattern of Filipino residents appealing to the federal government for protection from the exclusionary measures of state legislatures and local agencies stemmed from the colonial responsibility of Congress over its nationals. In the era of growing exclusion and alien registration, the Filipino Association of Chicago saw repatriation as the legislative solution of their dilemmas around political status. The Filipino Community Center sent Antonio Gonzalez to make a similar appeal to the federal government. Ironically, the California State Emergency Relief Funds and Edward Cahill, the San Francisco District Commissioner for the INS, extended the repatriation program further than Congress had wanted. The state agencies subsidized the

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<sup>97</sup> *Center's Gazette* 1: no. 12 (April 11, 1936).

transportation of repatriates' wives and children, as well as their trip from Manila to the various provincial hometowns. The federal government, by comparison, refused to allocate funds for non-Filipino wives or for transport beyond Manila.<sup>99</sup>

Most applicants for repatriation were unemployed and lacked the funds to return to the Philippines. In this sense, the program was a government benefit which some students and many workers accepted. The ways in which repatriates contracted this benefit were, however, multiple and complex, ranging from the rhetoric of U.S. benevolence to the language of entitlement. By rearranging the contract implied by Filipinos' status as "owing allegiance" to the U.S. state, repatriation illustrated the spectrum of benevolence. In the first year of the program, many applicants called repatriation "free passage" or "free transportation." Asking the Bureau of Insular Affairs for more information, Natalio Avancena wrote, "I understand from the news report that the Welch bill which would provide the free transportation all Filipinos who are willing to leave for the Philippines." Filipino applicants stressed the reciprocal and contractual nature of repatriation. The New York State welfare office had a sharply contrasting conception of the policy: "It is the understanding of this office that aliens who are on relief may be deported to their home country."<sup>100</sup> From the perspective of Anglo-Americans, the shift in colonial relations with the Philippine involved the project of assimilating or excluding Filipino residents in the U.S. Repatriation posed one way to phase out the political status of national and to categorize Filipino residents as alien. Filipino unions in Seattle and Stockton discussed repatriation with full awareness of its exclusionary properties. Carey McWilliams, the journalist and labor sympathizer,

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<sup>98</sup> José Albertson, Executive Secretary of the Filipino Associated Clubs, Chicago to Samuel Dickstein, Chairman of Immigration and Naturalization Committee, March 21, 1933; RG 350, Box 222; 1157-108 pt 1 to 1158-52, General Classified Files, 1898-1945.

<sup>99</sup> Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens," pp. 304 and 306; *Washington Post* (January 11, 1934); Josefa M. Saniel, *The Filipino Exclusion Movement, 1927-1935* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Institute of Asian Studies, 1967), p. 66.

<sup>100</sup> Letters to the Bureau of Insular Affairs from: Natalio A. Avancena, July 20, 1935; Ricardo S. Macasa, August 14, 1935; Thomas R. Bongolan, September 23, 1935; and Clinton W. Rose, Public Welfare Officer of Ithaca, April 8, 1935. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General

sarcastically referred to repatriation as the Filipinos' "fitting reward" for their "brief but strenuous period of service to American capital."<sup>101</sup>

After the first year of the program, a group of repatriates expressed gratitude in an official resolution. Several years later, another group filed a petition for improved conditions on board, and permission to disembark at ports-of-call on the way to Manila. Their circumscribed movements prompted the repatriates to charge that INS officials treated them as criminals.<sup>102</sup> As an extension of the new immigration quota, the repatriation program came under the purview of the Labor Department and the INS. The INS administrator arranged free transport for the repatriate from his or her place of residence to the ports of Seattle, Los Angeles or San Francisco, and then to Manila. Throughout the trip, the INS agent supervised the repatriates, in effect, holding them in custody. The different points of contact between the repatriates and the INS along the journey to the Philippines illustrated the tension between the ideological notion of "voluntary return" and the INS's practices of deportation, exclusion and coercion. The repatriation laws for Filipinos, as well as for Mexicans, illustrate the increase, during the 1930s, in legislative activity and INS enforcement to deport those who appeared most liable to become charity cases.<sup>103</sup>

Similar to the process of becoming a quota immigrant, the experience of applying for repatriation involved various tests of identification. Filipinos wrote to BIA after coming into contact with the widespread propaganda campaign by the INS. They learned

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Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part I.

<sup>101</sup> Carey McWilliams, "Exit the Filipinos" *The Nation* 141: no. 265 (September 4, 1935). J.C. Dionisio, the editor of the *Filipino Pioneer*, a Stockton newspaper, reported that workers in California and Washington state believed that the Repatriation Act was "deportation under a different name." Furthermore, rumors circulated that the Philippine military would detain repatriates and force them to settle the Muslim-controlled southern province of Mindanao. J.C. Dionisio, *Philippine Free Press* April 1, 1936.

<sup>102</sup> Casiano Coloma, "A Study of the Filipino Repatriation Movement," p.48.

<sup>103</sup> Edward P. Hutchinson, *Legislative History of American Immigration Policy, 1798-1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). For histories of Mexican repatriation, see George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) and Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

about the policy from advertisements in local newspapers or press releases posted in social centers, such as the Filipino Community Center.<sup>104</sup> On the most basic level, applicants were required to present four photographs to prove their identity.<sup>105</sup> On a broader scale, Filipinos had to prove their eligibility to be repatriated. Although the repatriation program, on the most part, lacked for applicants, it was not open to every Filipino, or to every member of their families. Rather, the policy outlined such criteria as race, nationality, citizenship, gender and family status, which promoted repatriation as a benevolent measure of the U.S. state to return Filipinos to their homeland. The political culture of the Depression and the Tydings-McDuffie Act so emphasized the difference between the deserving and undeserving that Filipinos were moved to prove their eligibility for the benefit of repatriation.

The primary criterion was birth in the Philippines. Doubts about deportation were elided by concerns about Filipino residents' literal origins. The ideological content of repatriation policy articulated borders within the Filipino resident families. Paying only for the transport of repatriates born in the Philippines, the federal government recognized laboring men as the target of the program. Filipino men's non-white or racially-mixed dependents — their white wives and children — were not eligible. In effect, the federal government invalidated cross-racial, Filipino-white marriages, and displaced Filipino men as heads of their households.<sup>106</sup> As I mentioned earlier, city and state welfare bureaus were left to decide whether they should pay for American-born children and white wives to return along with the repatriates.

The racial, gender and national distinctions of eligibility for repatriation suggested which members of the resident community would be destined for departure and which would be allowed to stay. Registering her protest, Mary Galla asserted that she and her children were American citizens. "My husband and brother in law have applied for free transportation to the Philippine Islands," Galla wrote. "But what I really wanted to know

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<sup>104</sup> Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens," pp. 300-1.

<sup>105</sup> Casiano Coloma, "A Study of the Filipino Repatriation Movement," p. 37.

<sup>106</sup> Benicio T. Catapusan, "Filipino Immigrants and Public Relief in the United States," p. 550.

is this, why is it that my three children and I will have to pay for our transportation? When we are all in the same family.”<sup>107</sup> The dual jurisdiction of repatriation arose because Filipino men’s families were more complicated than the intended purpose of the policy. In effect, the federal government was loath to sponsor the repatriation of families which encompassed different racial categories, nationalities and political statuses.

#### Negotiating the terms of return

On the whole, the language of the repatriation law supported the nationalist ideology that Filipino residents belonged in the Philippines, and that their U.S. residency was provisional. Repatriation included Filipinos in continental U.S. and all organized territories, as well as those naturalized as American citizens. In contrast to U.S. immigration policies, the Philippine border remained open to all Filipinos, even those who had become naturalized U.S. citizens. Upon entering the repatriation program, they would automatically give up U.S. citizenship because they would be unable to return, except as quota aliens. In a letter to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, the Los Angeles County Charities expressed concern that they would repatriate a naturalized Filipino who would be unable to “resume” Philippine citizenship, or a non-Filipina wife who would be barred from entering the islands. In response, the BIA assured the welfare agency that the “re-entry” of naturalized Filipino was not a problem. Similarly, admittance into the Philippines would be possible for non-Filipino women, mostly white, and their racially-mixed, American-born children. In a neo-colonialist fashion, the repatriation program reinforced the political, racial and gender lines of the American nation while maintaining a comparably open Philippine border.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Letters from Mary Galla, February 7, 1937 and February 11, 1937. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

<sup>108</sup> Correspondence between the Los Angeles County Charities and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, June 26 and 27, 1934, and July 5, 1934. The Philippine legislature conferred citizenship automatically to “alien” wives of citizens who resided in the Philippines at the time of their marriage, or to those who intend to reside permanently in the Islands. Act 3448, November 30, 1928. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of



The U.S. High Commissioner in Manila, the head of the Commonwealth government, created a diplomatic rift by protesting the repatriation of non-Filipina, American-born wives and children. In response, the Bureau of Insular Affairs attempted to discourage repatriates' American-born relatives from relocating to the islands.<sup>109</sup> Conscious of the delicacy of the repatriation policy, the BIA monitored articles from the Filipino press in the U.S. and in Manila. On the whole, these articles supported the return of Filipino residents at the expense of the U.S. government by arguing that repatriation strengthened the emerging Philippine nation. While acknowledging that the policy was an exclusionary measure as well as a form of emergency relief for Filipino residents, a journalist, Candido Palting, argued that returning students and workers could only contribute to the Philippines' economic development. Noting that Filipino residents lacked a consulate in the United States, Palting suggested that the Commonwealth extend its state power by providing educational and professional incentives to repatriates. In a very basic way, Palting asserted that the return of Filipinos to the domestic space of the nation would give greater confidence to the Philippines' impending sovereignty. The alternative, which Palting described as abandoning "these nationals of ours to their fate," would create a "constant source of embarrassment" for the islands.<sup>110</sup>

Similar calls to strengthen the sentimental and political obligations of Filipino residents to the homeland appeared in both the U.S. and the Philippines. In Chicago, articles entitled, "Countrymen, Your Country Has Need Of You!," were updated from the existing cultural discourse of students' circular migrations. This editorial, which appeared in a 1936 issue of the *Associated Filipino Press*, emphasized the needs of the

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Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

<sup>109</sup> Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens," p. 307. "These children are after all American citizens born in the United States. To an American mother and although there is every indication that they will be a liability to any community in which they may happen to reside, the responsibility is after all one for the U.S. Government and not for the Commonwealth Government to assume." Letter from the U.S. High Commissioner of the Philippines to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, February 12, 1937. This correspondence continued until March 29, 1937. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1914-1945 segment; 1157 after-99 to; Box 223; Entry 5; Folder: Press Clippings, Inquiries, and Lists of Sailings.

emerging nation and promised greater happiness and joy upon Filipino residents' return. In more alarmist and sensationalist essay published in the *Manila Sunday Tribune*, Flora Ylagan portrayed Chicago Filipinos as indigent and idle. As prodigal sons, the Filipino residents constituted a burden upon the U.S. state, which, in turn, would enact harsh terms for Philippine independence. In sum, Filipino residents' formation of communities and affective ties within the U.S. and their circular migrations complicated the concept that they possessed a natural bond to the islands, as Philippine citizens. In the Philippines, as well as in the United States, advocates for repatriation defined Filipino residents as excess to either nation-state. Repatriation, in this view, served as a vehicle of assimilating Filipino residents into the neo-colonial system.<sup>111</sup>

A more nuanced nationalist response to repatriation focused on the transport of institutionalized repatriates, such as the terminally ill, the insane and the imprisoned. Filipino press in the U.S. and in the Philippines protested the repatriation of institutionalized Filipinos as an undue burden upon Philippine society.<sup>112</sup> In less publicized correspondence on a particular case, however, the Commonwealth's state agencies acted as an advocate for an institutionalized repatriate, Marcelo D. Cornelio. After Cornelio had made arrangements with the Dollar Line shipping company, Cook County in Illinois committed him to a mental institution and seized his property without his knowledge or consent. Cornelio sailed to the Philippines on the SS President Coolidge in August 1937. Upon his arrival in the Philippines, Cornelio brought a suit to Cook County court to retrieve his property. The Manila bureaus of welfare and public health contested the ruling that Cornelio was insane. The latter office reported,

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<sup>110</sup> Candido R. Palting, "Our Repatriates: One Familiar with Filipino Life in the States Offers Concrete Suggestions" *Philippine Herald Magazine* (April 1, 1936).

<sup>111</sup> "Countrymen, Your Country Has Need Of You!" *Associated Filipino Press* 7: no. 17 (September 15, 1936). A woman politically active in the Philippines reported her views of Filipino life in Chicago. Her article was subtitled: "A revealing account of Filipino life in the States, which also explains why many Filipinos bumming around in American cities refuse to come home under the Repatriation Act." Flora A. Ylagan, "The Pangdamays," *Manila Sunday Tribune* (March 29, 1936).

<sup>112</sup> "The Criminal Repatriate" *Philippines Free Press* (October 1, 1938).

We look upon his personality as a balanced one, with about the average intelligence, a normal sexuality, a normal ability to adjust himself to the demands of his environment, a good estimate of his abilities, and a normal responsiveness to the ethical standards. His loyalties for his people are indeed praiseworthy. That he should want to come home after accumulating money is another indication of his good judgment.

The debate over Cornelio's institutionalization centered upon differing interpretations of a Filipino man's itinerant life: was he indigent and insane or was he deliberately strategizing to return to the Philippines? The Manila Bureau reasserted the repatriate's loyalty to the nation as the sign of his mental health. The examining doctor reported that Cornelio had entered the U.S. in 1929, "with the consent of his people so that he might be able to continue his studies and at the same time earn a little money." The patient, the doctor wrote, was the most sensible of Filipinos who journeyed to the United States: he was not excessive in his spending habits, nor immoral in his social relations. Most importantly, he appeared to respect the boundaries between him and the American people, and neither intended to overstay his welcome nor betray his family by becoming an immigrant. In sum, the agency used the ideology of Philippine nationalism to contest Cornelio's deportation.<sup>113</sup>

As a sign of the transition from colonial benevolence to immigrant restriction and repatriation, students sought to maintain their transnational educational practices by negotiating the policies of immigration restriction and repatriation. The restrictive quotas of Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 did not apply to Filipino students, who were non-quota immigrants under the 1924 Immigration Act.<sup>114</sup> Recognizing this, Benicio Catapusan, a

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<sup>113</sup> Letter from E. D. Aguilar, Director of Public Welfare, Manila, to Charles Burnett, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, March 11, 1938. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1914-1945 segment; 1157 after-99 to; Box 223; Entry 5; Folder: Press Clippings, Inquiries, and Lists of Sailings.

<sup>114</sup> Eligibility as "bona fide" student meant that one entered the U.S. "solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student." INS circular, "Instructions to be Handed to Each Alien Applying for a Nonquota Visa under Section 4e as an Immigration Student," July 1, 1933; and "Status of Students under the Immigration Act of 1924." Correspondence between the Roque E. de la Ysla, Secretary of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California, and Creed F. Cox, Chief of the Bureau of

sociologist studying at University of Southern California, claimed that Filipino students should retain the privileges of circular migration and even become eligible for U.S. citizenship, regardless of race, nationality and alien status.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, education became more expensive and less accessible for Filipino students. As the Tydings-McDuffie Act introduced the legal category of alien to Filipino immigrants, the non-quota students had to pay tuition fees in state universities and colleges.<sup>116</sup> Due to a shortage of menial jobs and the rising costs of education, the pattern of educational migration therefore encompassed the terms of the Repatriation Act. Gregoria Ferrer and Max Dano, for example, arranged for repatriation as their way of returning to the Philippines after their graduation. One student, M. C. Catalico, wanted to be repatriated to teach in the Philippines for several years, and then be allowed back into the U.S. as a non-quota immigrant so he could get a higher degree. Catalico inquired to the BIA, "Please advise me how I could come as a returning student to this country without difficulty." In applying for repatriation, Nazario Querequinica asked, "How can I get back to U.S. if I ever dare to come and continue my studies in the University of California?"<sup>117</sup> As Mae Ngai has noted, some Filipinos returned with goods suggestive of intellectual labor. Approximately one-third of the repatriates on the SS Chaumont

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Insular Affairs, September 5 and September 10, 1934. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945; 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

<sup>115</sup> Catapusan wrote, "The Filipino, it is hoped, will always be welcome as a student and scholar in the United States." Benicio Catapusan, "Filipino Repatriates in the Philippines" *Sociology and Social Research* 21: no. 2 (September-October 1936): 71.

<sup>116</sup> *Filipino Student Bulletin* 16: no. 1 (November-December 1937). The Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students subsequently redefined its category of "foreign student" to encompass non-quota immigrants, nationals, non-immigrant aliens, non-alien citizens of islands under the jurisdiction of the U.S., and second-generation "Orientals." from Surveys, 1922-1925, 1931, 1933; Box 3; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students; YMCA of the USA Archives. "A Survey of the Present Situation of Foreign Women Students in the United States and of the Work of the International Student Committee, January 1933"

<sup>117</sup> Letters to the Bureau of Insular Affairs from Gregoria Ferrer, July 31, 1936; Max Dano, April 7, 1938; M.C. Catalico, May 11, 1937; and Nazario Querequinica, September 8, 1935. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

sailing out of San Francisco in 1936 carried “special baggage,” including typewriters, boxes of books and portfolios.<sup>118</sup>

Several Filipinos saw repatriation as an indignity and appealed to the Bureau of Insular Affairs to adapt the program to reflect their voluntary, rather than coerced, experience of return. For the most part, students participated in repatriation just like other workers. They enjoyed differential treatment only if they endorsed by the Philippine representatives in the U.S. House of Representatives. In those cases, students sought to travel on military transport ships, rather than on commercial liners. At the encouragement of the Resident Commissioner Quintin Paredes, Jr., the Acting Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs urged the U.S. Army to accept a Filipino musician, Ben del Rosario, as a free passenger to Manila. The BIA explained that Del Rosario preferred “to return by his own effort.”<sup>119</sup> On the behalf of a recent graduate of George Washington University, Mariano Escalona, Paredes wrote

Mr. Escalona impresses me as one deserving help. Unlike others, he wants to work his way back to the Philippines, instead of taking advantage of the free transportation offered by the government. I told him that the immigration authorities have ruled that the Repatriation Act will not prevent the return to the United States of a repatriated Filipino if he comes later as a bona fide student, but he feels that it is undignified to receive free transportation when he can work.

The Army accepted the request, and classified Escalona as a “work-a-way” from New York City to San Francisco and then to Manila.<sup>120</sup> Paredes’ comments evince the fine distinctions that Filipino residents made when appealing to the U.S. and Philippine governments for help. While the depression economy prompted Filipino residents to

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<sup>118</sup> Mae M. Ngai, “Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens,” p. 306.

<sup>119</sup> BIA to Army, June 12, 1936. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

<sup>120</sup> Paredes, May 26, 1936; Colonel Clarence H. Tingle, Superintendent, Army Transport Service, to Colonel Donald C. McDonald, Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, June 24, 1936. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General

reinterpret their political status as nationals as grounds for eligibility for New Deal benefits, the Repatriation Act threatened to cast all Filipinos as unduly dependent upon the U.S. nation-state. Repatriates such as Del Rosario and Escalona used the Filipino political networks in the U.S. capitol to assert the reciprocal terms by which they chose to leave America.

While the accommodations extended to Del Rosario and Escalona were rare, other applicants translated the privileged position of Filipino students, relative to Filipino workers, into a set of entitlements under the Repatriation Act. Because most students did not have the patronage of the Philippine Resident Commissioner, the BIA and the U.S. Army ignored these attempts. In his difficult bid to return to the Philippines on a U.S. military transport, rather than on a commercial liner, Juan Pelais wrote a series of letters to the BIA. In late 1935, he described his request as “a privilege to the Filipino students accorded to them by the United States government as it has always been.” In refusing to answer, the BIA assumed that Pelais would follow the regular procedures of applying for repatriation on a commercial ship. After a period of three months, however, Pelais drafted five more letters, demanding to work his way back to the Philippines on a military transport. Admitting starvation and desperation, he complained about being met with “some kind of resistance” by the Army Transport Division and the officials at Ellis Island. Pelais justified his request as “fair and square.” Six months after his initial request, the BIA scheduled Pelais on a commercial liner, transporting regular repatriates. While it is uncertain from the BIA archive how Pelais ultimately returned to the Philippines, his prolonged correspondence with the U.S. government illustrates the contested process by which Filipinos contracted repatriation.<sup>121</sup>

The Filipino Community Center of Chicago also negotiated with the state and federal government to adapt the repatriation policy to the needs of its diverse

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Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

<sup>121</sup> Letters from Juan O. Pelais to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, November 25, 1935; February 11, 1936; March 11, 1936; March 17 1936; March 23, 1936; May 7, 1936; Letter from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to Juan O. Pelais, May 9, 1936. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records

constituency. Antonio Gonzalez, who became the Center's director after José Deseo left to head the Filipino Fellowship House in Stockton, California, found himself in the contradictory position of sustaining a local "ethnic" community with state-sponsored repatriation and exclusionary measures. From 1936 to 1939, fifty-five Filipinos left Chicago under the program, constituting only 4.5% of the total number of repatriates. Writing to the George H. Dern, the U.S. Secretary of War, Gonzalez inquired how the repatriation policy would help the Center do its job in promoting "social welfare work" among Filipinos in the city. In addition to seeking information about the law itself, Gonzalez's letter suggests that he was struggling with the question of how repatriation would benefit not only the U.S. and the Philippines but also the Filipino residents in Chicago.<sup>122</sup> As the repatriation program questioned the belonging and citizenship of the resident community, the Center began to represent Filipino "ethnics" as a community apart from both national polities of the United State and the Philippines. Paradoxically, Gonzalez asserted the distinct viability of the Filipino resident community in the U.S. while arranging for some Filipinos to return to the Philippines.

Gonzalez applied to repatriate a widower, Potenciano Bacolad, and his four children in late 1935. Bacolad's late wife, Marcheta, had sought jobs at a Near North side Filipino employment agency for several years. After Marcheta died in 1934, Potenciano found it difficult to hold a job for lack of childcare. A combination of factors, such as the depression, an estranged family in the Philippines and hostile city agencies in Chicago, made it difficult for Bacolad to retain parental rights over his children. As Bacolad continued to refuse to accept aid from the city government, the Juvenile Court of Cook County threatened to place his children in temporary foster care until he found steady work. To help Bacolad keep his children, Gonzalez and Cook County appealed to the Labor Department to repatriate the entire family. To the Center and the county,

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Relating to More Than One Island Possession; General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 2.

<sup>122</sup> For statistics on repatriates by region, see Mae M. Ngai, "Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens," p. 304. Letter from Antonio Gonzalez to George H. Dern, Secretary of War, October 1, 1934. RG 350 Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs; General Records Relating to More Than One Island Possession;

repatriation apparently had the intended purpose to aid “stranded” and indigent Filipinos in the U.S., whether or not they were deserving or undeserving, voluntary or institutionalized. Repatriation, however, threatened to separate Bacolad from his children by sending him alone, without funding the transportation of his American-born dependents.<sup>123</sup>

The Center wanted to keep the children together with the father, to preserve patrimony and affective claims, despite differences in citizenship status and place of birth. In 1938, the Bacolads did return to the Philippines as a family, which closed the case for the Juvenile Court and the Center. While the ideology of repatriation undoubtedly naturalized the tie between Filipino residents and the Philippines, repatriation policy came up against the ideological construction of the nuclear family as a unit of political economy and nation-building. Under the various alien and exclusionary laws, the resident Filipino family illustrated the diversity of the resident community, which encompassed by the 1930s aliens, nationals, brown people, white people, workers, students, and dependents. In the process of identifying which members of the Filipino resident community belonged in the U.S. and which ones belonged in the Philippines, immigration and repatriation laws did not regard Filipino families as corporate entities.

The diversity and the influence of the U.S. state in the formation of families in the Filipino resident community illuminated how state politics and ideologies marshaled the domestic realm for its own purposes. This was particularly true for a community whose orientation as colonial subjects was coming under attack by legal and cultural movements to define them as aliens. By trying to keep the Bacolads together, Gonzalez followed a “common-sense” idea of the family as an organic and trans-historical entity. This ideology promoted the vision of the nuclear family as unifying differences in color, race,

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General Classified Files, 1898-1945, 1914-1945; 1153-21 to 1157-84; Box 222; Entry 5; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1.

<sup>123</sup> Registration lists from the Filipino Employment Bureau, 1929-1931; Box: Filipino Study, Folder: Address Lists, Chicago Theological Seminary. Antonio A. Gonzalez, Filipino Community Center Director, to Creed F. Cox, Bureau of Insular Affairs Chief, Chicago, September 9, 1935; and Harry Hill, Chief Probation Officer of Juvenile Court of Cook County, to Creed F. Cox, Bureau of Insular Affairs Chief, Chicago, September 17, 1935; Folder 1157-84 and with, part 1; Box 222; General Classified Files,



nationality and political status under naturalized hierarchies of gender and dependency. In other words, the notion of the familial private sphere supported the manhood and civil status of the Filipino male resident. To protect Bacolad's parental rights, the Center had to negotiate in which country the Filipino man would most likely be able to exert civil and domestic authority. By seeking the sponsorship and funding of the county and federal governments of the United States, the Center positioned Filipino residents in relation to the demands of the Philippine nation as well as to the exclusions from the U.S. nation.

### Conclusion

By 1943, many Filipinos had left Chicago for defense jobs on the Pacific Coast. Philip Vera Cruz, the labor organizer who helped to launch the Delano grape strike of 1965 and became the highest ranked Filipino officer in the United Farm Workers, left Chicago in 1942 to join the armed forces, eventually settling in California.<sup>124</sup> At the behest of its Board of Directors, the Filipino Community Center relocated in 1941 and reduced its services to those which were not replicated by existing agencies. While this change was undoubtedly a cost-effective policy, the Center also faced a shrinking clientele for its programs. Despite its smaller scope, the Center became a crucial organization during World War II, at least in the eyes of its sponsor, Chicago's Council of Social Agencies. The Center counseled and ministered Filipino draftees, particularly those without relatives in the United States.<sup>125</sup>

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1914-1945, General Records of the Bureau of the Insular Affairs Relating to More Than One Island Possession, Record Group 350; National Archives and Record Administration II, College Park, MD.

<sup>124</sup> Craig Scharlin and Lilia V. Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement*, edited by Glenn Omatsu and Augusto Espiritu (Los Angeles: UCLA Labor Center, Institute of Industrial Relations and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1992).

<sup>125</sup> The Filipino Community center "has become of greatest importance to Chicago. ... The new situation among Filipinos today to the war ... [has] helped to focus the agency's activities to greater effectiveness." Lucy Carner, Report on Filipino Community Center for the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, 1940 and 1942; Folder 12: Filipino Community Center, 1938-1944; Box 317; Series II: Member Agency Files; Church Federation of Greater Chicago, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1918-1978, Chicago Historical Society.

The Filipino Community Center closed three years before the inauguration of the Philippine Republic in 1946. By then, it had played an important role in transitioning Filipino residents from colonial nationals to immigrants. In response to alien legislation after the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippine Resident Commissioner formed a loose coalition of existing Filipino organizations in the United States. In Chicago, the Center became the home base for local organizing among clubs in the metropolitan area, ranging from Catholic groups to athletic organizations and political parties. The resulting organization, the Filipino National Council of Chicago, supported political measures, such as the Illinois Fair Employment Practice Commission, to facilitate Filipino labor participation and citizenship. In 1944, the FNCC joined with the Filipino Post 509 of the American Legion to organize for an amended naturalization law which would allow Filipinos to become eligible to citizenship. The Luce-Cellar Bill of 1946 extended naturalization rights and increased the Filipino immigration quota from fifty to one hundred.<sup>126</sup>

More than just a matter of diplomacy and formal politics, the rearrangement of boundaries between the Philippines and the U.S. structured negotiations between Filipinos and Americans in various institutional sites. The ideology of ethnicity mapped out Filipino identities in two arenas: multicultural citizenship within the U.S., and neo-colonial partnership between the U.S. and the nominally sovereign Philippines after 1946. The neo-colonial concern with sovereign borders was already built into Filipino legal identity as nationals in the United States, by maintaining the racial exclusions from citizenship. Exclusion in the U.S. was justified because colonial tutelage was ostensibly fulfilled by the creation of the sovereign Philippine nation-state. Anti-miscegenation laws, immigration restriction and repatriation aided in the process of ethnicity for Filipinos in the United States. The management of Filipino gender, sexual and racial identities in the United States was a central component in the shifting U.S. relationship to

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<sup>126</sup> Open letters from Fernando Laxamana, "A Call for the Organization of a Chicago Executive Council," February 22 and March 8, 1939; Filipino National Council of Chicago Resolution, no date; Filipino National Council of Chicago and Tomas Claudio Post 509, "An Appeal by the Filipinos of America to their Friends in the American Legion: A Resolution in Support of HR 4826," ca. August 1944. Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago.

the Philippines. The restoration of “proper” and “legitimate” relations between two sovereign nations corresponded to legal and cultural attacks on cross-racial mixing and various claims by Filipino nationals on the U.S. nation-state.

The Filipino Community Center of Chicago was a cultural and discursive site for working out the political transition in the American empire to a neo-colonial relationship with the Philippines. Colonial tutelage had formed the basis with which Filipino immigrants participated in urban cultures of education and leisure in Chicago, and negotiated the hierarchies of race and class, and formulated gender and sexual practices across racial and class lines. The shift from colonial-national to alien-immigrant constituted their ethnic-formation. In a number of intersecting discourses, Filipino residents forged their own jurisdictions of citizenship and belonging. The post-colonial experience of Filipino ethnic-formation involved making sense of the “end” of U.S. empire.

## **CONCLUSION**

### **Filipino American Identities in the Wake of Empire**

Although we were young when we left the Philippines, our instructors in the Philippines were very thorough. We were then under American rule. But for example, me. The only barrier is my accent, which I have never lost. I kept it because I want my identity to remain as I am, a Filipino American. The reason for that is [that] they [will] want to know who you are. I say, “I am a Philippine,” and if I speak like an American, then I am no longer a Filipino. No language barriers, really. We are able to communicate with the Americans. We are not like the Europeans who came here. ... But one thing good about our people, we can assimilate in every society. ... Why is it that we do not have a community center, like a Chinatown, a Japanese town? The reason for this is that when one of our Commissioners in Washington came — this was Isauro Gabaldon, [who] was famous in the Philippines because many schools are under his name — he went all over the United States and said this: “Do not form a Filipino community, I mean a town. Assimilate yourself in every part of the city so you can show who you are, that you can be as good of a neighbor as any next-door neighbor.”<sup>1</sup>

This excerpt from Carmelito Llapitan’s 1976 oral interview with the Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago marks the tensions between a stable racial-ethnic identity and an unstable subjectivity that shifts across language barriers and segregated urban space. Llapitan asserted that Filipinos remained essentially Filipino, regardless of various assimilation projects in the Philippines and in the United States. Like Melchora Alayu, whom I quoted in the Introduction, Llapitan saw his education in U.S. colonial public schools as a key experience which allowed him to foresee “assimilation” in the

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<sup>1</sup> Estrella Alamar’s interview with Carmelito Llapitan, April 13, 1976, transcribed by Kimberly Alidio; Filipino American Historical Society of Chicago.

U.S. as a possibility. Describing Resident Commissioner Gabaldon's speech to Chicago-area Filipinos, which he heard shortly after immigrating in 1928, Llapitan noted that Filipino ethnicity did not need geographic centers or borders. Reflecting the formation of Philippine nationality within the crucible of American empire, Filipinos would express their distinctive identities by being good neighbors.

This dissertation proposes that the questions concerning the transitional process of race development gave rise to an anxiety about the shaping of Filipino ethnicity. By focusing on the intellectual and cultural theories about the transitions from savage to civilized traits, this study aims to clarify the political rhetoric of the civilizing mission, namely that race development and the U.S. civilizing mission would develop a distinctive Filipino identity within the global sphere. This dissertation analyzes the recurring problem of locating Filipino distinctiveness or difference in relation to "external" influences and within the context of social changes. The construction of Filipino difference (racial, national and sociocultural) became politicized by conflicts around Philippine national sovereignty, U.S. colonial retention, Filipino immigration restriction, and American racial exclusions. These conflicts, moreover, problematized ethnic community-formation and the construction of Filipino American identities.

Filipino students used transnational networks to build discursive and cultural communities in the United States. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, these communities seemed to fit into ethnic frameworks of proper citizenship and morality. Even though the educational precepts of race development seemed to flow, without significant disruption, into the practices of ethnic community-formation, this was only an ideological screen for deeper conflicts. Filipino students found that their social and cultural integration into the American society required constant evaluation of their racial identities. As such, their presence in the United States was provisional and constrained.

After the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act extended immigration restriction, identifying as a "student" entitled a Filipino to enter the U.S. outside of the quota. The legal category of a non-quota student required enrollment in an accredited school. By contrast, the subjective notion of being a student signified qualities other than institutional affiliation. In journal essays and ethnographic surveys during the depression, many Filipinos claimed to be students, although most were not attending

school regularly. Forging broader meanings of educational pursuits in the United States, Filipinos claimed student identities to justify residency, or to make claims upon the American state. They did so by expressing a cultural familiarity with U.S. national culture and by addressing Americans as partners in progress, if not as equals. As scholars have noted, public schooling allowed the U.S. administration to suppress and co-opt Filipino nationalist resistance, particularly after the Philippine-American War.<sup>2</sup> Colonial education also allowed Filipinos to reinterpret and contest tutelage and racial representations. Significantly, U.S. colonial education provided a shared mode of communication: the English language. As a politically aware group, students asserted themselves as proper colonial subjects, partly in the effort to hold the U.S. to its claims to develop the Filipino people towards nationhood and modernization.

Filipino students exerted social and cultural influence on immigration debates by representing an ethnic community. In doing so, they frequently marginalized Filipino workers who did not lay claim to educational, transnational networks. Struggling to dominate public representations of Filipinos, students in the United States contested images of non-Christian tribes and supported measures to restrict labor migrations from the Philippines. A familiar racial ideology had split Filipino residents into those who could become assimilated American ethnics and those who would fail. Like colonial knowledges and discourses, the notion of ethnicity was a disciplinary one. It wove through the exclusionary dimensions of immigration and naturalization law and shaped Filipinos' responses to those exclusions. As decolonization policies and exclusion movements increasingly drew attention to Filipino migrants in the United States, the colonial discourse of race shifted its categories to delineate, and, thereby, discipline, Filipinos as ethnic subjects.

Filipinos were racialized in particular ways to justify U.S. colonial ambitions. According to administrators such as David Barrows, Filipinos were prime candidates for race development because their racial composition reflected adaptive traits, significant internal diversity and evolutionary transitions. As I have noted in the previous chapters,

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<sup>2</sup> Renato Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino" in *The Filipinos in the Philippines and*

the emphasis on Filipinos' "mixed" racial and cultural character encouraged the project of colonial education. While decidedly "backward," Filipinos were racialized as an inquisitive and dynamic group of people; in other words, the majority of the people Americans encountered in Philippine towns were not savage but semi-barbaric. As a "race," Filipinos comprised the spectrum of civilization and savagery because of the uneven ways in which some members had interacted with the Spanish colonial regime or with the Chinese diaspora. To elicit American progressive interests and global responsibility, Barrows and other early colonial administrators represented the Filipino race as uniquely poised on the threshold of change.

Education was both the vehicle and blueprint for setting hierarchies of difference into motion, as well as fixing them into place. According to Vicente Rafael, the first U.S. Census in the Philippines, which began in 1903, categorized inhabitants as "wild" or "civilized" according to their fitness for tutelage.<sup>3</sup> As I've argued, American teachers took on similar objectives to categorize the civilian population and to identify potential leaders and U.S. allies. To a significant extent, the transitional dialectic of savagery and civilization referred not only to blood, heritage and color but also to cultural displays of religion and rationality in the social context of public schooling. To parallel the fluidity of Filipino racial attainments, American administrators promoted the flexible qualities of U.S. professional identities and civil institutions. Because educational policy rested upon anthropological research and social relations of intimacy, Americans such as Barrows were confident that the colonial education was more than an imposition of alien culture upon native peoples. The transmission of traits, values and skills was ostensibly appropriate to the developmental stages of the Filipino pupil and the Filipino race as a whole.

The burden upon colonial education was to employ teachers who applied the appropriate pedagogical methods and lesson plans to their students' learning level.

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*Other Essays* (Quezon City: Filipino Signature, 1966), p. 52-3.

<sup>3</sup> Vicente Rafael, "White Love: Surveillance and Nationalist Resistance in the U.S. Colonization of the Philippines" in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 185-218.

Moreover, the pupils were to acquire knowledge not by mimicry and memorization but by practicing new skills and adapting new characteristics to their particular needs. In this vein, the professional, administrative structures of colonial education were to weed out American adventurers and hostile racists from the civil service, while strictly regulating Filipino development. Americans viewed the Filipino *ilustrado* elite as a cautionary tale of overcivilization. For American educators, the ilustrado represented the worst outcome of civilizing missions: superficial aping of European manners and an unchanged core of savagery which manifested in anti-democratic decadence and deceit. The challenge for the U.S. civilizing mission was to locate the “savagery” which marked Filipinos as a race distinct from Americans and then to activate their organic adaptive qualities.

This tension between the savage and the civilized attracted race development theorists such as G. Stanley Hall to the academic study of colonial education. In broad terms, such theorists sought to renew Western and U.S. culture by guiding “backward” peoples. For certain Americans, the allure of late nineteenth-century civilizing missions lay in the possibility of producing, in the colonies, a modern outgrowth of their national “tradition.” Filipino students were to adapt American political culture, rather than to act like Americans or become Americans. By transforming themselves under American tutelage, a democratic Philippine nation-state would mark the arrival of the United States as a global power, and of American culture as a global culture.

Geopolitically, Filipino development was meant ultimately to take place in the Philippines, which would then become the U.S.’s partner in the Asian-Pacific region. The contract of tutelage, which was the central tenet of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, depended upon stable, but permeable, national borders to delineate the peoples and races of the colony from those of the metropole. Colonial education sought not only to teach Filipinos democratic ideals, English-language literacy and economic rationality but also to invoke an authentic Philippine nationality. Because the civilizing mission purported to develop Philippine democracy, American colonization did not trespass upon Filipinos’ right to national sovereignty, but instead held that sovereignty “in trust.” The hegemonic power of nationality and ethnicity rested upon notions of authentic identities, shared cultures and naturalized hierarchies, both horizontal and vertical.



In the projects of civilizing mission and ethnic assimilation, Americans argued that the Filipino populace was too diverse to constitute viable, autonomous communities. Their identities were unstable and shifting, which made them good candidates for colonial guidance, but they hadn't yet arrived: in other words, Filipinos were too much in transition to have a stable, authentic center.<sup>4</sup> Barrows and Paul Cressey both identified the Filipino "race" as comprised of Chinese, "oriental," Malayan, Spanish, and Negroid influences. From their analyses of Philippine history before the Spanish-American War, the writers extrapolated definitions of Filipino identity and community. Barrows' anthropological research on non-Christian Filipinos yielded a portrayal of a Philippine national community fractured along the axes of color, religion, culture and "tribe." Drawing upon similar representations, Cressey depicted the Filipino ethnic community as an evolutionary spectrum of modernization, from the peasant Vagabond to the cosmopolitan Opportunist. Whether Filipino identities were constructed as savage, as the peasant pastoral, or even as uniquely adaptive, the strategies of marking authenticity and difference came out of meditations on modernization and modernity.

The geographic dimensions of racial discourse and identity arose as Filipino students migrated to the United States to attain educational degrees. Students claimed the transition period of their U.S. migration period as evidence of their cosmopolitan identities. Portraying themselves as beneficiaries of both Spanish and American colonial cultures, they represented themselves as modernist figures who mediated between the East and the West. Ultimately, students adapted their cosmopolitanism into core material for a futuristic nationality that had sovereign but open borders.

The 1898 Treaty of Paris and the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 included clauses about the relationship of the peoples, commodities, resources and land of the Philippines

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<sup>4</sup> The racial discourse of U.S. colonization adapted the social categories of the blood, religion and nationality from the previous colonial regime. Prior to U.S. colonization, the political meaning of "Filipino" had changed in the late nineteenth-century under Spanish rule. Within the social hierarchy of blood and place of birth, "Filipinos" had referred only to Spanish mestizos born in the Islands, rather than to "indio" natives. To reform the Spanish system, the Propaganda cultural movement identified with José Rizal represented the Philippines as a national community and "Filipinos" as a political entity, regardless of race or place of birth. David Joel Steinberg, *The Philippines: A Singular and a Plural Place* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1990).

to the U.S. polity. The “Philippine Question” at the turn-of-the-century and the “Filipino social problem” of the 1930s were two extraordinary moments in which racial categorization, citizenship, and the U.S. nation-state were remade. By the 1930s, the designs for Philippine independence and Filipino immigrant restriction marked the advent of neo-colonialism, which compelled Filipinos in the United States to identify themselves as an ethnic group rather than as a cosmopolitan community. To this end, the terms of assimilation shifted from the educational realm to the legal and cultural discourses of alien exclusion laws, such as anti-miscegenation, New Deal ineligibility and repatriation. In contrast to the positive meanings of Filipino racialization in the colonial context, racial and cultural mixture signified Filipinos’ legal and ethnic indeterminacy in the U.S. domestic sphere. The cultural and social practices of adapting American knowledges, moreover, racialized Filipinos as unassimilable or as over-assimilated. Despite the projected end of the civilizing mission, judges, sociologists and administrators justified exclusion as a necessary measure for Filipino racial development, and, therefore, as an extension of government benevolence. As the future Philippine nation-state signified the end of colonial tutelage, Filipino racial identities became fixed under American domestic law and within the alien-citizen dialectic of ethnic assimilation.

The neo-colonial concerns about belonging, place and proper jurisdiction lent particular poignancy to Filipinos’ military service during World War II. Due to the Philippines’ strategic importance to the Allied war effort, Filipinos in the U.S. and in the Commonwealth fought in special units: segregated infantry regiments based in Southern California, and the United States Armed Forces in the Far East. From both sides of the border, Filipinos combined their colonial identities with their nationalist loyalties. At that time, progressive writers heralded the triumph of democracy over racial difference and expressed confidence that “civilization” would be guaranteed by the acculturation of people of color at home and abroad. Such conviction prompted the journalist Carey McWilliams to claim that Anglo Americans had little cause to fear the presence of peoples of color in the United States or decolonization movements worldwide. The

overlapping nationalisms and renewed co-operation between Filipinos and Americans during the war gave rise to alternate visions of global relations.<sup>5</sup>

Filipino American identities emerged fully at the end of formal U.S. colonial rule and at the start of American neo-colonial domination of the Philippines. The civilizing mission and ethnic assimilation raised dilemmas about race, difference and place. Ethnicity involves an ongoing conversation of contingencies, transitions and relationships to the non-ethnic. Considering Filipinos' historical relationship to civilization and modernity, many challenges awaited the invention of Filipino American ethnic traditions. What stories do Filipino Americans tell about to construct a collective past? Do we begin at the moment of immigration or at the moment of colonization? What shared narrative unites Filipino Americans across immigrant waves and generations? Which practices and literatures do we call traditional, and around which political bases do we unite? By tracing the complicated intertwining of American empire and Filipino racial identities, this historical study begins to examine some of these questions.

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<sup>5</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1946), pp. 296-7. Theodore Gonzalves, "'We Hold a Neatly Folded Hope': Filipino Veterans of World War II on Citizenship and Political Obligation" *Amerasia Journal* 21: no. 3 (Winter 1995/ 1996): 155-174.

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