

Allegiance and Identity: Race and Ethnicity in the Era of the Philippine-American War,
1898-1914

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M. Carmella Cadusale

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M. Carmella Cadusale

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M. Carmella Cadusale, Student

Date

Approvals:

Dr. L. Diane Barnes, Thesis Advisor

Date

Dr. David Simonelli, Committee Member

Date

Dr. Helene Sinnreich, Committee Member

Date

Dr. Salvatore A. Sanders, Dean of Graduate Studies

Date

ABSTRACT

Filipino culture was founded through the amalgamation of many ethnic and cultural influences, such as centuries of Spanish colonization and the immigration of surrounding Asiatic groups as well as the long nineteenth century's Race of Nations. However, the events of 1898 to 1914 brought a sense of national unity throughout the seven thousand islands that made the Philippine archipelago. The Philippine-American War followed by United States occupation, with the massive domestic support on the ideals of Manifest Destiny, introduced the notion of distinct racial ethnicities and cemented the birth of one national Philippine identity.

The exploration on the Philippine American War and United States occupation resulted in distinguishing the three different analyses of identity each influenced by events from 1898 to 1914: 1) The identity of Filipinos through the eyes of U.S., an orientalist study of the "us" versus "them" heavily influenced by U.S. propaganda; 2) the identity of the Filipinos themselves—the Spanish American War introduced an awareness of Philippine national identity, and the Philippine American War cemented this idea; 3) associating with a national identity—emphasized in the papers of David P. Barrows, William Howard Taft's Manila Superintendent of Schools. Barrows introduced U.S. citizens to the perception of Filipinos as "Negritos," his own personal ethnographic study of possible African blood within all of the Filipino classes. Barrows' patriotic loyalty to U.S. ideals of Manifest Destiny can be comparatively analyzed through the experiences of David Fagen, an African American soldier from Florida, and several of his fellow African American soldiers of the twenty-fourth regiment who defected from the United States military to join the ranks of Philippine Revolutionary leader, Emilio Aguinaldo.

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Introduction

Filipino culture emerged from the blending of many ethnic and cultural influences, such as centuries of Spanish colonization, and the immigration of surrounding Asiatic groups as well as the long nineteenth century's Race of Nations. However, the events between 1898 and 1914 enhanced the sense of national unity for the people of the 7,000 islands that make up the Philippine archipelago. Two years prior, in 1896, nationalist sentiments were initiated through Philippine literature and dialects during the height of the Philippine Revolution against Spain. The Philippine-American War (1899-1902), followed by United States occupation, introduced the concept of distinct racial ethnicities, cemented the birth of a national Philippine identity, and emphasized the influence of an imperialist agenda on national allegiance. Through political propaganda that promoted the ideals of Manifest Destiny, the U.S. aggressively pursued its position in the Philippine archipelago—acts heavily documented by academics and politicians of the time. The Philippine-American war influenced U.S. perception of the Filipinos and Philippine culture, while Philippine national identity was further cemented as a result of the unification of Filipinos in reaction to the U.S. conflict and occupation. The U.S. imperialist agenda both motivated national loyalty and identity. U.S. relations with the Philippines provides a strong example of how imperialism affected both the governing country and those they were trying to control. This study analyzes these ideas through the examination of identity, race, and ethnicity in a world where nations concentrated on imperialistic expansion, and how these factors emphasized the notion of nationality and allegiance.

Historical examination of the Philippine-American War and United States occupation has prompted three different types of analysis focusing on identity, each influenced by events occurring between 1898 and 1914: U.S. perceptions of Philippine identity, Filipinos' own awareness of a distinct nationality, and national allegiance fostered through that identity.

First, the conflict affected the notion of national identity within the mentality of the Filipinos themselves. Filipino historian Teodoro Agoncillo has examined how the existing culture and class system in the Philippines were affected during the Philippine-American War and early U.S. colonization.¹ Research has shown that prior to the conflicts against Spain and the U.S., Filipinos identified with their region before they would identify with Philippines as a whole. For example, people from the region of Cebu deemed themselves as Cebuanos, while the people of Ilocos would first claim to be Ilocanos before they would say they were Filipinos.² The Philippine Revolution against Spain, which occurred during the Spanish American War in 1898, introduced the awareness of a Philippine identity that prompted an organized revolution. Following the conflict with Spain, the Philippine-American War further cemented the notion of being Filipino, and that national identity aided the agenda of Philippine revolutionaries in unifying the regions throughout the islands against U.S. imperialism.

The second thrust of analysis looks at the identity of Filipinos as seen through the eyes of the U.S. at the turn of the twentieth century, and sparked an Orientalist study of the “us” versus “them” heavily influenced by U.S. propaganda as can be seen in the papers of David P. Barrows, William Howard Taft's Manila Superintendent of Schools.

¹ Teodoro Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History* (Manila: Radiant Star Publishing, 1974), 56

² *Ibid.*

Racial hierarchy was heavily emphasized in political propaganda, speeches, and in the studies of scholars such as Barrows, coinciding with the worst decades of race relations in the U.S. as well as the increase popularity of eugenics. Barrows's work, founded on his western upbringing and a product of imperialist agenda, clearly parallels the ideas found in Edward Said's 1978 critical study of western perceptions of eastern culture as well as Said's analysis of how the west typically deals with "the Orient"—the goal being to dominate, restructure, and acquire authority.³ Barrows's multiple works appeared while he worked in the Philippines and clearly display such a mentality.

Lastly analysis of identity can be linked with national allegiance. Barrows's patriotic loyalty to the U.S. ideals of Manifest Destiny throughout his career stand in stark contrast to the experiences of David Fagen, an African American soldier from Florida, and several of his fellow African American soldiers of the U.S. military who defected from their regiments to join the ranks of Philippine Revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo. The actions and writings of these men, both born in the U.S., illustrate how perceptions of identity—may it be through race, gender, or nationality—influenced allegiance and opinions on war. These three varying analyses of identity emphasize the critical role of communities in the formation of individual allegiance and agenda in the midst of war.

Modern-day scholars deemed the events between 1898 and the early twentieth century as a "forgotten war," and many historians continue to disagree on whether the three year military conflict between the U.S. and the Philippines was an "insurrection" or a "war." For clarity, this thesis engages the events beginning in 1898 and ending in 1902

³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978; New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 3 and 11-15.

between United States and the Philippines as the “Philippine-American War,” followed by the after-effects of the war to the start of the Great War in 1914. The bulk of the research for this study relies on historical military documents, correspondence, periodicals, and various mediums of propaganda. During the U.S. occupation of the Philippines—and continuing to the present-day—historians of both Philippine and U.S. history have studied the history of the Philippines through both macro and micro studies, with varying perspectives of the event’s classification. Filipino historians, such as Teodoro Agoncillo, have considered the Philippine-American war as an extension of the revolution against Spain, a war for independence against a new foreign invader.⁴ Interpretations by U.S. historians, however, vary depending on the decade of publication with some studying the event as an “insurgence.” Examining the Philippine-American War as an uprising against the U.S. government is a perspective entailing that the U.S. already acquired ownership of the Philippines during the war. This study focuses on the Filipino revolutionaries’ desire to acquire the right for independence upon winning the Philippine Revolution against Spain. This thesis contends that the events between the Philippines and the United States was a *war*, not an insurgence, which assisted in the construction of the Filipino identity.

U.S. scholars of the field and their research were consistently influenced by conflicts and events of their time, from the patriotic force of Manifest Destiny to the conflict of the Vietnam War. Historical perspective in this field of study was engineered by the time’s current affairs, however, assessment of the research has evolved through various scholastic lenses. Historians throughout the twentieth century established analysis

⁴ Teodoro Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1977), 61.

of Philippine American relations through an Orientalist scholarship that evolved into varying forms of social, cultural, gender, global, and Marxist studies. Early scholars of U.S. and Philippine relations, writing from the 1900s to the 1920s, were greatly influenced by the events of Philippine-American War and sought to either justify or negate the U.S. imperialist agenda.⁵ Decades later, the 1960s and 1970s saw comprehensive military and political studies of the Philippine-American War that was consistently compared to the events of the Vietnam War era.⁶ Scholarship from the 1980s forward saw a diverse analysis of race and military accounts in the history of Philippine American relations as well as the first Pulitzer Prize winning book on the subject.⁷ Race and ethnicity has played an important role in understanding the political and cultural concepts of the war, and these subjects have been centralized in studying the Philippine-American War within the new millennium. This thesis will build on the transnationalist studies of race and ethnicity, examining how both subjects affected the notion of identity in the United States and the Philippines.⁸

⁵ David P. Barrows, *The Negritos and Allied Types in the Philippines* (Lancaster, PA: The New Era Printing Company, 1910), 358-359; Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco, *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States: 1898-1925* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons The Knickerbocker Press, 1926), 4-9.

⁶ Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: America's Forgotten Bid for Empire which cost 250,000 Lives* (1960. Reprint, New York: Longmans Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), 10; Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule* (New York: The Shoe String Press, 1968); Daniel B. Shirmer, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc. 1972); Richard E. Welch, *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), xiii.

⁷ Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1989), 36-39; Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 5 and 133.

⁸ Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War: 1899-1902* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000); Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2007); Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 11.

Terminology, based on the events, is vital in the analysis. Manifest Destiny in the Philippine archipelago at the turn of the twentieth century was constructed on the U.S. imperialist agenda—more specifically: American cultural imperialism. Colonialism and imperialism, both methods of economically and politically subjugating an “other” and often used interchangeably, are completely unlike in meaning. Colonialism depends on taking political and economic control of a nation with full intention of exploiting the area’s resources along with building communities through the migration of people to the new conquered land. Imperialism comes with the intention of creating an empire by executing control over conquered lands to expand political and economic commands.⁹ American cultural imperialism, specifically in the Philippines, was a reflection of U.S. occupation of the islands as well as the further westernization of the Filipino people. The practice of American cultural imperialism is evident in the agenda of the Second Philippine Commission, known as the Taft Commission, in March 1900. Led by William Howard Taft, the first Governor-General of the Philippines, one of the primary objectives was to construct and implement public education based on the U.S. school system.¹⁰ Cultural imperialism is built on the political and economic objectives of imperialism but with the notion that the culture of the sovereign nation is inherently “better” than the other.¹¹

⁹ Ronald J. Horvath, “A Definition of Colonialism,” *Current Anthropology* 13, no. 1 (Feb., 1972): 45-47.

¹⁰ Rene R. Escalante, *The Bearer of Pax Americana: The Philippine Career of William H. Taft, 1900-1903* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 2008), 22 and 67; “United States Rule,” edited by Ronald E. Dolan in *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991), accessed June 7, 2016, <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/16.htm>.

¹¹ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1991), 2-4; David Rothkopf, “In Praise of Cultural Imperialism? Effects of Globalization on Culture,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 107 (Summer 1997): 38-53; Said, *Orientalism*, 3-7; Luis S. David, “Notes on American Cultural Imperialism,” *Budhi* 9, no. 1 (2005): 139-145.

This study comprises an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter provides a brief introduction to Philippine history: the migration of various Asian nomads as well as the exploration and colonization of Spain. The chapter heavily examines the development of one, unified, Philippine identity with the transition from Spanish colonialism to the Philippine-American War. It examines the birth of the two Philippine revolutionary organizations: La Liga Filipina and the Katipunans, the fight for Filipino independence, and the strengthened desire for a united Filipino identity with the start of U.S. occupation.

Chapter two explores how the United States perceived the culture and the people of the Philippines at the beginning of the conflict and during American occupation. The analysis focuses on the responses of U.S. citizens to American imperialism and President William McKinley's advocacy of Manifest Destiny. Propaganda and literature of the time form the basis of material for this chapter. Analysis of political cartoons, lithographs, and texts as well as poems serves to discern the general opinions of the American people towards the events and the people in Philippines. Filipinos were consistently portrayed in political cartoons and lithographs with "black-African" features. Racial propaganda was strengthened by ethnographical studies with popularity of Social Darwinism and eugenics. This fits within the ideology of Manifest Destiny and cultural imperialism as well as reinforced racial mistrusts and prejudices within the United States during what historians have called the worst decade of race relations.

Chapter three looks at how identity influenced the notion of allegiance with an in-depth examination of U.S. military soldiers who defected during the Philippine-American War. An analysis of allegiance as it is associated with national identity—emphasizing the

actions of specific historical figures during the time: David P. Barrows, an ethnographer whose study reflected American imperialist agenda; Emilio Aguinaldo, Filipino revolutionary leader and first president of the First Philippine Republic; finally, David Fagen and various African American soldiers of the Twenty-fourth regiment who defected from the United States military to join the ranks of Philippine Revolutionary leader, Emilio Aguinaldo.

Finally, the conclusion will reiterate the thesis concepts and supported research. Philippine national identity was born during the Spanish colonization and was cemented due to the unification of Filipinos during U.S. conflict and occupation, while the Philippine-American war influenced U.S. perception of the Filipinos and Philippine culture, and how U.S. agenda can both motivate and dissuade national loyalty and identity. Therefore, making U.S. relations with the Philippines a solid example of how imperialism affects both the governing country and those they are trying to control.

Chapter One

Mga Anak ng Bayan (The Country's Children): The Rise of Filipino Nationalism and the Two Revolutions for Filipino Identity

What love can be
Purer and greater
Than love of country?
What love? No other love, none.
-“Love of Country” by Andres Bonifacio¹

Nineteenth and twentieth century tenets of colonialism and imperialism guided Western perceptions of Filipino identity. Social Darwinism was an accepted concept, where an artificial racial hierarchy was structured according to varying degrees of human evolution, with Anglo-Saxons at the very top and people of color on the bottom. Christian missionary activity allowed Western nationals to believe they had a “Western Duty” to civilize people at the bottom of the social Darwinist pyramid using the cultural, religious and political values of the Anglo-Saxon Western nations.

Meanwhile, due to its island geography, the Philippines was a country divided by language, with the country's many regional dialects derived from various merchant settlers that ranged from European to Asiatic. Inhabitants of the islands saw consistent changes in culture and language, one that was neither European nor Asian and was never clearly defined, especially during Spanish colonial rule. The United States' occupation of the Philippine islands, as a consequence of the 1898 Spanish American War, followed Spanish colonization of the archipelago at the turn of the twentieth century. It was the continuous existence of Western foreign powers that introduced the desire for

¹ Andres Bonifacio, “Pagibig sa Tinubuang Bayan (Love of Country),” as found in *The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio*, collected and translated by Teodoro A. Agoncillo and S.V. Epistola (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1963), 5.

independence, which produced an identity that belonged solely to the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago. The rise of Filipino nationalism, with the people's desire for independence, exceeded the divide created by geography and was reinforced by every adversity brought by Western powers. Consequently, the very formation of a Filipino national identity was a direct result of a Western colonial and imperialist agenda.

Spain established its colony in the Philippines in the early sixteenth century, from 1521 to 1529, during the time of global Spanish expeditions.² Spanish colonization of the Philippines introduced the Asian archipelago to Western culture and the Catholic faith. The Philippines was under Spain's control until the Filipino Revolution in 1896, which exerted the idea and desire for a united Filipino identity built on the desire to acquire self-rule. The people of the Philippine archipelago, through centuries of foreign relations, were able to realize an identity that was their own, not strictly European or Asian, but an amalgamation of both. The desire for a distinct identity, unmarked by foreign ideals, gave birth to Filipino nationalist leaders, ideas, and a vocabulary that did not exist in prior Filipino history.

However, the people of the Philippines found themselves fighting two wars for their independence as well as for the validation of their newfound identity. From the ashes of Spanish colonization rose the imperialization and occupation of the United States that originated with a betrayal of allegiance. The outbreak of the Philippine-American War, followed by the U.S. occupation of the islands, did not discourage the Filipino people from their nationalist ideas and beliefs. Instead, the Western imperial power that was the U.S. emboldened Filipinos' love and loyalty for their country, as

² Teodoro Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1977), 71; Sonia M. Zaide, *The Philippines: A Unique Nation*, Second ed. (Quezon City: All Nations Publishing Co., Inc., 2006), 71.

displayed in their writings and actions throughout the conflict. Spanish colonization and U.S. imperialism, with their Western political and cultural ideas of race and ethnicity, did not hinder the notion of Filipino identity and independence, which was initiated by the Philippine Revolution (1896-1898) and was further conceptualized during the Philippine-American War (1899-1902). Instead, these external factors actually aided in the establishment of Filipino identity through two revolutions that conveyed a connection that surpassed region, class, and ethnic background—but concentrated most on love of country.

In the time of Spanish colonial rule, the Philippines was as divided by ethnicity as it was by islands. The arrival of various European and Asian merchants who settled in the area outlined how early Philippine society viewed its social class system, but it was the economy that further defined the hierarchy of the societal pyramid. Under Spanish rule, the Philippines was the empire's "leading commercial center of the Orient."³ Spanish colonial officials encouraged trade from the country's main port, Manila, to the surrounding Orient such as China, Thailand, and Indonesia as well as other Spanish colonies like Mexico. Spain classified this trade across the Pacific as the "galleon trade" where goods such as spices, silk, and porcelain that left Manila were traded for double their actual value, providing high profits for Manila merchants and settlers. The galleon trade, also termed the "Manila Galleon," made the city of Manila a prime European trading port in Southeast Asia for two and half centuries, from the early 1500s to the mid-1800s, and was the longest shipping route from east to west of its time.⁴ Opening the

³ Teodoro Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History* (Manila: Radiant Star Publishing, 1974), 56.

⁴ Glyn Williams, *The Prize of All the Oceans: Anson's Voyage Around the World* (New York: The Viking Press, 1998), 4; William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1939), 17 and 218.

country up to the global market brought in more than goods. The golden trade brought back foreign soldiers, officials, merchants, and settlers that influenced Filipino culture and ethnic developments.⁵ Intermarriage between foreign persons and Filipino indigenous people as well as the growth of the economy created a distinct community that was not specifically of Spanish, Asian, or Native ethnic background. A stratified center was introduced to Filipino society, beneath Spanish aristocrats and conquistadors—Spanish empire soldiers—but above the indios, the people of native Filipino tribes. This new fragment of Filipino society derived from the agrarian community and were dubbed creoles, full-blooded Spaniards born and raised in the Philippines, or mestizos, people mixed with Spanish and Asian blood. This new community of people associated more with the islands than the original nations of their parents and presented one of the earliest impressions of “Filipino consciousness.”⁶

Social classes in the Philippine archipelago stemmed from Spanish colonization and were divided by wealth and ethnic background. The combined Filipino middle class of creoles and mestizos, who accumulated wealth from trade and commerce built from the galleon trade, were known as ilustrados. They gained broader access to education and Western ideas, and as a result, they were exposed to concepts of independence inspired by the works of Enlightenment philosophers like Voltaire, Paine, and Rousseau. These ilustrados would later demand social and political reforms from Spain, which led to the desire “to unite the entire archipelago into one compact, vigorous, and homogenous

⁵ Ibid; Luis H. Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2010), 74-75.

⁶ Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*, 66; Maria Teresa Martinez-Sicat, *Imagining the Nation in Four Philippine Novels* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994), 13; John D. Blanco, *Frontier Constitutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth Century Philippines* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 148-149.

body.” Consequently, this class led the country’s revolution for independence from Spain.⁷

By 1892, ilustrados had formulated two Filipino revolutionary organizations. The first, La Liga Filipina (The Philippine League), was created to unite the entire archipelago by creating a society of reformers who recognized the interest of the people as its main priority. This led to the formation of Samahang Kataastaasan, Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (Supreme and Most Honorable Society of the Children of the Nation), shortly tagged as the Katipunan or “KKK”. Members of the Philippine KKK were inspired by Western political revolutions in the United States and France, and aimed to gain complete independence from Spain.⁸

The organization was led by one of its founders, Filipino nationalist Andres Bonifacio. Orphaned at an early age and born to the lower class, Bonifacio was introduced to Western ideals of independence—specifically, the French Revolution—through his work as a merchant in Manila.⁹ Bonifacio proclaimed that the revolution was an “honor that will be a legacy to our country, to our race and to our progeny.” The Katipunan began introducing vocabulary that belonged strictly to the natives of the archipelago.¹⁰ Letters and proclamations directed to the country’s Katagalugan or Sangkatagalugan were sent in hopes of inspiring people across the islands into a unified

⁷ “La Liga Filipina: Rizal’s Liga,” *The Philippine Revolution Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial/liga.html>; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*, vol. 2 (Quezon City: Aklati Foundation Inc., 1989), 209-210.

⁸ “The Katipunan,” *The Philippine Revolution Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/katipunan.html>; “The Founding of the Katipunan,” Republic of the Philippines Presidential Museum and Library, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://malacanang.gov.ph/4304-the-founding-of-the-katipunan/>.

⁹ Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), 4.

¹⁰ Andres Bonifacio, “Katipunan Mararahas Ng Mga Anak Ng Bayan (Proclamation of the Society of the Children of the Nation),” as found in *The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio*, 4.

revolution for the Inang Bayan (Mother Land). Originally reserved for people who spoke the Tagalog language in major cities like Manila, the Katipunan's concept of the Katagalugan or Sangkatagalugan described the citizens of Philippines as a whole in an attempt to culminate a nation.¹¹ These concepts can be found in Katipunan documents such as Bonifacio's "Ang Dapat Mabatid Ng Mga Tagalog," modernly translated as "What the Filipinos Should Know," where the revolutionary leader initiated his work with a call to the Katagalugans and further described them as his Kababayan, meaning "fellow countrymen."¹² Bonifacio urged his Kababayans to be united in reclaiming land as strictly Filipino in hopes that a military insurgency against the Spanish empire would heighten self-awareness in individual connection, not just to their community but the entire nation.

During the birth of the Filipino Revolution, the concept of a "Filipino" identity surpassed the people's loyalty or connection to region, class, or ethnic background—a notion originally connected to the social class divide built under Spanish rule. The "Filipinos" included everyone considered beneath the Spanish aristocrats and conquistadors, such as the creoles and mestizos—from the middle class ilustrados to the lower class farmers. The Katipunans propagated these ideals across the islands through the establishment of various print media, including the revolutionary newspaper the *Kalayaan* (Freedom).¹³

In August 1896, the Katipunans were discovered in Manila by Spanish Friar Mariano Gil, who instantly conveyed the Katipunan's activities to the local Spanish

¹¹ Corpuz, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*, vol. 2, 221; Martinez-Sicat, *Imagining the Nation in Four Philippine Novels*, 14.

¹² Ibid.; Andres Bonifacio, "Ang Dapat Mabatid Gn Mga Tagalog (What the Filipinos Should Know)," as found in *The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio*, 2-3 and 68-69.

¹³ Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 164.

government. The colonial government then propagated mass arrests of about five hundred Filipino revolutionaries. Katipunans who were not caught, such as Bonifacio, congregated in Pugad Lawin, a town eight miles from Manila to discuss further actions. With Bonifacio's proclamation and call to Kababayans to fight against Spanish control, known as the "Cry of Pugad Lawin," the Filipino Revolution officially began on August 23, 1896.¹⁴ Battles took place in the capital of Manila and through island provinces. Some led to victories—such as the Battle of Imus on September 1, 1896 in the province of Cavite—but revolutionaries were mostly met with losses and struggles. Bonifacio initially tried to take hold of the capital city of Manila, but failed.

However, Bonifacio's greatest loss was to his own fellow revolutionaries. His fellow Katipunan comrades ordered his execution in 1897 after he was accused of treason against the revolutionary government, as a member of a conspiracy to murder fellow revolutionary leaders and soldiers.¹⁵ According to a statement by Artemio Ricarte, a Filipino general that served under Bonifacio, Spanish friars paid Bonifacio to send unarmed Filipinos to Spanish government officials with plans of full surrender during a conflict in the province of Limbon. Ricarte also declared that Bonifacio acted against the principles of the Katipunan and had ordered the burning of churches and convents if Spanish forces were to capture a village or town.¹⁶

With the death of Bonifacio, leadership of the Katipunans fell to the Filipinos' propertied elites, with military leader and ilustrado Emilio Aguinaldo in the highest rank.

¹⁴ Ibid., 170.

¹⁵ Ibid., 178-179; Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, 132-133.

¹⁶ Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 176-178; Artemio Ricarte, "Artemio Ricarte on the Arrest and Execution of Bonifacio: Principal Events From May Until the Arrival of Aguinaldo in Biyak-na-Bato (San Miguel de Mayumo, Bulacan)," May 1897, *Bonifacio 150* Collection, Republic of the Philippines Presidential Museum and Library, accessed February 27, 2016, <http://malacanang.gov.ph/3622-artemio-ricarte-on-the-arrest-and-execution-of-bonifacio/>.

Aguinaldo was a complete opposite to Bonifacio's working-class representation. Aguinaldo was from a middle class family of Spanish and Chinese descent. His father was a lawyer who served as the *gobernadorcillo*, the town municipal governor under Spanish rule, in their home town of Cavite el Viejo.¹⁷ Months after Bonifacio's execution, from December 1897 to January 1898, Aguinaldo and other Filipino revolutionary leaders were exiled to Hong Kong under the Truce of Biyak-na-Bato. A pact that was supposed to end the Philippine Revolution in hopes of less bloodshed, the document provided a total of 800 thousand pesos (under Spanish colonial currency) for the revolutionaries' voluntary exile.

Simultaneously, however, on the other side of the world in 1898, the United States declared war against Spain to end the latter's colonial rule in the Americas, specifically Cuba, and in retaliation for the sinking of the USS *Maine*.¹⁸ The Spanish American War brought the U.S. to another Spanish colony that was also fighting for independence. While in exile, Aguinaldo was approached by American Consul E. Spencer Pratt, who requested the cooperation of Filipino revolutionaries with U.S. Commodore George Dewey as the latter planned to attack the Spanish Navy stationed in Manila Bay. The Filipinos' first foreign alliance provided the Filipino revolutionaries with an optimistic outlook on the possibility of liberty.¹⁹

On May 1, 1898, the United States won its first naval battle in Manila Bay against Spain and ended the centuries old colonization of the Philippines. Aguinaldo arrived to

¹⁷ Emilio Aguinaldo, *Memoirs of the Revolution*, translated by Luz Colendrino- Bucu (Manila: C.A. Suntay, 1967), 4.

¹⁸ John L. Offner, *An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain Over Cuba, 1895-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 56 and 131-135.

¹⁹ *Ibid*; Emilio Aguinaldo and Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look At America* (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, Publishers, Inc., 1957), 32-39.

Manila on May 19 and quickly declared Filipino independence on June 12. In what was hoped to be the first public show of nationalism, the Filipino flag was officially flown and the national anthem was performed for the first time.²⁰ The Philippine Declaration of Independence, modeled after the United States', was signed the same day by 98 Filipino revolutionaries in the presence of United States Colonel of Artillery L.M. Johnson.²¹ In hopes of gaining recognition from what Aguinaldo believed was a stable ally, Commodore George Dewey was invited to the celebration and recognition of the United States was added to the declaration:

under the protection of our Powerful and Humanitarian Nation, The United States of America, we do hereby proclaim and declare solemnly in the name by authority of the people of these Philippine Islands, that they are and have the right to be free and independent; that they have ceased to have allegiance to the Crown of Spain; that all political ties between them should be completely severed and annulled; and that, like other free and independent States, they enjoy the full power to make War and Peace, conclude commercial treaties, enter into alliances, regulate commerce, and do all other acts and things which and Independent State Has right to do.²²

Dewey declined the invitation and did not report the event to the United States government, an act that the revolutionary leaders did not find suspicious. They focused their attention on solidifying their claim of independence by attaining the most important part of the archipelago that was still under Spanish control: the capital, nicknamed "Walled City," of Manila.²³

²⁰ The national anthem was originally entitled "Marcha Filipina Magdalo (Magdalo Philippine March)" but has seen many alterations and is currently known as "Lupang Hinirang (Chosen Land)".

²¹ Ibid. 139; Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, "Acta de la Proclamación de la Independencia del Pueblo Filipino (Act of Declaration of Philippine Independence)," *Miguel de Benavides Library and Archives: Digital Collection*, The University of Santo Tomas, accessed January 26, 2016, <http://digitalibrary.ust.edu.ph/cdm/ref/collection/section5/id/136015>; Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, "Acta de la Proclamación de la Independencia del Pueblo Filipino (Act of Declaration of Philippine Independence)," translated by Sulpicio Guevara, *The Philippine Revolution Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, accessed January 26, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/declaration.html>.

²² Ibid.

²³ Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, 138-139.

Unbeknownst to Filipino revolutionaries, who surrounded the city and planned a siege, the United States made private negotiations with Spain to plan their own acquisition of Manila. Despite having reinforcements that easily outnumbered the Spaniards, Dewey believed that possession of Manila could be attained through diplomatic negotiations instead of armed force. Surrendering the capital city of Manila was reduced to one matter: Spanish pride. Confronted with U.S. troops on one side and Filipino revolutionaries on the other, Spain's peninsular government concluded that it was best for "Spanish code honor" to surrender to the U.S. troops.²⁴ However, Spain's General Fermin Jaudenes insisted that if the Spanish were to surrender, it must be through a mock battle that prevented the Filipino revolutionaries from ever entering the city. Dewey accepted the terms and assured Jaudenes that Filipinos would not participate in the battle, an agreement that was kept strictly between the two men without even providing this knowledge to their own men.²⁵

As the mock battle approached, the thirteen thousand troops sent as U.S. reinforcements were met in Manila with raised suspicions amongst Filipino revolutionaries.²⁶ U.S. headquarters were constructed all around Manila, on areas that were secured by revolutionaries. The Filipino flags were brought down and were replaced by U.S. flags, an action that alarmed Filipino soldiers. Mariano Noriel, one of Aguinaldo's generals, communicated his concerns exclaiming, "Look, general, look at what they are doing! If we don't look out, they will be replacing our flags with their own

²⁴ Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 192; *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, 140-141.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; George Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 273-275 and 279.

²⁶ Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy*, 269.

all over the country!” To which Aguinaldo replied, “You are being tragic. They’re our allies, remember that!”²⁷

However, Aguinaldo was disappointed when, on August 13, the morning of the mock battle, the U.S. military barred Filipino troops from the fighting and from entering the city walls of Manila under the threat of gun shots. General Thomas M. Anderson of the U.S. Army telegraphed Aguinaldo before the battle commenced, “Do not let your troops enter Manila without permission from the American commander. On this side of the Pasig River you will be under fire.”²⁸ This “insolence” towards the Filipino revolutionary leader, and the exclusion of the Filipinos from the city led to a silent hostility from Filipino troops towards the U.S. forces.²⁹

The mock battle began at 9:30 in the morning and was won by 5:43 pm, right before the sun set over Manila Bay. The Spanish flag was brought down and in its place the U.S. flag flew over the capital city of Manila, accompanied by the guns of U.S. ships that “thundered out a national salute” as “The Star Spangled Banner” played in the background.³⁰ Outside the walls, Aguinaldo and his troops looked on as they contemplated their “own losses of thousands in killed and wounded” as well as their “exclusion and snubbing in the hour of final triumph,” which Aguinaldo stated was “an insult and a betrayal that was hard to take.”³¹

Despite the negative feelings and suspicions upon being excluded from a battle that marked the end of Spanish colonial rule, revolutionary and nationalist leaders urged Aguinaldo to hastily assemble the first official congress of the First Philippine Republic

²⁷ Emilio Aguinaldo and Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look At America*, 75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 76; Aguinaldo and Pacis, *A Second Look At America*, 75.

²⁹ Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 194.

³⁰ Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey*, 280.

³¹ Aguinaldo and Pacis, *A Second Look At America*, 78.

while U.S. troops took hold of the capital city. As the first official president of the First Philippine Republic, Aguinaldo led an assembly made up of eighty-five appointed provincial representatives in Malolos, Bulacan—a city just twenty-five miles outside of Manila—as early as September 1898, just weeks after the United States ended its war against Spain on Filipino soil.³² Formally dubbed the Malolos Convention, or the first “National Assembly,” the congress began drafting a Filipino constitution that would convey the needs of Filipinos and, at the same time, would assist in the acknowledgement of Filipino independence by foreign powers. The world power that Filipino revolutionaries called on for support was the same nation-state they had assisted in recolonizing the archipelago: the United States.

The document became known as the Malolos Constitution and was originally written in Spanish, which was the Philippines’ most commonly-spoken language at the time, even more so than Tagalog. The document was written with ninety-three articles emphasizing the civil liberties of Filipinos as well as the nation’s form of government. The constitution went through several revisions in response to the nation’s conflicts and would not see a final draft until January 1899.³³ Concurrently, pamphlets of Filipino propaganda, printed under the order of Aguinaldo’s new government, were shared throughout the islands, honoring and celebrating the liberation of the archipelago from centuries of imperial rule as well commemorating the people’s newfound identity as

³²Ibid., 142; Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960), 224.

³³ “1899 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines: Malolos Convention,” *Corpus Juris*, Philippine Law Library, last modified 2014, accessed January 19, 2016, http://www.thecorpusjuris.com/laws/constitutions/item/1899-constitution.html?category_id=70; *The Laws of the Philippine Republic: The Laws of Malolos, 1898-1899*, compiled and edited by Sulpicio Guevara (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1972), 104-119; Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*, 151-152.

Filipinos. Apolinario Mabini, a revolutionary leader as well as Aguinaldo's principal adviser, composed "El Verdadero Decalogo (The True Decalogue)" that framed ten revolutionary and nationalist ideals pertaining to the First Philippine Republic.³⁴ The True Decalogue was modeled after Moses' Ten Commandments, and thus was a reflection of the Philippines' major Roman Catholic background as well as the late revolutionary leader, Bonifacio's, nationalist sentiments. The document outlined the objectives of Filipino patriotism:

Love your country after God and your honor, and more than you love yourself, because your country is the only paradise that God has given you in this life; the only patrimony of your race; the only inheritance from your ancestors; and the only future of your descendants: because of your country you have life, love and interests; happiness, honor and God.³⁵

The first three commandments were dedicated to the Filipinos' Roman Catholic faith, with great emphasis on the worship and honor of the Christian God. The fourth, cited above, stressed the importance of national unity and pride of country. Prior to revolution, identity and allegiance for the Filipino people were connected to their local provinces and classes due to Spanish rule. As the leaders of the First Philippine Republic awaited the recognition of Filipino independence from foreign powers, it was important to have the people understand that the nation and its interest was more vital than their local community and even themselves.³⁶

However, despite the efforts of revolutionary leaders, no foreign power, especially not Spain nor the United States, recognized Filipino independence, and this

³⁴ Apolinario Mabini, "El Verdadero Decalogo (The True Decalogue)," June 1898, courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines in Republic of the Philippines Presidential Museum and Library, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://malacanang.gov.ph/8132-the-true-decalogue-by-apolinario-mabini/>.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*, 47-48.

inaction further confirmed the fears of Filipino revolutionary leaders. The U.S. still held the capital of Manila and the American troop presence increased. Aguinaldo sought diplomatic representation for the Philippines abroad to assist in the nation's claim for independence. He sent Felipe Agoncillo, a lawyer and revolutionary, to Washington D.C., then to Paris to campaign for Filipino recognition. Agoncillo arrived in Paris in October 1898, while the U.S. and Spain formally settled the Spanish-American War and began negotiations that included the possession of the Philippines. The Asian nation was "acquired" by the U.S. for \$20 million under the Treaty of Paris, without the consultation of the Filipino representatives and leaders.³⁷

The terminology used to describe the U.S. possession of Philippines has to be carefully worded. Although many colonial powers historically ceded and traded colonies with each other from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, the ceding of the Philippines from Spain to the U.S. was unique with the inclusion of the Philippine Revolution. Filipino revolutionaries immediately rejected this aspect of the Treaty of Paris negotiation arguing that Spain had no right to cede a nation that was not theirs to relinquish. Revolutionary leaders asserted that the Filipino people, with U.S. aid, adamantly believed that they won their independence from imperial Spain, and formed the First Philippine Republic. The Filipino people had been fighting Spain for their independence for years before the U.S. military arrived in the Philippines. Agoncillo fervently opposed the treaty in a formal protest that he presented in Washington, D.C.:

If the Spaniards have not been able to transfer to the Americans the rights which they did not possess; if the latter have not militarily conquered positions in the

³⁷ "Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain; December 10, 1898," *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, Yale University, accessed January 22, 2016, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sp1898.asp; Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, 141.

Philippines; if the occupation of Manila was a resultant fact, prepared by the Filipinos; if the international officials and representatives of the Republic of the United States of America offered to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Philippines, solicited and accepted their alliance, how can they now constitute themselves as arbiters of the control, administration and future government of the Philippine Islands?³⁸

Agoncillo argued that Spain had lost its colonial power over the Philippines, since the Filipinos had fought for and won their independence. In the perception of Filipino revolutionaries, Spain had no authority over the Philippines when the treaty was signed, and, therefore, had no right to relinquish the Asian archipelago to the United States.

Days after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, on December 21, U.S. President William McKinley issued a “Benevolent Proclamation” which asserted the U.S. objective of bestowing “the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States”—and once again disregarded the government of the First Philippine Republic.³⁹ The U.S. decision, according to Aguinaldo, “hit [the revolutionaries] with a devastating effect. It was disillusioning, disappointing, and tragic.”⁴⁰ Filipino historian and novelist Nick Joaquin famously wrote, “When [the Filipinos] speak of the “Unfinished Revolution”... we should ask, which one?...”⁴¹ Joaquin’s statement was considered a precise depiction of the U.S. betrayal of Filipino independence. The U.S. government’s refusal to recognize Filipino

³⁸ Felipe Agoncillo, “Felipe Agoncillo's Protest on the Injustice of the Treaty of Paris December 1898,” *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, from *The Statutes At Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 30, the U.S. Library of Congress, Asian Division (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), accessed January 9, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/ag9812xx.html>; “Agoncillo is Persistent,” *The New York Times*, January 16, 1899.

³⁹ “The Philippine American War: McKinley’s Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, December 21, 1898,” *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, accessed November 4, 2015, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/benevolent.html>; Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 211.

⁴⁰ Aguinaldo and Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look At America*, 87.

⁴¹ Nick Joaquin, *A Question of Heroes* (1977; Manila: Anvil Publishing, 2005), 96; “Nick Joaquin,” accessed January 22, 2016, <http://pinoylit.webmanila.com/filipinowriters/njoaquin.htm>.

independence and its aggressive claim to the archipelago destroyed the Filipino-American alliance forged out of their mutual enemy in Spain. The situation further strengthened the Filipino desire to be independent and tested the Filipinos' newly found identity and nationality. Aguinaldo stated that the U.S. "discredited the system by lightly scorning the friendship, the pride, the honor, and patriotism of the [Filipinos]."⁴² Filipino revolutionaries realized that their war for independence was not over, and that their fight for independence simply carried a new face and name: the Philippine-American War. As Aguinaldo once stated prior to the military conflict against the U.S., "Knowing our fierce racial pride and our obsessive aspirations to be recognized as equals...if unappeased, we would fight even the Americans."⁴³

Initially, revolutionary leaders were divided over how to tackle the issue of U.S. occupation. Aguinaldo realized that going to war with the U.S. so soon after the nation's war with Spain would sacrifice even more Filipino lives when they already lacked capable soldiers and ammunition.⁴⁴ Other nationalist leaders, like Apolinario Mabini, decided to avoid fighting and instead spread the ideals of the Philippine Revolution through print. Mabini refused to acknowledge U.S. sovereignty and was determined to hold on to the Filipino nationalist agenda. On January 5, 1899, Mabini published an official statement regarding the betrayal of the U.S. alliance, the occupation of Manila, as well as the hypocrisy of their actions:

[The Philippine Republic] cannot remain indifferent in view of such a violent and aggressive seizure of a portion of its territory by a nation which has arrogated to itself the title champion of oppressed nations...I denounce these acts before the world...mankind may pronounce its infallible verdict as to who are the true

⁴² Aguinaldo and Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look At America*, 81.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

oppressors of nations and the true tormentors of human kind...upon their heads be all the blood which may be shed.⁴⁵

In the weeks that followed, Aguinaldo requested meetings with U.S. commissioners in hopes of resolving the “conflicting political interests of both nations.”⁴⁶ The revolutionary leader and first president of the Philippine Republic reminded U.S. representatives that it was the western nation that sought the alliance with the Philippines, stating that Aguinaldo’s “relations with the United States did not bring me over here from Hong Kong to make war on the Spaniards for their benefit, but for the purpose of our own liberty and independence.”⁴⁷ Protests and arguments by Filipino revolutionaries were consistently ignored until the silent hostilities between the two nations erupted into complete warfare when the first shots of war erupted on February 4, 1899.⁴⁸

Conflict began when two soldiers of the Nebraska Volunteer Infantry Regiment, William Grayson and Orville Miller, shot and killed two Filipino soldiers, while the latter were trying to cross the San Juan Bridge to a nearby village in Santa Mesa. According to Grayson, he warned the men to “halt” twice, but the latter yelled back, “halto!” (halt!) Grayson and his squad’s final reply was to shoot the men down.⁴⁹ The attack forced Filipino revolutionaries to take up arms, with Aguinaldo sending telegrams to his

⁴⁵ Apolinario Mabini, “Proclamation,” January 5, 1899, collected, edited, and translated by Teodoro Agoncillo, *Filipino Nationalism, 1872-1970* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1974), 233.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-87; Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 213.

⁴⁷ Emilio Aguinaldo, “Aguinaldo’s Manifesto Protesting the United States’ Claim of Sovereignty Over the Philippines,” January 5, 1899, *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, from *The Statutes At Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 30, the U.S. Library of Congress, Asian Division (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), accessed January 9, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/ag990105.html>.

⁴⁸ Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, 144-145; Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 214.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 214-215; “Man Who Fired First Shot: Private Grayson of the First Nebraska Tells How He Began the War,” *Omaha Bee*, August 2, 1899; Donald Chaput, “Private William W Grayson’s War in the Philippines, 1899,” *Nebraska History* 61 (1980): 355-366.

generals throughout the islands warning them about impending hostilities.⁵⁰ To the people of the Philippines, Aguinaldo's Kababayans, he sent a message of a nationalist agenda for independence: "I know that war has always produced great losses; I know that the Philippine people have not yet recovered from past losses and are not in condition to endure others. But I also know that we should sacrifice all on the altar of our honor and of the national integrity so unjustly attacked."⁵¹

The better equipped U.S. army was able to capture towns and villages because the capture of Manila meant they were also able to welcome thousands of trained American reinforcements, who carried superior arms. The struggle disheartened many Filipinos, and Aguinaldo was quick to remind his Kababayans as to what they were fighting for:

Filipinas!...acknowledge her, salute her who warned thee with the breath of her own culture and civility. Thou hast longed for independence, and thine emancipation from Spain has come... But thou, Filipinas, flower of the ocean, delicate flower of the East, still weak, scarce eight months weaned from thy mother's breast, has dared to brave a great and powerful nation such as is the United States, with thy little army barely disciplined and shaped. Ah, beloved brethren, all this is true; and still we say we will be slaves to none, nor let ourselves be duped by gentle words.⁵²

⁵⁰ Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 215.

⁵¹ Emilio Aguinaldo, "Aguinaldo's Manifesto Recognizing the Opening of Hostilities," February 5, 1899, *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, from *The Statutes At Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 30, the U.S. Library of Congress, Asian Division (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), accessed January 9, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/ag990105.html>.

⁵² Emilio Aguinaldo, "Aguinaldo's Manifesto Reminding the Filipino People on the Importance of the Independence Struggle," June 12, 1899, *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, from *The Statutes At Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 30, the U.S. Library of Congress, Asian Division (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), accessed January 9, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/ag990612.html>.

Mabini added that war was “the last discourse left for the salvation of country and national honor, let us fight as long as there is strength left in us.”⁵³ Despite the revolutionary leaders’ attempt at stirring the nationalist spirit and their own soldiers’ military experience, the Filipino militia relied mostly on villagers inexperienced with war who fought a guerrilla war with bolo knives. The knives, though found in most villages in the Philippines, were no match for the advanced arsenal of the U.S.⁵⁴ U.S. troops quickly conquered major Filipino cities such as Malolos, Zapote, Bacoor, and Dasmariñas, while revolutionary leadership began to fold from within.⁵⁵ The losses divided the Filipino revolutionaries, and led to the gradual fall of the First Philippine Republic.

In March 1899, the McKinley administration sent the First Philippine Commission to the Philippines. Appointed in January, the group was led by Dr. Jacob G. Schurman, president of Cornell University. The First Philippine Commission, dubbed the Schurman Commission, was comprised of George Dewey, U.S. Navy Admiral, Charles H. Denby, U.S. Minister to China, Elwell S. Otis, U.S. Military General, and Dean C. Worcester, American Zoologist and Philippine scholar. The group’s mission was to outline how to best approach U.S. occupation of the Philippines.⁵⁶ The Commission met with fifteen Philippine Republic members willing to listen to U.S. plans regarding the occupation of the Philippines. Commission members were authorized to offer “American Autonomy” where an American colonial administration planned to build a democratic and Christian nation with wealthy Filipino elites of the revolution at the helm. The

⁵³ Apolinario Mabini, “The Struggle for Freedom,” 1899, as found in Teodoro Agoncillo’s *Filipino Nationalism, 1872-1970*, 240.

⁵⁴ Timothy K. Deady, “Lessons from a Successful Counterinsurgency: The Philippines, 1899–1902,” *Parameters* (Spring, 2005): 55-57.

⁵⁵ Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*, 163.

⁵⁶ “The Philippines: As viewed by President McKinley’s Special Commissioners, ‘The People Intelligent, But as Yet they are incapable of self-government,’” *The Daily Star*, November 3, 1899.

colonial government would therefore ignore the existence of the First Philippine Republic as well as the country's main Catholic faith. U.S. representatives emphasized their desire to "establish in the Philippine Islands an enlightened system of government under which the Philippine people may enjoy the largest measure of home rule and the amplest liberty."⁵⁷

The U.S. proposal of "American Autonomy" led to a divide within the Filipino cabinet between the independistas (true nationalists) and the americanistas (pro-Americans). Mabini, an independista, believed that the americanistas had the best interest of the nation in mind, but emphasized that leadership under the U.S. was not the definition of true independence. He believed that Filipinos rightfully won their independence from Spain and should continue to fight for their nation, so Filipinos could cultivate a culture and nation that was solely theirs. Mabini also believed that acceptance of "American Autonomy" and surrender would be for the benefit of "the Americans, not for ourselves, who were being conquered and enslaved."⁵⁸

Despite Mabini's warnings, americanistas dominated the cabinet, most of them wealthy and powerful elites such as Pedro A. Paterno, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, and Felipe Buencamino. Aguinaldo appointed this cabinet, yet most of its members were prepared to abandon his values in favor of their own future political power in the Philippines. Aguinaldo, due to pressure from americanistas, dismissed Mabini and his supporters and a new cabinet was appointed that consisted mostly of American sympathizers led by Paterno and Bautista. Other independistas were dismissed or banned

⁵⁷ United States Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine commission to the President: January 31, 1900*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 4.

⁵⁸ Apolinario Mabini, "La Intransigencia (The Stubbornness)," an article referring to the *americanistas*, November 6, 1899, in *La Revolucion Filipina* (The Philippine Revolution), vol. 2 (Manila: Bureau Printing, 1931), 111.

by Aguinaldo from the cabinet, under the full encouragement and insistence of Paterno and Bautista. One particular nationalist and high general of the Philippine Republic, Antonio Luna, was assassinated by his own troops, an act believed to have been ordered by the americanistas.⁵⁹ The U.S. proposal attracted wealthy merchants throughout the islands with the possibility of financial gain and the appeal of the dollar and North American trade.⁶⁰

The apparent success of the First Philippine Commission presaged the development of the Second Philippine Commission. Known as the Taft Commission, it was led by William Howard Taft, the first Governor-General of the Philippines. The commission's objectives were to create a governing body under the full control of the U.S. based on the findings of the first commission.⁶¹ Established by President McKinley in March 1900, the commission was fully executed under President Theodore Roosevelt, after the assassination of McKinley. The Taft Commission implemented a centralized education system based on the U.S. model. Filipino elites selected by the commission ran for election as provincial governors of various provincial islands. The U.S. tactic of integrating U.S. leaders within Philippine political society enabled the easy capture of island regions such as the Visayas. Filipinos in main trade ports such as Iloilo, Cebu, and Negros did not greet U.S. troops with much hostility, due to leaders controlled by U.S. and Filipino merchants eager for U.S. trade. The Negrenses, with its large population of wealthy merchants and americanistas, raised the U.S. flag upon the arrival of U.S.

⁵⁹ Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*, 164-165; Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 218-223.

⁶⁰ United States Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine commission to the President: January 31, 1900*, 149.

⁶¹ "United States Rule," edited by Ronald E. Dolan in *Philippines: A Country Study*, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991, accessed March 13, 2016, <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/16.htm>.

ships.⁶² The dismissal of Mabini, the assassination of Luna, and the swift U.S. conquest of major regions demoralized Filipino troops on the front lines and the supporters of Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo himself escaped to the mountains to reconvene with his trusted advisers to plan their next move. However, his disappearance led to a complete loss of morale and subsequent surrender of Filipino soldiers to U.S. troops.

On March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo was betrayed by the americanistas he assigned to the cabinet and was captured by U.S. General Frederick N. Funston. He was brought to Manila on April 1, where Aguinaldo formally declared an end to the First Philippine Republic, swore an oath of allegiance to the United States, and recognized U.S. sovereignty over the archipelago.⁶³ On April 19, he issued a final proclamation regarding his submission to the United States emphasizing that the “complete termination of hostilities and a lasting peace are not only desirable but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippines.”⁶⁴ Aguinaldo believed that the “country has declared unmistakably in favor of peace; so be it. Enough of blood; enough of tears and desolation.” He placed his faith in the U.S. promises of Filipino liberty. He believed that the revolution would submit to U.S. control but would not surrender its national loyalty; concession would not be a display of “Filipino weakness” but of Filipino “fortitude and courage.” Aguinaldo viewed his surrender as his ultimate love and service for his country and his Kababayans: “By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the

⁶² Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*, 165; Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 219.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 224; Zaide, *The Philippines: A Unique Nation*, 274-275.

⁶⁴ Emilio Aguinaldo, “Aguinaldo's Proclamation of Formal Surrender to the United States,” April 19, 1901, *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, from *The Statutes At Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 30, the U.S. Library of Congress, Asian Division (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), accessed January 9, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/ag010419.html>.

entire Archipelago, as I now do without any reservations whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine!”⁶⁵

Despite the surrender of thousands of Filipino soldiers as well as Aguinaldo’s call for surrender, a number of Filipino generals refused to lay down their arms and withdraw their troops. General Vicente Lukban and General Miguel Malvar continued the resistance for almost a year after Aguinaldo’s capture. The two men led guerrilla operations in various areas of the archipelago such Batangas and Samar, the latter being the location of hundreds of Filipino soldiers and villagers.⁶⁶ On July 4, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt provided complete amnesty to “all persons in the Philippine Archipelago who have participated in the insurrections,” and the insurrection largely came to a conclusion.⁶⁷

U.S. attempts at peaceful propaganda through the Filipino elites did not sit well with the Filipino agrarian class, whose dealings with U.S. troops differed drastically from those of the elites. From the first days of the Philippine-American War, U.S. troops invented a racial hierarchy for Filipinos of lower classes, whose skin color was darker than those of the elites due to farming under the hot tropical sun. U.S. sentiments of racism, at an all-time high on U.S. soil, were brought to the islands. Filipinos’ brown skin and almond eyes leant themselves readily to a racial classification founded on white supremacy. White U.S. soldiers were quick to place Filipinos in the same position within

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 227; Veltisezar Bautista, *The Filipino Americans (1763-Present): Their History, Culture and Traditions*, Second ed. (IL: Bookhaus Publishers, 2002), 71-72.

⁶⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, “President Theodore Roosevelt’s Proclamation Formally Ending the Philippine “Insurrection” and Granting of Pardon and Amnesty,” July 4, 1902 *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, from *The Statutes At Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 30, the U.S. Library of Congress, Asian Division (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), accessed January 9, 2016, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/tr020704.html>.

the social and racial hierarchy as other people of color and often called them “niggers.”

Frank M. Erb, of the Pennsylvania Regiment, wrote home on February 27, 1899:

We have been in this nigger-fighting business now for twenty-three days... The niggers shoot over one another's heads or any old way... The morning of the 6th a burying detail from our regiment buried forty-nine nigger enlisted men and two nigger officers... We are supposed to have killed about three hundred. Take my advice, and don't enlist in the regulars, for you are good for three years. I am not sorry I enlisted, but you see we have had some excitement.⁶⁸

American exceptionalism and perception of Western supremacy ran through the various ranks of the U.S. military. General Funston, the U.S. colonel who captured Aguinaldo, believed that the Filipino people were “as a rule, an illiterate, semi-savage people, who are waging war not against tyranny, but against Anglo-Saxon order and decency.”⁶⁹ In his 1899 letter to the editor of the *Kansas City Journal*, General Funston was candid in his allegiance to the U.S. agenda of Manifest Destiny, stating that he had hoped that “Uncle Sam” would apply the “chastening rod” upon the Filipino people, until the Filipinos agree to be good “Injuns (Indians).”⁷⁰

The subjugation of Filipino “Injuns” and “niggers” brought a sense of bloody enthusiasm amongst the U.S. troops for the project of U.S. imperialism. The Military Order of the Carabao, an exclusive patriotic society for U.S. soldiers, was founded in the midst of the Philippine-American war with the marching anthem:

In the days of dopey dreams—happy, peaceful Philippines,
When the bolomen were busy all night long.
When ladrones would steal and lie, and Americanos die,
Then you heard the soldiers sing this evening song:
Damn, damn, damn the insurrectos!
Cross-eyed kakaic ladrones!

⁶⁸ Frank M. Erb, letter to home, dated February 27, 2016, “American Soldiers in the Philippines Write Home about the War,” *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, last modified January 26, 2016, accessed February 3, 2016, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/58/>.

⁶⁹ Federick N. Funston. “Interesting Letter from Funston,” *Kansas City Journal*, April 22, 1899.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Underneath the starry flag, civilize 'em with a Krag,
And return us to our own beloved homes.⁷¹

The lyrics referred to the Filipinos as the “bolomen,” in reference to the bolos knives used by Filipino soldiers, and “ladrones” for thieves. The line, “civilize ‘em with a krag,” reflected U.S. soldiers’ attitudes in implementing U.S. ideals of Manifest Destiny—with necessary force. The “krag” referred to the Krag-Jorgensen rifle issued to the U.S. military during the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.⁷² F.A. Blake of the American Red Cross told a reporter of the *Boston Globe* on June 27, 1900, “American soldiers are determined to kill every native [Filipino] in sight.”⁷³ Blake was stationed in Manila and witnessed the execution of captured Filipino soldiers:

I never saw such execution in my life, and hope never to see such sights as met me on all sides as our little corps passed over the field, dressing wounded. Legs and arms nearly demolished; total decapitation; horrible wounds in chests and abdomens, showing the determination of our soldiers to kill every native in sight. The Filipinos did stand their ground heroically, contesting every inch, but proved themselves unable to stand the deadly fire of our well-trained and eager boys in blue. I counted seventy-nine dead natives in one small field, and learn that on the other side of the river their bodies were stacked up for breastworks.⁷⁴

Brutalities of war materialized on both sides, especially with the torture and rapid executions of captured soldiers. Filipino soldiers would also terrorize civilians who did not rally behind the ideals of Filipino nationalism, while U.S. troops burned villages not protected by a U.S. elected provincial leader.

⁷¹ Military Order of the Carabao, “History,” last modified 2016, accessed February 3, 2016, <http://carabao.org/about/history>; Ralph M. Ghormley, *The Military Order of the Carabao: Centennial History* (Marine Corps Association, 2000), 111; Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, 146.

⁷² John Malloy, “The Last Krag,” *Gun Digest* 2013, 67th Ed. (2012): 260-261.

⁷³ “Eventual U.S. Victory, U.S. colonization of the Philippines,” *The Boston Globe*, June 27, 1900.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; “F.A. Blake, of California, in charge of the Red Cross,” 1900, *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, last modified January 26, 2016, accessed February 3, 2016, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/58/>.

The Western perception of Filipinos as “savages” justified U.S. military violence. In one extreme example, on September 28, 1901, townspeople of Balangiga on Samar Island initiated a guerrilla attack against U.S. troops, killing 48 American soldiers. In retaliation, U.S. Army Officer Jacob Hurd Smith then ordered the massacre of every person on the island capable of bearing arms against the United States. Upon acquiring Samar, Smith famously stated, “I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn; the more you kill and burn, the better it will please me... The interior of Samar must be made a howling wilderness...”⁷⁵ Smith specifically ordered to “kill everyone over ten,” which included Filipino children ten years of age who were capable of carrying a bolo.⁷⁶ Smith’s instruction to assassinate children caused negative reactions from people in the U.S. and led to a court martial under allegations of violating the 58th Article of War, which prohibits “murder, assault and battery with an intent to kill” in time war.⁷⁷ However, Smith was acquitted and was praised by fellow soldiers on Filipino soil such as General Funston, who proudly stated, “I personally strung up thirty-five Filipinos without trial, so what was all the fuss over... 'dispatching' a few 'treacherous savages'?”⁷⁸

Racial tensions continued after the war. The notion of racial consciousness deepened the social divide in Filipino society during a sensitive time when their new identity as Filipinos was being tested. Filipinos’ unique physical features meant that they looked neither European nor Asian. Their physical appearance and ethnic make-up was founded on centuries of racial amalgamation from various ethnicities emanating from the

⁷⁵ Ibid.; “President Retires Gen. Jacob H. Smith: Philippine Officer Reprimanded for ‘Kill’ and ‘Burn’ Order,” *New York Times*, July 17, 1902.

⁷⁶ Ibid.; “Kill Everyone Over Ten,” cartoon, published by *New York Journal*, May 5, 1902.

⁷⁷ Ibid., Mark Oswald, “The ‘Howling Wilderness’ Courts-martial of 1902,” *Department of the Army* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2001), 3-7 and 15-17.

⁷⁸ Frederick Funston, quoted in the *New York Sun*, March 10, 1902.

Malayan peninsula, from indigenous people of the archipelago, and the Spanish colonizers—one that made the people uniquely Filipino. Amongst racist American occupiers, it also meant they were uniquely attacked in the American colonial system, labeled with any racial epithet a soldier could come up with to describe any person of non-white skin.

Under U.S. imperial control, the class system built under Spain, with the emergence of the *Ilustrado* middle-class, was deemed insignificant. The variation of brown to black skin did, indeed, make the colonized people “Filipino” in the eyes of the Americans. However, no matter what class they associated with, the Filipinos, due to the color of their skin and physical characteristics, were still racially beneath Americans. Guerrilla tactics by Filipino soldiers were viewed as a prime example of “savagery” by U.S. soldiers, with its scattered and unorganized style of warfare. However, to the agrarian Filipino soldier, despite being undisciplined in the realm of warfare, any sort of battle tactic, formal or informal, was their way of serving their *Kababayans* and their nation for the ultimate goal of “*kalayaan*” (independence).⁷⁹ Mabini recognized U.S. racial prejudice for what it was: an attempt to subjugate Filipinos into thinking that they were an inferior race and weaken Filipinos’ newfound national pride. He stated that “race prejudices separates [Filipinos] from the [Americans],” so the promises of liberty and amnesty from U.S. representatives were insufficient. “Annexation,” Mabini continued, “will result in our eternal slavery by people...who do not want to see a brown people beside them.”⁸⁰ Early attempts to pacify Filipinos and end Philippine-American conflicts

⁷⁹ Paul A. Kramer, “Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War,” *Asia Pacific Journal* 4, Issue 6, No. 0 (June 2006); 14-15.

⁸⁰ Apolinario Mabini, “The Struggle for Freedom,” 1899, as found in Teodoro Agoncillo’s *Filipino Nationalism, 1872-1970*, 239-240.

further impassioned Filipinos in their desire for independence, while the racial and ethnic prejudice displayed by U.S. troops allowed Filipinos to fully discern and cement the recognition of a national Philippine identity.

Chapter Two

Creating the Filipino Savage: How Science and Popular Media Influenced the American Perception of the Philippines, 1898-1914

Take up the White Man's burden...
To serve your captives' need
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child
 -“White Man's Burden” by Rudyard Kipling¹

The amalgamation of many ethnic and cultural influences have shaped Filipino culture and identity. These include: the immigration of surrounding Asiatic groups, most being Malaysians from the Malay peninsula of Malaysia and Indonesia; Catholicism and various Western influences imported over centuries of Spanish colonization; and United States imperialism and the impact of the long nineteenth century's Race of Nations.² The United States' motivation to enter into the world of imperialism and to play a role in the Race of Nations manifested itself in a military conflict against the Philippines. The Philippine-American War occurred just months after the U.S. won the 1898 Spanish American War, during the “bloodless” Battle of Manila, which took place from July to August 1898. The battle marked the conclusion of the Spanish American War as well as the end of the Philippine Revolution against Spain. The revolution initiated the founding of the First Philippine Republic and an independent government, or so the Filipinos believed. However, the 1898 Treaty of Paris ceded the newly liberated and established

¹ Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man's Burden,” *McClure's Magazine* 12, no. 4 (1899): 290; Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man's Burden,” 1899, Fordham University. *Modern History Sourcebook: Rudyard Kipling, The White Man's Burden*, accessed May 30, 2015, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.asp>

² Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 2nd Edition (Quezon City, Philippines: Malaya Books, 1969), 4-6; Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 36-39.

First Philippine Republic from Spain to the U.S. in exchange for the amount of twenty million dollars.³ The treaty initiated a military conflict between the United States and the Philippines that lasted from 1899 to 1902 and was driven by the imperialist ambitions of the United States.

The conflict introduced Americans to the seven thousand islands that make up the Philippine archipelago. U.S. political propaganda, literature, and scientific racism promoted the ideals of Manifest Destiny, the U.S. “right” to expand its western ideologies to imperialized nations, and formulated a western perception of the identity of Filipinos. The U.S. government argued Filipinos were unfit to govern their own land without proper guidance of a more “civilized” western culture, despite the fact that the nation had endured centuries of colonization under Spanish rule. The American popular culture depiction of a “Filipino savage,” with their grass skirts and “Negrito” blood, implied that the Filipinos lacked the skills in governing a nation, and was used to validate U.S. aggression in the Philippine archipelago.⁴

American notions of Filipino identity were formulated to support the imperialist agenda of the United States. At a time when western states expanded their political and economic control to non-western areas of the world, inspired by notions of heroic Western Duty and Manifest Destiny, a complete understanding of the culture and background of the people whose nations they were trying to assert power over was deemed insignificant. Filipino identity was controlled and manipulated to validate the

³ “Treaty of Peace Between the United States and Spain; December 10, 1898,” *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, Yale University, accessed June 22, 2015, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sp1898.asp.

⁴ David P. Barrows, *The Negritos and Allied Types in the Philippines* (Lancaster, PA: The New Era Printing Company, 1910), 14.

U.S. hold within the Asian archipelago and was justified by the studies of scientific racism. American intellectual society was consistently inundated by propaganda that supported the claims of racial hierarchy and fed on the scientific arguments that justified social prejudice. This biased concept of Filipino identity as savage, barbaric, and non-Christian—despite being colonized by the Catholic nation of Spain for centuries—was deeply imbedded in U.S. society. The idea was presented and reinforced through political satire and communal entertainment presented as “human zoos” at international exhibitions. Americans used the international trend of imperialism led by Great Britain to accept and justify the barbaric and savaged Filipino identity introduced to them. Science, assisted by the media of illustration, entertainment, and literature, validated the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines as well as created a position for America’s Filipinos within the ranks of western racial hierarchy.

Scientific racism ascended to prominence at the turn of the nineteenth century, as physical anthropological studies began to expand beyond animals and plants.⁵ Carl Linnaeus first established racial classification in 1735 with his method of “taxonomy,” where he defined groups by their biological characteristics and divided species based on shared features.⁶ Linnaeus’s findings became a part of the foundation of man’s biological ability to identify and breed an ideal human race. This can be seen in the works of Samuel George Morton (1839) and his theory of craniometry in *Crania Americana*, the idea that you can divulge the ethnic origins of a person based on the properties of their

⁵ “Science: 1680s-1800s, Early Classification of Nature,” *Race Exhibit*, A Project of The American Anthropological Association, 2015, accessed November 1, 2015, http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/early_class.html

⁶ “Timeline of Scientific Racism,” Asian/Pacific/American Institute at NYU, accessed November 1, 2015, <http://www.nyu-apastudies.org/hauntedfiles/about/timeline/>

head. In Scottish geologist Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Mankind* (1844), he argued that each race stood on a different stage of human evolution with whites being the highest and most evolved.

Finally, scientific racism reached a crucial and historic apex with Francis Galton's (1869) development of the study of social Darwinism as well as coining the term and principles "eugenics."⁷ Eugenics is the science of enhancing the human species by manipulating genetic human heredity with great emphasis on defining "positive" and "negative" eugenics. Eugenicists encourage the breeding of individuals with "positive" or "normal" genes—individuals who exhibit higher-than-average and therefore desirable traits of intelligence and talents, such as professors, other professionals, and the upper middle class. On the other hand, eugenicists oppose the breeding of "negative" genes by individuals who exhibit metabolic disorders such as the mentally ill, the mentally incompetent, criminals, and alcoholics. Galton believed in "breeding for the highest order of intellect" and in human "equal protection" but not "equal rights." He acknowledged racial hierarchy by defining a "minor race," which was cemented during Galton's travels to Africa, and placed people of dark complexion under the category of negative eugenics.⁸ Eugenicists used social Darwinism as well as scientific racism to argue that human racial differences were not separate from the differences between animal species and its own hierarchy—the idea that one species was better than the other.

Historians wove social Darwinism into their analysis of the conflict between the U.S. and Philippines as early as the first two decades of the twentieth century. Some of

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Daniel Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 9

the earliest studies of Philippine and U.S. relations came from David P. Barrows. Barrows was an educator and anthropologist who traveled to Morocco and the Philippines and examined the culture and people for academic purposes. He was born in Chicago in 1874 but grew up in California on his wealthy family's Ventura ranch. Barrows graduated with his master's degree in political science from University of California-Berkeley in 1895, then received his PhD in anthropology from the University of Chicago in 1897.⁹ He taught at a state school in San Diego for two years prior to being appointed as Manila Superintendent of Schools in 1900 by William Howard Taft, Governor-General of the Philippines during the Second Philippine Commission.¹⁰ He published three works about the Philippines and its history between 1900 and 1914, all within the first decade and a half of U.S. occupation, each one inspired by his work with the Filipino people and the contemporary American ideology of Manifest Destiny. Barrows published his first book, *A History of the Philippines*, in 1905. It was used as a textbook in Philippine public high schools in order to "introduce [the Filipinos] to their own island country."¹¹ His work was a comprehensive study of Philippine history that contributed to the migration studies of the Philippines.

Barrows' research went as far back as the migration of Philippine natives from surrounding countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia prior to Spanish settlement in 1512. Barrows followed their development under Spanish rule, and the early years of

⁹ "Barrows, David P. (David Prescott), 1873-1954," National Endowment for Humanities, accessed November 24, 2015, <http://socialarchive.iath.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=barrows-david-p-david-prescott-1873-1954-cr.xml>; Online Archive of California, "Finding Aid to the David P. Barrows papers, 1890-1954," Bancroft Library, accessed November 22, 2015, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2f59n67s/>.

¹⁰ Ibid; "Philippines: United States Rule," U.S. Library of Congress, accessed November 22, 2015, <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/16.htm>.

¹¹ David Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York: American Book Company, 1905), 10.

U.S. occupation. Ethnography, with an emphasis on the Philippine connection to African ancestry through a nationalist and orientalist lens, shaped the perspective of Barrows' historical work. According to Barrows' 1905 study, Filipino ancestry was a mixture of peoples from the surrounding geography that influenced Philippine history and culture. The close proximity of countries such as Japan, China, and Malaysia provided the Asian physical features westerners considered standard of the people within the region. However, as Barrows pointed out, Filipino features vary from skin tone to hair texture ranging from the light skin of those mixed with centuries of European Spanish blood and "Oceanic Mongols" to dark-skinned natives he described as "Negritos."¹² Barrows theorized that these types of Filipinos had inhabited the islands since before the arrival of Spaniards, in part because of documents left by early Spanish settlers that include descriptions of the "Negritos." Although Barrows admitted that he did not discover any written proof concerning ancient people from Africa migrating to the islands, he did not dismiss the idea. He believed these people to be of the same ancestry as Africans based on their similar physical features and their alleged lack of evolution.¹³

Barrows' research on Filipino ethnography expanded in his 1910 work, *The Negritos and Allied Types in the Philippines*. His second book was a physical study of Filipinos' ethnic connections to Malaysia as well as Indonesia and the "mixing of blood" resulting from Spanish and other Asiatic influence. Barrows insisted on the prevalence of "Negrito" blood within all the Filipino classes—specifically in those residing in mountainous regions and in native tribes—and his assertions marked the beginning of

¹² Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 28.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 11-14 and 30.

race studies in Philippine history.¹⁴ According to Barrows' research, tribes of Negritos escaped to various mountain areas of the Philippines as more Spaniards arrived and increased the size of their colonies throughout the islands. Barrows spent nine years traveling to several isolated mountain areas and used various men and women of the tribal population and culture as sources for his work. Barrows employed the methods of French anthropologists and physician Paul Topinard in his ethnographic surveys to evaluate what he believed was "Negro blood."¹⁵ The "Topinard method of study" used scientific theories committed to proving the superiority of men with European lineage. Methods of study include "the nasal index," a method of examination that classified one's ethnicity based on the ratio of the bridge of a nose to its height.¹⁶ Following Topinard's research procedures, Barrows measured various parts of the bodies of tribesmen and women such as their head, nose, and arms and compared his findings to people of African descent. Barrows placed his findings in graphs and separated them through "cephalic" (cranial) and "nasal" indexes.¹⁷ Barrows spent over a decade in the Philippines collecting data and returned to the U.S. in 1919. He later served as president of the University of California, where he also lectured about his ethnographic study in the Philippines.¹⁸

Scientific racism supported by ethnographic research prevailed during the early twentieth century through various levels of American scholarship with the rising popularity of science in American society. It provided a conventional understanding of western social hierarchy through race, especially when it concerned the validation of

¹⁴ David P. Barrows, *The Negritos and Allied Types in the Philippines*, 358-359.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, *Race and Racism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira, 2006), 139-140.

¹⁷ Barrows, *The Negritos*, 359-361.

¹⁸ "Barrows, David P. (David Prescott), 1873-1954," National Endowment for Humanities.

American expansion to countries like the Philippines. Racial propaganda concerning the acquisition of the Philippines, was strengthened by ethnographical research conducted by American historians such as Barrows' *A History of the Philippines* and *The Negritos and Allied Types in the Philippines*. These works supported the ideology of Manifest Destiny and reinforced racial mistrust and prejudice within the United States. The emerging scientific racism that justified the clear subjugation of Filipinos was built on the existing racism and ideas about social hierarchy already strongly entrenched within the United States. During the events of the Philippine-American War, from the late nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, western society saw an intense decade of racism and racial divide in post-Reconstruction America. The introduction of Jim Crow Laws, segregation, and mass lynchings relegated African Americans in the South to a second-class status, while in the North, mass xenophobia prompted U.S. government immigration restrictions and emphasized the enforced racial hierarchy of the time.¹⁹

The notion of white supremacy, based on the findings of scientific racism, also appeared in popular media, further discouraging disregard for immigrants and African Americans.

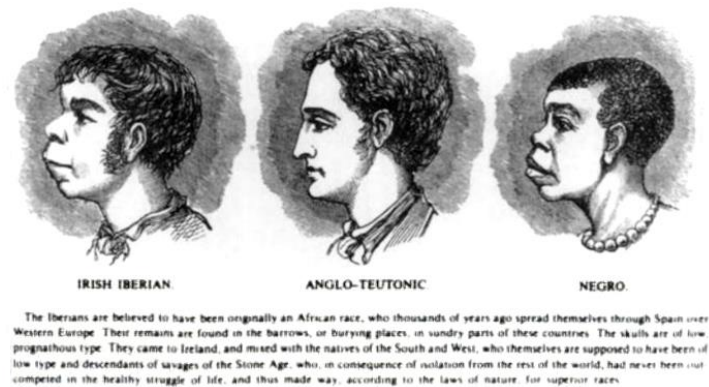


Figure 1

Illustrations such as H. Strickland Constable's 1899 "Ireland from One or Two Neglected

¹⁹ Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888–1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Introduction; Richard H. Pildes, "Democracy, Anti-Democracy, and the Canon," *Constitutional Commentary* 17, (2000), 12-27.

Points of View” (figure 1) published in the popular and influential American political magazine, *Harper’s Weekly*, presented a side profile of three men described from left to right as: “Irish Iberian,” “Anglo-Teutonic,” and “Negro.” The illustration included the text:

The Iberians are believed to have been originally an African race...They came to Ireland and mixed with the natives of the South and West, who themselves are supposed to have been of low type and descendants of savages of the Stone Age, who, in consequence of isolation from the rest of the world, had never been out-competed in the healthy struggle of life, and thus made way, according to the laws of nature, for superior races.²⁰

The “Anglo-Teutonic” man, with his long-elongated nose and fair features, was comparatively placed in the middle between the “Irish Iberian” and the “Negro.” The illustration depicts the latter two men as having the same features, and therefore, according to the accompanying text, the same genetic background. Cartoons and illustrations, such as Constable’s “Ireland from One or Two Neglected Points of View,” became a popular aspect of political satire at the turn of the twentieth century. The emergence of American humor magazines such as *Puck* and its rival, *Judge*, provided the public with weekly illustrative humor and political satire based on the current events of the time.²¹ Comedy and entertainment may have been the magazines’ implemented mission, but the presentation of the subject matter reinforced and contributed to existing racial prejudices.

²⁰ H. Strickland Constable, “Ireland from One or Two Neglected Points of View,” illustration, published by *Harper’s Weekly*, 1899, as seen on George Bornstein, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 146.

²¹ “Puck,” United States Senate, accessed November 23, 2015, http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/art/puck/puck_intro.htm; “Guide to the Samuel Halperin Puck and Judge Cartoon Collection,” *Special Collections Research Center*, Estelle and Melvin Gelman Library, The George Washington University, accessed November 23, 2015, <https://library.gwu.edu/ead/ms2121.xml>.

Political propaganda in cartoons and illustrations aided in the retention of the United States' racial order, which supported the U.S. government agenda to popularize Manifest Destiny. The history of McKinley's relationship with the Philippines can be described as complicated at best. His presidency led to one of the first U.S. ventures in foreign land acquisition and sovereignty. Scholars have perceived the initial actions of McKinley towards the Philippines as a "chivalrous crusade to redeem American honor" after the Spanish allegedly sunk the U.S. battleship, the *Maine*.²²

The U.S. war against Spain involved the colonized peoples of the Philippine archipelago, who were simultaneously fighting with Spain for their independence when Commodore George Dewey sank the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. On August 13, 1898, reinforcements sent by President McKinley seized the city of Manila from Spain, while Filipino revolutionaries initiated positions of attack within the outskirts of the city, an event historically known as the Battle of Manila.²³ The battle, sometimes called the Mock Battle of Manila, was a premeditated conflict by both the U.S. and Spanish generals to keep the city from falling to advancing Philippine Revolutionaries led by Emilio Aguinaldo. The plan led to the U.S. victory against Spain.

The Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, approved of the U.S. occupation of Cuba as well as the annexation of the former Spanish colonies of Puerto Rico, Guam, and Philippines, providing the U.S. with its first overseas empire.²⁴ The Philippines was ceded to the U.S. for twenty million dollars, and McKinley proceeded to

²² Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 5 and 133.

²³ "The Evolution of Manila," Republic of Philippines Presidential Museum and Library, last modified 2013, accessed November 6, 2015, <http://malacanang.gov.ph/75830-the-evolution-of-manila/>

²⁴ "Treaty of Peace Between the United States and Spain; December 10, 1898;" Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*, 194-195.

lay claim to the islands with the “earnest wish and paramount aim...to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines.” McKinley proclaimed a “Benevolent Assimilation,” the official proclamation of terms and occupation by the U.S., and assured the Philippine people the “full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples” with emphasis on democracy so that the people might learn to govern themselves.²⁵ In the United States, McKinley was celebrated as well as attacked for his acquisition of foreign lands. Magazines and newspapers published political satires in forms of cartoons and illustrations that criticized the patriotic ideology of Manifest Destiny used to justify American foreign relations.

The McKinley era’s vision of Manifest Destiny, led by race, religion, and the U.S. sense of exceptionalism, can be seen in the propaganda of the time. McKinley and his advisors believed that their actions towards the acquisition of the Philippines honored the American notions of the advancement of freedom and expansion of Christianity. McKinley did not initially wish to obtain the Philippines due to the costs required in occupying a nation oceans away, but he believed that annexing the nation was “a gift from the gods.” Under Manifest Destiny, he reasoned that support for American expansion was led by God, who provided him with four crucial reasons to retain the Philippines under U.S. rule:

- (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable;
- (2) that we could not turn them over to France and Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable;
- (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain’s was;
- and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and

²⁵ “The Philippine American War: McKinley’s Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, December 21, 1898,” *The Philippine American War Documents*, MSC Institute of Technology, accessed November 4, 2015, <http://filipino.biz.ph/history/benevolent.html>.

by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died.²⁶

McKinley also received pressure from his own administration and fellow politicians to annex the islands. Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana was one of the many politicians that supported U.S. expansion with the advocacy of Manifest Destiny. When asked about the Philippine question, Beveridge stated "of all our race [God] has marked the American people as his chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man."²⁷

The McKinley administration used popular media and issues of the time to express U.S. relations to the public as well as rally support. Pictures that depicted the Philippines, a country that was completely foreign to United States citizens, as a nation full of "barbaric" and "savage" people in need of western Christianization were illustrated in various magazines and newspapers. Filipinos were consistently portrayed in satirical cartoons and lithographs with "black-African" features and in the form of children. Political illustrator Christopher L. Bartholomew featured many of these "savage" characteristics in his works that were published in newspapers like the *Minnesota Tribune*, one of the prime daily newsprints for the state at the time. Illustrations such as "Hawaii, Cuba, and the Philippines celebrate the Independence Day of the United States" (figure 2) depicted the three nations holding hands and celebrating

²⁶ General James Rusling, "Interview with President William McKinley," *The Christian Advocate* 22 January 17, 1903, edited by Daniel Schirmer and Stephen Roskamm Shalom, reprinted in *The Philippines Reader* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 22–23.

²⁷ Albert J. Beveridge, "In support of an American empire on January 9, 1900," *Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1st Sess.: 704-712.

the anniversary of United States independence.²⁸ Their hands are held together, implying that the countries were united and in support of the U.S. government, as they skipped along and proudly waved U.S. flags. This was a way for the government to portray that these countries wanted and were grateful to be imperialized. The people were drawn the way United States citizens perceived them, with

Hawaii and the Philippines in grass skirts and “Negro” features. The figure in the middle represents Cuba in western clothing, indicating its closer connections to western values. The features of the Cuban were portrayed as an “evolved” version of its Philippine and Hawaiian counterparts, whereas the latter two have darker and more “savage” features. The Cuban also displayed a less broad nose and

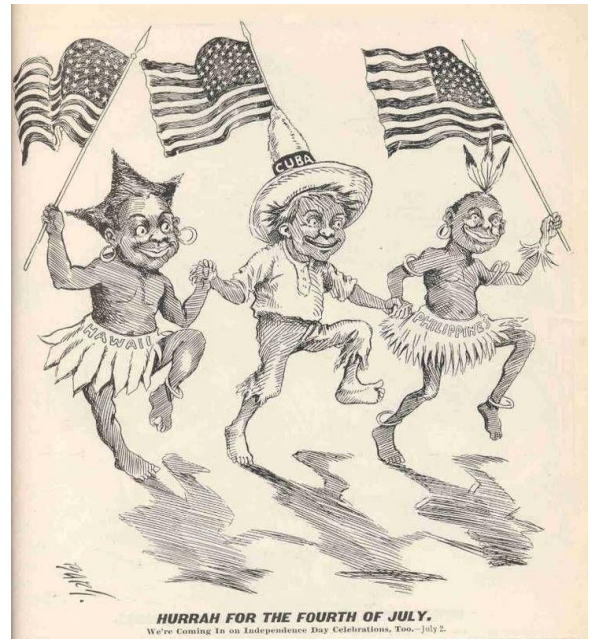


Figure 2

thinner lips. The three figures were shown as children and were barefoot— signifying the need for “adult supervision” in governing their nation since, like children and according to the illustration, the people of these nations exemplified irresponsibility and foolishness.

The notion of the United States as an adult “father figure” or educator was popular within newspapers and magazines that advocated Manifest Destiny. *Judge*, one of the weekly United States magazine that published satire and propaganda from 1881 to

²⁸ Charles L. Bartholomew, “Hawaii, Cuba, and the Philippines celebrate the Independence Day of the United States,” cartoon, published by Minneapolis: Journal Printing Company, 1898, *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, No. 1 (October 7, 2013), accessed November 4, 2015, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/selling-empire-american-propaganda-and-war-in-the-philippines/5355055>.

1947, depicted a cartoon titled “The Filipino’s First Bath” (figure 3) on the magazine’s June 10, 1899, cover.²⁹ McKinley was depicted holding a brush on one hand and a baby

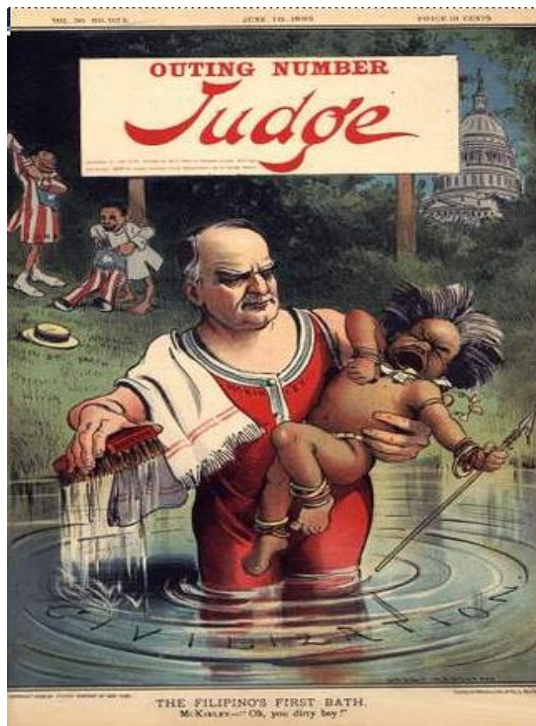


Figure 3

“savage” on another, over a body of water labeled “civilization.” The baby was drawn with dark complexion, stark naked except for tribal jewelry, and holding a spear. As McKinley gave this baby “savage” a bath, he exclaimed, “Oh, you dirty boy!” In the background, two older children, labeled Cuba and Philippines, eagerly gathered their new western clothing after their alleged bath in the water of civilization.³⁰ This image highlights McKinley’s call for Benevolent Assimilation

and goal of Manifest Destiny, where he genuinely believed in the democratic and moral standing of his administration’s imperialist agenda. McKinley was adamant in his beliefs that the U.S. had a divine responsibility in civilizing “savages.” The U.S. government, specifically those within the Philippine Commission, U.S. led governing bodies within the islands appointed by the president, believed that educating nations in western democracy was an American moral obligation that would benefit the people within imperialized nations like Philippines and Cuba.

²⁹ George Washington University, “Guide to the Samuel Halperin Puck and Judge Cartoon Collection, 1879-1903,” Collection Number MS2121, last modified 2015, accessed November 13, 2015, <http://library.gwu.edu/ead/ms2121.xml>; Grant Hamilton, “The Filipino’s First Bath,” *Judge*, 1899, published by New York: The Forbidden Book: The Philippine American War in Political Cartoons, *JMU Omeka*, accessed November 13, 2015, <https://omeka.jmu.edu/main/items/show/3271>.

³⁰ Grant Hamilton, “The Filipino’s First Bath.”

Louis Dalrymple's 1899 chromolithograph, titled "School Begins," (figure 4) portrays the United States, in the form of Uncle Sam, as the world educator of self-government.³¹ Uncle Sam was illustrated towering over all the students in the classroom with a book titled *U.S. First Lessons in Self-Government* on his desk. Four students labeled "Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, [and] Philippines" sat in the front—drawn, again, as children with dark complexion and in western clothing, except they lacked shoes. The children were drawn to look infuriated, uninterested, or afraid. The caption states:



Figure 4

Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization) Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!³²

This caption insinuates that the people of these imperialized

nations may not desire the presence of the U.S., but Americans who believed in “Benevolent Assimilation” adamantly defended their actions as good for these people. Uncle Sam, in this illustration, indicated other nations/people that the U.S. had imperialized with emphasis on their “gladness.” Behind the front row, students were drawn in full westernized clothing (including shoes) and with mostly lighter skin. They were still illustrated as children, albeit they seem older than the students at front, and sat holding books labeled "California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, [and] Alaska.” The

³¹ Louis Dalrymple, “School Begins,” chromolithograph, published by New York: Keppler and Schwarzmann, January 25, 1899, *Library of Congress*, accessed November 13, 2015, <http://www.loc.gov/item/2012647459/>.

³² *Ibid.*

lithograph reflects on the social and racial philosophies of the time, the idea that western education assisted in the human evolution of imperialized nations.

The rigid social hierarchy within American society was strengthened by the amalgamation of religion and scientific racism, which supported the God-given “white superiority” practiced by those of imperial nations. An argument supported by politicians to advocate the objectives of Manifest Destiny and imperialism as well as occupation of the Philippines. American cartoonist, Udo J. Keppler, published a chromolithograph of Chauncey M. Depew and Robert G. Ingersoll depicting their agreement on the U.S.

presence within the Philippines titled “For once, science and religion agree” (figure 5).³³ Depew, a Republican senator from New York, believed that God blessed the westernization of the Philippines and was “clothed with the powers, the authority and the beneficence of representative institutions [the United States].”³⁴ Ingersoll, on the other hand was a political leader of the Golden Age of Free Thought, who believed human existence as well as ideas and beliefs could be explained

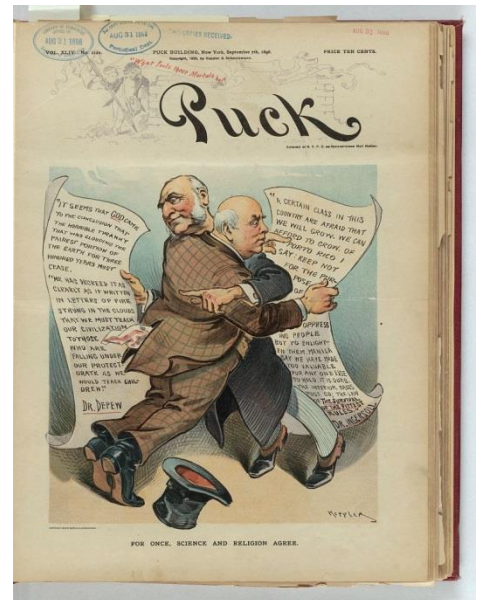


Figure 5

through science and logical reason. Also known as “The Great Agnostic,” Ingersoll supported the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines in the hopes of expanding the American flag as the “first and only republic that ever existed” based on the Social Darwinian belief

³³ Udo J. Keppler, “For once, science and religion agree,” chromolithograph, published by New York: Keppler & Schwarzmann, September 7, 1898, *Library of Congress*, accessed November 14, 2015, <http://www.loc.gov/item/2012647468/>.

³⁴ Ibid.; Chauncey Michael Depew, “At the Banquet of the American Chamber of Commerce, at Paris, July 4, 1902,” in *Speeches of Chauncey M. Depew, April 1902-November 1904* (New York: Astor, Lenox, and Tiller Foundations, 1905), 32.

of survival of the “physical fittest.”³⁵ The illustration presents the merging of two philosophies as the two men embrace each other and point to aspects of their own political speeches that justified American imperialism in the Philippines. Although the speeches were delivered in two separate years (Ingersoll’s was from 1899 and Depew’s was from 1902) their main arguments provided the same melding of both religion and science. In a society that built a social hierarchy drenched in prejudice and discrimination, leaders like Ingersoll and Depew provided American society with a convincing argument for U.S. imperialism and the consequent possession of the Philippines.

Social Darwinism and the popularity of eugenics rose from society’s interest in the history of human ethnic backgrounds in an age when Darwin’s theory of evolution was thought to pit those ethnicities in competition with one another for survival. The desire to seek validation of the existing social hierarchy – applying social Darwinism to class as well as ethnicity – grew as quickly as the popularity of scientific racism. American society, as a whole, acquired justification of racial and class prejudice through science.

From the late nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, when imperialism expanded, exhibitions of the exotic attracted nearly one hundred million people to international expositions or World Fairs.³⁶ Exhibits of foreign villages from conquered nations, later dubbed derogatorily “human zoos,” became a common and

³⁵ “Robert Green Ingersoll, The Great Agnostic, (August 11, 1833- July 21, 1899),” last modified 2015, accessed November 14, 2015, <http://www.robertgreeningersoll.org/robert-green-ingersoll/>; Robert G. Ingersoll, *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll*, edited by Herman E. Kittredge, vol. 13 (New York: Dresden Publishing Company, 1912), 243 and 507.

³⁶ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 2.

central attraction in world's fairs held in major cities of Europe such as Paris and London and in the United States.³⁷ International expositions provided physical evidence for the growing ideas concerning human evolution and defined what scientific racism considered "primitive." The public exhibits of people from the colonized world were used to support imperialism abroad, to legitimate racial hierarchy, and emphasize the growth and expansion in the United States' case, of "American Progress." McKinley described the expositions as "timekeepers of progress" during the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901.³⁸ McKinley believed expositions to be a necessary advertisement for the expansion of American markets and the acquisition of natural resources from colonized nations, such as the Philippines. The United States should be working to "impose American civilization overseas" in the same fashion and with the same success as the British achieved in India, and expositions were a good way of displaying the benefits of the imposition.³⁹

Eugenics and ethnographic studies, such as those conducted and written about by David P. Barrows, also influenced the creation and design of "human zoos" in U.S.



Figure 6

international expositions such as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. The largest exhibit at the fair was the Philippine Exposition that consisted of almost one hundred structures ranging from native huts to Spanish influenced

³⁷ "The Human Zoo: Science's Dirty Secret," *Race Science Last Taboo*, 2009, accessed November 1, 2015, <http://www.usd116.org/profdev/ahtc/lessons/goerssfel10/lessons/lesson3/thehumanzoo.pdf>

³⁸ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

buildings. The exhibit was presented as a “Walled City” with a “Bridge of Spain” entrance that mimicked the stone walls that surrounded the city of Manila (figure 6).⁴⁰ It was divided into various villages that portrayed the different types of Filipinos: the Visayans and Tagalogs (figure 7) of the “high and more intelligent class of natives,” the Morros who were “followers of Mohammed,” the Bagobo “savages,” and the “monkey-like” Negritos and Igorots.⁴¹ The Tagalogs were displayed to be somewhat assimilated into western culture due to Spanish colonization. In the exhibit, Tagalogs were found in school buildings that stressed American education with students and teachers



Figure 7



Figure 8

dressed in western attire of Spanish influence.⁴²

The exposition also displayed Morros, Islamic barefooted warriors in tribal vests and pants. The Morros tribe was chosen to demonstrate the religious divide in the Philippine archipelago that persisted despite centuries of colonization under Catholic Spain (figure 8).⁴³

⁴⁰ 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair, *The Philippine Exposition Booklet* (digitized by HumanZoos.net), 2-4, last modified 2015, accessed November 27, 2015, http://www.humanzoos.net/?page_id=175.

⁴¹ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 171.

⁴² 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair, *The Philippine Exposition Booklet*, 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 15.

Exhibition of the Tagalogs accentuated the possibility of westernization for Filipinos with the Tagalogs' alleged desire to acquire American education and acceptance of western attire. Morros experimented with wearing western clothing, and thus represented the transition stage of the Filipino "savage" to the more evolved Filipino Tagalogs. The more "primitive" type of Filipinos, such as the Igorots, drew the most visitors during the Philippine Exposition. The tribes' copper skin and worship of "natural spirits" attracted many visitors to the exposition's Igorot Village, built with huts made up of Nipa leaves. Warriors much like the Morros, Igorots were depicted to be more "savage" in their lack of clothing with hand-made spears as well as wooden carved shields (figure 9).⁴⁴ According to the 1904 *Philippine Exposition Booklet* provided to the fair visitors, eugenicists and other scientists of the time declared that, with proper western training, Igorots were "susceptible to high state development" and were capable of understanding "American advancements."⁴⁵ The exhibit planners may have also been influenced by earlier exhibitions that



Figure 9

promoted eugenics and racial divide, such as Carl Hagenbeck's 1874 exhibit of the Samoan and Sami people (Laplanders) in Germany. Hagenbeck built a "purely natural" village for visitors to present the Samoan and Sami people in their primitive states. The Parisian World Fairs of 1878 and 1889 exhibited an entire "Negro Village" with a

⁴⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

complete ethnographic display of simulated villages of non-whites such as Asians and Africans.⁴⁶ The villages within these various international expositions were created as evidence and case studies for “scientific” arguments of the “barbarisms” of non-Western civilizations, which further manifested racist ideas. These exhibitions provided insight into how, through the turn of the twentieth century, society conceptualized race and ethnicity during the time of land expansion and racial tensions.

World’s Fairs touted the expansion of nations and the imperialization of the Philippines provided the U.S. a spot in the twentieth century Race of Nations. Some printed media illustrated countries such as Great Britain as being successful at colonization and imperialism, and urged the United States to expand under the notion of “The Duty of Great Nations.” As seen in an 1899

chromolithograph of the same title (figure 10), Uncle Sam is consoled by his British equivalent, John Bull, who stated:

Don't get discouraged, Sam! I've had just that sort of trouble for three hundred years, while I've been building this monument. It has cost many human lives and much money, but the whole world, as well as England, has benefited by it.⁴⁷

Uncle Sam looks worriedly at storm clouds labeled “Philippine Complications” as John Bull points at a large monument marked “Civilization” with various carved

figures labeled "Guiana, Australia, Ireland, Scotland, India, Canada, Egypt, S. Africa,



Figure 10

⁴⁶ Ibid., 56, 61, and 66; “The Human Zoo: Science’s Dirty Secret.”

⁴⁷ Udo J. Keppler, “The Duty of Great Nations,” chromolithograph, published by New York: Keppler & Schwarzmann, February 15, 1899, *Library of Congress*, accessed November 14, 2015, <http://www.loc.gov/item/2012647397/>.

[and] W. Indies” in silhouettes that resemble the people and culture of the portrayed countries. At the top of the monument is a golden “Britannia,” the English emblem for British imperial power seated by the British lion.

Britain’s success in imperialism led to a relationship with the U.S., where American imperialists seek the “advice, approval, and model” of British imperial rule. U.S. imperial officials studied colonial developments of British empires and modified these elements into American imperial policy.⁴⁸ The illustration showed the international power that nations such as Britain acquired through imperialism as well as the notion that Manifest Destiny had an international equivalent.

The idea of “Western Duty” to civilize the rest of the world extended to the literary media of the time. One of the most influential British writers, Rudyard Kipling, penned a poem whose title became a euphemism for western expansionism. Published in *McClure’s Magazine* at the same time the United States’ war against the First Philippine Republic began, Kipling’s “White Man’s Burden” was written as a possibly satirical appeal to the United States to assume the task of colonizing the Philippines for western culture after the Spanish-American War.⁴⁹ The poem was originally published with the subtitle “The United States and the Philippine Islands.” Kipling directly spoke to western nations with the opening lines, “Take up the White Man’s Burden—“emphasizing the imperialist concept of “Western Duty.” Kipling also highlighted the presence of various cultural and social themes that existed within the realm of twentieth century imperialism such as eugenics, racism, and western Anglo-Saxon superiority. The poet called to send

⁴⁸ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 11.

⁴⁹ Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden.”

the best representation of American stock to introduce western ideals of democracy within western society in his second line, “Send forth the best ye breed.”⁵⁰ The satirical premise of the poem can be seen in how Kipling involved society’s view of the people whose nations were being imperialized. Kipling described them as “new-caught, sullen peoples” with emphasis on the notion that the people were “captives” of the “White Man’s Burden.” At the same time, the poet cited society’s racial prejudices as he referred to the “sullen peoples” as “Half devil and half child,” who were brought to the “light” of civilization only to reply with hate and thanklessness—like “barbarians” ought to do.⁵¹

Analysis of this poem by Britain and the U.S. imperialists enhanced western arguments for Manifest Destiny and Western Duty. Kipling’s poem influenced various political cartoons advocating “The White Man’s Burden” as the ultimate articulation of Manifest Destiny and Western Duty. A cartoon



Figure 11

titled “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Rudyard Kipling),” (figure 11) published in *Judge* on April 1, 1899, portrays Uncle Sam and John Bull carrying people from their respective imperialized nations on their back as they climb towards a lighted “Civilization.”⁵² The action of both national symbols connects to Kipling’s stanza, where he discusses the ascension to the “light” and away from “bondage” of barbarism:

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Victor Gillam, “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Rudyard Kipling),” cartoon, *Judge*, April 1, 1899, CGACGA - The Ohio State University, Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum in “Civilization and

Take up the White Man's burden—
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah slowly) to the light:
"Why brought ye us from bondage,
"Our loved Egyptian night?"⁵³

The climb began with “barbarism” and was accompanied with “oppression, ignorance, superstition, vice, brutality, slavery, cannibalism, cruelty, and ignorance.” A reflection of society’s prejudiced ideas regarding the imperialized people’s identities, the cartoon depicts “barbaric” and “savage” characteristics of the people. The illustration is consistent in depicting how westernization physically evolved people of imperialized lands from barbarism. John Bull, whose empire has had more experience in the world of imperialism, was depicted as carrying people of a more civilized appearance, such as China and India. Britain’s colonized people were drawn looking ahead towards civilization and laughing at the “primitive” people on Uncle Sam’s back. Uncle Sam was drawn carrying a basket of people labeled “Porto Rico, Hawaii, Samoa, Cuba, [and] Philippines,” who looked more savage and barbaric in comparison to the people in John Bull’s basket. The physical features of the people who ride on Uncle Sam’s back are more primitive and less human.⁵⁴ The cartoon emphasized that the “burden” of the white men were the barbaric and ignorant people of these non-western nations, who were not white or Christian and lacked knowledge of western values.

Barbarism” by Ellen Sebring, accessed November 14, 2015,
http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/civilization_and_barbarism/cb_essay02.html.

⁵³ Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden.”

⁵⁴ Gillam, “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Rudyard Kipling).”

U.S. perception of the Filipino identity was constructed to support the imperialist agenda of the United States. The complete understanding of the culture and background of the people whose nation they were trying to imperialize was deemed insignificant, as long as it was definable by the standards of western imperial nations. Filipino identity was controlled and manipulated by western science and media to validate the U.S. hold within the Asian archipelago as well as exhibit U.S. views on racial identity that would filter to the Philippine islands.

Chapter Three

The Black Man's Burden: Buffalo Soldiers and the Question of Allegiance

I was struck by a little [Filipino] boy asked me, which ran about this way: "Why does the American Negro come...to fight us when we are much a friend to him and have not done anything to him. He is all the same as me and me all the same as you. Why don't you fight those people in America who burn Negroes, that make a beast of you, that took the child from its mother's side and sold it? – William Simms, 1901¹

The blatant demonstration of racism against Filipinos did not go unnoticed by African American soldiers of the segregated black infantry regiments during the Philippine-American war. The African American community within the United States generally opposed U.S. expansion and recognized the racial implications in the U.S. imperialist agenda. Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden," a poem that became a euphemism for western expansionism, received a poetic reply called "The Black Man's Burden." The poem, written by African American clergyman and editor of the *Christian Recorder*, H.T. Johnson, argued that American imperialism extended white America's demeaning of people of color across a metaphorical bridge past U.S. soil to the rest of the non-white world.² African American community leaders emphasized the reasons African Americans opposed U.S. imperialism. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, the African American journalist known for exposing the horrors of lynching in the South, believed that "all

¹ A 1901 letter from William Simms, an African American soldier, sent from Bong-a-Bong, Philippines. The letter was published in the *Indianapolis Freeman* on May 11, 1901, the first illustrated African American Newspaper.

² H.T. Johnson, "The Black Man's Burden," *Voice of Missions* 8, no. 1 (Atlanta: April 1899), reprinted in the *Cleveland Gazette*, April 8, 1899, presented by the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, from the online collection *The African-American Experience in Ohio, 1850-1920*, also accessible through Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 183-184.

Negroes should oppose expansion until the government was able to protect the Negro at home” from white mob violence.³

During the events of the Philippine-American War at the turn of the twentieth century, the United States experienced a decade of escalating racism and widening racial divide. Mass xenophobia led to the exclusion of immigrants and support for immigration reform. The subjugation of African Americans in the South and Midwest was cemented with the introduction of Jim Crow Laws and mass lynchings. Two intellectuals of the black community led different philosophies regarding the development of the African American community. Booker T. Washington, a prominent leader and educator within the black community at the turn of the twentieth century, was born a slave and faced hostilities from white supremacists throughout his life. W.E.B. DuBois was born a free black in Massachusetts and grew up in a primarily white community. Washington’s and DuBois’s different backgrounds were emphasized in their ideologies—while Washington vied for technical education for the black community as a whole, DuBois advocated to provide education for the black community’s most intelligent individuals. Washington believed that the black community could progress together if individuals acquired basic skills that would benefit society, a plan he called “industrial education,” even if it meant accepting the practices of Jim Crow Laws.⁴ DuBois believed that racial advancement would be achieved through the college education of the community’s top ten percent of

³ "Ida Wells-Bartlett Against Expansion," *Cleveland Gazette*, January 7, 1899, from an account of a meeting of the Afro-American Council, Washington D.C.; Nerissa S. Balce, "Filipino Bodies, Lynching, and the Language of Empire," *Positively No Filipinos Allowed*, edited by Antonio T. Tiongson, Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 54-55.

⁴ Booker T. Washington, "The 1895 Atlanta Compromise Speech," *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, edited by Louis R. Harlan, vol. 3, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 583–587, Raymond W. Smock, *Booker T. Washington: Black Leadership in the Age of Jim Crow* (Chicago: The Library of African-American Biography, 2009), 3-4, 52.

black Americans. These people would be trained as leaders and to be black professionals such as educators, ministers, and lawyers.⁵ At the same time, white intellectuals were fascinated with social Darwinist conceptions of “white supremacy,” based on the findings of scientific racism.

African Americans recognized what American expansion could do to Filipino society and newly constructed Filipino identity. However, there were African Americans who found in the war an opportunity to serve the U.S. as citizens.⁶ The U.S. sent four African American regiments to the Asian archipelago during the Philippine-American War.⁷ In the midst of the conflict, several members of the African American regiments defected from the United States military to join the ranks of Philippine Revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo. The most well known defector was David Fagen of the Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment. The actions of these soldiers reflected a common struggle shared with the Filipinos: disenfranchisement caused by the ideals of “white supremacy.” The soldiers’ desertion of their duties brings up a number of historical questions about citizenship, identity and how wartime creates conflicts of identity, and concepts of nationality and allegiance. From the African American soldiers to U.S. imperialists and Filipino nationalists, national allegiance was a consequence of personal affinities and beliefs based on the racial and ethnic communities with which each individual identified.

⁵ Ibid., 168-169.

⁶ Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the Quest for Empire, 1898-1903* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 8-9.

⁷ Robert Mullen, *Blacks in America's Wars: the Shift in Attitudes from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam* (New York: Monad Press, 1973), 35.

African Americans participated in all U.S. domestic and foreign wars, as far back as the American Revolution.⁸ African Americans' contribution to the U.S. militia and formal army were often restricted, however. African Americans still viewed military involvement as evidence of citizenship and indication of national loyalty. The first sanctioned all-black regiment originated in the midst of the Civil War, formed after Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and was created in Massachusetts in January 1863. Promoted by Boston abolitionists and approved by the Massachusetts governor, John A. Andrew, the 54th Massachusetts regiment recruited from all over the North and Canada.⁹ On May 22, 1863, the United States Department of War issued General Order 143. The action established the Bureau of Colored Troops to facilitate the recruitment, creation, and "all matters relating to the organization of colored troops."¹⁰ African Americans from all states of the Union were recruited to form various regiments, such as combat engineers, infantry, cavalry, light and heavy artillery units, and units such as the 54th Massachusetts were incorporated into the United States Colored Troops.¹¹

On July 28, 1866, during the first session of the 39th Congress, the Senate and House of Representatives passed the Army Reorganization Act of 1866.¹² The act set

⁸ Gail Buckley, *American Patriots: The Story of Blacks in the Military from the Revolution to Desert Storm* (New York: Random House, 2001), 3; William Cooper Nell, with an introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution: With Sketches of Several Distinguished Persons to which is added a Brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans* (Boston: J.B. Yerrinton and Son Printers, 1855), 128-130.

⁹ Buckley, *American Patriots*, 89.

¹⁰ Our Documents, "War Department General Order 143: Creation of the U.S. Colored Troops (1863)," May 22, 1863, accessed March 31, 2016, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc_large_image.php?flash=true&doc=35.

¹¹ Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (1955; New York: W.W. Norton, 1965), 129-131; James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), 170.

¹² Trevor K. Plante, "Researching African Americans in the U.S. Army, 1866-1890 Buffalo Soldiers and Black Infantrymen," *Prologue* 33, no. 1 (Spring 2001), accessed April 1, 2016, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/spring/buffalo-soldiers.html>.

terms of enlistments as well as the reorganization of the military's forty-five infantries and ten cavalry regiments. Congress ordered that four infantry and two cavalry regiments must be composed of African Americans.¹³ The introduction of these regiments laid the foundation of all-African American regiments dubbed "Buffalo Soldiers" by Native Americans due the soldiers' skin color and their "dark kinky hair" much like the fur of buffalos.¹⁴ This term was mostly given as a sign of respect. The Native Americans viewed buffalos to be proud and formidable by nature, much like the African American soldiers during the U.S. western land expansions.¹⁵

All four regiments of the Buffalo Soldiers were called-to arms during the Spanish American War, the first official war since the founding of the new U.S. regiments. On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was bombed; 260 American sailors were killed, twenty-two of them black.¹⁶ The African American 25th infantry was the first U.S. unit ordered to Tampa, Florida, the decided port of embarkation to war. That Buffalo Soldiers were among the 16,000 men sent to fight the Spanish in various points of the country's empire, from Cuba to the Philippines.¹⁷

At a time when African Americans faced repression and discrimination, the Buffalo Soldiers took pride in their service to country. Soldiers wrote letters expressing

¹³ *Historical Dictionary of the U.S. Army*, edited by Jerold E. Brown (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 39-40; A Buffalo Soldier, "Thirty-Ninth Congress, Sess. I, CH. 299 (1866)," History of the Regiment: Army Reorganization Act of 1866, accessed April 1, 2016, <http://www.abuffalosoldier.com/lrgatrf.1.gif>.

¹⁴ Plante, "Researching African Americans in the U.S. Army, 1866-1890 Buffalo Soldiers and Black Infantrymen"; Buckley, *American Patriots*, 110-111; Mullen, *Blacks in America's Wars: the Shift in Attitudes from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam*, 34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; "The Name Buffalo Soldier," *Buffalo Soldiers: 10th Cavalry, Co. G of Northern California*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.buffalosoldier.us/history.html>.

¹⁶ Buckley, *American Patriots*, 139; Rebecca Livingston, "Sailors, Soldiers, and Marines of the Spanish-American War: The Legacy of USS Maine," *Prologue* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1998), accessed April 1, 2016, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/spring/spanish-american-war-1.html>.

¹⁷ Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 40.

their pride in their accomplishment on the battlefield, and the fear they would convey to their enemies as “standard-bearers of American liberty and freedom.”¹⁸ M.W. Saddler, an African American sergeant of the Twenty-fifth infantry, wrote:

The Spaniards call us “Negretter Solados” and say there is no use shooting at us, for steel and powder will not stop us. We only hope our brethren will come over and help us to show to the world what true patriotism is...all we need is leaders of our own race to make war records, so that their names may go down in history as a reward for the price of our precious blood.¹⁹

Despite Saddler’s pride for his regiment’s contribution in “the compelling surrender of Santiago,” the African American sergeant wrote that he was distressed over fighting Cuban and Spanish soldiers that looked like him, people that were of his “own hue and color.” However, Saddler insisted that American patriotism was imbedded in the “fitness,” “coolness and bravery” of the African American soldier. Implying that no matter the “hue and color” of their adversary, Saddler believed that African American soldiers would stand firm in their American duty and patriotism.²⁰ This sense of nationalism and racial pride was highlighted when John Jordan, a black soldier aboard Commodore George Dewey’s flagship the USS *Olympia*, fired the first American shot during the Battle of Manila Bay that led to U.S. victory during the Spanish American War.²¹

The Philippine-American War lasted until 1902, and African American soldiers of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry were on Philippine soil as early as July 1899. Nearly 70,000 U.S. soldiers participated in the advancement of the U.S. imperialist

¹⁸ Ibid., 46.

¹⁹ M.W. Saddler, Twenty-fifth Infantry, Santiago, July 30, 1898 as found in Gatewood, Jr., *“Smoked Yankees” and the Struggle for Empire*, 55-57.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Buckley, *American Patriots*, 139-140; Michael Lee Lanning, *The African-American Soldier: From Crispus Attucks to Colin Powell* (New York: Citadel Press, 2004), 92.

agenda. By fall 1899, all four regiments of the Buffalo Soldiers were on the archipelago, followed by two regiments of the recruited black volunteers known as the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Infantry.²² General Robert P. Hughes, Brigadier General and Chief of Staff of the Eighth Corps, stated that Filipinos viewed African American troops, initially, with “awe and fear.”²³ Yet unlike the white soldiers, African American soldiers were rarely engaged in full-on combat. Instead, they were used to maintain U.S. control in captured towns and were responsible for “guarding the lines of communication, interior guard duty, scouting, escorting supplies...and laying the foundations of civil government.”²⁴

The presence of African American soldiers in Filipino villages, cities, and towns allowed for a level of association with the Filipinos and an emerging friendship, based on the common awareness of skin color. The initial “fear and awe” that Filipinos felt towards African Americans turned into familiarity and the key observation, as stated in the *Manila Times*: “These are not Americanos; they are Negritos...very much like ourselves, only larger.”²⁵ John W. Galloway of the Twenty-fourth Infantry wrote to the *Richmond Planet*, an African American newspaper, on November 16, 1899 from his location on San Isidro, Philippines. In his letter to the editor, Galloway discussed his own observations regarding the U.S. imperialist agenda as well as his recorded conversations

²² *Annual Reports of the Department of War, 1899-1900*, House Document 2, Parts 4-8, 56th Congress, Session 2; *Annual Reports of the Department of War, 1900-1901*, House Document 2, Parts 2-5, 57th Congress, Session 1.

²³ Robert P. Hughes, testimony in *Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*, Senate Document 331, Part 1, 57th Congress, Session 1, 647; *New York Times*, “Major Gen. R.P. Hughes Dead: Former Commander in Philippines and of Department of California,” October 29, 1909.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *Manila Times*, June 29, 1902.

²⁵ *Manila Times*, June 29, 1902.

with local, educated Filipinos and the “affinity of complexion” that existed between African American soldiers and Filipinos:

The whites have begun to establish their diabolical race hatred in all its home rancor in Manila, even endeavoring to propagate the phobia among the Spaniards and Filipinos so as to be sure of the foundation of their supremacy when the civil rule that must necessarily follow the present military regime, is established.²⁶

Galloway highlighted the introduction of racial concepts to the Filipinos by white Americans. In a conversation Galloway had with a Filipino physician, Tordorica Santos, he realized that Filipinos “knew nothing of the different races... under Spanish rule we [Filipinos] never knew there was a difference between men on account of racial identity. Our differences were political.”²⁷ According to Santos, white U.S. soldiers warned Filipinos of the inferiority of African American soldiers in comparison to the whites, but to never question the African American brutality:

[White U.S. soldiers] began to tell us of the inferiority of the American blacks...of your brutal natures, your cannibal tendencies. How you rape our senioritas... Of course, at first we were a little shy of you, after being told of the difference between you and them; but we studied you, as results have shown. Between you and him, we look upon you as the angel and him as the devil.²⁸

Awareness of U.S. views on race assisted Filipinos in understanding where the white U.S. soldiers placed them in their own defined hierarchy of race. “[White soldiers] push [Filipinos] off the streets, spit at them, call them damned ‘niggers,’ abuse them in all manner of ways, and connect race hatred with duty, for the colored soldier has none such for them.”²⁹ Galloway observed the rough treatments of white soldiers towards Filipinos with the personal conclusion:

²⁶ John W. Galloway, letter to the editor, November 16, 1899, published in the *Richmond Planet*, December 30, 1899, as found in Gatewood, Jr., *“Smoked Yankees” and the Struggle for Empire*, 249-251.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

The future of the Filipino, I fear, is that of the Negro in the South. Matters are almost to that condition in Manila now. No one (white) has any scruples as regards respecting the rights of a Filipino. He is kicked and cuffed at will and he dare not remonstrate.³⁰

The notion of using military force to subjugate a country that just fought for its independence from a colonial power, was not lost on African American soldiers. U.S. soldiers-such as Patrick Mason of the Twenty-fourth Infantry struggled with U.S. justifications for the occupation of the Philippines. On November 19, 1899, he wrote to the *Cleveland Gazette*, an African American newspaper, “I have not had any fighting to do since I have been here and don’t care to do any.”³¹ Mason “felt sorry” for the Filipino people and identified with the discrimination they faced under the control of the U.S. white military:

I don’t believe [the Filipinos] will be justly dealt by. The first thing in the morning is the “Nigger” and the last thing at night is the “Nigger.” You have no idea the way these people are treated by the Americans here...the poor whites don’t believe that anyone has any right to live but the white American, or to enjoy any rights or privileges that the white man enjoys.³²

It was not difficult for African American soldiers to identify with the Filipino struggle for independence and citizenship. It was a familiar struggle for the African American community in the States, all for the sake of what American whites believed to be the “white man’s burden.” Both African Americans and Filipinos, under the hierarchy of white supremacy, were deemed unworthy of citizenship and independence due to the color of their skin. The “white man’s burden” became a dramatization of the “Anglo-Saxon duty” to westernize and “humanize” people of color, but based on the terms of white society and derived from British writer-Rudyard Kipling’s “The White Man’s

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Patrick Mason, letter to the editor, November 19, 1899, published in the *Cleveland Gazette*, September 29, 1900, as found in Gatewood, Jr., “*Smoked Yankees*” and the *Struggle for Empire*, 257.

³² Ibid.

Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands.” This poem about Anglo-Saxon society’s obligation to westernize and Christianize the rest of the world was not received favorably by African American communities. African American writers quickly penned a reply to Kipling’s work, entitled “The Black Man’s Burden.” There were many variations of this poem throughout the turn of the twentieth century, the earliest written by African American clergyman H. T. Johnson:

Pile on the Black Man’s Burden.
'Tis nearest at your door;
Why heed long bleeding Cuba,
or dark Hawaii’s shore?
Hail ye your fearless armies,
Which menace feeble folks
Who fight with clubs and arrows
and brook your rifle’s smoke.
Pile on the Black Man’s Burden
His wail with laughter drown
You’ve sealed the Red Man’s problem,
And will take up the Brown,
In vain ye seek to end it,
With bullets, blood or death
Better by far defend it
With honor’s holy breath.
Pile on the Black Man’s Burden,
His back is broad though sore;
What though the weight oppress him,
He’s borne the like before.
Your Jim-Crow laws and customs,
And fiendish midnight deed.
Though winked at by the nation,
Will someday trouble breed.
Pile on the Black Man’s burden,
At length ‘twill heaven pierce;
Then on you or your children
Will reign God’s judgment fierce.
Your battleships and armies
May weaker ones appall
But God Almighty’s justice
They’ll not disturb at all.³³

³³ H.T. Johnson, “The Black Man’s Burden.”

The poem was published in the African American religious journal, *Voice of Mission*, in April 1899 and was reprinted in other publications such as the *Cleveland Gazette*. It depicted the mistreatments of various minorities due to the U.S. ideology of Manifest Destiny, including Native Americans, Cubans, and Filipinos with lines like, “Pile on the Black Man’s Burden/ His wail with laughter drown/ You’ve sealed the Red Man’s problem/And will take up the Brown.” From “Red” Native Americans during the U.S. expansion to the “Brown” people of Cuba and the Philippines, African Americans recognized the same suppression and prejudice. Johnson wrote, “In vain ye seek to end it,” indicating the desire of African American soldiers, as well as black communities in the U.S., to end the exploitation of the “Brown” and “Red” people. Johnson found particularly bitter irony in that the exploitation of “Brown” people was assigned to another group of minorities, African Americans, who were also subjugated by the U.S. racial hierarchy. Johnson fearlessly described the black man’s burden as a weight that “oppress[ed] him,” highlighting the time’s Jim Crow laws and lynchings. The *Indianapolis Recorder* and the *Washington Bee*, newspapers directed to African American communities, both argued that American racial prejudice surpassed the U.S. agenda to Christianize and westernize nations of color.³⁴ Critics believed that the conflict in the Philippines was more than just a bid for an American empire. A journalist at an African American newspaper, the *Savannah Tribune*, concluded that the U.S agenda of Manifest Destiny was really to “oppress weaker races and rob them of rights and liberty God has given them.”³⁵

³⁴ *Indianapolis Recorder*, “Indiana Negroes,” March 4, 1899; *Washington Bee*, March 11, 1899.

³⁵ *Savannah Tribune*, March 18, 1899.

Despite the identical acts of suppression by white Americans in both the African American and Filipino communities, the final lines of Johnson's "Black Man's Burden" highlighted the objective of African American soldiers for fighting in the war—patriotism and citizenship. "With bullets, blood or death/ Better by far defend it/ With honor's holy breath," stated Johnson's poem. To some African American soldiers, such as M.W. Saddler, service during the conflict would enhance black status within American society.³⁶ In another letter from Saddler to the *Indianapolis Freeman* dated September 1899, the African American sergeant insisted that the black soldiers' goal was to enhance their "standing among American soldiers and add another star to the already brilliant crown of the Afro-American soldier."³⁷ Saddler was consistent in his realization that fellow soldiers struggled to fight people who, like them, were placed in the lower spectrum of the U.S. racial hierarchy. The African American sergeant of the 25th regiment was quick "to keep [the soldiers] informed in regards to our arborous orient duties," followed by the claim:

Whether it is right to reduce these people [Filipinos] to submission is not a question for a soldier to decide. Our oath of allegiance knows neither race, color nor nation, and if such a question should arise, it would be disposed of as one of a political nature by a soldier. There is one great desire among the colored soldiers...that is to be represented in the file as well as the ranks...we moisten the soil with our precious blood, stain the colors with our oozing brains, only to make an already popular race more famous.³⁸

Saddler's analysis of the situation for African American soldiers seemed simple: progress for the African American soldier and the black community was attainable through the successful execution of their "orient duties." However, Saddler's statement

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ M.W. Saddler, Twenty-fifth Infantry, Manila, Philippines, September 1899, published in the *Indianapolis Freeman* November 18, 1899 as found in Gatewood, Jr., "Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire, 247-249.

³⁸ Ibid.

that a black soldier's "oath of allegiance knows neither race, color nor nation" brings forth the question: what social, cultural, mental or emotional position did the African American soldier occupy in return for his loyalty to the U.S. cause? If that position was not defined by "race, color or nation," did that not position the soldier as a dupe for the white racists that ran his nation-state and its army? The answer was within Saddler's letter itself. Loyalty depended on the personal objective and identity of each African American. In the case of Saddler, his goal was to paint the African American soldier as an American patriot far removed from the stereotypes of inferiority built within black ancestry due to slavery. Ideologies for African American progress, such as Washington's and DuBois', were as divided on foreign land as they were on U.S. soil.

Not all African American soldiers sided with Saddler, especially with the racial divide created between white soldiers versus blacks. So many African American soldiers identified with Filipinos, and the opposition of black soldiers to fight against their "little brown brothers" that the War Department questioned whether to bring African American soldiers home in 1899.³⁹ One official doubted black soldiers' ability to exert the U.S. agenda for "if brought face to face with their colored Filipino cousins could not be made to fire on them."⁴⁰ African American soldiers, despite their service to country, did not escape discrimination and prejudice from the white soldiers throughout their time in the Philippines. White soldiers uttered the term "nigger" in a derogatory way enough times that a common racial identity as people "beneath" whites was understood between

³⁹ Stephen Bonsal, "The Negro Soldier in War and Peace," *North American Review* 185 (June 1907): 325.

⁴⁰ *Washington Bee*, September 9, 1899 as found in Gatewood, Jr., "Smoked Yankees" and the *Struggle for Empire*, 13 and Mullen, *Blacks in America's Wars*, 39.

Filipinos and African Americans.⁴¹ War correspondent Frederick Palmer, who was stationed in Manila, wrote that any non-white man was included “in a general class called ‘nigger,’ a class beneath our notice, to which, so far as our white soldier is concerned, all Filipinos belonged.”⁴² According to Major Cornelius Gardner of the Thirtieth Infantry, “natives are beginning to understand what the ‘nigger’ means,” since soldiers and U.S. officers often called “natives ‘niggers’ in their presence.”⁴³

The consistent prejudice against Filipinos made African American soldiers shoulder the burden of racism that spread across the archipelago with the U.S. takeover. African Americans, who hoped to advance their race status through service, continued fighting. However, desertions by both black and white soldiers were not uncommon. According to Stephen Bonsal, an American journalist and historian stationed in the Philippines during the war, defection from African American regiments differed from whites. He considered white deserters to be “lazy and idle” who found military life “irksome.” White soldiers, Bonsal stated, would only fight alongside Filipino revolutionaries to “attain the dream of being a wild man in the woods.”⁴⁴ African American defectors, on the other hand, “deserted in scores for the purpose of joining the insurgents...such acts as they are charged with committing are the acts of savages.”⁴⁵

An estimated fifteen to thirty black soldiers from the four regiments of the Buffalo Soldiers defected during the Philippine-American War. The actual number of

⁴¹ Bonsal, “The Negro Soldier in War and Peace,” *North American Review* 185 (June 1907): 325.

⁴² Frederick Palmer, “White Man and Brown Man in the Philippines,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 27 (January 1900): 81.

⁴³ *Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*, Senate Document 331, Part 2, 57th Congress, Session 1, 884.

⁴⁴ Bonsal, “The Negro Soldier in War and Peace,” 325-326; *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish American War and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History*, vol. 1: A-L, edited by Spencer C. Tucker (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2009), 66.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

deserters, along with names, is not readily available for “their names have been expurgated from ordinary historical accounts.”⁴⁶ Some actions of African American deserters were known, including the four defectors from the Ninth Cavalry who actively fought with the Filipino insurgents, but the only name ever recorded was of David Fagen of the Twenty-fourth Infantry.⁴⁷

David Fagen, sometimes spelled “Fagin” or “Fagan,”⁴⁸ enlisted in the Twenty-fourth Infantry on June 4, 1898, when the regiment first arrived in Tampa, Florida on the way to Cuba. Fagen worked as a laborer for Hull’s Phosphate Company and lived with his widowed merchant father before enlisting. At his enlistment he was twenty-three years old and stood at five feet six inches tall with a curved scar on his chin.⁴⁹ After the Twenty-fourth Infantry finished its tour in Cuba, Fagen and the regiment moved to Fort Douglas, Utah near Salt Lake City. He and several hundred soldiers in the regiment were discharged on January 1899 upon the notion that they were no longer needed by U.S. militia. After the initiation of the Philippine-American War, however, Fagen was approved for re-enlistment on February 12, 1899 at Fort McPherson, Georgia.⁵⁰ According to First Lieutenant Matthias Crowley of the Seventh Infantry, Fagen’s

⁴⁶ Epifanio San Juan, Jr., “An African American Soldier in the Philippine Revolution: A Homage to David Fagen,” *Cultural Logic* 4, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 6.

⁴⁷ Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden*, 288.

⁴⁸ Various newspaper articles spelled his last name as “Fagin,” while Frederick Funston, General in the United States Army during the Philippine-American War, spelled the African American deserter’s last name as “Fagan” in his personal memoir, *Memories of Two Wars*. Other written accounts that spelled it as such is Robert W. Mullen’s *Blacks in America’s Wars*, Stephen Bonsal’s “The Negro Soldier in War and Peace.” However, other accounts such William B. Gatewood’s works as well as Michael C. Robinson and Frank N. Schubert’s “David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901” have spelled it “Fagen.”

⁴⁹ Michael C. Robinson and Frank N. Schubert, “David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901,” *Pacific Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (February 1975): 73.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

enlistment documents stated that he had “good character” and has met “all the requirements.”⁵¹

Along with the Twenty-fourth Infantry, Fagen sailed to Manila from San Francisco on June 1899.⁵² During the Philippine-American War, Fagen’s regiment won the Battle of Mt. Arayat, fought on an extinct volcano against Filipino soldiers on November 20, 1899.⁵³ Despite early victories for his regiment, Fagen had a difficult time with his company. He did not get along with his superiors, both black and white. Fagen was promoted to corporal upon his re-enlistment but, according to his military documents, “was made to do all sorts of dirty jobs” such as “night soil removal and kitchen guard.”⁵⁴

On November 17, 1899, for reasons that were not fully documented, Corporal David Fagen defected from the Twenty-fourth Infantry regiment. According to his military documents, he was aided “by an insurrecto officer who had a horse waiting for him near the company barracks” near San Isidro and headed towards the jungle surrounding Mt. Arayat.⁵⁵ His defection, considered an act of treason towards the United States, was a message of rejection. David Fagen rejected his limited American citizenship, bound by prejudice and systematic discrimination, along with the U.S. agenda of Anglo-Saxon supremacy that hid behind the false ideologies of Manifest Destiny. The following years exhibited Fagen’s commitment to the Filipino fight against

⁵¹ First Lieutenant Matthias Crowley to the assistant general, Feb. 7, 1899, AGO file 198322; *Army and Navy Journal* 36 (Feb. 4, 1899): 543.

⁵² Robinson and Frank N. Schubert, “David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901,” 74.

⁵³ William G. Muller, *The Twenty-fourth Infantry: Past and Present* (Fort Collins, CO: Old Army Press., 1972), 32, 34-37.

⁵⁴ Information slip on David Fagen, AGO file 431081, NA, RG 94; *Manila Times*, September 19, 1901.

⁵⁵ “Record of Events,” Regimental returns, 24th Infantry, November 1899, NA, Record Group 94; information slip on David Fagen, Adjutant General Office file 431081, NA, RG 94.

the Americans. He rose up the ranks of the Philippine military, being promoted from lieutenant to captain on September 6, 1900. Fagen commanded somewhere between 150 to 400 soldiers, who dubbed him “General Fagen.”⁵⁶ Fagen’s promotion was approved by Emilio Aguinaldo and was awarded by General Jose Alejandrino, a Representative of the First Republic of the Philippines who served as an Army Chief during the Philippine-American War.⁵⁷

News of Fagen’s treason was met with varied reactions by U.S. media. Major newspapers such as the *New York Times* described his “rank of General among the insurgents” in an October 29, 1900 headline.⁵⁸ Other smaller newsprints throughout the nation, such as Utah’s *Salt Lake Herald* and Paris, Kentucky’s the *Bourbon News*, described Fagen as “violent,” a traitor who swore “special enmity against his former company” and would send former comrades threatening messages with warnings of torture if Fagen were to ever capture them. Reports of his cruelty to prisoners were published throughout the last few months of 1900, sensationally describing the “horribly mutilated bodies” of enemies he killed.⁵⁹

U.S. military officers were aware of the African American defectors with U.S. General Frederick Funston’s personal and in-depth inscription regarding David Fagen and the other African American defectors. Funston was the U.S. Army General who

⁵⁶ “Philippine Advices: Two United States Soldiers are Killed—Tagal to Die,” *Rock Island Argus*, October 29, 1900.

⁵⁷ Senate of the Philippines, “Jose Alejandrino,” accessed April 9, 2016, https://www.senate.gov.ph/senators/former_senators/jose_alejandrino.htm; Commission signed by General Jose Alejandrino, Central Luzon, September 6, 1900, AGO file 431081, NA, RG 94; *New York Times*, “General Fagen,” October 29, 1900.

⁵⁸ “General Fagen,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1900.

⁵⁹ “Deserter from 24th: A Filipino General,” *Salt Lake Herald*, October 29, 1900; “Insurgents Active: A Detachment of Americans Attacked by 400 of Them,” *Bourbon News*, October 30, 1900; “Rout of Filipino,” *Worthington Advance*, November 2, 1900; “Rebels Badly Punished,” *New York Tribune*, October 29, 1900; “Attacked by Insurgents,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 29, 1900; “Filipinos Fought a Pitched Battle,” *St. Louis Republic*, October 29, 1900.

captured the president of the First Republic of the Philippines and Filipino nationalist leader, Emilio Aguinaldo. The U.S. general also authorized the six hundred dollar reward for Fagen's capture.⁶⁰ According to Funston, "for months we had known of the presence with the insurgents of this region of an American negro named Fagan, a deserter from the Twenty-fourth Infantry." Funston was also aware that Fagen was promoted into the higher ranks and reported receiving threats and warnings from Fagen, which he described as "impudent and badly spelled letters."⁶¹ Funston was involved in several battles with Fagen's troops. The first was in late October 1900, Fagen captured Lieutenant Frederick W. Altstaetter and took the American soldier's West Point class ring as a war trophy.⁶² Funston stated "it was mighty understood that if [Fagen was captured and] taken alive by any of us he was to stretch a picket-rope as soon as one could be obtained." He followed this with a vow that not only would they reclaim Altstaetter's ring but "Fagan's head in a sugar-sack."⁶³ Funston's second encounter, the first time he was able to see Fagen's face, was on December 5, 1900, during a battle in San Isidro, the same location where Fagen reportedly defected. Funston claimed to have finally gotten a "good look at the notorious Fagan."⁶⁴

On March 23, 1901, Funston captured Filipino revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo.⁶⁵ Weeks later, on May 19, 1901, Urbano Lacuna surrendered to Funston's army. Lacuna was commanding general to over two hundred Filipino soldiers and was

⁶⁰ Frederick Funston, *Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 434.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁶² *Ibid.*; "Attacked by Insurgents," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 29, 1900.

⁶³ Funston, *Memories of Two Wars*, 376.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 379-380.

⁶⁵ "Funston Trap for Aguinaldo," *Minneapolis Journal*, March 23, 1901; "Gen. Funston Plans to Take Aguinaldo," *Deseret Evening News*, March 23, 1901.

considered the last “insurrectionary leader.” Funston considered his capture the “termination of the state of war.”⁶⁶ Coincidentally, Fagen was part of Lacuna’s company. According to Funston, Lacuna understood that he and his men would be protected under a promised amnesty. Fagen, though, would “not be received as a prisoner of war...if he surrendered it would have to be with the understanding that he would be tried by court-martial, in which event his execution would be a practical certainty.”⁶⁷

However, Funston would not capture Fagen. He and several Filipino fighters were somehow able to escape the May 1901 capture. No news of Fagen surfaced until December 1901, after Funston declared a six-hundred-dollar reward for Fagen’s capture. Anastacio Bartolome, a former Filipino soldier who once fought alongside Fagen, answered the reward, published in both Tagalog and Spanish. Bartolome and his companions found Fagen, along with two Filipinos and three women, camped out in Dingalan Cove on the Pacific coast beach of Aurora, Philippines. Bartolome was certain it was Fagen and, with bolos, decapitated him and the three other Filipinos. Fagen’s head was brought to Lieutenant R.C. Corliss of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry, along with two revolvers, three Remington rifles, Fagen’s two commissions as lieutenant and captain signed by Jose Alejandrino and Urbano Lacuna, and, most importantly, Alstaetter’s West Point class ring, taken by Fagen during one of his battles with U.S. soldiers. The piece of jewelry that Funston promised to reclaim assisted in the confirmation of the decapitated head as Fagen’s. Further validation was acquired when Lacuna, himself, confirmed the identity of the head.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Funston, *Memories of Two Wars*, 431-432.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 430-431.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 434-435; Lieutenant R. C. Corliss to the Adjutant General, Second Brigade, Bongabong, Nueva Ecija, P.I., December 6, 1901, AGO file 431081, NA, RG 94; “Deserter Killed: David Fagin Slain and

Records of David Fagen's activities during the Philippine-American War are slim. The most vital accounts of the events of his defection include his military documents and Funston's memoir. Fagen cannot be found in published military documents. In William G. Muller's *The Twenty-fourth Infantry: Past and Present*, published in 1972, information about defectors, such as their name and enlistment information, were not included. Soldiers' data, such as history, battle statistics, and company deaths, were included from the regiment's conception until after the First World War. Information about the defectors were omitted throughout the section concerning the Philippine-American War. Regimental Returns from the National Archives, specifically Record Group 94 concerning documents of U.S. Colored Troops, and other records reveal that there were twenty-nine desertions among the four regiments of the Buffalo Soldiers. Historical analyses of these African American soldiers are also very limited and, sometimes, almost dismissive.

Historians and journalists have studied Fagen and other defectors as minor figures of the Philippine-American War and African American military history. Earliest study of the defectors can be found in Stephen Bonsal's 1907 article, "The Negro Soldier in War and Peace," published in the *North American Review*. Bonsal provided analysis of African American connections with Filipinos, referring to them as black soldiers' "little brown brother."⁶⁹ Leon Wolff's *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn*, published in 1961, described Fagen as "an enormous Negro" with barbaric qualities who "drank heavily, played a

Beheaded by Native Scouts," *Indianapolis Journal*, December 9, 1901; "The Negro David Fagin: The Deserter from the Twenty-fourth Infantry Captured and Decapitated," *Macon Beacon*, December 14, 1901; "American Negro Deserter Killed: He has been Leading Filipinos for More than Two Years," *St. Louis Republic*, December 9, 1901.

⁶⁹ Bonsal, "The Negro Soldier in War and Peace," *North American Review* 185 (June 1907): 325.

guitar, fought like a wildcat, and lived in a camp with a native woman.” Wolff ends his reference to Fagen with, “his life was to be short but interesting.”⁷⁰ The views of these publications were a reflection of society’s lack of progress regarding the ideologies of race. The most extensive analysis of Fagen’s life is Michael C. Robinson and Frank N. Schubert’s 1975 journal article, “David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901,” published in the *Pacific Historical Review*. They were able to expand past the study of Fagen as the stereotypical black man, a “barbarian” who betrayed this country. Instead, Robinson and Schubert portrayed the humanity and life of Fagen, painting him as a son and a soldier who, just like other people of color, hoped to progress his citizenship through patriotic services, but realized that he was only assisting the U.S. expand the borders of discrimination.

What history has failed to study are the influences of identity and nationalism on the soldiers’ actions. The actions of Fagen and other African American defectors were highlighted in an African American newspaper, the *Indianapolis Freeman*. Journalist George Knox provided an analysis that summarized the “Black Man’s Burden” that David Fagen and other defectors faced:

Fagen was a traitor, and died a traitor's death, but he was a man, no doubt, prompted by honest motives to help a weaker side, and one to which he felt allied by ties that bind. Fagen, perhaps, did not appreciate the magnitude of the crime of aiding the enemy to shoot down his flag. He saw, it may be, the weak, the strong, he chose, and the world knows the rest.⁷¹

There is no document that fully states the reasons for Fagen’s desertion of both the U.S. military and his American citizenship. One could assume, due to the domination of white

⁷⁰ Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn* (1961; New York: History Book Club, 2006), 249.

⁷¹ *Indianapolis Freeman*, December 14, 1901.

supremacy in the United States that filtered throughout the archipelago, that Fagen joined the Filipino revolutionaries for his own “revolt” against U.S. racial hierarchy. When other African Americans were fighting for the U.S. agenda of Manifest Destiny as a means to develop black citizenship, Fagen and other defectors actively denied the U.S. agenda to expand the subjugation of people of color past the shores of the United States.

In the case of the Philippine-American War, the question of allegiance was connected to the notion of identities through community. That community was based on a hope for citizenship and independence proven by the varying demonstration of allegiance during the Philippine-American War. White American soldiers were able to provide support for U.S. Manifest Destiny for they were part of the community that defined Christianization and Westernization. Their citizenship and independence was already provided and guaranteed by people of the white community, a privilege of white supremacy justified by the “science” of the time and Social Darwinism. For people of color, such as African Americans and Filipino nationalists, race and ethnic identity placed them in a common community that deprived and limited their independence and sense of citizenship. The lack of validated citizenship through discrimination, prejudice, and political independence invigorated Filipinos’ of nationalism, while it compelled some African American soldiers, such as Fagen, to deny their American identity. The African American and Filipino communities, though geographically separated, found commonality in the sense that both groups struggled to attain validation of their respective identities, therefore blurring the lines in defining distinct races and ethnicities and, instead, realized the common enemy in the ideologies of U.S. Manifest Destiny.

Conclusion

The Philippine-American War introduced the United States to the Southeast Asian archipelago of the Philippines and its annexation provided a pawn for the U.S. entrance into the Race of Nations. Imperialization forced target nations to conform to the culture of western nations, and outlined the global narrative of the turn of the twentieth century. The U.S. involvement in the Philippines was no exception. Exploring the conflict between the Philippines and the United States allows historians to analyze how peoples' discernment of identity influenced the perception of the war and its coinciding events. The U.S. employed its own characterization of a Filipino identity and used it to justify expansion as a part of Manifest Destiny. However, among the Filipino people, the rise and recognition of their own nationalist ideals and formation of the Filipino nationality stood in opposition to further western dominance on the Philippine archipelago. Instead, the foundation for the desire of Philippine independence built on ethnic and racial pride. The acknowledgement and the development of identity—based on race, identity, or mutual experiences of communities and rejection of U.S. cultural imperialism— influenced the notion of national allegiance, as chronicled in this historic conflict that historians have dubbed as a “forgotten war.”

American expansionists insisted that imperialization of the Philippines was a “Western Duty,” a notion illustrated in the poem “White Man’s Burden,” by British poet Rudyard Kipling. Originally subtitled, “United States and the Philippine Islands,” the piece was believed to have been a satire of American exceptionalism. However, western imperial powers took the poem and made it into a “battle cry” for “western duty” to Christianize the world. The poem itself was heavily influenced by the dominant culture of

the time for it describes the Filipinos as barbarians and savages. Popular and academic sources of the time show that the popularity of scientific racism and eugenics were heavily imbedded in American society and influenced notions of race. From academia to various forms of media such as written propaganda, political cartoons, popular entertainment in the form of human zoos, and literature, the notion of American Anglo-Saxon supremacy and the perception of Filipinos as “barbaric savages” was so entrenched in American everyday life, along with domestic racial ideas and tensions of the time, that most Americans could not help but accept the evidence of cultural imperialism, provided by their perception of science, and support the U.S. imperialist agenda.

However, on the other side of the world, Filipinos themselves were in the midst of the identifying and defining their own national identity. Prior to the twentieth century, the notion of a single “Filipino” identity was non-existent. The characteristics and spirit of the Filipino identity was built on a history of centuries of Spanish colonialism and the amalgamation of various Asian ethnicities, but emerged as one that was still distinctively Filipino. The Philippines was colonized by Spain in the sixteenth century and was used as the primary trade post in Asia for Spain’s galleon trade that included Spanish western colonies such as Mexico. This international trade introduced western ideas and culture to Filipino society, including Roman Catholicism and ideas of independence. Western Enlightenment philosophers such as Voltaire, Paine, and Rousseau and events like the American Revolution and French Revolution influenced the *Ilustrados*, the educated Filipino middle class, who began their own propaganda movement during the last

decades of the nineteenth century that advocated for Philippine independence that emphasized the unique development of Philippine history and identity.

By 1892, Philippine revolutionary leaders formed two organizations: La Liga Filipina and the Katipunan. Led by Filipino nationalists such as Andres Bonifacio and followed by Emilio Aguinaldo and Apolinario Mabini, the organizations aimed to unite the entire archipelago by creating a society of reformers who placed the interest of the people as its main priority. These leaders began to spread revolutionary ideologies throughout the Philippines with their own propaganda that advocated for the Filipino nationalist agenda. Eventually, the notion of being Filipino surpassed the class system, based in wealth and ethnic background that was built during Spanish colonial rule. Revolutionary leaders believed that acquiring independence from Spain required a united nation that surpassed regional identification. Spain's colonial rule provided the Filipinos the awareness of the Filipino identity, but it was the U.S. move to assert its Western Duty and further its Manifest Destiny that cemented Filipinos' acknowledgement of a unified Philippine national identity.

The U.S. acquisition of the Philippines under the Treaty of Paris led to the Philippine-American War in 1899. The war introduced western ideas of racial hierarchy into Philippine communities through the racial and ethnic prejudices displayed by white U.S. troops. Racial tensions were rampant in the U.S. at the turn of the twentieth century and many African Americans spoke out against the hypocrisy of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines. One responded satirically with the "Black Man's Burden" opposing Kipling's symbolic "White Man's Burden." Nonetheless, differing philosophies among the leaders of the African American community figured into the debate over the

Philippine conflict. Arguments between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B DuBois demonstrated that African Americans themselves were divided in defining citizenship and patriotism within African American communities who hoped to acquire social equality through either education or military service to their country. African American soldiers stationed in the Philippine archipelago illustrated the struggle soldiers of color had acting as agents to execute the agenda of white supremacy that hid behind the U.S. notion of Manifest Destiny and U.S. cultural imperialism. A few U.S. military defectors like African American soldiers of the Twenty-fourth regiment, particularly David Fagen, demonstrated that one could deny and reject citizenship in a nation if that country's "patriotic" agenda does not personally apply to an individual.

The perception of identity during the Philippine American conflict varied. The United States easily viewed the Filipinos as "barbaric," "savage," and "other." The American imperialist agenda was supported through the manipulation of defining Filipino identity based on contemporary, pseudo-scientific techniques. Filipino identity at the turn of the twentieth century required full independence to be fully validated as a nation, and stripped of foreign imperial or colonial power. The goal of Filipino nationalists was to cultivate the unique history and culture of Filipinos into a nationality for which the community would be willing to fight. However, the Filipino identity, as shown in the defection of African American soldiers during the Philippine-American War, surpassed the bounds of race and ethnicity. People of color subjugated by western notion of white supremacy found common bonds across oceans, connected by the desire of independence and citizenship.

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