UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Managing the (Post)Colonial:
Race, Gender and Sexuality in Literary Texts of the Philippine Commonwealth

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
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in

Literature

by Amanda Lee Albaniel Solomon

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to:

My parents, Dr. & Mrs. Antonio and Remedios Solomon. This project is the culmination of my attempt to understand their place in America, of my appreciation of all their sacrifices for me and my sister and of my striving to honor their example of always giving back to our community. Everything of value that I have in my life has come from them and I hope I have made them as proud of my efforts as I am of all they have accomplished.

My sister, Reanne Albaniel Solomon, who has struggled alongside me in our journey to reckon with what it means to be Filipina American. I am humbled by her strength.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

Amanda Lee Albaniel Solomon

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

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"Managing the (Post)Colonial" investigates a range of literary texts – from American newspaper articles to Philippine state-sponsored poetry – which circulated just before and during the Philippine Commonwealth period (1934-1946), when the islands were neither an official U.S. colony nor an independent nation. I argue therefore that the Commonwealth period was an ambiguous and contradictory political moment which I signify through the parenthetical use of "post" in "(post)colonial." I thus call into question whether or not an entire nation and its subjects could be simultaneously colonial and yet not, for it is at the moment of seeming official separation from the U.S. that political, economic, cultural and social policies actually ensured U.S. hegemony under the guise of independence. Ultimately, I analyze cultural and literary texts of the period to show how sexualized and gendered representations of the Filipino subject were not only

utilized in an attempt to reconcile this contradiction of the Commonwealth, but also to imagine alternative nationalisms and forms of social emancipation.

In the first chapter, I focus on the patriarchal formulation of benevolent assimilation and on American journalist Katherine Mayo's 1925 book Islands of Fear. I argue that Mayo discursively enabled her own access to the masculine realm of imperial power by positing a theory of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority meant to overwrite the patriarchal hierarchy between genders. This chapter demonstrates the mutually constitutive yet simultaneously contradictory nature of the imperial systems of racialization, sexualization and gendering. I trace the lines of this argument further in the second chapter as I investigate the 1940 Commonwealth Literary Awards. As the formal structure of an independent nation was established, state-sanctioned cultural projects such as the Awards not only obfuscated but also enabled the persisting economic and political ties between the islands and the U.S. Such projects did so by cultivating a canon of Philippine writing in English that posited normative masculinist nationalism as the telos of American democratic tutelage. In the third chapter I focus on what I term the hypersexualization of Philippine independence and the (im)possibilities of queer moments of desire in Carlos Bulosan's prose and Josè Garcia Villa's poetry – the impossibility of asserting a normative Filipino American subject and the possibility of imagining an America that is in the heart. Focusing on the queer moments in Bulosan and Villa's texts, I trace how the relationships between race, gender and sexuality are not only inundated with power but are also productively contradictory, allowing one access to spaces and acts of freedom.

Introduction:

Considering the (Post)Colonial

In February 2009, an appropriation of almost $200 million earmarked for surviving Filipino veterans of World War II was included in President Obama's stimulus package. Recruited when the Philippines was a Commonwealth of the U.S., these veterans were rendered ineligible for military benefits when President Truman rescinded the promise of compensation for their service upon recognition of Philippine independence in 1946. In the months leading up to passage of the bill, I and other members of the San Diego Filipino American community gathered in front of the offices of our local congressman to urge his support. On one afternoon, a pedestrian stopped to ask me about the sign I was holding which read "Justice Now." After I explained the situation, he responded, "Well, you shouldn't really be doing this, because without America you wouldn't even be here. You wouldn't be free." His comment left me pondering the question of "freedom," the paradox of Philippine independence and the implications of such a paradox on the lives of Filipino Americans. From 1899 to 1946, the Philippine islands were neither an official U.S. colony nor an independent nation but an unincorporated territory and then, beginning in 1935, a Commonwealth. Technically neither American nor Filipino citizens, the World War II veterans embody the contradictions of the Commonwealth years.[1] Furthermore, their campaign for recognition demonstrates how this under-studied period challenges any analysis of the systems of imperialism, the supposed sanctity of national sovereignty and the limits of decolonization.

Situated at the intersection of American studies, Asian American literature, postcolonial studies and queer theory, "Managing the (Post)Colonial" investigates a range of literary texts circulating in both the U.S. and the Philippines just before and during the Commonwealth years. Mandated by the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Commonwealth was meant to be a ten-year period during which the Philippine government was to be readied for full sovereignty. I use these literary texts as an entry point into analyzing how at the designated moment of official separation from the U.S., Commonwealth political, economic, cultural and social policies in fact ensured U.S. hegemony over the Philippines under the guise of independence. In this project, I consider how the Commonwealth is an ambiguous and contradictory political moment that eschews the binaries between independent nation and colony and how these political and national dynamics of the Commonwealth were dialectically articulated through sexualized and gendered binaries. I argue that sexualized and gendered representations of Filipino subjects in the Philippines and the U.S. were simultaneously determined by and deployed to manage the national-political contradiction at the heart of the Commonwealth. Most importantly, such sexualized and gendered representations in literary and cultural texts also opened up the possibilities of critiquing U.S. hegemony and of imagining alternative emancipatory politics.

In this introduction to the project, I provide an overview of the history of the Philippines as an unincorporated territory and Commonwealth and elucidate how I apply a queer reading practice to the literary texts of such a contradictory political and historical formation. Such a reading practice is highly attentive to the ways in which identity and

subject formation occurs within as well as because of networks of power and across categories of difference. I insist therefore that any investigation of Filipino racialization is inextricable from interrogating how the Filipino is simultaneously sexualized and gendered, particularly as national and colonial subjects. I demonstrate how the eschewing of political-national categories during the Commonwealth simultaneously resulted in eschewing the binaries between masculine and feminine as well as heteronormative and sexually aberrant.

This project is invested in imagining the category of the Filipino in ways that are not grounded in stable dichotomies of masculine/feminine, heteronormative/sexually aberrant, American/Filipino, and brown/white. However, I ultimately attempt to move beyond an exploration of identity formation by arguing that any conceptualization of a decolonizing politics must persistently take into account the ways in which political independence does not necessarily mean freedom; and I insist that political and poetic projects of Filipino America must be constantly attentive to the inextricability and yet incommensurability of categories of difference. At the heart of this project is the pursuit of what about the Filipino American subject escapes categorization, what is contradictory about Philippine independence, what forms of resistance are simultaneous with the workings of hegemony and what alternative politics are possible even in the face of the inevitability of power and difference.

The Disembodied Shade of the (Post)Colonial

> Perhaps the Great American Republic, whose interests lie in the Pacific and who has no hand in the spoliation of Africa may someday dream of

> overseas possessions. This is not impossible, for the example is contagious; covetousness and ambition are among the strongest vices, and Harrison manifested something of this sort in the Samoan question. But the Panama Canal is not opened nor the territories of the United States congested with inhabitants, and in case she should openly attempt it the European powers would not allow her to proceed, for they know very well that the appetite is sharpened by the first bites. North America would be quite a troublesome rival if she should once get into the business. Furthermore this is contrary to her traditions.

- Jose Rizal, "The Philippines a Century Hence (Conclusion)"

In his conclusion to his 1890 series of articles entitled "*Filipinas de Cien Años*" for the *ilustrado*-published La Solidaridad in Madrid, Philippine national hero Jose Rizal ends with an ironically prophetic evaluation of America's future relationship with the Philippines should the islands finally assert independence from Spain.[2] Written a year before the publication of his second novel *Noli me Tangere* and six years before his execution in Manila in front of a firing squad for rebellion, sedition and conspiracy against the Spanish colonial government, Rizal recognizes the potential temptation for the U.S. to join in the age of imperialism. However, Rizal nonetheless asserts that exceptional American traditions will keep the U.S. from taking Spain's place as colonial overlord.[3] Rizal was truly prescient in one regard as President William McKinley in 1899 and other imperialists would invoke America's exceptional traditions and democratic Anglo-Saxon character to justify liberating the archipelago from the tyranny of Spain in order to lead it into the modern age of sovereignty. Strikingly, it is the idea of imperialism as "contrary to her traditions" that enables the U.S. to establish colonial control of the Philippines, a form of colonial control that is grounded in and animated by its own negation. This ambiguously negated political status of the Philippines lasted from

1899 to 1946 when the islands were initially defined as an unincorporated territory and then later a Commonwealth. I argue that we can read the unincorporated and, more importantly, Commonwealth status of the Philippines as a critical (post)colonial formation that disarticulates the concepts of progress, decolonization and independence.

When La Solidaridad published "*Filipinas de Cien Años*," the end of almost 300 years of Spanish rule was approaching as *Ilustrado*-lead reform movements gradually shifted into outright rebellion spearheaded by Andrew Bonifacio and his *Katipuneros*.[4] Ignited by Rizal's execution, the *Katipuneros* engaged in armed resistance, attacking Spanish strongholds in the countryside. By 1898, they had taken the capital city of Manila; meanwhile, Spain was forced not only to contend with its unruly colonials but also with a United States seeking to expand beyond its continental borders. Driven by the panic of an economic crisis in 1893, the desire for new markets and raw materials, yellow journalism and the supposed sinking of an American battleship in Havana harbor, America joined the imperial scramble at the fin de siècle and waged war against Spain. On May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey defeated the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay supposedly signaling U.S. victory in and subsequent control of the Philippines.[5] Hostilities were officially ended in October by the Treaty of Paris in which Spain relinquished Cuba, the U.S. took control of Puerto Rico and Guam and paid $20 million to Spain for the Philippines. Despite the declaration of the First Philippine Republic in January 1899 by *Katipunero* leader Emilio Aguinaldo, American soldiers began to move out of Manila in May of that year and began to open fire on *Katipunero* forces. Though

"pacification" of the islands was officially declared completed after three years, guerilla fighters continued to resist for three more.[6]

As U.S. forces struggled to establish colonial governance in the islands, the possession of former Spanish colonies greatly challenged U.S. domestic conceptions of itself legally and politically as a nation. Questions arose as to the status of these new territories, the extent to which Constitutional rights could be granted to their inhabitants and how much power Congress could actually wield over their affairs. A series of Supreme Court decisions beginning in 1901 and culminating in 1922, now called the Insular Cases, sought to resolve these issues. As the analysis of Efrén Rivera-Ramos reveals, racial understandings of the (American) Anglo-Saxon were produced by and pivotal to the creation of the legal category of the unincorporated territory, a category which not only solved the challenges to Constitutional law posed by these new possessions but also dialectically enabled imperialism by denying American colonialism.[7] As Allan Punzalan Isaac observes, the unincorporated state was a "geopolitical construction of U.S. juridico-political will that has served to obscure the contradiction inherent in a democratic republic holding colonial possessions" (3).

The first articulation of the concept of the unincorporated territory occurred in Downes v. United States concerning the legality of duties exacted on Puerto Rican imports into the U.S. In explaining the decision of the court, Justice Brown wrote: "'The power to acquire territory by treaty […] implies not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants, and what their status shall be'" (Quoted in Rivera 246-247). In this way, mere ownership

of the territories by the U.S. did not guarantee the extension of Constitutional rights to said territories – the degree to which territorial inhabitants had been incorporated into the U.S. and therefore could claim and enjoy those rights had to be determined specifically by Congress. In response to the fear that such a decision would be tantamount to enabling tyranny, Justice Brown responded much as Rizal in La Solidaridad: "'There are certain principles of natural justice inherent in the Anglo-Saxon character which need no expression in constitutions or statutes to give them effect of to secure dependencies against legislation manifestly hostile to their real interests'" (quoted in Rivera 247).

In his concurring opinion, Justice White fully articulates the significance of the concept of incorporation and reveals another racializing aspect to it. He argues that the issue at hand is to determine to what extent possession of Puerto Rico has resulted in its full incorporation into the political body of the United States so that the islands have become an integral part of the U.S. To assume that possession automatically results in actual incorporation would be to undermine the power of Congress to determine the coherence of the United States. This would create a "nightmare scenario – opening up the possibilities of 'millions of inhabitants of alien territory' being able, by their immediate incorporation to the United States by treaty, to overthrow 'the whole structure of government'" (Rivera 249). In this way, White articulates the concept of "foreign to the United States in a domestic sense" – foreign in that its inhabitants cannot be considered as enjoying full rights of citizenship and yet these territories are domestic in the foreign sense because the U.S. dictates governmental policies. This doctrine of incorporation was

fully adopted by the court and became the ruling precedent in 1904 in Dorr v. United States concerning the right to trial by jury in the Philippines.

The racializing component of the doctrine of incorporation can be seen playing out in how it was used to categorize the relationships of Puerto Rico, Alaska and the Philippines to the U.S. While Justice Brown assures that abuse of the doctrine is made impossible by the Anglo-Saxon character, the racial character of territorial inhabitants and their fitness for citizenship and democracy is more open to question. As Justice White's opinion reveals, incorporation is a necessary doctrine because of the fear of inclusion of millions of (non-Anglo-Saxon) aliens unnecessarily and abruptly into the U.S. body politic. It must be essential then that the Supreme Court determine the extent of territorial incorporation. Such determination could not be simply based on whether or not the U.S. had organized civil government in such territories. Rather, it was determined by: the Court's interpretation of the intention of Congress regarding the territory as expressed in the treaty granting possession, the rights actually granted to territorial inhabitants by the treaties of acquisition, and the character of the legislation enacted by Congress in relationship to the territory (Rivera 258). Based on these criteria, the Court decided that while Alaska did not possess an organized civil government it was nonetheless an incorporated territory meant eventually to become fully part of the U.S. Puerto Rico proved Alaska's inverse as it had an organized civil government but was decidedly unincorporated. The Philippines was declared both an unorganized and unincorporated territory, not now and never intended to be part of the U.S. As Rivera notes, the ruling regarding Alaska's status was "ironic" in that "the fate of the Caribbean

and Pacific territories (with the exception of Hawaii), at least as far as the judicial sanction of colonialism was concerned, was consummated in the very case which clearly demonstrated one of the fundamental reasons for differential treatment. After all, Alaska was sparsely populated and subject to control by white American settlers, conditions which were perceived as relatively easy governance and assimilation" (258).

As one dissenting Chief Justice phrased it, such territorial classification thus kept the Philippines "like a disembodied shade, in an intermediate state of ambiguous existence for an indefinite period" (quote in Rivera 250). The creation of the category of the unincorporated (and unorganized) territory enabled the U.S. to maintain the Philippines as neither part of the U.S. nor as a sovereign entity; such an ambiguous state served simultaneously to obfuscate and to prove U.S. exceptionalism, especially as the ideology of benevolent assimilation developed parallel to the concept of the unincorporated territory. For if, as the Court declared, the U.S. never meant to incorporate the islands, it follows that it must be destined for independence at the proper time. Under the guidance of the United States, the Philippines would naturally progress from unincorporated territory to Commonwealth to modern sovereign state. In this teleological progression, the Commonwealth period of the Philippines is the time in which native Filipino political elite would prove their ability to organize their own civil government. However, a critical consideration of the Philippines' time as "disembodied shade" reveals the lie of such a narrative of national progress as well as the inability to apply a historical trajectory to the Philippine situation that differentiates between discrete periods of coloniality, decolonization and post-coloniality.

The label of "colonial" cannot really apply to the islands during its time as an unincorporated territory for while its affairs were determined by the U.S. such governance was meant to be of a decolonizing mode as American officials were seemingly intent on repairing the damage of Spanish tyranny and offering training for sovereignty. The colonial status of the Philippines is thus complicated by its position as foreign in a domestic sense and yet domestic in a foreign sense – an ambiguous position secured by the promise of impending independence. This promise was officially recognized by the passage of the 1916 Jones Act which set a ten-year deadline to the end of tutelage.[8] From 1916 to 1946, the Commonwealth Period ironically reads as active decolonization as Filipinos took over governmental positions and prepared for sovereignty. This moment is ironic in that, as my second chapter specifically strives to show, this time of seemingly official separation is actually when the Philippines and U.S. are tied even closer to each other through economic, martial and cultural policies. For these reasons, I thus use the term "(post)colonial" to describe the Philippines not only from 1898 to 1946, but even after the granting of official independence. I place "post" in parentheses in order to call into question whether a nation and its subjects can be simultaneously colonial and yet not. In the specific case of the Philippines, there is no progress from colonial to post-colonial; rather, the islands seem to permanently inhabit a space and time of deferred decolonization, never arriving at any "post-colonial" telos.

In this way, I echo Ann McClintock's words in regards to what was then nascent postcolonial theory: "I wish to question the orientation of the emerging discipline and its concomitant theories and curricula changes, around a singular, monolithic term,

organized around a binary axis of time rather than power, and which in its premature pastness of colonialism, runs the risk of obscuring continuities and discontinuities of colonial and imperial power" (italics mine, 88). I would argue that for the Philippine situation now and at the turn of the century there is no "pastness" of colonialism – not when the promise of independence is grounded in its position as a "disembodied shade" haunting the periphery of the U.S. nation.[9] The promise of progress becomes the mechanism by which the Philippine state circles the center of imperial power in an ever-widening gyre. In the program of benevolent assimilation, true sovereignty is the unattainable end-point. While McClintock published her consideration of the pitfalls of the term "post-colonial" almost twenty years ago, her critique and warnings as well as my example of Philippine (post)coloniality are critical in a moment of U.S. intervention and state-building in Iraq and Afghanistan and the recent popular uprisings and toppling of dictatorial regimes in Tunisia and Egypt.[10] McClintock's insistence on the centrality of power rather than time in the term postcolonial warns us that there is no pastness to power – that the declaration of and insistence on the end of imperial power can simultaneously enable such power's continued existence. Thus political and poetic projects must be constantly attentive to the ways in which imperial power is constantly reconstituted and re-directed and such projects must persist despite power's seemingly dynamic inevitability.

Inextricability of Differences: The Case for a Queer Reading Practice

> Colonization as assimilation was deemed a moral imperative, as wayward native children cut off from their Spanish fathers and desired by other

> European powers would be adopted and protected by the compassionate embrace of the United States. As a father is bound to guide his son, the United States was charged with the development of native others. Neither exploitative nor enslaving, colonization entailed the cultivation of "the felicity and perfection of the Philippine people" through the uninterrupted devotion to those "noble ideals which constitute the higher civilization of mankind." Because colonization is about civilizing love and the love of civilization, it must be absolutely distinct from the disruptive criminality of conquest. The allegory of benevolent assimilation effaces the violence of conquest by construing colonial rule as the most precious gift that "the most civilized people" can render to those still caught in a state of barbarous disorder.
>
> - Vicente L. Rafael, White Love and Other Events in Filipino History

While the Insular Cases and the conceptualization of the unincorporated territory were constituted by as well as constitutive of conceptions of American and Filipino race, such ideas of race cannot be divorced from concomitant representations of gender and sexuality. As Isaac observes, "In the U.S-Philippine context, the colonial project mapped avenues by which concepts of 'citizenship,' 'masculinity,' 'whiteness,' and 'Americanness' were sustained, forged, and filtered through U.S. activity in its colonies, including the Philippines. This is not to suggest that these formulations had a simple return effect back to the metropole, but that policy surrounding the colonies, later client states, informs and is informed by internal debates about race, gender, class and authenticity" (5). The historical formulation of benevolent assimilation, which paralleled the juridical creation of the unincorporated territory and the Commonwealth, relied on and called into being a racialized understanding of gender and sexuality for the force of its argument. Vicente Rafael's study White Love and Other Events in Filipino History, which I quote above, makes this point clear. In the promise to grant independence, the

contradictions to American republican ideals posed by the "disembodied shade" of the Philippines is disavowed by the "guarantee" of independence rhetorically fueled by harkening to the trope of the nuclear family. It is the ideology of benevolent assimilation which operates as a type of colonial family romance that assumes and enables the normative masculinity, heterosexuality and whiteness of the American father at the expense of the emasculated, queered and brown brother/son.

Given the issue of Philippine (post)coloniality, any approach to the historical, literary and cultural milieu of the Commonwealth period must therefore be attentive to the inextricability of race, gender and sexuality, especially concerning the formation of colonial and national subjects. To this end, I employ a queer reading practice when considering the literary and cultural texts of this period. As David Eng, Jose Muñoz and Judith Halberstam state in their 2005 special edition of Social Text, "What's Queer About Queer Studies Now?," "queer" as a term and methodology emerged in 1990 and "challenged the normalizing mechanisms of state power to name its sexual subjects… interrogating the social processes that not only produced and recognized but also normalized and sustained identity, the political promise of the term resided specifically in its broad critique of multiple social antagonisms, including race, gender, class, nationality, and religion, in addition to sexuality" (1). While I will discuss in the conclusion to this project the recent challenges to queer theory and the radical possibility of the term "queer" in light of the homonormativity and neoliberalism of the post-Obama moment, the literary, cultural and historical analysis attempted in this project is indebted

to this conceptualization of queer studies as articulated by Eng and his fellow editors that is attentive to the multiple vectors of power and social difference.

In this project, I understand race not as a universal, transhistorical, biological fixity but rather as emerging from historically situated and ideologically saturated processes. I follow Michael Omi and Howard Winant's "theory of *racial formation*" which "emphasizes the social nature of race, the absence of any essential racial characteristics, the historical flexibility of racial meanings and categories, the conflictual character of race at both the 'micro-' and 'macro-social' levels, and the irreducible political aspect of racial dynamics" (4). Furthermore, I not only insist on the contingency of racialization but also on that of sexuality. As Siobhan Sommerville states in her study of the relationship between the concomitant formation of the black/white color line and the categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality in America at the end of the nineteenth century: "'sexuality' means much more than sexual practice per se. One's sexual identity, while at times linked directly to one's sexual activities, more often describes a complex ideological position, into which one is interpellated based partly on the culture's mapping of bodies and desires and partly on one's response to that interpellation. Thus there is no strict relationship between one's sexual desire or behavior and one's sexual identity, although the two are closely intertwined" (6).

I would also add that the concepts of sexuality and gender are of course also closely intertwined. As Judith Butler has explored in her seminal Gender Trouble, gender is not an "interior essence" but rather "the performativity of gender revolves around this metalepsis, [where] the way in which the anticipation of a gendered essence produces that

which it posits as outside itself. Secondly, performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as culturally sustained temporal duration" (xv). As Butler insists in her analysis of Gayle Rubin's "Traffic in Women," the relationship between gender and sexuality is one of power and discipline in that "normative sexuality fortifies normative gender" (xi). In this way, one must always ask oneself: "To what extent does gender hierarchy serve a more or less compulsory heterosexuality, and how often are gender norms policed precisely in the service of shoring up heterosexual hegemony?" (xiii). To ask such a question however would necessitate interrogating how all three categories of difference – race, sexuality and gender – cannot be understood separate from each other and how they are attenuated by issues of citizenship and class.

In Rafael's consideration of benevolent assimilation and the Filipino (post)colonial case, for example, the gender hierarchy suggested by the deployment of the familial metaphor to convey the patriarchal authority of the white colonial manager gains its discursive force (and obfuscates the material violence of the "Philippine Insurrection") through the interlinking of whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality. I must note that while I recognize and insist on the shared contingencies of race, sexuality and gender (as well as their saturation in power), I am not however attempting or suggesting a collapse of race, sexuality and gender into each other or into any other categories of difference. I argue instead that rather than perform cultural analysis and the interrogation of identity formation from the sole perspective of race, sexuality or gender, we must see how categories of difference are never discrete yet always incommensurate. We must

constantly ask: What are the consequences when racial difference takes on gendered expressions? Or when gendered and sexualized difference takes on racialized expressions? The question, to be clear, is not whether race precedes gender and sexuality or vice versa. Rather it is: how are these categories of difference constantly playing on each other, reaffirming each other *as well as* undermining the supposed stability of any category of difference? I insist that any projects which seek to engage Filipino America (and any other site or formation in which decolonization is seemingly perpetually deferred) must read for the mutually constitutive relationship between race, gender, sexuality, class and citizenship – for it is the complicated interplay between such categories of difference that can both obfuscate the contradictions of seeming decolonization as well as open up alternative political potentialities and practices of freedom.

In this project, such a queer reading practice thus accomplishes a three-fold goal. First, it reveals how the granting or declaration of independence during the Commonwealth period does not automatically result in full sovereignty and unencumbered life prospects for all. Second, it compels an interrogation of theoretical assumptions, critically enabling one to perceive the ways in which scholarly projects engaged in cultural analyses and a radical politics may inadvertently prioritize a single axis of difference at the elision and marginalization of others. Third, such a queer reading practice would also be attentive to that which escapes categorization, that which eludes and challenges the seeming stability and naturalization of race, gender and sexuality (particularly in contexts of imperialistic power) usually perceived in expressions of non-

normative desire, alternate kinship structures, coalitional strategies of survival and other moments of "imagining otherwise."[11]

I believe cultural and, especially, literary texts are fertile grounds for tracing such moments of "imagining otherwise." As Neferti Tadiar insists, "… I do not look to literature for typicality or representable realities; I look to it for creative possibility. Creative possibility recasts lived experience so that it no longer takes the form of incontrovertible social fact but instead takes on the experimental character of literature itself. Literary works are figurations of possibilities of life that authors exercise in their imaginations of historical experience; in this way, they are also theoretical perspectives on both dominant and residual cultural logics of social life" (Things Fall Away 17-18). The relationship between literature and history is thus paradoxically productive; literature is both born from the historical moment but never simply a mirror reflecting such moment. It reveals and is influenced by the material contexts of its production as well as gestures to what exceeds such material contexts. Each chapter of this project thus analyzes Commonwealth literary texts in order to trace both how Filipino subjects are made knowable by imperial systems of race, gender and sexuality as well as how writers challenge any totality of knowability – thereby enabling us to appreciate the possibilities that persist in the play of power amongst categories of difference.

I begin in chapter one by considering the patriarchal nature of benevolent assimilation and demonstrating how the workings of racialization, gendering and sexualization played off of each other, opening up certain moments of power for white women while closing down Philippine political possibilities. I do so by juxtaposing

Theodore Roosevelt's "Strenuous Life" speech with the journalistic investigations of Katherine Mayo. Mayo, best known in postcolonial studies for her sensationalist 1927 polemic against Indian home rule, studied the conditions of the Philippines under U.S. governance in 1925. On the one hand, the product of Mayo's trip to the Philippines, The Islands of Fear, seems to support the patriarchal nature of the colonial project by valorizing the Anglo-Saxon colonial managers of the island as heroes maintaining the chaotic archipelago. On the other, Mayo accesses the masculinized realm of imperial authority by representing Anglo-Saxon racial excellence in contrast to the unruly native others. She does so by differentiating her status as a woman from the feminized and disempowered Filipino figure as well as by simultaneously de-linking masculinity from biological maleness through the rhetoric of racial superiority. By focusing on how a woman of this period could actively participate in the white man's burden, this chapter demonstrates the mutually constitutive and simultaneously contradictory nature of the processes of racialization, sexualization and gendering in the project of empire.

In the second chapter, I contrast Mayo's treatment of civilization as the sole province of the Anglo-Saxon with the national cultural agenda of Manuel Quezon, first president of the Commonwealth. I focus on the texts and figures of the 1940 Philippine Commonwealth Literary Awards in order to investigate how Filipino writing in English was used to institutionalize a particular vision of the nation that both validated a continuing neocolonial relationship with the U.S. and assigned specific gender roles to the subjects within that nation. Quezon posited that Filipino mastery of the English language and the production of English literature symbolically proved that the nation had

reached full political maturity and modernity under American tutelage. However, such culturally nationalist rhetoric obscured the neocolonial state which was being established by trade restrictions and armed forces agreements between Quezon's Commonwealth and the U.S. Moreover, during the Awards, the very first volume of poetry written in English by a Filipino woman, Angela Manalang Gloria, was censored for its supposed eroticism and immorality. Analyzing the literary criticism of S.P. Lopez and the poems of Gloria, I argue that Quezon's cultivation of Filipino literature in English, while supposedly proving Philippine cultural achievement and modernity, obscured the neocolonial state of the archipelago by positing a patriarchal nationalism grounded in a stringent divide between the femininized private and masculinized public. While dominant Philippine nationalism established itself through the English language, I also show how that same language offered Gloria new avenues of expression and possibilities of poetically re-imagining women's roles in the domestic sphere that are not circumscribed by the purity of motherhood.

While in the islands state-sponsored Philippine writing in English was invested in a modern national masculinity, I propose in the third chapter that nascent Filipino American literature was defined by the undermining of gendered binaries and the proliferation of queer sexualities. I focus on the guarantee of Philippine independence in 1934 by the Tydings-McDuffie Act and demonstrate that it was animated not by the advent of Philippine political maturity or modernity but by perceived threats to American capital that retention of the islands posed. Moreover, such threats were articulated through an anxiety over Filipino American sexuality, expressed in the circulation of the

lascivious figure of the Filipino in the U.S. preying on white women. In this chapter, I argue that the granting of Philippine independence animated and was animated by the hypersexualization of Filipino immigrants in the U.S. I consider how the homoerotic moments and queer filiations within the high modernist poetry of José Garcia Villa and the proletariat writings of Carlos Bulosan must be read in the context of the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. I contend that such slippery moments of sexuality in these disparate texts make impossible any categorical understanding of Filipino American race, class, sexuality and gender as insisted upon by the hypersexualization of Philippine independence, the patriarchal nature of benevolent assimilation and the formulation of Philippine cultural nationalism.

In the conclusion to the project, I suggest how the study of the Commonwealth period can be a necessary contribution to both queer theory and Filipino American Studies. Drawing on the work of David Eng, Siobhan Sommerville and Roderick Ferguson, I demonstrate how considering the intricacies of categories of normativity during the Commonwealth period can reveal the shortcomings of certain queer ideologies and methodologies that may assume the stability of domestic and diasporic spaces. I believe a study of the (post)colonial formation of the Commonwealth can thus intervene in current debates concerning national belonging, homonormativity and queer liberalism. The conclusion also extends my third chapter's analysis of Bulosan and Villa that challenges any normative conception of the Filipino American subject in order to demonstrate how a queer reading practice can enable richer cultural critiques and alternate political practice within Filipino American Studies, especially as its relationship

to Asian American Studies is being reconsidered. I do so ultimately to urge us to think through poetic and scholarly projects which are not hampered by a utopian telos or the dependence on and priorization of a single category of differential analysis. Rather than have faith in the ideas of a knowable Filipino American subject or in n all-encompassing analytic or in the achievement of national belonging or the attainment of a perfect independence, I wish instead in this project to insist on acts of freedom constantly in resistance to any calcification of normativity and in the face of power's opposition and vagaries. Ultimately, it is this play between assertions of power and acts of freedom that is demonstrated in the literary texts of the Philippine Commonwealth period.

Chapter One

Writing Feminine Authority, Erasing Philippine Possibilites:

Katherine Mayo's Islands of Fear

> Well, women are supermen, after all…
> - Charles P. Norton to Katherine Mayo, February 19, 1917

From 1917 to 1927, debates over the (post)colonial status of the Philippines and whether or not independence should be granted reached their most public and controversial heights both in the United States and the archipelago. Ignited by the Jones Act of 1916, the "Philippine issue" was deliberated from the halls of Congress to the pages of the New York Times.[1] The preamble of the Jones Act was the focus of these debates for it stated that since it was never the goal of the Spanish American War to be "a war of conquest" that it therefore was "the purpose of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippines islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." What, however, defined a stable government? The process of "Filipinization" of the colonial government had began under Francis Burton Harrison's reign as governor general (1913-1921) and by the time former Military Governor of Cuba, Leonard Wood, took power in 1923, almost all governmental departments were run by members of the Filipino elite. Offering "Filipinization" as proof, Filipino nationalists and politicians argued that in the seven years under Harrison they had demonstrated themselves capable of managing the islands and of establishing the "stable government" set forth as the necessary precondition for sovereignty. General

Wood disagreed;[2] and upon assuming power began slowly challenging Filipino political control – particularly that of the legislature through his use of veto and cabinet appointments. In reaction, Philippine Independence Missions were organized by the Philippine legislature to present evidence of what they considered Wood's militaristic and autocratic abuses of power as well as of their capability for competent self-rule.[3] These debates over independence in Manila and D.C. thus revolved around the main questions: Were native elites capable of control of the islands? Or could only a strong American authority ensure order and stability?

During this period, dozens of books and hundreds of articles were published claiming to give the definitive analysis of as well as answer to "the Philippine Question."[4] However, when Katherine Mayo's Islands of Fear appeared in 1925, it was hailed by the New York Times as "a book that is at once one of the most readable and informing volumes on the Philippines yet published."[5] One reader of Mayo's book, a Dr. W.W. Keen of Philadelphia, was so impressed with her text that he wrote Mayo's publishers for a "special discount" so that he could purchase multiple copies and send them to "a number of important men he knew".[6] Because of Keen's connections to then-Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, "an old friend," Mayo's book made it to the desks of President Coolidge, Vice-President Dawes, Secretary of State Kellogg, Treasury Secretary Mellon, Chief Justice Taft and the rest of the supreme court justices. Upon receipt of Mayo's book, Taft expressed his gratitude in a note to Keen as well as familiarity with Mayo's work and his plan to "go through the book this summer".[7]

Moreover, prior to its publication as a book, the chapters of Islands of Fear had circulated in various newspapers in the United States as well as the Philippines as a series of illustrated articles. In a letter even from Governor General Wood to Mayo dated April 4, 1925, he praised the effect Mayo's articles had in Manila: "Your articles have done a world of good here… On the whole, there has been an immense amount of good done here and an infinite amount in the United States by the articles, which attracted more attention from the general American public than all else that has been written on the Philippine Islands… You have gained an audience now which no one else has."[8] Mayo's text thus played a significant yet little investigated role in the Philippine independence debates. What was it about Mayo's text that attracted such an audience? How did her analysis of the Philippine problem crystallize many of the racialized, gendered and sexualized dynamics of power and representation inherent in U.S. control of the archipelago?

In this chapter I explore Mayo's role in this debate over nation-state status, colonial management and political sovereignty that occurred in rhetorically charged masculinized terms between statesmen from both sides of the Pacific. These debates were not simply concerned with matters of state governance and mastery over bureaucracy but also with how particular representations of Filipino and American race and masculinity were deployed to make visible the Philippine nation and simultaneously invisible American empire. More significantly, I investigate how Mayo as an American female journalist appropriated these terms of American civilizing manhood and Philippine nationhood in order to insert herself into these patriarchal politics of empire. Until

recently, Mayo has mostly been investigated in relation to Indian independence in the realm of postcolonial studies because of her 1927 polemic against Indian self-rule, Mother India, which analyzed Hindu culture and found it ultimately too decadent and sex-obsessed to allow for the establishment of modern liberal governance.[9] Much less attention however has been paid to the role Islands of Fear played in U.S.-Philippine debates over independence or in analyzing the potential connections between Mayo's defense of U.S. and U.K. imperialism as complicated by her positions as a woman and a journalist.

As Mrinalini Sinha points out in her introduction to a new critical edition of Mother India, interest in Mayo revived in the 1970s as scholars, like Mary Daly, "resurrecting Mayo's reputation in the name of feminist-inspired scholarship" uncritically celebrated her concern with and exposés of the oppressive conditions of patriarchal India (5).[10] Even those like Liz Wilson who later cautioned against an outright valorization of Mayo's work stops short of recognizing Mayo as a "conscious advocate of colonialism".[11] Furthermore, this focus on Mother India to the exclusion of the other works of Mayo's oeuvre that not only dealt with the Philippines but also with the New York and Pennsylvania State Police Forces potentially divorces Mayo's international writings from her domestic concerns. The fact that Mayo just as vociferously advocated for continued American rule in the Philippines can tend to be downplayed or forgotten when considering her work on India later in her life.

However, I am less concerned in this chapter with either vindicating Mayo as a feminist hero or indicting her as an outright imperialist. I consider Mayo's texts in order

instead to explore the ways in which constructions of race, gender and sexuality were used to naturalize the imperial relationship between the Philippines and the United States on one hand as well as to contest it and make legible the emergent Philippine nation on the other. Ultimately, however, I demonstrate how Mayo's texts destabilize the assumed discreteness of such categories of difference – race, gender and sexuality – which should ground the workings of benevolent assimilation. Mayo's role in these debates seemed to uphold and support normative and racialized conceptions of masculinity and nationhood and yet her very participation challenged the rigidity of these categories and revealed their constructed nature, revealed the ways in which race, gender and nation were deployed in pursuit of political subjectivity and national sovereignty. I show how Mayo enabled herself to inhabit a space of masculinized imperial authority in her journalistic writings through its emphasis on factual evidence and objective analysis. In her investigations of the state police system of the U.S. and of the system of governance in the Philippines, she created an alternate sense of motherhood that was not grounded in either the domestic space of the home and heterosexual family (or of the U.S. nation generally) but premised on the heroic venturing of a woman into the periphery driven by the pursuit of truth and justice. It is Mayo's emphasis on Anglo-Saxon civilizational excellence which becomes the key to overwriting heteropatriarchal assumptions about a (white) woman's role in empire.

In the first section of this chapter, I consider Mayo's background as a domestic journalist and the early work of Mayo's oeuvre, particularly her reports on the Pennsylvania and New York State Police. In Mayo's state police writings, she closely

links those state police projects to the Spanish American War suggesting the connections between U.S. management of unruly colonials abroad and control of new immigrants and labor at home. In her support for the state police, Mayo valorizes the Anglo-Saxon policeman as protecting civil order from unassimilated new immigrant labor as well as protecting threatened rural populations from the specters of black criminality. However, in her praise of the heroic masculinity of the State Police, Mayo subtly places herself among their ranks because of her shared dedication to justice for all – i.e. the protection of the domestic space from unruly ethnic elements. It is also Mayo's lauding of the Anglo-Saxon male hero that is the connection between her State Police writings and her interest in the Philippines. Leonard Wood's experience as a Rough Rider and the "successful" governor of Cuba made him a perfect example of a militaristic masculinity deployed to protect the state.

In the second section of this chapter, I consider how in light of Mayo's state police writings her interest in the Philippines works to queer the family romance of the narrative of benevolent assimilation. I turn specifically to the text of Islands of Fear where Mayo depicts Wood as an Anglo-Saxon hero beset by greedy and unscrupulous *caciques* and simultaneously exasperated by the indolent *taos*. I argue that the effectiveness of Mayo's book comes from her creation of a racial hierarchy of affect in which Wood seems to represent the pinnacle as the self-sacrificing doctor and general fighting for the victims of the mestizo elite's rapaciousness. The way in which she represents this racial hierarchy though ultimately endows Mayo with a complex sense of authority – her marshalling of facts, eyewitness reports and character analyses all work to

suggest that Mayo not only knows the natives but also the American colonial managers better than they know themselves. Mayo then casts herself not just simply as a supportive female passive presence in the project of empire but rather as one actively surveying, negotiating and directing the flows of colonial power, authority and representation. This authority which she endows herself with is what made it possible for her to write her most commercially successful and controversial book, Mother India.

This alternate space of authority which Mayo creates in Islands of Fear, however, is neither feminist nor womanist nor even based on an idea of women as bastions of moral and ethical purity emblematized by "the cult of true womanhood" that characterized the earlier role of women in the Spanish American War. When Charles P. Norton, Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, writes Mayo congratulating her on the success of her advocating for the formation of the New York State Police, his simple compliment, "Well, women are supermen, after all…",[12] gestures to the complex and potentially contradictory ways of approaching Mayo's racial, national and gendered ideologies – that somehow one could be a woman and yet simultaneously more powerful than a man through the politics of imperialism.

The "Strenuous Life" of the Mother of the State Police

> In the last analysis a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavor, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk. The man must be glad to do a man's work, to dare and endure and to labor; to keep himself, and to keep those dependent upon him. The woman must be the housewife, the helpmeet of the homemaker, the wise and fearless mother of many healthy children…When men fear work or fear righteous war, when women fear motherhood, they tremble on the

> brink of doom; and well it is that they should vanish from the earth, where they are fit subjects for the scorn of all men and women who are themselves strong and brave and high-minded.
>
> - Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," 1899

Katherine Mayo was born on January 27, 1867 in Ridgeway, Pennsylvania to Harriet and James H. Mayo. From 1899 to 1907, Mayo lived with her father in the Dutch colony of Guiana (later re-named Surinam) as he tried his fortunes as a mining-engineer.[13] Mayo eventually returned to the States to pursue her literary and journalistic interests. Early in her career she even served as NAACP co-founder Oswald Garrison Villard's research assistant. However, as she began to publish her own work it became apparent that many of the causes she would later support in her journalistic investigations were far from socially progressive. Three of Mayo's first four books – Justice to All (1917), The Standard Bearers (1918) and Mounted Justice (1922) – all focused on providing "historical" accounts of the formation of the Pennsylvania State Police with the avowed purpose of encouraging the adoption of a similar police force in New York despite vociferous opposition by labor unions.[14] In what follows, I focus on Mayo's first book Justice to All and the connections Mayo makes between the Spanish American War and its spectacles of chivalric militaristic masculinity and the necessity of state police forces to maintain domestic order and safety in the rural counties of Pennsylvania and New York. It is Mayo's celebration of the state police that enables her to participate in the masculinist pursuit of Anglo-Saxon civilizational order and justice both domestically and abroad.

Mayo's trilogy concerning the state police were relative successes when first published, particularly Justice to All. According to Gerda Ray, the first edition sold out in

the first month with five more editions following in three years. The book benefitted from advertisements highlighting former president Theodore Roosevelt's support of Mayo's project; he wrote the introduction and even sent copies to members of the New York Senate in order to encourage them to ratify the State Police bill.[15] In his introduction to Justice to All, Roosevelt observes that though the frontier has closed there still exist "frontier conditions" in the States that necessitate bodies of rangers. Such a claim seems strange in light of Roosevelt's well-known lamenting of the close of the frontier as the extra-civilizational space where man's masculinity was proven in contest against nature and the native.[16] Seventeen years earlier, Roosevelt had advocated going abroad to re-create this space of masculine conquest; now in relation to the State Police force, he celebrates the Spanish American War as that which has created the ideal soldiers to handle these frontier conditions domestically. To analyze the implications of Roosevelt's introduction, we need to turn to his famous 1899 "Strenuous Life" speech to the Chicago Hamilton Club.

In his speech, Roosevelt makes it clear what is at stake for the American man in the war:

> The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains" – all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and an army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors have driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading.[17]

Here Roosevelt sets up an initial dichotomy between the "timid," "lazy" and "over-civilized" man and "the stern men with empires in their brains" who recognize that to experience "the mighty lift" and thrill of the strenuous life means to fulfill the nation's worthy military mission. Simply and physically being a man then does not guarantee one possesses the characteristics of mastery and activity that Roosevelt would, and wants to, associate naturally with being an American man. For him, one must actively cultivate and demonstrate these masculine attributes or risk losing them. [18] In short, Roosevelt fears an epidemic of men who may actually not be masculine.

In expressing this fear and posing solutions to avoid its realization, Roosevelt reveals how masculinity is not inextricable from maleness – that the two can be divorced and thus the connection must be reinforced.[19] To achieve this reinforcement, Roosevelt constructs a second dichotomy between the chaotic "great, fair tropic islands" and the orderly and ordering American who will not give into the forces which would make him shirk his responsibilities and lose his masculinity. In this way, "both nationalism and masculinity [are] physically revitalized by imperial conquest".[20] In going to war, the American man can demonstrate his masculine characteristics by participating in state actions of pacification and dominance. Masculinity will remain wedded to maleness through the participation in the nation's exercise of power over the island subjects. These island subjects themselves are then necessarily rendered powerless and even chaotic in this dichotomy. Both the American nation and the American man are thus gendered masculine in these imperial endeavors. Strikingly, this masculine expression of power and order however is not isolated to the space of the islands. Roosevelt's "Strenuous

Life" speech and his introduction to Justice to All reveal the ways in which such forging of masculinity abroad is also necessary domestically.

Roosevelt emphasizes that he believes in the men who serve in the Pennsylvania State Police force: "I have seen them at work. I know personally numbers of the men in the ranks. I know some of the officers. I feel so strongly about them that the mere fact that a man is honorably discharged from this force would make me at once, and without hesitation, employ him for any purpose needing courage, prowess, good judgment, loyalty, and entire trustworthiness" (viii). For Roosevelt, service in the Spanish American War has so perfectly honed the soldier's masculinity that there is no chance of him becoming the "timid and lazy man" he railed against seventeen years earlier. Just as in his "Strenuous Life" speech, Roosevelt also recognizes and utilizes a dichotomy between the orderly American military man and his disordered racialized other. In the context of the Spanish American War, it was chaotic island natives. In his introduction, the brave state policeman is pitted against the laborer who engages in "industrial disturbances" and "the criminal and disorderly classes" who threaten "women in sparsely populated neighborhoods" (x-xi). While during the Spanish American War the soldier had to go abroad to define his masculinity by bringing order to foreign islands, conditions domestically now require the soldier trained by such imperial encounters to protect the nation from the influx of new immigrants, the migration of ex-slaves as well as the growth of the proletariat class and the labor movement.

This image of virtuous lawmen protecting helpless women from the proletariat and criminal classes as well as the connection between successful police actions

internationally and domestically comes directly from Mayo's book. She praises the superintendent of the state police, Captain John C. Groome, for choosing men "who had already learned to obey and to impose obedience, learned self-restraint, learned love of country, devotion to duty and firmness of purpose… Further, the men that he selected had sharpened their wits all over the world, against the wits of yellow men, brown men, and white. Their minds were keen and practiced. Their lives and the lives of others had of wont depended on the justness of their reasoning, on the clearness of their decisions made in the time a trigger takes to drop" (58-59). Like Roosevelt, Mayo sees the Spanish American War and other imperial encounters abroad as that which has made possible the cultivation of martial virtues and virile masculine control of both self and the unruly other. Such cultivation though is necessarily grounded in violence – "in the time it takes a trigger to drop" – against the yellow, brown and white men of the world.

Mayo reinforces her description of the training and character of the troopers by citing a specific example: "Sergeant Garwood, for example, he who conducted the ugly 'Boston Patch' affair to its quick and bloodless end, had rounded off a long regular army service with some years' work in the Philippine Constabulary, from which body he had retired with the rank of Major just previous to his enlistment with the State Police" (59). The "Boston Patch" affair to which she refers was described earlier in her text. She writes, "a gang of Italians, denizens of 'Boston Patch,'… had been directing a heavy gun-fire all night long upon the laborers in the works… 'Boston Patch' was a typical bad spot, a sort of bandits' lair, ever fruitful of evil" (37). In this specific example of Sergeant Garwood, his experience against the brown men of the Philippines is represented as that

which necessarily enables his control of criminal Italian immigrants in Pennsylvania. The white men then that the trooper must outwit are not of the same caliber as the American soldier but are rather closer in status to that of the brown colonial who needed to be subdued abroad.

In some ways these ethnic white immigrants are more threatening than the brown and yellow men of the world. The white ethnic immigrants' entry into the nation threatens the very moral order of domestic space; their very presence produces locales "fruitful of evil". In this connection between the state trooper, the brown man and the white Italian, Mayo suggests how imperial work abroad reciprocally ensures the coherence of the nation's domestic space as the realm of law, order and civilization, specifically Anglo-Saxon civilization. Roosevelt had been afraid that to be a man did not necessarily guarantee masculinity and power. In Mayo's treatment of white ethnic immigrants and laborers, whiteness and maleness also do not guarantee participation in the American nation but rather these ethnic whites become that which true Anglo-Saxon masculinity is defined against. Mayo's Anglo-Saxonism is premised on an emphasis of the superiority of English language and culture. She writes,

> It is noticeable that the dangerous riots evolving from conditions generated through labor disputes sprang up in each instance among the *unassimilated foreign element of the population*. Weighted with bitter memories of state's officers in the country of their birth, understanding nothing of the principles of self-government as maintained in the country of their asylum, *knowing little or naught of the English language*, constantly excited not only by agitators but by unprincipled caterings on the part of a certain but vitriolic element of the press, these *rudimentary minds* could learn obedience to the State only by object-lessons at close range. (47-48, italics mine)

Culture and biology collide in Mayo's description of the immigrant laborers; both the lack of the English language as well as of self-government in the home country seems to have had such an effect on the mental character of those participating in the riots that they may forever remain a disruptive, unassimilated foreign presence in the American nation.[21] The only way such "rudimentary minds" then could even be improved is through the manifestation of the state and the subjugation of such immigrants to state discipline. The implication then becomes that the English language is the necessary pre-requisite for liberal democratic state governance and modern national order. Lack of English necessarily implies that one must learn lessons of obedience to the truly modernizing force. This valorization of English language and culture played out in Mayo's own life.

As a member of the Society of Mayflower descendants,[22] Mayo drew a line in Justice to All between the immigrants of "the days of the founders" when "the mass of people came of generations of law-revering stock, days of simple history and of peace" and the unassimilated masses "sifting among the older settlements [who] had altered the complexion of nearly all" (7-8). The purity of Anglo-Saxon culture and race therefore must be protected; if ethnic white immigrants are to become "assimilated" in must be on specific terms that maintain the superiority of the "law-revering" Anglo-Saxon stock. Such superiority is manifested in virtuous and powerful manly excellence. Mayo's regard for the excellence of the Anglo-Saxon race is thus intricately linked to her understanding of how state power is embodied through masculinity, and, reciprocally, how this masculine embodiment of state power protects the eminence of Anglo-Saxon culture. In

chapter four, aptly entitled "The State Made Visible", she describes how the very sight of the manly excellence of the squads of state police is enough to preserve peace amongst the foreigners: "through an interpreter, the lowering aliens were being told that the State forbade disorder and that the State's troopers would surely see to it that her commands were literally obeyed. … The effect upon the excited aliens was magical. These stern, somber, silent horsemen filled their souls with stillness. Without the striking of a blow, without the pointing of a weapon, they understood that it was inexorable, impersonal, calm as death; that it must be obeyed" (47). If the unassimilated foreigners cannot understand English – thus the need for the interpreter – then the embodiment of the power of the state, a power of death and life, through the somber horsemen is effective enough to result in immediate and unquestioned obedience. And it is only the Anglo-Saxon state police man with his natural dedication to justice, cultivated by his imperial encounters, which can assure state control and the continued ascendancy of Anglo-Saxon culture.

Interestingly, here the State is personified as feminine in the use of the possessive "her." The superior racialized masculinity of the state trooper then is not only defined against the non-English speaking others but also through the protection of the feminine – whether that be the threatened order of the state or the actual bodies of Pennsylvania country women. Representations of the state and masculinity in Justice to All is defined both by this pitting of non-English speaking laborers against the Anglo-Saxon state police as well as by the police force's heroic protection of helpless women. Mayo describes how equally successful the state police has been in protecting womanhood as it has been in

handling industrial riots: “In the eastern part of the State the record still rolled up on the scattering of vampires who had lived by preying upon miners homeward bound on pay-nights, or upon farmers returning from the store; the record of county officers assisted, of thieving stopped, of peace established, of country woman delivered out of the fear of the fate that is worse than death. And with the growing record grew the number of the friends of the Force” (71). The protection of the feminized state from the disorder of the immigrant parallels protection of actual female victims from rape, “the fate worse than death.” However, those who would perpetrate such a crime against womanhood are represented not just simply as inassimilable or rudimentary minded but actually as vampires, as monstrously different.[23]

This point is made clear in a story Mayo relates about an unnamed sergeant of Troop “A” who spends three days straight pursuing “an unknown negro, a hod-carrier” suspected of raping and murdering “a poor little bit of a girl, eight years old” (87-98). In his pursuit, the sergeant investigates a derelict farmhouse “dropped into ragged and desolate decay”. After knocking on the door, Mayo describes the encounter as that between civilization and barbarity.

> Then came a snarl like the snarl of a wild beast, hideous out of that shapeless night.
>
> “Open or we break the door in!”
>
> A howl of imprecations, obscenities, and defiance ending in a shriek:
>
> “The first man in, I’ll kill!”
>
> “Why now, men, we *have* to get in,” observed the Sergeant to his troopers, very quietly.
>
> So they dragged a rail from the rickety fence, and, holding it ram-fashion, ran at the door. As the door flew off its hinges, the Sergeant stood in the threshold, revolver raised. His glance, searching the black blank within, he saw something forming upon it – two eyes – the outline of a face.

> "Hands up!" snapped the Sergeant. And with that, lunging at the muzzle of the revolver, the negro seized it in his teeth. Snarling, frothing, he tore at the cold steel, grinding it between his great jaws. (91-92)

The unnamed sergeant here could be any member of the Pennsylvania State Police and in his anonymity, he comes to stand for the whole body as that which confronts, controls and punishes the uncivilized and threatening other thereby assuring the Anglo-Saxon masculine power of the state. While the immigrant laborer is defined by his foreign culture and inability to speak English, the "negro" is completely denied the ability of human articulation. The foreigner who would riot can recognize the physical embodiment of state authority; the "negro" cannot and even attempts to destroy savagely with his own teeth the phallic symbol of the trooper's authority, his revolver. For such figures as would challenge law and order, there is no other option but incarceration and constant subjugation to institutional surveillance and control. The man finally arrested for raping and killing the young girl dies, Mayo reports, in the "Penitentiary four years later [and] confessed that it was he, the hodman, he and no other, who had destroyed that little maid in the fields and left her there beneath the great white sky" (98).

Mayo's treatment of the non-English speaking immigrant and of the bestial "negro" then would suggest that Anglo-Saxon masculinity is constructed against non-Anglo-Saxon deviance as well as white female passivity and yet Mayo as the author of the book complicates this. As Roosevelt and Mayo's writings exemplify, masculinity is associated with power, particularly state dominance, as well as dedication to abstract concepts such as justice, civilization, order and the active pursuit of the realization of such concepts. This masculinity then must be constantly welded to maleness through

such activities characteristic of the "strenuous life" for Roosevelt and for Mayo through those associated with the state police. Mayo as the female author of Justice to All however exemplifies, even embodies, these masculine characteristics; she subverts the dichotomy she herself establishes of active state masculinity and passive feminine victimization, paradoxically calling into question the stability of such gender categorization and power dynamic so necessary to her representation of Anglo-Saxon masculine excellence.

The only other contrast to the white women, who must be saved and/or protected from the fate worse than death, are black and immigrant women who are no better disciplined or civilized than their male counterparts. Mayo writes of the immigrant women as participating just as violently in the chaotic labor riots, even physically assaulting members of the state police, as well as of the participation of black women in crimes and drug-use; as Ray observes, "the lasciviousness and degradation of black and immigrant women confirmed the disorder of their communities" (571). In her description of the Pressed Steel Car Strike at Schoenville, near Pittsburgh, Mayo writes, "Gangs of foreign women, blood-mad, armed with bombs, went raging and destroying through the streets… Foreign women who had fought with ferociousness unequaled by their husbands…" (132, 135). If black and immigrant women have any sense of agency in comparison to the passive white countrywomen, it is expressed as a monstrous femininity. They may never be in danger of rape or victimization but only because they too are the ones who threaten social order; such unfeminine aggression – "one unequaled

by their husbands" – is simply another mark of the incapacity to assimilate by their respective ethnic and racial groups.

Mayo therefore aligns herself with the likes of Roosevelt and the superintendent of the Pennsylvania police, John Groome, because of her advocacy of social order and her valorization of Anglo-Saxon masculinity rather than with either her white female counterparts in the country or the aggressive immigrant women who need no protection. This is revealed in her foreword where she tells why her interest in the state police began. She narrates the story of Samuel Howell, "an Iowan farmer's son," who "by industry, intelligence and honest dealing [had] worked himself up through the carpentry trade to the place of builders' foreman" (xiii). Mayo recounts that she witnessed Howell's murder at the hands of a gang of Italians who wanted to steal the payroll Howell was carrying. The murderers were never arrested even though their location was known and there were eye witnesses to what had occurred; Mayo being one of them. Of the incident, Mayo writes:

> This statement I make without qualification, for the reason that I spent the entire day of the murder on the spot, and was personally cognizant of all that was done and left undone.
>
> I saw the complete break-down of the sheriff-constable system. Both the county sheriff and village constables, present on the scene, proved utterly unrelated to the emergency, and for reasons perfectly clear. I saw the group of twenty or more Union workmen, encircled by twice their number of unskilled helpers, standing with hands down. And I heard those Union men refuse even to surround the islet of woods, a thousand yards distant, in which the murderers of their comrade were hiding….
>
> And, just as it was impossible to forget, so was it impossible to remain inactive, - to remain an idle conniver in toleration of such disgrace. In Pennsylvania, I heard, the State years ago had honorably acknowledged her duty to protect all her people in her peace… I therefore went to Pennsylvania to study the facts at first hand. This book is an attempt to bring the facts nearer to public reach. (xiv-xv)

Mayo did actually witness this murder on the New York estate of her writing partner, M. Moyca Newell, in 1913.[24] In her re-telling of the event, Mayo sets up a subtle contrast between herself and the impotent men on site – those of the antiquated sheriff-constable system and the Union comrades. The sheriff and constables are no longer a modern enough force to embody state authority in light of the lawless Italian immigrants and the cowardly Union men will also do nothing despite their status as brother workers. They would rather forget the death of their comrade than bravely risk self-harm by assisting in the arrest of the Italian murderers. In this scene only Mayo is willing and capable of acting. Her refusal to do nothing is juxtaposed with the inactivity of the men in the scene. She will not remain "inactive" and through her research and writing puts herself in the service of bringing the facts to light. In this way she is more masculine than these biological men by not shirking her duties and attempting to bring order out of chaos – exactly what Roosevelt exhorted in his "Strenuous Life" speech for American men to do.

In the same speech, Roosevelt had also exhorted women to "be the house-wife, the helpmeet of the homemaker, the wife and fearless mother of many healthy children… When men fear work or fear righteous war, when women fear motherhood, they [and the nation] tremble on the brink of doom" (4). If the American man can revitalize the nation and his own masculinity through imperial projects, the American woman can only participate in the "Strenuous Life" to the extent that she supports her husband and remains in the home. An unmarried and childless woman such as Mayo is left therefore with no possibility in Roosevelt's speech for participation in national life. National life for Roosevelt is grounded on a stringent heterosexism with a clear demarcation between

the masculine public realm and the feminine private. However, ten years later, Roosevelt willingly pens the introduction to Mayo's book, even calling it "a volume so interesting, and from the standpoint of sound American citizenship, so valuable that it should be in every public library and every school library in the land" (ix). The historical changes of the decade of course must be taken into account which made possible Mayo's public participation in the national life, but we must also recognize how Mayo wrote herself into legibility and agency.[25] Her writings on and representations of the state police, the immigrant hordes and the black criminal were keys to establishing her "sound American citizenship" and unlike Roosevelt's men and the troopers of the state police who had to establish their masculinity abroad in order to put it into the state's service domestically, Mayo performs a reverse move. Having established herself not as the mother of healthy children but rather as one of the formally acknowledged "Mothers of the State Police", Mayo turns her attention to the Philippines.[26]

Queering the Colonial Family Romance

> One of the most difficult, one of the most necessary, points in thinking of the Filipino is to remember quite clearly and all the time that, whatever his individual training and gifts, he is not a dark-skinned white man but a Malay; and to realize further, that the fact implies an historic and psychological background as different from those of the white man as this world can show. To fail in this realization is to become unjust.
>
> - Katherine Mayo, The Islands of Fear, 1925

> Because of the friendly relations which the Filipinos have with America, their position may be compared to that of a young man who desires emancipation from the parental roof. No matter how strong is mutual attachment, if he is manly enough and is deserving of freedom, he will not condition his petition upon future protection in case of trouble… That is

> the position of the Filipino people. They are willing to take, under any condition, their chance as a nation.
>
> - Maximo M. Kalaw, "Ideals of the Philippines," 1925

I begin my consideration of Mayo's Islands of Fear by purposely juxtaposing the above epigraphs. Maximo Kalaw's essay appeared the same year as Mayo's Islands of Fear and both demonstrate a conscientious deployment of masculinity in constructing the relationship between the American nation and the Philippine Islands.[27] However, when considered together, Kalaw and Mayo's words speak to the attempt to queer the colonial family romance. In Kalaw's case, he seeks access to the white father's patriarchal authority through a shared sense of masculinity and revolutionary struggle; in this way he makes legible the Philippine nation (by necessarily disavowing the Philippine American War). In Mayo's, she denies Filipino masculine development while asserting herself as the ultimate authority on the attainment of civilization. This is ultimately the fulfillment of her project begun in Justice to All and inevitably results in queering the colonial family romance in way very different from Kalaw's attempt. In the domestic space of the U.S., Mayo uses her state police projects to redefine the role of motherhood in the "Strenuous Life." In the (post)colonal space of the Philippines, Mayo's attempt to get to the heart of the "Philippine Question" endows her with an authority that displaces that of the white father and simultaneously enables alternate formations of family and colonial power for those engaged in the project of benevolent assimilation.

Maximo Kalaw was a member of the Filipino political elite and an important figure in the Philippine Independence Commissions. He had served as personal secretary to future first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, Manuel Quezon, on the

first mission and remained in the States to direct the Philippine Press Bureau in Washington, D.C., the primary organ for the dissemination of pro-independence materials in the States. During the course of his career, Kalaw produced multiple pamphlets, articles, essays and books arguing the Philippine case. At the time of his 1925 essay "Ideals of the Philippines", Kalaw had been appointed Dean of Liberal Arts at the University of the Philippines. In Kalaw's essay, he develops two main reasons for immediate independence. First, he points out that a precedent has already been set by earlier Cuban-American relations for what defines a stable government. In the case of Cuban sovereignty, President McKinley had made it clear that a stable government is one "capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations" (19). Second, the resolution of the First World War has left the Filipino people "caught in the nationalistic current which is sweeping practically every subject people on earth" (21). The United States thus cannot afford to betray the ideals upon which it went to war and must fulfill its promise to the archipelago. Kalaw's essay reaches its greatest rhetorical power though in the use of the familiar and familial metaphor of the young son and father: "No matter how strong is mutual attachment, if he is *manly* enough and is deserving of freedom, he will not condition his petition upon future protection in case of trouble" (22, italics mine). The focus of the essay at this point therefore is not whether or not the Philippines can honor foreign treaties or even whether or not the U.S. is honoring its self-professed ideals of self-determination or even what potential uncertainties a new Philippine nation may face, but rather that the Filipino sons have developed themselves dutifully in the image of their American father. [28]

In Kalaw's metaphor, to be manly thus seems to entail having accepted the patriarchal relationship between the Philippines and the U.S. The reference to "friendly relations" and image of "parental roof" operates ideologically similar to Taft's conception of benevolent assimilation of America's "little brown brothers."[29] Strikingly, Kalaw here rehearses these representations that disavow the violence of the Filipino American War in order to argue for Philippine sovereignty and political subjectivity. He seems to accept the purported purpose of the U.S. in the Philippines and moreover asserts that this goal of guided political development has been accomplished. This rehearsal thus suggests the necessity of such a disavowal to make legible the desire for freedom as well as the formation of the Philippine nation.[30] Furthermore, in the paragraph that follows, Kalaw parallels the longing for sovereignty despite whatever odds to the plight of the Thirteen Colonies when they "wrested by force of arms their freedom from England" (23). In these paragraphs, through the metaphor of a son desiring emancipation once he has grown into a man, Kalaw utilizes a rhetoric of masculinity to deny the racialized violence of the Filipino American War that also is meant to make legible the Filipino nation. The racial and national disparities between the U.S. and the Philippines are overcome by this shared manly pursuit of freedom, and the Filipino desire for freedom is made legitimate because it has been developed by and into that modeled by the U.S. In short, while conquest of the Philippines was pivotal to the development of the American male's "strenuous life," Kalaw now seeks participation in that same strenuous life on behalf of all Filipinos.

However, Mayo's exhortation not to be unjust to the Filipino destroys the linkages Kalaw is attempting to make by this deployment of masculinity. Mayo even goes so far as to deny categorically the possibility of manly self-determination and sovereignty for the archipelago. While Kalaw constructs this shared sense of masculinity, Mayo cites the essential racialized nature of the Filipino as that which would keep him from ever fully becoming as manly as his white father; this impossibility therefore will keep the islands from ever achieving sovereignty. The heart of Islands of Fear is captured in this sentiment. Disregarding whatever "individual training and gifts" had been developed under Harrison's regime, Mayo stresses that the Filipino "is not a dark-skinned white man but a Malay; and to realize further, that the fact implies an historic and psychological background as different from those of the white man as this world can show." Paralleling Said's concept of "orientalism," Mayo posits the Malay as the unequivocal other of the white man.[31] To be "Malay" thus means not only that the Filipino can never be white but furthermore suggests that he can neither ever be truly manly. No matter what friendly relation may exist between the U.S. and the islands, it is impossible by virtue of being Malay that the Filipino could ever achieve the white masculine capacity for self-government. All that the white man historically and psychologically is the Malay apparently is not and can never be.

In this, Mayo reveals the paradox of benevolent assimilation and of the notion of the white man's burden. Both are based on the assumption that only the masculine Anglo-Saxon spirit had been honed after years of development and history to reach the epic capacity of self-sacrifice in the name of civilization. Here the white man epitomizes

the apex of racial and political evolution because of his ability to feel an unyielding love of civilization that drives him to sacrifice those very comforts of civilization in order to bring the very same to the less evolved. Such conceptions though of the essential historical and psychological differences between the white civilizer and the barbaric other necessarily lock the two parties into this unending relationship. If the white man was ever to truly achieve the project of benevolent assimilation, to make the other as civilized as the white man, the hierarchical difference which initially justified the project and defined the white man's superiority would disappear. Mayo understands this as she asserts that the Malay can never be white or man or certainly both. Therefore, Kalaw's attempt to create political subjectivity through a shared masculine connection transcending racial and national difference fails in light of Mayo's assertion and attempt to maintain the connections between civilization, development, whiteness and maleness.

It would seem then that Mayo's assertion of the differences between the Malay and the white man freeze the two in a static relationship where masculine self-determination and subjectivity are relegated to the white man and to the white man only. In the colonial family romance of benevolent assimilation, embodied by Roosevelt's "Strenuous Life" speech, the white man asserts his masculinity, whiteness and civilizational prowess as the expense of the infantilized and emasculated island inhabitant. Such masculine performance is bolstered by both the gaze of the white man's feminine counterpart and by her acceptance of her role as wife and mother confined to the domestic space of the nation. However, Mayo's own life and work challenge such a

simple reading of the gendered and racialized nature of the Philippine-U.S. relationship that she seems to champion.

While Mayo's later treatment of the questions of child bride and widow immolation in Mother India seems to enforce Victorian sexual mores, Mayo's own life and writings definitely challenged heteronormative conceptions of gender, sexuality and family. [32] As demonstrated above, Mayo's status as the "Mother of the State Police" simultaneously and paradoxically enforces the civilizational superiority of the Anglo-Saxon male while disentangling Mayo's status as a woman from the role of wife and mother in the heteropatriarchal structure of the strenuous life. Fashioning herself as a journalist in pursuit of truth and justice, Mayo is free to leave the domestic space of home and nation to investigate the Philippine condition. Mayo herself never married nor had children but through her imperialistic investigations, she not only participated in national life and politics but also enabled herself to partake in alternate configurations of family and partnership.

In 1910, Mayo met M. Moyca Newell, a rich Dutch heiress and the two began a lifelong relationship. Mayo would go on to reside at Newell's Bedford, New York estate (which reportedly had been built specifically for the two of them) until her death in 1940. The exact nature of Mayo's relationship with Newell is unknown. They have been described as "romantic friends," "traveling partners," "life-long friends" and have even been referred to as "a writing team." What is known is that Newell supported Mayo's writing projects and accompanied her on all of her research trips. The two women lived together, answered each other's correspondences, entertained guests together at Newell's

New York estate and were partners in many projects from propaganda committees advocating for the Pennsylvania and New York State Police to the British Apprentice Clubs they organized in the early 1920s. [33] Whether or not Mayo and Newell were platonic friends or queer partners has never been investigated in-depth and what I offer is in no ways an exhaustive analysis but rather a tentative consideration. The fact that Mayo herself did not seem to adhere to the heteronormative confines she apparently advocated in her writings adds even more complexity to any analysis of her racialized, national and gendered ideologies. This historical and personal background to Mayo's life helps to shed light on her approach to the Philippine "situation," her creation of what I term a racial hierarchy of affect, as well as on her celebration of configurations of the colonial family romance that seem to eschew heteronormativity. Ultimately, Mayo's journalistic writings operate as the mechanism by which she accesses the position of the white father in the colonial romance, thus revealing the seemingly contradictory dynamism of imperialistic systems of race, gender and sexuality.

In the first chapter of Mayo's Islands of Fear, entitled "The Point of View," she explains her reasons for going to the Philippines:

> For some years past we, the American people, have been vaguely aware of a sensation of unrest in the region of the Philippine Islands – and of Voices, once and again, asking for Philippine Independence.
>
> We have not known what those voices stood for. We have had no background upon which to rate their claim. And yet the Philippine Islands are America's responsibility – a responsibility that we voluntarily assumed and may not lightly shift to other shoulders merely for the asking…
>
> And so, being myself free to go, and having some previous experience in field investigation, I determined to make an attempt to serve my fellow countrymen by collecting for their use the material that their own obligations preclude their collecting for themselves. (3)

The unrest and "Voices" that Mayo refers to is the struggle for power between Governor General Leonard Wood and the Filipino political elite for control of colonial administration. As in her foreword to Justice to All, Mayo establishes herself as a figure of action in service of a greater cause. In the case of Samuel Howell, Mayo dedicates herself to the pursuit of justice and the restoration of law and order; in Islands of Fear, it is to the cause of truth and objective reporting. Even in the first page of Islands, Mayo dedicates the book "To Those Whom the Truth Concerns." Furthermore, reminiscent of Justice to All, Mayo sets herself up as the only figure capable of action.

While in the case of the Howell murder the sheriff and Union men were simply too inefficient or cowardly to handle the situation, Mayo positions herself here as taking upon the duties of all American citizens in regards to the nation's colonial possessions. The keys to Mayo's ability to perform such a feat are her "previous experience in field investigation" – her earlier work with the State Police as well as with the overseas YMCA during World War I – and her seeming dedication solely to the facts. Mayo thus offered her Islands of Fear as an authoritative and objective text in the independence debates. However, it is Mayo's constant reminders that Islands is a text built upon "facts," eyewitness testimony and the objectiveness of an investigator that paradoxically both obfuscates and manifests her racial, national and gendered ideologies. In Mayo's dedication to "the human point" of the Philippine question, she marshals statistics, maps, census data, anecdotal evidence and interviews in the service of further developing her Anglo-Saxonism. In this way, Mayo contrasts the purity of Anglo-Saxon culture and race to the corrupting hybridity of Filipinos to make two arguments – first and more

obviously, the inevitability of Filipino failure at self-rule and more subtly, the necessity for white women such as herself to take more active roles unconfined by the domestic in the processes of colonial governance.

Mayo's story above about duty and responsibility as the sole motivations for her interest in the Philippines is at best self-aggrandizement and at worst a purposeful omission of the truth. She follows her address to the American reader with a speech reportedly given to an anonymous Filipino listener in the first few days of her arrival in Manila: "I want you to know that I come here as ignorant concerning you as the most uninformed person now in America; *that I have no pre-possessions, no friendships, no alliances that can in any way influence my judgment*; that I come wholly without connections with any cause or organization… For the question is one question – a question of light on duty, toward the common good" (4, italics mine). Mayo's relationship to Leonard Wood is never once mentioned in her text and here it is outright disavowed. The two apparently knew each other very well at least since the period when Mayo was deeply involved with advocating for the New York State Police bill. The two shared a significant connection that sheds light on why Mayo chose the Philippines and the Governor General as the topics of her next investigation. Wood, like Mayo, took pride in being able to trace his ancestry back to the original Mayflower passengers. In the fall of 1915, Wood addressed a Boston convention of Mayflower descendants and was elected the organization's national governor.[34]

This preoccupation with the Mayflower in both Mayo and Wood's lives suggests how the Maflower came to be a symbol of a shared cultural and racial connection to

England rather than a symbolic vessel which orchestrates the break from England by America during the colonial period.[35] By allying the U.S. with U.K. imperial endeavors via the rhetoric of a shared racial and cultural essence expressed via civilizational prowess and perfected state management, a common bond based on imperial conquest was forged thereby displacing the previous narrative of the heroic American Revolution against the despotic British. Kalaw's attempt in "Ideals of the Philippines" thus fails not only because he cannot participate in a shared sense of the masculine in the face of the particularity of his race but also because freedom and revolution through Anglo-Saxonism become the sole province of England and America.[36]

There was also an important second Anglophile connection between Mayo and Wood. Mayo's Anglo-Saxonism was not only expressed in her treatment of ethnic white immigrants in Justice to All or simply through her membership in the Society of Mayflower Descendants but also by her establishment with Newell of the British Apprentice Club (BAC) in December 2, 1921 to encourage affective and material connections between British navy men and American families.[37] The mission of the BAC was "to provide hospitality for cadets from the British merchant navy" and Newell and Mayo established the club at a small hotel in New York City. The club provided a "home-like environment" for young sailors, approximately aged sixteen to nineteen. Newell, Mayo and a woman named Lucile Brisbane Spaulding (who served as the club's manager and social director from its inception) arranged tea parties, dances, picnics, and weekends in the country with host families for the cadets. During its forty years in operation, the Club offered its services to over 12,000 British merchant marines. Mayo

and Newell, "Mothers of the State Police," thus established for themselves a different arena to guide the development of young Anglo-Saxon men in service of, this time, the English state.

In a letter from Malacañan Palace dated November 9, 1922, Wood wrote Mayo about the BAC: "I note that you are still busy with good work. I thoroughly approve of what you are doing in the British Apprentice Club, and I hope it will serve to counteract in some measure at least the pernicious efforts of those blatherskites and demagogues who are trying to disrupt the friendly relations between England and ourselves… I shall be very glad to serve on the advisory board of your organization"[38] Mayo's selection of Wood as a board member of the BAC and as the subject of her next book is unsurprising given his military background and political interests. Wood had come from a middle class family, gone to medical school on scholarship and enlisted in the army in 1885 just in time to participate in the capture of Geronimo, one of the last great Indian threats of the frontier. Over the course of his career, Wood worked with Roosevelt to form and command the regiment of Rough Riders which so famously charged up San Juan Hill. He governed first Santiago then the rest of Cuba from 1898 to 1902 followed by six years as the military governor of the Moro Province in Southern Philippines. After a failed presidential bid in 1920, he accepted the position of Governor General of the Philippines, a position he held until his death in 1927. Throughout his life, Wood espoused military preparedness and an unwavering faith in America's exceptional Republican character and its ability to bring the gift of national management and democracy to foreign lands. Wood's life as "rough rider, surgeon and architect of American imperialism"[39] thus made

him not only a like-minded friend and excellent BAC board member but also an attractive subject for Mayo's next journalistic project.

As early as 1922, there were letters between Mayo and Wood in which the two openly discussed her coming to the Philippines: "Of course, I shall appreciate tremendously having the Philippine situation written up, especially by one who writes as you do, namely, to put things straight before the world and to do what you can to help your own country and the people concerned… What we want here in the Philippines is real publicity; not condemnation or undue praise, but a frank and able statement and proper handling of the general situation as to what constitutes a fair deal".[40] Whether or not Mayo actually succeeded in "[putting] things straight" is up for debate, but it cannot be argued that Mayo took great pains to present her book as totally objective and factual as well as somehow significantly different from previous texts which studied the Philippines question. Considering the various points of view from which the Philippine question has been studied, Mayo makes clear her decision to focus on "the human point" as well as how that "human point" cannot be divorced from conceptualizing the Filipino race:

> The point from which, regardless of international or military or commercial interests of the United States, regardless of the protection or deserts of any foreign element in the place, attention is focused exclusively on the nature and condition of the native people of the Philippine Islands.
>
> From [this] third point, and from it only, this book looks.
>
> Now, the initial thing to make clear is this:
>
> What do you mean when you speak of the people of the Philippine Islands?
>
> Do you think of them as a political body? A social body? A distinct race? Do you think of them as a minor nation, represented by delegates to Washington?

> If you do, you start wrong.
>
> The pre-eminent native scholar of the Islands, Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, lecturing on February 26, 1924, in the University of the Philippines, said:
>
> Let us not indulge in idles dreams. Let us admit that there is no such thing as a Filipino race. (9)

Mayo thus begins her discussion of the Filipino people with a list of negatives, a list of what they are not and will never be – most significantly, a single, unified race.[41] The implication is then that the Filipinos must be of a single, distinct race to justifiably call themselves a political and social body.[42] Therefore the Filipinos must be subject to the superior and singular Anglo-Saxon race and culture that has already mastered the art of governance and state power as exemplified in Justice to All.

This emphasis on racial status becomes the basis of her analysis of the Filipino people and leads her to construct what I call a racial hierarchy of affect. As Mayo reports her findings, she subtly classes each inhabitant of the islands based on her evaluation of his or her capacity for self-government and devotion to the ideals of modernity that is inextricably linked from a consideration of racial status. In this way she orders in terms of racial purity and ability for self-government the mostly mixed elite *caciques* as antithetical to the U.S. project of tutelage in independence, the Malay *tao* or peasant as helpless but also recalcitrant children, the Moros of the southern islands and the Igorots of the hill regions as racially pure and most appreciative of U.S. efforts. At the top of such a hierarchy, she positions Leonard Wood and other Anglo-Saxon heroes who sacrifice to uplift a mostly undeserving people. However, even above the Governor General Mayo positions herself as the one who classifies.

For the frontispiece of her book, Mayo selected a photograph simply entitled "The Tao" – a full-length profile of what appears to be a Filipino peasant wearing white pants, a wrinkled, over-sized shirt of piña fibers and clutching a straw hat. His posture takes on an air of defeat – he is unsmiling with slightly hunched shoulders. There is no eye contact with the camera. It is fitting that Mayo would choose this image to begin her book for she focuses most of her chapters on the battle between Wood and the *caciques* over the welfare of the *tao* and the islands. Moreover, just as the photo offers this nameless tao for the gaze of her audience as a passive object to be studied and pitied, Mayo constantly ventriloquizes the voice of the tao as she represents them as the victims of the greed of Chinese and Spanish mestizos. There are interestingly no images of any member of the cacique class (not even of Senate President Quezon, Wood's vociferous political enemy) though she presents photos of Ilocanos, Igorots, Bontocs, and the ruling members of the Moros. The cacique for Mayo is a generalized representation of corruption both of blood and of morals. The end of Mayo's first chapter, "The Point of View," states: "Malays as they are, no caste system exists among them. And they show but two classes – the *cacique*, or moneyed class, which bosses and from which all politicians come; and the *tao*, or peasant class, which is bossed, and which has, in practice, no voice whatever in governmental or political affairs… Speaking always in general, the cacique has one occupation – "politics"; one industry – usury; one hobby – gambling… For the cacique is a *mestizo*, as the Spanish called him – hybrid. He is a Malay compounded with Spanish or Chinese" (10).

Though in Justice to All Mayo represented the hordes of immigrant workers and proletariat strikers as threats to civic order and state power, she takes great pains in Islands of Fear to champion the causes of the masses of peasant farmers. However, this is not in any way to signal a change in Mayo's attitude towards the lower and working classes. Rather, it is the racial and seemingly feudal situation of the Philippines that causes an apparent re-alignment in her class politics. She exhorts her readers to remember that the political boss of the Philippines is not the same as that in the U.S.: "To picture to yourself the figure of the little cacique, you must first deliver your mind from the treacherously recurring subconscious idea that he is a brown-skinned New England squire living in a tropical Lexington or Concord" (11). Mayo suggests that the main difference is that this political boss occupies a more troubling position of power because of the state of the Filipino barrio for "[the cacique] is the interpreter, to the barrio of anything that it sees or hears outside of its own domestic life. Much the same might be said of a Tammany Hall ward boss. But there is also a difference: The cacique rules, not by favor, but by fear – by the blind, black tyranny of fear. And the docile ignorance of the masses is his strength. How complete that ignorance can be would scarcely be grasped by generalities" (15). Mayo suggests that what is most troubling about the situation in the Philippines is how the Malay character naturally results in "docile ignorance" thereby making them natural victims to the combination of Malay individualism, Oriental inscrutability and Latin decadence found in the cacique class.

Mayo thus expresses her argument against Philippine independence most powerfully in her anecdotes about the relations between the caciques, taos and the

representatives of American governance. These anecdotes are presented as objective accountings of normal incidences in the islands and are used to set up a triangular relationship between the cacique, tao and American official (who is always male). Through these anecdotes it becomes painfully clear that the Malay, whether cacique or tao is wholly incapable of feeling the proper masculine devotion to the ideals of community, justice and heroic sacrifice. This is best exemplified in two stories that Mayo tells back to back in a chapter entitled "The Mark of the Beast."

Mayo begins by introducing the figure of Mr. A.W. Prautch, referred to as Deacon Prautch and Chief of the Rural Credit Division, who is one of those type of men who "have been in the islands since the beginning of our occupation, and who would probably long since have betaken themselves home but for the appeal that friendless and innocent misery, without a dog's change against its enemies, makes to a certain type of Anglo-Saxon fighting man" (36). Upon visiting a certain town in Ilocos, he sees a woman and baby in jail. Feeling compassion for the woman, he asks the Governor why they are in jail. The Governor responds that the baby is the one actually imprisoned because it has been charged with arson. The baby, left momentarily alone in the family's hut, had pulled out a hot ember from the mother's small cooking fire that set the shack ablaze. Only Prautch was able to recognize and convince the Governor and the people the injustice of such charge against an unknowing infant. In the story that follows this, Mayo recounts what a tao farmer told her about his life. She names him Pedro. Pedro's sister was almost raped by the local police sergeant after being arrested for helping her poor mother protect their family land from the greed of the local cacique boos. Rather than be a coward and

let the crime go unpunished, Pedro goes to "the two or three Americans in the region" and makes a complaint (19). Pedro goes on to assist the Wood-Forbes Commission and further makes himself an enemy of the caciques.

However, Pedro's actions cannot be considered on par with that of Deacon Prautch even though both have objectively pursued the cause of justice and common sense. Mayo reports the dialogue that occurred between her and Pedro towards the end of her visit. Pedro tells her that he wants to go to Manila to ask Governor Wood to help a friend of his who has been sent to prison:

> "What is your friend in prison for?"
> "Oh, a trifle – only a woman case."
> "Do you mean," [Mayo] asked, "do you mean that your friend assaulted some woman –"
> "Oh, yes, but it was *nothing*!" answered Pedro, almost impatiently. "Why she was under age – a mere child!" (20)

Mayo juxtaposes the story of Deacon Prautch's unselfish compassion for the unknown woman with Pedro to prove a significant point concerning the tao. Whether the Filipino is a cacique or tao, he still as Malay shares in the same essential racial shortcomings which are most expressed in his inability to feel properly for others: "The Filipino is an individualist. At his present stage of development, tao or cacique, he is for himself and his immediate friends only, and the sorrows of others, man or beast, have yet to find their place in his reckoning" (18).

By comparison then, men like Governor General Wood and Deacon Prautch are those who feel sympathy for others correctly and go beyond their own needs to serve a greater sense of justice and civic community. While Pedro may have been angered by what has happened to his sister, he would not extend a universal judgment against all

rape: "But let the same thing befall a girl – any number of girls – across the fields, and Pedro sees nothing in it. – You may talk to him of humanity, of public duty, of common purpose, until your breath is done, without in the slightest degree touching his mind. He likes the words, and uses them. They sound fine. But their active meaning is outside the range of his mentality. And this is no charge against Pedro. It is simply biological fact" (21). Pedro is extraordinary amongst the lowly tao but he is still not on par with the white man; the tao must be protected from the cacique *and* from themselves and their biological shortcomings. Mayo's anecdote about Pedro thus also establishes a relationship between her anecdotes and the colonial government reports and surveys. Pedro's story not only proves his own inability to appreciate true justice but also confirms the 1921 Wood-Forbes report's findings on the corruption of local government and courts and their inability to truly administer justice.[43] Any sympathy raised for the tao is thus mitigated by reminders of the inferiority of race and the corruption of native government.

Mayo places the burden of responsibility for this corruption on the cacique class. The cacique shares in the Malay shortcoming of the inability to transcend his individualism. However, what is more problematic is the infusion of Latin and Oriental blood that makes him truly antagonistic to the civilizing mission of the United States. In chapter seven, Mayo writes a teleological overview of Philippine history beginning with the aboriginal roots of the island inhabitants and going through Francis Burton Harrison's time as Governor General. Of the three hundred years of Spanish control, Mayo praises Spain's success in converting the Filipinos to Christianity but the greatest downfall of this period was the intermingling of the races: "In the three hundred years of Spanish rule

evils, however, grew up alongside the good. Weak spots, foolish sports, bad spots – and big ones, at that – developed in the regime. A 'mestizo' class arose – half-breeds – and, as village overlords (caciques), cringing to the Spaniards above, merciless to the Malay below, enriched themselves by sucking the life of the people at its roots" (60). If the Malays are innocent victims prone to childish individualism, the caciques are worse for their merciless and greedy nature apparently born from their "half-breed status." Mayo's investment in the purity of race and its connection to her understanding of Anglo-Saxonism becomes even more apparent in two chapters entitled "The Spirit of '76" and "An Anglo-Saxon Performance."

In "The Spirit of '76," Mayo tells the story of Diego Tecson, a peasant farmer and recognized native leader in his province. He was educated in American schools, married to a loving wife, works hard as a homesteader, teaches in the village school that he established and is beloved by the locals and the Americans of his province. Mayo claims an intimate relationship with Tecson – "I personally know the man and his story. I have sat in his house and eaten his salt" (65). Tecson is an exception to the rule that to be Malay is to be overly individualistic and anti-modern. She describes him as participating in the spirit of the American Revolution because he is "some simple, *uncontaminated* tao, showing against oppressors incomparably worse than was ever that poor mad old German, King George the Third, our very own spirit of '76" (64, italics mine). The oppressor Tecson struggles nobly against is not simply the political tyranny of a "mad old German" – and it must be noted that Mayo seems consciously to distinguish the figure of King George from the English people he is supposed to rule – but the economic tyranny

of the caciques. Listening to Tecson, Mayo realizes that his "words, with all their heavy import, must reach America – the true America whose very life-blood is freedom, justice and equal rights for all mankind" (74).

The chapter ends with Tecson's stirring speech that independence from class tyranny is more important that political independence: "You cannot give us independence. No one can. We taos, who are the big body of the Filipinos, we must make ourselves strong, under your protection... Then, when that is done, the United States will do well to let us go. But if she does it before that comes, she will be selling us out. She will be selling out the poor man to the grafting tyrant" (75). Mayo suggests that as an "uncontaminated tao" he is capable of feeling this revolutionary spirit properly directed at the hybridized and upper-class bully *not* American colonial governance. The implication becomes that only one who has not suffered from racial mixing can appreciate the spirit of revolution and justice that lives seemingly in equally uncontaminated American "life-blood."

Concurrent with her hierarchical racialized ordering of the island inhabitants, Mayo also engages in a project of comparative colonialism that not only further forges the link between the U.S. and U.K. but also suggests that American "benevolent assimilation" should not stray too far from the authoritarian character of English colonial governance. For example in chapter twelve, titled "An Anglo-Saxon Performance," Mayo asserts the virtues of Wood in order to connect him to the tradition of English colonial rule. Mayo begins the chapter by relating the testimony of Lord Northcliffe who visited Manila in 1921 and was asked ironically by the politicos to speak about independence.

Mayo describes Northcliffe as a student of colonialism and a citizen of the British Empire, who addresses "large meetings of Filipinos in Manila" only to state: "I cannot but take pleasure and pride in this good Anglo-Saxon achievement of America … I tell you quite frankly, were it not for the American flag in my opinion you would cease to exist… To-day the Philippine Islands are becoming known throughout the world as the centre of the greatest uplift the world has ever known. You have done wonders in the very few years of your new life. But always remember that under no other people or with no other people could you have accomplished what you have accomplished with the aid of the Americans" (252). Mayo goes on to relate Northcliffe's praise of Wood's work in the Philippines and thus partners Wood and Northcliffe as successful Anglo-Saxon colonizers. In doing so, she obfuscates the early colonial history of America itself and suggests how, by virtue of its Anglo-Saxon heritage, it did not need to go through the period of tutelage that the Philippines must endure.

Second, Mayo uses this mode of comparative colonialism to suggest that America must exercise more power and authority over its colonies just as England does in India and elsewhere. In her description of Wood's endless patience and dedication to the islands' inhabitants in the face of cacique greed and power politics, she writes, "It is an Anglo-Saxon performance as against Oriental trickery, treachery and sidestepping behind the scenes" (250). If Wood has one flaw as Governor General it is that he has "displayed too much patience and kindness" (250). This statement however s questionable in light of Wood's earlier stint as military governor of the Moro Province from 1903 to 1910. [44]

Stationed in Zamboanga, Wood's mission in the southern Philippines had the character of his initial training in the army during the last great "Indian wars" of the frontier.[45]

Wood's policy in handling the Moros was made clear in his April 15, 1904 report: "There is only one way to deal with these people, and that is to be absolutely just and absolutely firm… The Moros of this section are as a class a treacherous and unreliable lot of slave hunters and land pirates. Our conciliatory and good natured policy with them resulted in the establishment among them of the firm conviction that we were both cowardly and weak and out of this conviction grew an absolute contempt for our authority. Firmness and the prompt application of disciplinary measures will maintain order, prevent loss of life and property and permit good government and prosperity among these people. Dilatory tactics, indecision and lack of firmness will result in a carnival of crimes and an absolute contempt for all authority in this region."[46] Wood was true to his policy of firmness earning him the nickname of the "mailed fist."[47] Herman Hagedorn's biography of Wood reveals that he split his time in Zamboanga between enjoying the beach and tropical landscape with his family and pursuing and pacifying native Moslem leaders called *datus*. Wood's brutal pacification policy was manifested most publicly on March 6, 1906 at the battle of Bud Dajo, a volcanic crater on the island of Jolo, which resulted in 600 Moro deaths including women and children.[48]

However, Mayo never once comments on Wood's controversial and brutal tactics in the Moro Province. Rather, she depicts the Moros as Wood's greatest supporters even including in her second appendix a letter and a "Declaration of Rights and Purposes" from a "Delegation of Moro leaders" written on February 1, 1924 that states that "the

Mohammedan population is almost unanimously actuated in this connection by the highest sentiments of loyalty to the United States" (358). Throughout Islands of Fear Mayo rescues Wood from charges of brutality and ineptness by suggesting that such firm heroic actions were actually that the performances which earned him the respect of the Moros. Second, she establishes a dichotomy between the Catholic Filipino majority and the Islamic minority that depicts the Moros as victims in need of Governor General Wood's protection.

In chapter twenty-eight called "We stay with America –," Mayo relates the testimonials of dozens of Moros to the Wood-Forbes Commission. All seem to proclaim their joy at Wood's return and their arguments against independence. The violence under Wood's rule is not only seemingly forgotten but actually becomes the basis for Moro loyalty. Mayo quotes an unnamed datu: "We know that America is just. We have proved her justice. And she beat us in honourable war. *We submitted, having fought our best and being truly beaten by better men than we.* Our Koran say there is no shame in that. So now America is our Father and our Mother according to our laws. And we have trusted her. And when we knew that Datu Wood was coming back at last, our hearts were lifted up to Allah in praise" (307). American control of the Moro province, embodied by Wood, thus is not won by massacres at Bud Dajo and scorched earth campaigns but through "honourable war" between equals. However, in the end the Anglo-Saxon warriors win out as the "better men" and a patriarchal relationship between the U.S. and the Moro province is established. Such a relationship is further depicted as necessary by Mayo. She

suggests that the Moro province has suffered the greatest from Filipinization because of the long standing enmity between the Catholic majority and Muslim minority.

Mayo sees a clear distinction between the Malays of the northern islands and the Moros of the south that was there even before the Spaniards: "Between the Moros and the 'Indians,' as the Spaniards called the tribes of the northern archipelago, the newcomers found a wide difference, both in character and in status. "The 'Indian' was docile, light-brained child-savage, cribbed in his own small jungle range, without well- formed religious beliefs, without law or organized government, without books or written records, without any art save the most rudimentary… The 'Moro,' on the other hand, was a fighter, a sea-rover, a reader of the Koran and a devotee of the Prophet. His civil laws, like those of his religion, with which they inseparably interlocked, were fixed and clear. His scheme of government and of official control, though simple, was mature" (283). Mayo's valorization of the Moros here foreshadows her later pro-Islamic stance in Mother India.

Just as she sets up the Moros as more "mature" and modern than the archipelago's Catholic majority, she also juxtaposes Hinduism's supposed sexual decadence to the restraint and devotion of Islam in India. As Mrinalini Sinha observes, Mayo's attacks on Hindiuism were on the same continuum as her earlier attacks on Catholicism in the U.S. and in the Philippines.[49] Just as the Malay suffers from Latin and Oriental racial contamination so did the island's Catholicism. Mayo laments the folk Catholicism born in the northern islands and blames it for the overly suspicious nature of the Filipinos and particularly for their resistance to modern medicine.[50] She writes, "The Christianity of

Spain, as taken on by the lowland tribesemen of the Philippines, became an absorbent of their original religious beliefs. And these were of a type to select and weld themselves with the apocryphal part of the new faith. Thus evolved a childlike and darkling thing upon which the divine nomenclature stands out with something of a shock" (185). Again the corruption of blood leads to corruption of culture; given charge of the Moro province under Filipinization, these Catholic Filipinos go on to abuse their better Islamic neighbors.

Mayo emphasizes that the Moros not only fear Catholic and cacique abuses of power but also lasciviousness. Again, another anonymous Moro testifies to Mayo that if he were to refuse to pay exorbitant cacique taxes, he has no choice but to flee to the jungle. However, such action leaves his family vulnerable to abuses by the Filipino police force: "And while he treads that trail, he knows his women at home lie at the mercy of the Constabulary men – the little Filipino Constabulary men! ... To Islam, all the world knows, the hounour of women is sacred. The penalty of sin is death. And this, taken with the hate and the lewdness of our enemy, gives him his dearest chance" (303). Just as in her anecdotes about Deacon Prautch and Diego Tecson, Mayo utilizes a triangular relationship between the corrupt Catholic caciques, the victimized Moros and the Americans who must heroically protect them. The Moro women play into this in a similar way as the mother and baby Deacon Prautch saves. Both stories harkens back to Mayo's Justice to All and the purity of the country-women and the order of the feminized state which must be protected. Again, however Mayo distinguishes herself from these passive female figures and aligns herself with the men who save.

Mayo begins her chapters on the Moro province with an interview that parallels her conversation with Tecson. She introduces a man named Milton Alvarez, an extraordinary figure amongst the Moros who also seems to participate in the heroic Anglo-Saxon spirit of ’76. Mayo describes Alvarez as a man placed by providence to aid General Wood: “And so, where our American executive was powerless to place a helped, Fate gave him a helper of whose existence, perhaps, he scarcely knew – and with Fate’s own scorn of likelihood” (275). Alvarez however is not purely Anglo-Saxon, however the mix of Spanish blood with Anglo-Saxon stock has not produced a corrupt figure. While Latin extravagance is made worse by its combination with the Oriental predilection to despotism and Malay immaturity, it seems to be bettered by contact with the “life-blood [of] freedom, justice and equal rights.” Furthermore, Mayo suggests that Alvarez’s Spanish blood is further ennobled by his class background: “Young Alvarez – Milton Alvarez – was an American. His Mother came from Saint Paul, Minnesota, and his father from Spain. Young Alvarez was lean and dark and aquiline, with clear and strikingly large grey eyes, a high-bridged, high-bred nose, a Spanish mouth, a leader’s jaw, and a free lift of the head that, out of the blue, gave you the word ‘hidalgo’” (275). Mayo goes on to describe Alvarez’s personality: “the character he happened to have was nationally important. He curiously combined a high, cold courage, physical and moral, with a white-hot blazing devotion; an impersonal tenderness of spirit with a chilled-steel power of purpose; an intense inner solitude with an utter absence of self-concern” (275). Through the figure and story of Alvarez, Mayo suggests how she perceives her own role in the

national and colonial project. Mayo's description of Alavarez's life in the Philippines is queered image of the colonial family romance of benevolent assimilation.

As an engineer, Alvarez had previously participated in various modernization projects in other American colonial outposts such as Hawaii and Mexico; however, Alvarez seems fated for the role he comes to play in the Moro Province that goes beyond establishing civilized infrastructure – "The Moros say God sent him" (275). Though not sent to the Moro province in any particular governmental capacity, the Moros still seek him out for advice and guidance because of the obviousness of his character and leadership. In his third year, a beautiful "orphan girl of noble blood" pleads for him to help her avoid a marriage to an older datu arranged by her corrupt uncle and guardian. The Moros tell Alavarez, "she is our great Datu's daughter – Rajah Muda Mandi's little daughter, whom he most dearly cherished. Rajah Muda Mandi was the strongest ruler we ever had and the wisest" (277). Though Alvarez attempts to speak to the uncle on behalf of the girl, the marriage is not canceled and the girl threatens suicide. Mayo narrates what happens next:

> …he [Alvarez] stared at the little gasping figure at his feet, all swathed and hidden in its veil.
>
> In that one moment his whole life cleared before him. He saw, as a vision, the purpose and the end.
>
> Brought from the width of the world to this far, hidden place, his soul and brain had heard a voice that no other creature seemed to hear – the call of a wild, strong people in the agony of death. Now alone he stood between them and their persecutors.
>
> In one bleak glare of light, he surveyed the road ahead – barren rock, beset with hatred, lies and violence, crowded with hopeless labours for a friendless cause – a road lonely as death and as bitter, with death at the end. As he looked, it was as if a hand pointed out his mortal bonds – his personal desires – his hopes of place or ease or love. In a sort of ecstasy of immolation he seized them all, tore them loose and flung them behind.

> From that point on, he was always to know his way, without one shadow of doubt.
>
> As to this child at his feet, because of his championship she had already been named too often in talk. Now, behold her under his roof, and at night.
>
> And his life was pledged to the service of her people. (279)

Mayo reiterates what is at stake in Alvarez's story when she comments to him four years later while at ship together on the Sulu Sea, "You married, not a woman, but a cause" (280). His description of his marriage reaffirms her statement; the marriage is celibate and he describes his wife as an "angel" and as "obedient as a good child" (280). To her and her people, he is a father-figure and states that the Moros believe that the spirit of his wife's great father "is somehow reborn in me for their help and guidance" (281).

The history of violent suppression in the Moro province, of which Wood's actions at Bud Dajo are but one example, are disavowed in this queerly romantic story of Alvarez. This story of selfless love and the figure of Alvarez naturalizes U.S. governance of the province and is reminiscent of the phenomena Gayatri Spivak termed "white men saving brown women from brown men" in relation to the British campaign against suttee in the 19th century.[51] However, what is most significant in Mayo's story of Alvarez is this emphasis on marriage to a cause, a celibate marriage that Mayo valorizes outside the norms of a heterosexual union. Alvarez emphasizes the non-reproductive nature of his marriage only to dismiss it: "I shall have no children of my own. But no man could have a sweeter home" (281). Just as Mayo makes it possible for herself to participate in Roosevelt's conception of the "national life" by mothering the State Police project and authoring Justice to All, Mayo's own marriage to the cause of truth and justice regardless of her partnership with Newell enables her to contribute to the question of Philippine

independence. Her Anglo-Saxonism further authorizes her to classify the people and judge their racialized, civilizational capacities. Mayo thus positions herself on par with (if not further above on her own racial hierarchy than) Wood and Alvarez.

Just as Alvarez is recognized by the Moros as the champion of their own cause, they recognize Mayo as well. In chapter thirty, "The Plea of the Women," Mayo emphasizes the chaste and virtuous nature of the Moro women – "As to the women themselves, no New England American is more careful of her honor" (322). Again, these women cry out to be protected from the rapacious Catholics and caciques, but their cries for help are that which enables and motivates Mayo to write Islands of Fear. She describes, "Those clinging fingers of women! Many a time was I to feel them, and always with the same meaning – 'Tell America!'" (328). In another story, a chief tells Mayo concerning the caciques, "And the one thing they cannot take from me is my power to speak the truth. *Tell America*!" (328). In the first case of the "clinging fingers," the Moro women are inarticulate in their despair and it is up to Mayo to not only interpret their meaning from their body language but also to act upon that interpreted message. In the case of the chief, he recognizes his power of speech only to surrender it in his injunction to Mayo to "tell America" what he wants to but cannot tell them himself. Again, however, the burden of interpreting and conveying the chief's "truth" falls on Mayo and language barriers do not even stand in the way of accomplishing her mission. In her introduction she makes it clear that she refused the help of any other interpreter or guide: "But, delightful and useful as under other circumstances the plan would have been, I could accept no medium through which to get my facts, whose value must rest on their

first-hand quality" (5). In this way, Mayo is the only one who speaks for both brown men and brown women and it is solely her seeming devotion to truth that enables her to do so.

Such positioning suggests Mayo is engaging in her own project of a "white woman saving brown women from brown men." This phrase however was coined in regards to feminists like Mary Daly's potentially racist and elitist treatment of women of color in patriarchal systems.[52] Mayo's goal however in her depiction of white women particularly in Justice to All cannot be described as feminist – even by her own contemporaries. As Sinha points out, Mayo's long estrangement from U.S. feminists was rooted in their critical reception of Mayo's State Police writings and what they perceived as her support of the "brutal state cossacks".[53] Mayo's projects do not suggest a challenging of gender roles or norms for either white or brown women. She may lament the condition of the female Moro or tao or even Hindu but inevitably it is to laud a masculinist Anglo-Saxonist heroism as the only answer to such problems. Her goal in her writings is not to disrupt gender hierarchy but rather to enforce her own overwhelmingly masculinist racial hierarchy that she constructs and controls. This is what is gestured at when Norton comments that she is more than a woman but a superman. This complex relationship between gender and race can be seen playing out in the only anecdote in the text that focuses solely on Mayo, with no Filipino figure present for Mayo to interpret or ventriloquize.

After discussing the tao and before considering Alvarez and the Moros, Mayo introduces "the mountaineers" or "the 'wild tribes' of Luzon" (256). She valorizes their racial purity and represents them as victims of the caciques and Catholic tao as she does

with the Moros. She describes the various groups of Igorots: "All are dark-skinned folks practically unmixed for many centuries, during which time they have continuously inhabited their homes of to-day" (256). Mayo also contrasts their animist religions to the dangerous hybridized Catholicism of the lowlands: "For their creed is a well-developed polytheism comparable to that of Greece, preserved and served by an organized priesthood exerting a considerable influence in the community" (257).The Igorots like the Moros were untouched by the Spanish so that what resulted was "a simple manhood [that] escaped the penalties of civilization, preserved intact its ancient rigorous laws, and kept its physical state *uncontaminated*" (257, italics mine). Also like the Moros, the Cordillera region was conceptualized and administrated differently from the lowlands of Luzon and the Visayas. However, it was not ruled by military power. Instead Dean C. Worcester and the civilian Philippine Commission cordoned off the hills and ruled it by virtue of the power of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.[54] Again, as in the Moro province, Mayo depicts the aboriginal minority as in danger from Filipinization and the unscrupulous governance of caciques. To exemplify this point, Mayo relates an incident that occurred while she was touring the hill country. The scene however suggests the nature of the masculine authority Mayo takes on through her project of racial hierarchy and "truth-telling."

Mayo begins by describing Balete Pass "up near the north-east boundary of the Province of Nueva Ecija [where gates] bar the way at intervals, for the road is too narrow to permit the passing of vehicles in safety" so that only one vehicle at all times can be on the road (214). Mayo continues:

> One noonday, last March, I arrived at the top of Balete southward bound. And the gate was down. Of the several Filipinos who sat about the place one volunteered the information that an automobile was mounting and should soon appear.
>
> Meantime, glad of a chance to look about on foot, I left my care and started to stroll down the zigzag. In two minutes the sharp swing of the road had shut me completely away from humanity into the unknown…
>
> From above on the mountain side, somewhere behind the forest screen, came at intervals a rhythmic sound as of beating upon a metallic instrument, mingled with chanting voices of men. Somewhere up there, as I knew, live certain of the headhunting people…
>
> They have a special knife for the purpose, and they make no noise. In fact, if it is your head that they desire, you will probably never get knowledge of the fact unless the welcoming angels subsequently inform you.
>
> All these things I thought of, being several corners removed from the gate at the top of the pass. And at first their consideration brought a little tingle of excitement.
>
> There, certainly, were the capable Ilongots close at hand. Here, also, was I, with my head on. No witnesses about. And nothing more was necessary.
>
> For a moment or two I rather enjoyed the full flavour of the thing. (215)

This is the only scene when Mayo is by herself in Islands of Fear – there is no tao, Moro, Igorot or cacique for her to ventriloquize or interpret. Though she emphasizes how alone she is as well as the close presence and ferocious nature of the Ilongots, she experiences no sense of vulnerability or fear. Rather, there is a suggestion of erotic enjoyment of the "full flavour of the thing" in the "little tingle of excitement" she feels. Though the Ilongots are unseen, and for all she knows they could be gazing upon her from the forest, Mayo's pleasure in this moment suggests that she is the one in control as she imagines the Ilongots. Though the Ilongots are purported to be head hunters, the experience of the fear of such a possibility is shifted from Mayo to the reader by her use of the second person through the conditional – "if it is your head they desire" which precludes the

possibility that her head is the object of desire. In this way a situation ostensibly and objectively out of Mayo's control becomes a scene that exemplifies her power of representation, her ability to situate herself, the reader and native subjects in specific relationships. Mayo's manipulation of this scene, her empowerment through her imagination of the Ilongots, is reminiscent of what Laura Wexler writes about in her study of lady photographers at the turn of the century and the complicated interaction between gender, empire-making and photography in her chapter on 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.[55]

Wexler investigates how these white lady photographers took advantage of the spectacular presentation of America's newest colonial wards in the Philippine Reservation as an opportunity of "self-making" (265). This self-making however was accomplished via their participation in promulgating the logic of racial and national hierarchy which organized the display of the, for the most part, half-naked and seemingly semi-barbarous Filipino subjects. Of particular interest to these lady photographers were the aboriginal people of the hills, the Igorots. Capturing the images of the most savage specimens of the Filipino people allowed these women to establish their agency as women photographers in service of their nation's civilizing mission. Mayo's project of investigating the human point of the Philippines and her categorization of the caciques, tao, Moros and Igorots parallels such photographic projects; she attempts in a literary text not only to make herself but also participate in the making of the U.S. nation and disavowal of Filipino nationalism. However, such photographic projects of representation were accomplished in the relative safety of the Philippine reserve in the commoditized

setting of the World's Fair.[56] In Mayo's scene with the unseen Ilongots, she has gone beyond the safety of the domestic space; yet as a woman alone in the foreign countryside, she represents herself as perfectly in control of the situation. In this way, she again juxtaposes herself to the white women in the Pennsylvania countryside who needed to be protected from the barbarous black rapist.

Mayo never occupies the passive feminine space that she herself constructs. To emphasize this as well as use the scene to further disparage Filipino capabilities, she describes what happened when she returned to her car after enjoying her walk in the hills and brush with the Ilongots:

> At the top my car still stood, of course. The gate was still down. The station keepers still idled about. Three of them.
>
> "This gate has been down at least two and three quarters hours," I said.
>
> "Yes," they answered, "longer."
>
> They spoke fair English. Spruce young high-school Filipinos with government jobs.
>
> "That," I pursued, "means that a car is in trouble somewhere between here and the next gate below."…
>
> Politely they listened to my speculations, gathering in their full numbers to do so. They were calm, and entirely detached. Not in any way did they see a personal bearing in the theme. A discourse on petrography would have stirred them as much.
>
> Suddenly I turned from warm to very hot and boiled over in sincere and open wrath.
>
> "How is it possible," I exclaimed, "that you – the whole lot of you, able-bodied educated young men – can stay here dozing half the afternoon when you say, yourselves that people may lie bleeding and helpless just below. You know that, and yet you never stir yourselves to find out!"
>
> I stopped for breath, glaring the rage I felt. (215-216)

Again, Mayo juxtaposes her natural inclination towards activity and passionate dedication to justice. In the story of Howell in Justice to All, Mayo represents herself as more masculine and capable than the impotent Sheriff and union men because of her

determination to see Howell's murderers punished. In this way she links herself to Roosevelt's "strenuous life" and the State troopers trained by the Spanish American War. In this scene, Mayo lectures the "spruce young high-school Filipinos" and just as her pleasure of imagining the Ilongots took on an erotic tone so does the expression of her rage as she turns "from warm to very hot and boiled over". Though they have been educated by the American system and work for the government, these Filipinos will never be able to govern the islands properly because of their racial deficiencies – the natural Malay indolence and individualism. In contrast, Mayo as Anglo-Saxon and female journalist uses Islands of Fear to establish herself not just as a passive feminine supporter of the U.S. project of empire but rather as one actively journeying to the periphery, representing racial and cultural difference and organizing hierarchies. In representing the "islands of fear" and its inhabitants, Mayo found the apparatus to make possible her own agency and participation in the Anglo-Saxon colonial project beyond the feminized role of "housewife" and "helpmeet."

From Mother of the State Police to Manila to Mother India

In this chapter, I have attempted to connect the early and later works of Mayo's oeuvre, to connect Mayo's state police writings to her most controversial work Mother India via her stop in Manila and tour of the Philippines. It is this work in Justice to All and Islands of Fear that brought her to the attention of the British government as the perfect candidate to convince the world, particularly the U.S., against Indian independence.[57] The focus on Mayo's Mother India however can overshadow her initial

work on the State Police and the Philippines, obfuscating the connections between Mayo's conceptions of domestic and international space as well as the queer formations of motherhood that Mayo offers in the colonial project. Mayo's national, racial, gendered and sexual ideologies are complex and contradictory. Her representations of masculine Anglo-Saxon heroism in contrast to feminine passivity are complicated by her own self-representations and her own non-heteronormative lifestyle.

Mayo represented a masculine Anglo-Saxon heroism as that which was necessary to bring justice to New York and Pennsylvania as well as that which would save Filipinos from the degradation of cacique hybridity. Such representations naturalized the U.S.-Philippines colonial relationship and barred Filipino nationalists like Kalaw from claiming that the process of "benevolent assimilation" and "tutelage" had been fulfilled. However, rather than create a static masculinist dynamic between the Philippines and the U.S, these projects imbued Mayo with an authoritative voice. As a female journalist dedicated to truth and justice, Mayo gave herself the authority to evaluate and place into a racial and national hierarchy not only unruly immigrant hordes or black ex-slaves or indolent Filipinos but also the Anglo-Saxon heroes that she valorizes. Furthemore, in the absence of such heroes, as in stories of Howell or Balete Pass, she gladly and naturally takes on their roles.

I offer Katherine Mayo's writings as a provocative case study that allows us to appreciate the mutually constitutive and yet simultaneously dynamic systems of race, gender and sexuality during the Philippine Commonwealth. By championing Anglo-Saxon civilization, Mayo's oeuvre allows us to glimpse a colonial family romance in

which the white father is not the ultimate authority. While Mayo's projects operate to endow her with subjectivity and agency at the expense of the Filipino nationalist, the very fact that she queers the colonial family romance denaturalizes the position of the white father in the project of empire. In the chapter that follows, I focus on the political and cultural agenda of the cacique class, lead by Manuel Quezon, which Mayo so disparages. Through the cultivation of the English language in the Philippines, the Commonwealth government attempts to insist that the accomplishment of culture necessarily reflects the attainment of modern (and heteropatriarchal) civilization. However, it is this pursuit of cultural attainment in the name of national sovereignty that obfuscates the material conditions of neocolonialism.

Chapter Two

"A Red-Blooded Literature:"

En-Gendering the Nation Through Filipino Writing in English

> Moonlight, stardust, sunset, flowers, etc, or, on the other hand, the pseudo-sophistication of clever people – these are the literary preoccupations of the perfectly indifferent or the perfectly imbecile. The Filipino writer must grow up. He must be discontented with merely sniffing odorous flowers of emotion on the way. His words must not only be winged but barbed with a large passion and tipped with fire. He must write of virile people winning victories towards freedom, or of emaciated human beings enfeebled by an anti-human civilization.
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> In short he must write a red-blooded literature.
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> - S.P Lopez, Literature and Society, 1941

The preceding chapter began by juxtaposing the writings of Filipino nationalist Maximo M. Kalaw with that of Katherine Mayo's. While Mayo disavowed the Filipino capacity for self-government because of racial deficiency, Kalaw argued that the Filipino struggle for independence expressed the same sense of masculine self-determination that he claimed had earlier defined the thirteen colonies' overthrow of English rule. While Kalaw's essay invokes America's own postcolonial past (and tacitly suggests its potential hypocrisy as a new imperial force), his metaphors however depict the Filipinos as grown sons ready to leave their (American) father's house. Such language potentially re-inscribes American exceptionalism as well as brings the narrative of benevolent assimilation to its logical conclusion – namely, a patriarchal Filipino nationalism predicated on informal dependence on the States. In order to make the Philippines legitimate as a nation, Kalaw must assert that the U.S. has fulfilled its mission of

overseeing the development of Taft's "little brown brothers" into politically mature men capable of managing a modern nation-state. His essay thus presents a Filipino nationalist's utilization of the narrative of benevolent assimilation in order to argue for a sovereignty of the islands always already predicated on disavowing Aguinaldo's republic as well as the violence of the Filipino American War. Furthermore, such a strategy while on the one hand arguing for the formal disentanglement of the two nations also makes possible informal and nebulous political, economic and military ties between them couched in terms of the special debt or intimate relationship inevitably resulting from such a unique process of "tutelage."

This conception of Filipino nationalism (with all its contradictions) is not unique to Kalaw. Rather, Kalaw's essay expresses succinctly the trajectory of the cultural nationalism cultivated during the Commonwealth period before the granting of official sovereignty as the Philippine government sought to define itself as a nation in the face of lingering and undeniable material dependence on the U.S. This chapter thus critically investigates the cultural nationalist strategies during the Commonwealth period of key Filipino political figures and writers in English like Kalaw, particularly Manuel Quezon and Salvador P. Lopez. I do so in order to demonstrate how Filipino writing in English played a pivotal role in developing a cultural nationalism predicated on a particular construction of masculinity that ironically acted to obfuscate and enable the Philippines' neocolonial condition.

Kalaw had at one point served as Quezon's personal secretary before Quezon's rise to the presidency of the Commonwealth. As president, Quezon's personality came to

influence overwhelmingly the course of the Commonwealth Period so much so that Ricardo Trota José sums it up simply, "the Commonwealth was virtually the government of Quezon" (123). Given ten years to prepare the nation for independence, Quezon was faced with two seemingly disparate but entwined tasks. On one hand, he sought to maintain an informal connection with the United States especially in the face of certain Japanese aggression; and, on the other, he had to assert Philippine autonomy despite the archipelago's military and economic dependence on the U.S. The cultivation of culture, particularly English literature, became central to Quezon's attempts to ensure simultaneously these informal ties while demonstrating that the islands had progressed to full political maturity and sovereignty. Cultural accomplishments obscured the reality of material dependence on the U.S. enacted through the establishment of the Subic and Clark Naval Bases, the dependence of the Philippine military on American advisors and the proliferation of preferred trade status agreements.[1] This process of symbolizing development and progress despite material dependence on the U.S. can be seen operating in Quezon's institutionalization of the Commonwealth Literary Awards on March 25, 1939 administered by the League of Filipino Writers a year later.

Concurrent with Quezon's policies maintaining U.S-Philippines free trade and enlisting General Douglas MacArthur to establish the Philippine army, Quezon instituted cultural initiatives such as the Commonwealth Awards that assured that Filipinos were capable of producing a culture and civilization on par with the developed west. Quezon has been called the "Father of the National Language" because of his establishment of the National Language Institute and his naming of Tagalog in 1939 as the *Wikang Pambansa*

or official national language.[2] However, such a representation of Quezon can obscure how during his push for the adoption of Tagalog as the national language, he also simultaneously represented the continued use of English as necessary to the nation's progress. For example, eminent journalist and vice-president of the Philippine Writers League S.P. Lopez celebrated and explained Quezon's cultivation of English literature thus: "[Quezon] was not oblivious of the important role that English and Spanish, but especially English, must continue to play in the cultural life of the Filipino people. Indeed, he announced that English would continue to be taught, even after independence, [from elementary level to the University]. In this way he hoped that English would remain not only as a vital intellectual and commercial link between the Philippines and the outside world but as a medium of cultural expression among the Filipino people themselves" (239).

Lopez goes on to defend against the charge that English is too foreign a language to express Filipino sentiment. Rather, he asserts that not only can English convey the depths of the collective Filipino soul to the world, but that the development of English literature in the islands can also encourage the betterment of said souls. Lopez writes in the same esasy: "We had misjudged the practical man in Malacañan who showed quickly that his preoccupation with sabre-rattling and with growing two blades of rice where only one grew before had not rendered him indifferent to the *belles-lettres*, or dulled his perception of the fact that the life of a truly civilized people is more than mere subsistence; that it does after all include the thrilling celebration of beauty and the powerful expression of ideas – the pursuit of those arts of leisure which bestow grace

upon living and lift the life of man above the plane of mere vegetation" (237). Supporting Filipino literature in English thus can be read as having the two-fold purpose of proving and improving the civilized quality of the Filipino soul and nation while simultaneously ensuring that same nation's connection to the "outside world" (read the U.S.).

However, not only did Quezon support Filipino literature in English but he also produced his own contribution to the genre in 1946, his autobiography The Good Fight. A similar logic is at work in Quezon's own piece of Filipino literature in English as that demonstrated above in Lopez's essay; Quezon's autobiography attempts to establish his development into a modern individual and heroic statesman that is however always already premised on a patriarchal relationship with U.S. representatives. The first third of this chapter thus considers closely how Quezon's The Good Fight narrates the proper development of the Filipino national subject that is always guided and legitimated by a representative of American democracy and modernity. The second third then turns to Lopez's prescriptions for Filipino writing in English, his praise for patriotic poet R. Zulueta da Costa and his injunction to the Filipino writer to "grow up," best expressed in his collection of essays entitled Literature and Society. I purposely link Quezon's autobiography and Lopez's essays not simply because Lopez's League of Filipino Writers were responsible for establishing and judging Quezon's primary project of cultural nationalism, the Commonwealth Literary awards, or even because Lopez's praise of Quezon incidentally appears in Lopez's collection of editorials and essays which were submitted to and won at the actual Awards. Though disparate genres, the key to both

Quezon and Lopez's work is the emphasis on the idea of "development," "growth," "maturity," or "apprenticeship."

As Caroline Hau observes: "Nationalist rhetoric and practice are grounded in assumptions which basically define the history and life of the nation in terms of the progressive and complete development of human faculties" ("The Filipino Novel" 322). Citing Gyorgy Markus, Hau elaborates that the key to ensuring such progression (both individual and national) is culture, conceived of as the "'cultivation' of the individual's moral and intellectual capabilities" (322). National culture therefore is the aggregate of each national subject's individual process of self-cultivation that would therefore result in an orderly and well-regulated bourgeois society for all. While Katherine Mayo uses her study and characterization of Filipino society to reveal its lack of culture (more accurately, its incapability to even have a culture), the Commonwealth State is engaged in a related but seemingly inverse project of instituting and developing a national culture that demonstrates the attainment of civilizational development and political modernity. However, such a project rather than challenge the historicism necessary to colonialism and benevolent assimilation simply rehearsed the paradigm and obscured how at the very moment when political independence was granted, the Philippines and U.S. ironically were tied even closer together through rhetorical strategies and the material realities of the "special relationship." Quezon's autobiography narrates a proper trajectory of development for the Filipino political subject while Lopez determines that of the proper Filipino writer in English. By extension, both projects narrate the proper development and conceptualization of the nation. This trajectory however postulates a Philippine

nationalism founded on a patriarchal dependence on America and her representatives which in turn generates a patriarchal nationalism as the telos of the development of an independent Philippines.

Elsewhere Hau has also critically and specifically investigated how literature in the post-World War II period was pivotal to imagining the nation. However, Hau argues that heterogeneous elements within Filipino society – such as the figures of the Chinese, the indigenous, the people, etc – escaped and challenged these grand narratives that called the nation into being.[3] My own readings of the earlier moment of the 1940 Commonwealth Awards are indebted to the theoretical framework of Hau's project. The last section of this chapter focuses specifically on the poetry category of the Commonwealth Literary Awards and the presentation of first prize to R. Zulueta da Costa's nationalist ode to Jose Rizal and the censorship of the first volume of Philippine poetry in English written by a woman, Angela Manalang Gloria. I juxtapose the work of da Costa with that of Gloria in order to trace out the ramifications of a patriarchal nationalism undergirding to various degrees the texts of Quezon, Lopez and da Costa, a patriarchal nationalism that denied women participation in the nation outside the roles of dutiful mothers raising heroic sons. Da Costa's poem invoking the spirit of Rizal and Lopez's praise of Like the Molave all interpolate a masculine heroic national subject premised on the subordination of Filipinas into the role of mothers and bastions of moral purity. Gloria's poetry critically challenges Quezon, Lopez and da Costa's national and literary projects; I read her words not in order to excavate some long forgotten feminist champion of the Commonwealth period but rather in order to challenge the dichotomies

between the categories of public and private, modern and pre-modern, masculine and feminine, realistic and romantic which were used to devalue her poetry at the moment of the Literary Awards.

As I trace through the texts and contexts of Quezon's The Good Fight, Lopez's Literature and Society, and Angela Manalang Gloria's Poems, I ultimately argue that the cultural agenda institutionalized by the Commonwealth government had a three-fold repercussion on the formulation of Filipino nationalism during the period and beyond. First, Quezon's cultivation of cultural nationalism (which had as its goal the representation of the emergent nation as politically and culturally sophisticated enough for sovereignty) operated to obfuscate the continuing material dependence of the islands on the U.S. Second, such a utilization of culture revealed a paradoxical relationship between Philippine literature and society in that state-sponsored literary projects which were meant to represent an authentic Filipino people actually called such conceptualizations of the Filipino people as a people into being. And lastly, in calling such a Filipino people into being through these cultural/literary projects, there were necessarily gendered and sexualized bodies which escaped such a universalizing tendency and in turn revealed the constructed nature of the concept of the Philippines as sovereign nation. The outcome of the literary awards demonstrates the pitfalls of a dominant Filipino nationalism that enforced normative conceptions of gender and sexuality as necessary to positing the Philippines as sovereign and politically modern. Ultimately, I offer a reading of Gloria's poetry in order to highlight the contradictions between the use of the English language and the formulation of Philippine nationalism

during the Commonwealth. In this period, English writing in the Philippines not only constituted and was constituted by heteropatriarchal nationalism but it was also the medium through which alternate conceptions of the Filipina and her nation could be articulated. Gloria's poetry while iterated in the colonizer's language which supposedly marks modernity and national development has a return effect which critiques the gendered and sexualized foreclosures undergirding said modernity and national development of the (post)colonial Philippines.

The Bildungsroman of Manuel Quezon and the Nation

> Fifty years of association with American ideals, as inspired and practiced by the United States in the Philippines with altruism and generosity, have finally rounded out our apprenticeship and fixed our western characteristics.
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> -Manuel L. Quezon, The Good Fight, 1946

When Manual Quezon penned the introduction to his autobiography shortly before his death, he demonstrated his acute awareness that this was not only his story of development but of his nation as well: "The following pages – showing my life as a rebel against, and as a supporter of, the United States – are more than mere accounts of my personal experiences. They, in effect, portray the struggle of the Filipino people in their quest for freedom, first against and then in support of the great republic of North America" (xiii). These opening lines reveal the ideological project of Quezon's narrative of his life – to trace how the Filipino people's "support of the great republic" is neither antithetical to their earlier strivings for freedom but rather the natural development of history. Quezon presents his own story of personal growth from "rebel" to "supporter" as

a way of understanding the formation of the Philippine nation and its people and their persisting relationship to their former colonizers. Such a relationship, no longer predicated on overt military occupation or direct government, is based in Quezon's text on an abstract and affective sense of debt resulting from the U.S. exposing the Philippines to and guiding them toward the ideals of freedom and democracy.[4] In Quezon's autobiography, he conveys this by contrasting his experiences with Spanish and U.S. colonial officials.

While the unjust and abusive behavior of the local Spanish officials in his boyhood town inspires Quezon's time as an *insurrecto,* his development into the leading politician of the Philippines and bastion of the movement for immediate independence is animated by his encounters with admirable and heroic Americans. From his election as provincial governor of Tayabas to his stint in Washington, D.C. as Resident Commissioner to his eventual elevation into the office of President of the Commonwealth, Quezon's autobiography suggests in both subtle and overt ways that his development into a modern political subject is only made possible by the guidance and approving gaze of an American figure. Such approval is furthermore only granted according to Quezon's ability to perform his role as a Filipino politician under a system of American hegemony. Thus Quezon may master English and even deliver a speech to U.S. Congress calling for Philippine independence, but such independence is always premised on continued informal dependence. Ultimately, The Good Fight narrates the proper development of both the Filipino and his nation into a sovereignty which bears the trappings of independence obscuring the functioning structures of neocolonialism.

Manuel Luis Quezon was born August 19, 1978 in the small village of Baler in the province of Tayabas on the eastern coast of Luzon.[5] Quezon describes Baler as a backwater town where a detachment of the Spanish Civil Guard had to be maintained to protect the Christian inhabitants from the Ilongots, an aboriginal peoples who live in the hills of the province who measure their worth by the number of heads they collect (7). Quezon however differentiates between the villagers and the Ilongots: "Whenever the Ilongotes attacked Christian Filipinos, the Guardia Civil, accompanied by townsfolk armed with spears and arrows, would go to the mountains and inflict a severe punishment upon these savages" (7). For Quezon (as for Mayo), the Ilongots come to represent native disorder and primitivism. Though Quezon calls his small community "poor" and "primitive," he nonetheless asserts that his family is "considered the number one family" because of their ability to speak Spanish and thus act as intermediaries between the native villagers and the "three Spanish officials stationed in the town" which included the military governor, a Franciscan friar and the Corporal of the Civil Guard (6-7). However, as Michael Cullinane highlights in his study of Quezon's rise to prominence, Quezon's family was in no way a member of the provincial elite. His father was actually a Manileño army officer who eventually settled in Baler, taught at the boys' school and later married the teacher of the girls' school. Quezon's autobiography depicts his childhood in Baler as the beginning of his slow process of politicization sparked by his direct experiences with the injustice and decadence of Spanish rule.

After attending school in Manila and graduating with a Bachelor of Arts, Quezon returns to Baler only to be forced to flee the town again by the corrupt Corporal of the

Civil Guard. The Corporal threatens Quezon with violence unless he prevails upon a young female cousin to give into the corporal's lascivious advances. Refusing to facilitate rape, Quezon attacks the Corporal with a club. The "good submissive people of Baler" hail Quezon as a hero and his father is able to ensure his son's release by promising the military governor that his son is not and will never become a *Katipunero* or revolutionary.[6] This promise by his father is given as the reason why despite Quezon's passionate disgust with the Spanish, he does not fight in the actual revolution of 1898. However, it does not diminish the meaning of his resistance to the villagers as he tells of how his only living brother to this day "has kept the club with which I attacked [the] Cabo" (21). The first chapter of his autobiography thus establishes Quezon as coming from the Christianized peasant masses (as opposed to the "savage" Ilongots) but also as heroically different from their passive or "good submissive" nature. The last lines of the first chapter, spoken by Quezon's father (and his last dramatic words to his son), express it best: "'My son,' he said, '[…] I won't bother you with any advice. Just be good and be just to your fellowmen. No matter how high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them, whatever happens'" (22). These last words foreshadow Quezon's incredible rise to the highest office in the Philippines and naturalizes such development as resulting from his inborn sense of justice. Though Quezon is of the people, his personal characteristics seem to destine him to a power of position over those same people.[7] However, as Quezon's autobiography continues, it becomes apparent that even if such a capacity for leadership was possessed by the future President of the Commonwealth, it had to be nurtured and

developed by Quezon's personal contact with "great" men who could teach him the lessons necessary for political leadership.

Returning back to Baler during the American occupation of Manila, Quezon discovers that his father has been murdered by bandits and that the Filipino American War has now officially begun. Released by his father's death of his promise not to become a revolutionary, Quezon states, "I decided at once that my duty lay in fighting for the freedom of my country. Neither my father, while he was alive, nor I had any commitment with the United States Army. On the contrary, it was that army, as I thought, which had broken faith with me" (41). Quezon's time in the revolutionary army was highlighted by serving on General Emilio Aguinaldo's staff and fighting on the front under a General Mascardo.[8] The few skirmishes he participated in were no major victories and the description of his time as a *Katipunero* treads the line between establishing his legitimate revolutionary service and explaining why he eventually left that ideology behind. Though Quezon had initially joined the Revolution because of his belief in America's "broken faith," he still notes the honorable conduct of the American soldiers he encounters such as when the body of his general's brother is returned by American forces with a note expressing sympathy and regret for such a casualty of war. However, the most striking detail of this third chapter of his autobiography, entitled "I Join the Revolution," is the subtle juxtaposition of the corruption of the Spanish with the honorable behavior of the Americans achieved through Quezon's collapsing of narrative time in his descriptions of his encounters with the American military. For example, when

American soldiers enter the village of Porac, where General Mascardo's headquarters are located, Quezon narrates the encounter:

> I wondered if they were coming to hunt for me, but my doubts were soon dispelled for although they were armed they dropped their rifles, left their horses and began to undress… In nature's bathing-suits they plunged into the water. Before I could stop it, one of my soldiers fired a shot and the swimmers ran for their guns, although not for their clothes…
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> At one of the formal dinners that, as President of the Commonwealth, I gave to new Commanding Generals of the Philippine Department, having learned that my guest of honor on this particular occasion had been under General J. Franklin Bell, I asked him if by any chance he was in the attack of Porac and said yes. Then I told him my little experience with the swimmers and he admitted that he was one of them. In my toast that I offered to the health and success of my guest of honor – there were no ladies present – I made reference to the difference between the uniform which he wore when I first saw him in the river and the one he was wearing that evening. (51-52)

Quezon's stories of the Filipino American War consistently follow the pattern demonstrated above – an encounter with American soldiers linked to a story of how years later, the same event becomes a shared anecdote demonstrating the evolution of relations between Quezon and representatives of the American military. His narration of an event of the Filipino American War is thus always inextricably tied to contemporary events in a telos that posits the violence of the war as a necessary initial stage to the eventual friendship and camaraderie between individual soldiers (and their respective nations).[9]

This telos is demonstrated succinctly in the lines directly under the title of Quezon's autobiography which read: "The true story of the man who started as a young revolutionary to fight against the American people and their flag; who fought bravely, who surrendered and gave his parole in Bataan, *who took to his heart the great democratic principles of America, who inculcated them in his own people,* and who forty

years later threw himself and his brave countrymen back into the hell of Bataan and Corregidor when the American flag was attacked" (emphasis mine). The narrative is thus presented as being bookended by two wars – the Filipino American War and World War II. The development of Quezon from a revolutionary against America to a defender of the flag is accomplished through his education in "the great democratic principles" occasioned by his relationships with men of the American military, the colonial government and in Washington D.C. These men instill these "great democratic principles" in his heart only so that through a hierarchical chain of being, he in turn can "inculcate" these lofty ideals into the "good submissive" people from which he came. The Filipino American War thus initiates the bond between Quezon, his nation and its people rather than inaugurate the moment of aborted independence and the inclusion of the Philippines into the American sphere of influence.

Eventually, illness forces Quezon to surrender himself to the American forces and he returns to Manila. There he visits Aguinaldo who has been captured and is being held at Malacañan Palace. Seeing the General in such a state forces Quezon to realize the end of the revolution but he still persists in his criticisms of those Filipinos who advocate for potential annexation, blaming them for the failure of the revolution. He even expresses his resistance linguistically: "I must say here that I had not as yet been reconciled to the American regime. I was proud of the fact that I knew nothing of English and I was determined not to learn it" (86). It is not until Quezon returns to Tayabas to practice law and encounters Major Harry H. Bandholtz, Judge Paul W. Linebarger and Colonel James G. Harbord that he begins to wonder "if the freedom which [was] lost by fighting

America could not be won by cooperating with her" (88). Quezon represents these men as fulfilling the promise of McKinley that the Americans were there not to subjugate but to train the Filipinos in self-government. His greatest praise however he reserves for Harbord: "But I must say that no American in those early days had as much influence in forming my high conception of public duty or gave me a better idea of American manhood than the then Colonel Harbord. General Harbord is, in my opinion, one of the greatest men I have ever met. After a conference with him I decided to run for governor and easily defeated my two other rivals for the office" (102).

Quezon's election to the office of governor of Tayabas in 1906 was in reality far from easy or simple and would never have been accomplished without the political patronage of Bandholtz, Linebarger and Harbord. As Michael Cullinane argues, Quezon's rise to power must be demystified by the reality of the reciprocal relationship of patronage and indebtedness nurtured by both Quezon and Bandholtz. The province of Tayabas had demonstrated early on in the American regime its willingness to cooperate when it was the first and only province to elect an American army officer, Bandholtz, as its governor in 1902. [10] For his part, Bandholtz took a paternal attitude towards Quezon. In a 1905 memorandum to Harbord, Bandholtz writes: "[Quezon] is one of the most intelligent and influential natives in the archipelago, is a born orator and has been of great assistance to me on many occasions, *is young and is liable to commit mistakes at any time, for this reason it is well to keep a paternal eye upon him to keep him from going astray*, he had trouble in Mindoro which I do not consider to have been of a serious nature, *by proper handling* he can be of more value to you than almost anyone else in the

entire district" (quoted in Cullinane 280, italics mine).[11] Quezon's campaign for governor therefore was not premised on a simple decision nor decided by a straightforward electoral victory. Bandholtz, who had at that point been promoted and was residing in Manila, and Harbord were concerned with maneuvering a native candidate into the office who would not forward any fanatical agendas.[12] It was only through Harbord and Bandholtz's direct intervention in the election – the two wrote an open letter addressed to "nuestro amigos Tayabenses" or the Tayabas elite – that ensured Quezon's victory though he was not the obvious choice for a candidate especially since a local political scandal during his time as fiscal officer in Mindoro continued to plague Quezon.

After the election, Quezon wrote Bandholtz thanking him for his support and stating, "I consider you as a father" (quoted in Cullinane 410). Quezon was more than happy to maintain and cultivate the paternalistic relationship. In his autobiography, every key moment of Quezon's development as political figure in the Philippines is tied to a relationship with an American mentor. Most dramatically, the very first moment of Quezon's life as a publicly elected official is given gravity not by his own autobiographical narration of the event but by the fact that it is recounted through Harbord's perspective. Rather than describe the experience himself of returning as governor to his hometown and to the poor people from which he came, Quezon quotes at length from a written account by Harbord:

> As Constabulary District Commander I had a Coast Guard Cutter under my orders, and asked the young Governor to let me take him back to his native Baler for his first visit since he had left it as a young insurrecto eight years before… When we landed though the surf, the narrow sandy beach was filled by a great crowd of Filipinos of both sexes.

> … Old women who had known the boy from babyhood crowded to march in turn with arms around the young Governor, with many cries of "Manuelito," and there was much joyous laughter and some weeping over the home town boy now grown into a great man.
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> …
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> In twelve years in the Philippines I saw many moving spectacles of joy and sorrow but that day at Baler remains in my memory as the most dramatic and touching day passed in those twelve crowded years. I have never seen my fried Governor Quezon again without a different feeling toward him than I have toward any other Filipino, and I have know[n] the best and brightest of his contemporaries. (102-104)

Quezon's development from insurrecto to young Governor is legitimized not simply by the fact that the town welcomes him back in celebration, proudly recognizing them as his leader, but more so by the evaluating gaze of Harbord.

This key scene inaugurating the beginning of Quezon's political life, his representation as a man of the people and the warrior for Philippine freedom operates via the performance of Quezon before his people which is observed and narrated by the ultimate perspective of Harbord. Time and development is emphasized in Harbord's narrative from the juxtaposition of Quezon's *insurrecto* beginnings to his accomplishment as governor, to the contrast between the old women who knew him as boy and the image of the "great man," to Harbord's own ruminations of the past event years later after the end of his career. Quezon's maturity as a Filipino leader and hero is predicated on Harbord's evaluation of the passage of time and the resulting development. Ironically following Harbord's narrative of Quezon's return home is Quezon's insistence that his only concern as an elected official "was to prove Filipinos were capable of governing themselves." The addition of this line after Harbord's narratives however proves that such self-government is always already circumscribed by a performance

before and judgment by an exemplary American figure who operates as the arbiter of political progress and modernity. Self-government therefore does not mean autonomy in the strictest sense but the shaping of the self (by the Filipino, in this case Quezon) to demonstrate the fulfillment of American conceptions of "public duty," "manhood," and development. From the very beginning Quezon's motto of "immediate, absolute, complete independence" was premised on close personal relationships between himself as developing subject and Americans who represented the fullness of political development. In Quezon's autobiography, independence, sovereignty and progress are always circumscribed by pervasive and persisting ties to American military, political and economic interests obscured by nationalist rhetoric.[13]

Quezon's autobiography goes on to follow a narrative arc typical of the traditional *bildungsroman* when the protagonist must leave his community in order to go out into the world only inevitably to return back home.[14] After the first election of the Philippine National Assembly, in which his political party (the Partido Nacional) garnered an overwhelming victory thanks to their platform of "immediate" independence, Quezon decides to leave the Philippines: "My purpose in mind was to have my first glimpse of the world which, as I thought, would prepare me for the next post to which I was then aspiring – that of resident Commissioner to the United States" (109). After his trip to Europe and Asia, Quezon travels to Washington, D.C. and represents his time in Congress as that which was pivotal in teaching him how to be President of the Commonwealth. It is in the States that Quezon finally teaches himself English by reading with a Spanish-English dictionary so that by May 1910, "exactly five months" after his

arrival, he is able to give his first speech entirely in English on the Senate floor asking for Philippine independence. Quezon describes his time in D.C. surrounded by the great politicians as being at "the best university and nicest playhouse in the world" (114).

This fifth chapter ends with a telling scene that harkens back to Quezon's description of the savage Ilongots which he contrasted against the good Christan people of Tayabas in the beginning of his autobiography. Asked to embark on a national speaking tour by the Anti-Imperialist League, Quezon's train approaches a New England town and he is excited to see the large crowd gathered to meet him. Happy that he had changed into an elegant suit and top hat, Quezon becomes surprised that no one greets him when he steps on the platform but continues to eagerly await someone else's departure from the train. Quezon soon realizes that they were there to see "the Filipino," "but they had expected an entirely different figure – that of the chief of one of the tribes exhibited at the St. Louis Fair, adorned with plumes on his head, trinkets on his neck, arms and legs, and perhaps a silk G-string. Americans learned right there and then that a Filipino could high-hat them" (120). The scene demonstrates how Quezon's apprenticeship in Congress and mastery of English enables him to represent himself as evolved completely from the supposed savagery of the islands emblematized by the figure of the Ilongot.[15]

Quezon's career as resident commissioner culminates in the Jones Act of 1916. Given the ambiguous wording of the act, it is no surprise that Quezon had to defend himself from critics who indicted him for hypocrisy in his pursuit of independence.

Quezon's response to them seemingly recognizes the dangers of neocolonialism, that sovereignty without economic independence is not full autonomy:

> The word 'independence' never meant much to me except as a young revolutionary fighting in the hills… I had learned something since those hard days. I had learned that there were still countries nominally independent but which in effect were under foreign rule; and still others which had… no freedom except the freedom to starve, the freedom to be silent, the freedom to be jailed, or the freedom to be shot. None of those situations was I willing to see become the fate of my people. I had devoted my whole life to securing for them not the name of the form, but the substance and essence of liberty… I had always thought – and so think to this day – that it was easier to get freedom and liberty for the Filipino people through the road to independence which the average American understands than through the policy of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, agreed to by Colonel Stimson, which, although known and practiced by the English in their relations with their white subjects, was entirely alien to the American mind. (142-143)

Quezon's response does gesture to the ways in which the Philippine economy has become dependent on U.S. capital as well as how national security is also premised on U.S. intervention. However, rather than challenge the structure of informal dominance and hegemony, Quezon simply reaffirms his faith that the American people will grant the "substance and essence of liberty" subtly suggesting how they on the whole as race or nation have evolved beyond English colonialism. Such faith clearly rehearses the logic behind the juridical formulation of the unincorporated territory and the Commonwealth. Even though some individual politicians would persist in dominating the islands, Quezon professes the exceptionalism of the American character thus falling into the trap which initially animated the project of benevolent assimilation. Furthermore, the controversy over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act (HHC) and the Tydings-McDuffie Act (TM), which Quezon was fully imbricated in, demonstrates that independence was not necessarily

granted because the Philippines had actually fulfilled some teleology of development but rather because of the changing needs and modes of American and global capital.

By the late 1920s, the growth of the U.S. economy had slowed and free trade with the Philippines began to threaten domestic agriculture as Philippine products entered tariff-free. Moreover, as will be discussed further in the third chapter, domestic labor resented the influx of and competition with Filipino labor that entered the country exempt from immigration quotas. The domestic agitation for independence thus was a strange conglomeration of the remnants of the old die-hard anti-imperialists of the Spanish American War, business interests and labor and union organizations. These forces managed to have HHC ratified by Congress in January 1933 despite President Hoover's veto. HHC did guarantee independence in ten years and mandated the drafting of a constitution as well as establishment of legislative, judicial and executive branches of the government, but it allowed for the indefinite presence of military bases on the islands. It also established an American high commissioner, mandated continued Filipino education in English and limited the powers of President of Commonwealth so that he could not engage in matters of foreign relations or military policy without approval of the U.S. President. Furthermore, HHC promised a disastrous blow to the Philippine economy with its institution of tariffs on Philippine products and it also stripped Filipinos of their status as nationals thus making them liable to immigration restrictions under the Immigration Act of 1917. Realizing that acceptance of the bill would be tantamount to guaranteeing the Commonwealth presidency to Sergio Osmeña, who had been sent along with Manuel Roxas to D.C. as members of one of the last independence missions of the

Philippine legislature, Quezon managed to convince the Philippine legislature *to reject* the decisive promise of independence that the *Partido Nacional* had been campaigning for since its inception. [16]

Quezon's rejection of HHC has been read as a Machiavellian maneuver to undercut the political clout of Osmeña and Roxas, especially as he excoriated them for accepting the obviously unfair trade and immigration stipulations of the Act that they argued were the best conditions they could expect from Congress. I am however less concerned with vilifying or vindicating Quezon. Rather what is perhaps more critical are the ways in which the controversy around HHC and TM demonstrated how from the very beginning Quezon's Commonwealth operated to prepare the Philippines for a sovereignty circumscribed by U.S. hegemony, which was reminiscent of the ways in which Quezon's own personal development was premised on and circumscribed by intimate political relationships and performances for American authorities. Quezon was astonishingly able to defeat HHC by promising that he could get a better deal for the Philippines; a year later he returned to Manila with the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Despite Quezon's rhetoric that TM promised actual independence and justice for the Philippines, the only real difference between TM and HHC was section 10(b) which stated that the Philippines could after two years of independence *negotiate* with the U.S. about the continued presence of American military bases.[17] Furthermore, according to Quezon's autobiography, the real key to the acceptableness of TM was that Quezon was able to get a personal guarantee from President Roosevelt that Congress would investigate and correct any "inequalities and injustices" resulting from the economic stipulations (152).

Thus it is Quezon's ability to cultivate a special understanding and relationship with FDR that ensured TM's passage, not necessarily the minor change in language between HHC and TM. While the presence of American military bases seriously calls into question Philippine sovereignty, those concerns are mollified by Quezon's promise of future negotiations between the countries and his subtle reliance on an American sense of justice. Quezon returned to Manila victorious, quickly had the act ratified by both Congress and the Philippine Legislature and was promptly elected President of the Commonwealth.

Quezon's autobiography glosses over this controversy concerning HHC and TM. Moreover, it fails to go in depth into Quezon's term as the president of the Commonwealth suggesting that these years were just a brief interlude before the heroism and drama of WWII. One of the two short chapters describing the legislation Quezon enacted in the first few years of his term in office was actually not even written by Quezon himself. A parenthetical note underneath the title of chapter nine, "Executive Decisions," reads: "The following chapter has been prepared by former Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, who was adviser to the later President Quezon. At President Quezon's request, Mr. Harrison kept careful notes of the former's expressed views on the subjects involved in this chapter" (164). However, though this note discloses this fact, the rest of the chapter surprisingly continues using the first person point of view. What occurs then is Harrison speaking as Quezon in order to describe the first attempts at Philippine self-government (however limited) since Aguinaldo's aborted Malolos Republic. Such ventriloquizing reveals the ironic condition of Quezon's

Commonwealth. Just as Quezon's first public appearance as a Filipino official must be narrated by Harbord, Quezon's first years as President must be narrated by the major American proponent of Filipinization, Harrison.

The latter half of his book turns to the War and to celebrating the Filipinos who died side by side with the Americans in defense of the islands against the Japanese. These chapters are defined by Quezon's insistence on the Philippines' natural alliance with the U.S., most dramatically demonstrated towards the end of his narrative where Quezon diverges from his historical account to discuss at length the Filipino character and culture. Here he speaks of the Filipinos' "apprenticeship" under the Americans which has so decisively fixed their "Western characteristics" (294). Quezon offers these observations: "We Filipinos should be in a position to profit by the rich cultures of both the West and East. But the Japanese will never be able to accomplish… the absorption of the Filipino race into their body politic. The differences between us are too profound and long established [because the] Filipino is, psychologically speaking, a Westerner" (294). These lines suggest the split between the cultural and the material that defined Quezon's nationalism. In Quezon's own autobiography, the keys to his narrative of development into a modern western man are his ability to master English as well as the cultural markers of western political modernity (for example, the top hat and his speech to congress). However as he mastered such cultural markers and representations, he simultaneously cultivated close personal relationships with exceptional American men and forwarded legislation which would continue the Philippines' position within the U.S. sphere of influence. His autobiography thus critically illuminates the ideological

underpinnings of his actions as President of the Commonwealth. Quezon represented symbolically a Philippine nationalism premised on political independence while simultaneously undermining that very same independence materially. A major mode of establishing such a cultural nationalism in the face of material reality was Quezon's sponsorship of Philippine arts and literature, particularly in English.

Quezon's Cultural Nationalism and the Masculine Heroism of "Like the Molave"

> It is a heroic task to awaken and apply these faculties so that our people should become what rightly they should be: morally virile, refined, persevering, public-spirited.
>
> I want our people to grow and be like the molave, strong and resilient, unafraid of the raging flood, the lightning or the storm, confident of its own strength.
>
> - Manuel Quezon, "Grow and Be Like the Molave"

Quezon charged the Philippine Writers League, founded on February 26, 1939, with the task of administrating the Commonwealth Literary Awards. Composed of politically conscious writers, the League's dedication to facilitating state encouragement of letters as mandated by the 1935 Philippine Constitution made it an obvious choice. In the volume entitled Literature Under the Commonwealth, the League collected various papers dealing with "the ideas, hopes, and anxieties surrounding" the Awards (v). Many of the essays and speeches were delivered at "the First Filipino Writer's Conference on Modern Literary Objectives" organized by the League to mark its one year anniversary on February 25, 1940. President Quezon was the guest of honor at the event where he delivered his own speech guaranteeing that he would still remain a patron of English literature in the Philippines despite his advocacy of the national language policy. By

connecting Quezon's The Good Fight to the League's volume of essays, I do not wish to suggest that Quezon and the League's political and poetic agendas were perfectly aligned and/or that the League was simply a tool of Quezon's. Rather I consider how the League's mission and management of the Literary Awards functioned during Quezon's Commonwealth to re-enforce a particular type of nationalism that guaranteed the teleological development of the Philippines that (a) tied its economy, politics and culture to the U.S. despite the advent of independence as well as (b) excluded the participation of particular gendered and sexualized bodies from the new nation.

Manuel Arguilla and his fellow editors end the introduction of Literature Under the Commonwealth by praising Quezon's establishment of the Awards as "unprecedented in history, [which] will remain to be one of the most significant acts of his administration and, in the eyes of posterity, the one supreme affirmation of faith in the creative genius of his people" (v). The Awards are so significant because in order for the Philippines to take its place alongside the great Western nations, literature and art must be developed just as much as the nation's economic or political policies: "To deserve the distinction conferred by culture and civilization, we must and can create, having the will, the favorable condition essential to the natural growth of literature that is both our testimony to posterity of our present cultural achievement and the insurance of the perpetuation of that achievement to enable the next generation to benefit from it and find a convenient point of departure for further progress" (viii). If such a literature can come to maturation in the islands, Carlos P. Romulo states then that the result would be "the development of a literature that belongs by every external mark to the great universal body of Anglo-Saxon

culture, and yet belongs also by internal evidence to the tradition of Filipino culture and civilization (16).” This tension between the external and internal defined the responses by the League (and Quezon) to critics and other writers who suggested that in the new nation with its new national language, Filipino literature in English would have no future.

In Romulo’s statement, the “external” is the vehicle of the English language while the “internal” implies an abstract and essential sense of Filipino culture, tradition and character. This issue of the “external” and “internal” has been considered in the different but significant context of Indian postcoloniality and nationalism by Parth Chatterjee. In The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories, Chatterjee posits that Indian nationalism is not merely derivative of European nationalism because it defined itself against western modernity by admitting to western material excellence while simultaneously maintaining Indian spiritual superiority. In such a formulation, women become the metonym of the internal world of said spiritual superiority that must resist Westernization while men become the active participants in the “external world of material activity” (126). Quezon’s cultural nationalism productively parallels and critically diverges from Chatterjee’s understanding of the Indian case. The quote above from Romulo suggests recognition of the material and cultural supremacy of Anglo-Saxon civilization, but it does not insist on any type of spiritual pre-eminence of a Filipino internal core. Rather, it is simply attempting to argue that the use of the English language (the external) to express Filipino tradition and culture (the internal) is straightforward and unproblematic. Furthermore, such literature can be aesthetically judged to be just as sophisticated as that of America and England thereby suggesting that

the "internal" of Filipino culture is just as developed as that of Anglo-Saxon nations as well.

In his speech in the volume, Quezon emphasizes as well that it is nonsense to think that the internal essence of the Filipino cannot be expressed in a foreign language.[18] He emphasizes that his national language policy is animated solely by the practical and fiscal considerations of maintaining English as the official language – the lack of trained teachers and instruction material (8). For its part, the League also rejected the argument that English fundamentally could not express the Filipino soul or reality and actually embraced the ideological opposite by insisting that literature (English, Filipino and/or Spanish) would only count as literature as long as it attempted to capture truthfully Filipino life, particularly through the genres of social realism and proletariat writing. This is most clearly expressed in "Resolution No. 6" clarifying the rules of the contest in response to a debate between the proponents of socially realistic and committed art and those who advocated the dictum of "art for art's sake:" "The nature and aims of the Commonwealth Literary Contests are set forth in the rules, specifically in that portion which reads: 'To encourage creative works that record or interpret the contemporary scene, or that deal with the social and economic problems of the individual and of society over and above those that are merely concerned with fantasy, mysticism or vain speculation'" (62).[19]

This overarching purpose of the contest is premised on two significant intertwined assumptions: first, that English is an innocuous linguistic tool capable of conveying Philippine reality without in any way influencing said reality and, second, that there

exists a priori and objectively a Philippine reality that can simply be "recorded" or "interpreted." However, it is in the institutional recognition of what texts "record" or "interpret" reality that such a reality is discursively called into being. The texts which won the Commonwealth Awards were the texts that dominant Filipino nationalism deemed "realistic" therefore institutionally legitimating those representations of Filipino society and subtly excluding any other representations from the realm of the authentic. In this way, the use of English – that supposed external mark which allies Filipino literature with Anglo-Saxon culture - is actually what enables the Commonwealth Literary Awards to bring that supposed internal Filipino world and the Philippine nation into being.

Furthermore, what is critical is that the outcome of the 1940 Literary Awards in poetry would demonstrate that in calling both the nation and the internal character of Filipino tradition into being, Quezon's cultural nationalism followed a historicist logic which was also necessarily patriarchal. For example, in The Good Fight, women (whether American or Filipina) do not figure at all in Quezon's story of personal and political development. Quezon's maturation into a modern subject and the political leader of the Philippines is premised solely on his relationships of patronage and apprenticeship with men. Once Quezon has been lead into development by these exceptional American figures, he is then capable of fathering the Filipino nation in turn. The nation is thus imagined as a series of patriarchal relationships grounded in that initial interaction of benevolent assimilation. Filipino women are not only excluded from Quezon's own narrative but furthermore from the larger story of the "the struggle of the Filipino people" (The Good Fight xiii); the independence of the nation is achieved exclusively through the

Filipino male's tutelage by his American mentor.[20] Like Chatterjee's analysis of Indian nationalism, men are solely responsible for action in the external and material world of the nation. R. Zulueta da Costa's prize-winning Like the Molave expresses such sentiment in its praise of nationalist hero Jose Rizal and in its call to the Filipino people to act according to his legacy. Both Quezon's autobiography and da Costa's poetry are premised on a historicist and developmental narrative of the Filipino and the Philippines that excludes a critical consideration of the Filipina and her role in the nation.

When S.P. Lopez penned the introduction to R. Zulueta da Costa's retrospective collection of poems twelve years after Like the Molave won first prize at the inaugural Awards, he called da Costa "a legitimate inheritor of the best and sturdiest poetic tradition in American letters, and Like the Molave is an earnest of his intellectual affiliation and artistic communion" (9).[21] In his introduction, Lopez paradoxically links da Costa to the "tradition" of American letters but also establishes Like the Molave's nationalist pedigree: "For Like the Molave is essentially a patriotic statement of Filipinism. Few artists have tackled such a theme without succumbing to either of two temptations which are fatal to art: sentimentality which, in the Filipino poet, is a congenital weakness; and declamation which becomes more blatantly histrionic still with every accession of the patriotic fire" (9). This characterization of da Costa's work suggests (a) that the Filipino is prone (implicitly by virtue of his race) to a dangerous sentimentality that overcomes rationality and intellectualism and, that, (b) only by somehow developing beyond such sentimentality can the Filipino writer become the "legitimate inheritor" of American "tradition." Subtly, it also suggests that cultivating

oneself in the American tradition of letters leads to this evolution beyond sentimentality. This characterization of American literature implies that it (as characterized by Walt Whitman for Lopez) is essentially an intellectual and rational project "marked by challenge and affirmation on behalf of the common man and the soil whence comes his nourishment and strength" (7). In contrast, Filipino literature (in English) is predisposed to overemotional dramatics – whether histrionic patriotism or indulgent romanticism. Such characterization of Filipino and American literature rehearses the colonial binary of the irrational native and the enlightened Westerner.

For Lopez, Da Costa's poetry transcends these Filipino tendencies in two ways. First, he uses his poetry to reflect on history and society (13). Second, da Costa writes poetry that "exults the common man" (11). Lopez addresses the potential objections that poetry, particularly poetry in English could apply to the common masses: "The language of our age and generation is the language of inquiry and protest, of affirmation and challenge… and the language of our poetry must approximate as closely as possible the speech of the common people, not so much in manner as in the matter thereof" (12). In this way, Lopez suggests that there is an essential "matter" in the speech of common people that can be uncomplicatedly conveyed through the accidents (in the Aristotelian sense) of languages.[22] To further emphasize his point, Lopez compares da Costa's work to Jose Rizal's Spanish-language novels Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo, which inspired Bonifacio and the *katipunan*: "our poet wields a broadsword in one hand, and a scalpel in the other – the broadsword against those who would speak ill and unjustly of our people, the scalpel to cut up the festering sores that afflict the nation" (10). The

comparison between Lopez and da Costa is fitting since Like the Molave begins with a plea to the spirit of Jose Rizal to return to the islands to enervate the sinews "Grown flaccid with dependence, smug with ease / Under another's wing" (5-7). Like Rizal, da Costa uses the colonizer's language to inspire a decolonizing patriotism. However, such a decolonizing agenda is instantiated on a patriarchal national order.

The phrase "like the Molave" is taken from a speech by Quezon himself that calls for the Filipino people to be strong and resilient as they build the nation. The central image of the speech is that of the molave tree – a native tree known for the solidity of its wood. Da Costa embraces the image of the tree as well and by invoking its hardness, he suggests that during the Spanish and American colonial periods, the Filipino subject had become too soft and emasculated thus incapable of self-rule.[23] Da Costa calls on Rizal's spirit to make the Filipino "Like the molave [tree], firm, resilient, staunch, / Rising on the hillside, unafraid, / Strong in its own fibre" (22-44). This call on Rizal can be read as criticism of Philippine subordination under American rule but it only does so through the use of phallic imagery which engenders a masculine martial resistance and nationalism as the only response to such subordination.

Furthermore, this poem and Lopez's celebration of it as being "as modern as television and yet as eternal as light" interpolates an essentialist and normative Filipino subject (13). The League and the Awards' emphasis on social realism suggests that there are coherent, universal, pre-existing Filipino subjects whose essence can be captured by the genius of the Filipino writer who has mastered the seemingly modern and universal English language. It does not take into account how such abstract national subjects are

actually interpolated by the institutionalization of what constitutes national culture (such as the texts awarded the Commonwealth literary awards). Furthermore, in the process of such institutionalization the supposed abstract national subject who is interpolated is actually not bereft of the markers of difference. The valorization of Rizal, the celebration of da Costa's genius and the awarding of first prize to Like the Molave all suggest that the abstract normative national subject is a heroically martial masculine figure.

While Lopez celebrates da Costa's poetry, elsewhere he does recognize the role the Filipina could potentially play in the nation. In an essay included in his volume, Literature and Society, he addresses how the Filipina has potential to redefine herself because of the current historical moment.[24] The essay is fittingly entitled "Maria Clara" after Jose Rizal's major female character in the Noli and Fili who served as his hero's love interest. Lopez though exhorts Filipino women to abandon the archetype of femininity embodied by Maria Clara: "In the regime upon which this nation has but recently entered, we shall need a type of Filipino woman as unlike that of Maria Clara as possible – energetic, enterprising, progressive, and with a mind of her own" (41). Lopez goes on to argue that because Maria Clara is the bastard daughter of a Spanish friar, her *mestiza* status negates her potential to serve as role model for the new women of the Filipino nation: "Rizal makes her the daughter of a Spanish priest, thus placing a double handicap upon her as a would-be model Filipino woman. For that automatically makes her a *mestiza* and an illegitimate child" (39). Ironically Lopez disqualifies Maria Clara from potentially serving as an ideal national subject because of her racial hybridity and

yet he does not apply the same logic to the elite class of Chinese and Spanish *mestizos* primarily involved in politics (such as Quezon himself).

Instead Lopez urges women to evolve from the paradigm of Maria Clara and argues that Rizal, as a modern man educated in the world, would never have wanted his countrywomen to stagnate because "the man who wrote 'The Philippines a Century Hence' and 'The Indolence of the Filipino' could not have made the mistake of putting up as an ideal a type of womanhood [what] the twentieth century was certain to outmode" (39). The passivity of Maria Clara is thus depicted as an atavistic trait of the Filipina inculcated by Spanish colonialism and incompatible with the new and progressive moment of the Commonwealth. By invoking the heroism, cosmopolitanism and forward-thinking of Rizal, Lopez links gender progress to westernization: "[Rizal] knew that the new age would witness the emergence of a new woman enjoying privileges and responsibilities of which before she was not even aware. Having lived for many years in Europe and visited America shortly before the turn of the century, he could not have missed the clear portents of the new womanhood that was soon to arise" (40). Lopez cites Rizal's letter to the women of Malolos as putting forth the proper model for the Filipina to follow if she is to participate in modernization and sovereignty of the nation. While Rizal's letter does provide a rival paradigm for Filipina womanhood and acknowledges that Filipinas have a role in the struggle against Spain, that role is firmly circumscribed by their positions as mothers, daughters and wives.

About twenty-eight miles from Manila in the province of Bulacan, Malolos was a pivotal area of antifriar sentiment that was climactically expressed when Auginaldo

established it in 1898 as the capital of his short-lived republic. In 1888, twenty upper-class women of the town petitioned Governor-General Valeriano Weyler for permission to open a night school where the ladies could learn Spanish.[25] The signatories of the now famous letter were all women related by blood, marriage or affinity and ranged in age; all however were "born and raised in upper-middle class circumstances that allowed them to lead leisurely lives" (Tiongson 139). However, the women were greatly influenced and politicized by their male kinsmen's participation in the antifriar struggle. Marcelo H. Del Pilar, who asked Rizal to write the women a letter to encourage their endeavors, initiated the movement for colonial reform, exposing the abuses of the friar curate in his hometown before departing for Spain in 1888. The story of the women and their courage in defying the friars blocking the Spanish-mandated establishment of schools in the islands captured the attention of the *ilustrados* in Spain working to bring attention to the situation of the colonies; La Solidaridad, the main *ilustrado* circular in Madrid, published articles on the women and their letter, declaring their support for the endeavor. The women eventually were allowed to open their school in February 1889 provided they paid for its operation costs, were instructed by a female *maestra* and met in the daytime since the friars were concerned the school was actually a front for anti-colonial agitation.

While in London researching and annotating Antonio de Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, Rizal wrote his letter in Tagalog to the women and sent it to Del Pilar on February 22, 1889.[26] He begins by alluding to the passivity of his character, Maria Clara, by admitting that when he wrote the Noli, he had asked himself "whether bravery was a common thing in the young women of our people" (15).[27] However, now that he has

heard of the women of Malolos and their letter, he realizes finally women's importance in the anti-friar movement, that they are not only capable of resisting the friar-curate's control but also of providing the example for their children to do the same: "No longer does the Filipina stand with her head bowed nor does she spend her time on her knees, because she is quickened by hope in the future; no longer will the mother contribute to keeping her daughter in darkness and bring her up in contempt and moral annihilation" (16).[28] It is the role of the Filipina then to teach her children to reject subservience and the "darkness" of religious superstition. However, the actions that such a lesson inspires are different depending on the gender of the Filipino mother's child. Mothers who are no longer slaves to the friar-curate and Catholicism must teach their daughters that "the will of God is different from that of the priest; that religiousness does not consist of long periods spent on your knees, nor in endless prayers, big rosarios, and grimy scapularies, *but in a spotless conduct, firm intention and upright judgment*" (16, emphasis mine).[29]

Rizal's letter attempts to empower the women to resist corrupt religiosity and empty superstition. He encourages them to think critically about Catholic lowland folk practices and how such practices have a role in the suppression and control of the Philippines; ultimately, he heeds them to become rational beings rather than obedient subjects. Rizal's letter moved the women of Malolos: "So it was understood by the girls of Malolos who, far from feeling offended [by Rizal's severe criticism against certain customs of his own countrywomen,] read [the letter] in their meetings, caused it to circulate, made copies of it, and kept it as carefully as precious gold" (Tiongson quoting de los Santos 182). Tiongson describes how even after the friar-curate finally succeeded

in closing their school three months after its opening, the event empowered the women to continue resisting the friars by aiding the growing revolutionary movement in formal and informal ways (184-210). However, while the letter was significant in the continued politicization of the women of Malolos, the logic of the letter still circumscribes very clear gender differentiations for the Filipino and Filipina in the nascent conceptualization of the Philippine nation. In the logic of the letter, if the Filipina were to use her rational capacities it would ultimately lead her and her daughters to realize that the highest expression of such a rational capacity would still be in the maintenance of stringent gender ideals. While no longer subservient to the friar-curate, the Filipina would still necessarily adhere to a rigorous feminine morality that equates the value of the Filipina's participation in the nation with the maintenance of her "spotless conduct." Rizal's original Tagalog phrase "malinis na loob" carries with it a much more critical moral connotation; translated literally it conveys the idea of "the cleanliness of one's inner being." It is not simply that the Filipina must act with decorum but that she literally must maintain her essential purity primarily by functioning in the role of wife and mother. This becomes clear as Rizal delineates what a Filipina's duty is in regards to her sons.

While the Filipina must ensure that she and her daughters do not fall prey to superstition and servility, she must also cultivate a nationally heroic masculinity within her sons: "It is the mothers who are responsible for the present servitude of our compatriots, owing to the unlimited trustfulness of their loving hearts, to their ardent desire to elevate their sons. Maturity is the fruit of infancy and the infant is formed on the lap of its mother. The mother who can only teach her child how to kneel and kiss hands

must not expect sons with blood other than that of vile slaves. A tree that grows in the mud is insubstantial and good only for firewood…" (18).[30] Rizal calls on the Filipina to practice a nationally important motherhood – to set aside individual aspirations for social mobility and raise sons capable of fighting for and developing the nation. This letter thus not only conceptualizes an idea of a unified Filipino people worth acting for, but also interpolates very specific roles within that unity for mothers, sons and daughters, roles for the Filipino that is distinct from but of course imbricated with the Filipina's. Rizal's metaphor of the tree and firewood will resonate with Quezon and da Costa's later comparison of the Filipino people to the molave. The role of women in Rizal's letter, and by extension in Lopez's injunction to the Filipina to embrace this role rather than the paradigm of Maria Clara, is to enable the heroic nationalism of their sons, a heroic nationalism which by the time of Commonwealth is exemplified by Quezon's autobiography and da Costa's poem. While both Rizal in 1898 and Lopez in 1940 recognized the changing perceptions of the Filipina and her role in the formation of the nation, they both maintained that such a role was necessarily circumscribed by the precondition of biological motherhood, marriage, and the maintenance of proper female sexual conduct and morality. To participate in the heroic struggle for the Philippine nation, the Filipina must and can only be a mother.

Love, Penetration and the Nation: Gloria's "Revolt for the Hymen"

> Forgive me if I talk of nothing but roses.
>
> But Love has stirred the dry twigs in the desolate
> gardens of my being, has sighed for an altar of

roses – and I could not but hear.

-Angela Manalang Gloria, "Forgive Me," 26 June 1927

In many ways, Angela Manalang Gloria's poetry resonates with the 1888 letter of the women of Malolos in that her work as well reflects the changing conditions of the Filipina brought on by the denouement of Spanish colonialism and the Philippines' inclusion in the circuits of global capital. The poetess's deconstruction of the nuclear heteropatriarchal family and her lyric exploration of a woman's affective and intimate world can be read as a response to and negotiation with the transition of the Filipina from one colonial modernity (seemingly embodied by Maria Clara) to another (embodied by the western-educated professional). Importantly, both the letter of the women of Malolos and Gloria's poetry transgressed the perceived roles and morals of Filipino women and both did so through attempts to appropriate the colonial language as their own. In a 1983 interview with Doreen G. Fernandez, Gloria talked about her poems submitted to the Commonwealth Literary Awards and recounted why she believed she did not win: "Mr. Walter Robb, the American among the judges, told me: 'I voted for you. The others did not because there were several poems in the book that they considered 'questionable.' …But the most objectionable to them, he said, the main reason the others did not approve the book for the prize was the poem 'Revolt from Hymen'" (45). Gloria suggests that what the judges found questionable about these poems was their supposed moral content or lack thereof. However, rather than argue over the morality of Gloria's work, I want to consider how the labeling of such poems as "questionable" functioned to silence the critical potential of Gloria's poems to illuminate the contradictions and impossibilities of

the patriarchal nationalism animating the Literary Awards. Furthermore, Gloria's poems reveal how the English language could be used not only to constitute a patriarchal nationalism that called a "knowable" Filipino nation into being but also to index that which escapes representation – the poetic and live possibilities of the Filipina beyond the role of wife and mother circumscribed by heteropatriarchal (post)colonial modernity.

First, I argue that Gloria's poems must be read as actually questioning or challenging the moral quality of patriarchal authority premised on the conception of the normative nuclear family. To institute the Philippines as nation and the Filipino as national subject necessitated subscribing to a humanism that establishes the lie of universality premised on the perpetuation of gender difference and sexualized subordination. Second, I consider the controversy caused by Gloria's poems to explore how the conceptions of the nation and the proper Filipino subject and writer are premised on the labeling of specific spaces, bodies and texts as pre-modern, unrealistic and irrationally romantic. In 1940, Cornelio Faigao, Jose Garcia Villa's rival as eminent literary critic of the Philippines, commented on the juxtaposition between Gloria and da Costa occasioned by the events of the Literary Awards: "Interestingly antithetical to da Costa's work is Angela Manalang Gloria's Poems. Da Costa's voice is strong and resilient, Manalang's voice is fragile and thin. The Molave smacks of Whitman and Sandburg just as Poems tastes of Sara Teasdale. The first is a transitive verb, active voice; the second, intransitively passive. One sparkles and pushes; the other glimmers with the quiet energy of sunlight in a pool" (Quoted in Manlapaz Angela Manalang Gloria 92). Faigao's commentary on Gloria and da Costa echoes Lopez's praise of Like

the Molave as well as his exhortation to Filipino writers to produce "red-blooded literature" (Lopez 229). In such a dichotomy, women's writing because the "passive", romantic and under-developed other of the masculinist and modern nationalist. Gloria's poetry not only refuses any placement in such a dichotomy but imagines alternate representations of the Filipina and her nation that eschew the private/public dichotomy.

Born on August 2, 1907 in the village of Guagua, in the province of Pamapanga, Gloria lived a life decisively affected by Spanish colonialism, American benevolent assimilation and Quezon's commonwealth.[31] Her father was Felipe Manalang, a son of a poor family of Chinese mestizos. In the early years of the Filipino American War, Manalang utilized opportunities afforded by participation in the American colonial government to better his class status, eventually holding local office and establishing his own lucrative businesses which included a construction company that profited from the American development of Philippine infrastructure. In this way, Manalang became part of the growing middle class that resulted from native participation in American colonial endeavors. Another key to this development of the Philippine petit-bourgeois was the system of English language schools that the U.S. instituted concurrent with its pacifying endeavors. As Renato Constantino powerfully argues in his seminal essay, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," "the molding of men's minds is the best means of conquest. Education, therefore, serves as a weapon in wars of colonial conquest" (45). Constantino goes on to quote General Arthur MacArthur on the necessity for a large appropriation in order to construct and maintain schools throughout the islands: "'This appropriation is recommended primarily and exclusively as an adjunct to military

operations calculated to pacify the people and to procure and expedite the restoration of tranquility throughout the archipelago'" (45). However, while the American system of schools established in 1901 was importantly imbricated in military pacification and the quashing of the nascent Philippine republic, such an educational program was so successful primarily because it offered the population access to modern (albeit western) education that it had been agitating for under the Spanish regime. For example, at the end of 333 years of Spanish rule, only 2% of the Filipino population could claim the ability to speak Spanish. In contrast, by 1918, 47% of the population claimed to be able to speak English and 55.6% claimed to be able to read and write in it (Bolton 4).

Significantly, the American system allowed for the education not only of all classes but also of all genders. Realizing the value of mastery of the English language, at least to his own social mobility, Manalang dedicated himself to sending his children including his daughters to the best schools possible. Angela, the third child of ten, was educated in Manila and went on to attend the University of the Philippines (U.P.) as a law student, though she would eventually choose to complete a degree in English. This switch in course of study is not unusual given the history of the U.P. Established in 1908 by an act of the First Philippine Legislature, the U.P. became the premiere institution for higher education in the islands and the birthplace of Philippine writing in English. As S.P. Lopez observed about the "early flowering" of Philippine literature in English in a 1981 interview with Edilberto N. Alegre, "the UP started from scratch, and was able to adjust to the idea of a wholly English-oriented system of education almost instantly. This it could do without difficulty since it was secular and non-sectarian… We started with

English from the very first" (157). Andrew Gonzalez, noted Filipino linguist, hypothesizes that this generation of Filipino writers in English who were the first to be educated in the new American system produced this English "golden age" because of their "exposure to native speakers and models, the availability of good texts for reading and writing imitation, and occasions for sustained writing… plus the lack of a competing language in class like the national language in the post-World War II period" (15).[32] S.P. Lopez further acknowledges that he and his fellow students were eager for complete immersion in English; he admits, "we never questioned until much later… the wisdom of the policy of choosing English as the national language of a people of Malayo-Polynesian origin. When you think of it now, how absurd it seems" (161).

Like Lopez, Gloria embraced American English-language education. Edna Zapanta Manlapaz asserts that despite the education system's clear connection to the military subjugation of the islands, the new system of instruction still "served as an equalizing factor" ("Introduction" xxi). Both sexes were learning English with no previous training or exposure and all were beginning to attend the new institutions at the same time. Women began to receive an education and professional training that enabled them to define themselves beyond the private sphere of the home and family. For example, when Gloria graduated from the U.P. in 1929, she was offered a Barbour scholarship to pursue graduate studies in the U.S. The Barbour Scholarship was a part of the *pensionado* programs which sent outstanding Filipino students to the United States for college and graduate studies.[33] The *Pensionado* Act had been instituted in 1903 by Governor General Howard Taft and the Philippine Commission in order to encourage the

formation of highly educated and Americanized Filipinos capable of participating in the American colonial government. Students of the *pensionado* programs were among the first Filipinos to immigrate to the U.S. Gloria however turned down the scholarship and instead chose to remain in the Philippines and marry Celedonio Gloria, a lawyer and fellow writer. After her wedding though, the new Angela Manalang Gloria served as literary editor of prominent Manila magazines and newspapers until a bout of tuberculosis forced her to retreat to the province of Albay for rest and recuperation.

This increase of women leaving the home to take on professional roles and even leaving the country via programs such as the Barbour Scholarships resulted in debates over what a woman's proper role in society was, especially as the Philippines moved closer and closer to sovereignty. Gloria expresses that conflict as she describes her decision to marry rather than become a *pensionada*: "my wedding date had already been set for two weeks after graduation, so *wala na, tapos* [no more, finished]. My husband said, either you go or we go on with the wedding. I remembered what happened to Mercedes (Gloria) – when she went abroad, she forgot her fiancé here. So I gave up the Barbour Scholarship, and I think it turned out okay" (54-55). For Gloria and her husband, her role as wife and mother in the Philippines is incompatible with a decision to study abroad. Elizabeth Uy Eviota's critical study of gender in the Philippines under the advent of industrialization succinctly states what was at stake in this period: "What distinguished these years in terms of gender relations was the entry of wealthy and middle-class women into the public sphere. American education and cultural practice had definite effects on the sexual and social behaviour of women, particularly among the propertied and middle

classes. Along with capitalist relations, liberal ideas and attitudes had changed the manners, dress, and way of thinking of men but especially of women, above all in Manila and other urban areas" (73).[34] Eviota further claims that during this period of shifting gender expectations and roles there was a concurrent shift in the ways in which normative conceptions of gender were created and enforced: "What emerged during this period was the regulation of sexuality and of morality by means of colonially directed collective action and of state intervention rather than of an obtrusive ecclesiastical authority" (73).

Such shifts in conceptualizing and instituting normative conceptions of femininity (and masculinity) reveal how each colonial regime in the Philippines was engaged in its own projects of modernity.[35] To modernize gender roles was pivotal to modernizing the nation. For example, while Rizal urged the women of Malolos to throw off superstition and resist the oppression of the friar-curate, he still circumscribed their space of action within the confines of the role of mother and the nuclear family. During the American regime (and reminiscent of current U.S. actions and interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan), colonial overseers cited the lack of women's rights in the islands as further evidence of the Filipino's undeveloped racial nature thus justifying political tutelage and the Filipino American War. During Governor General Wood's political war with Quezon and the legislature, he constantly highlighted his support for female suffrage as a way of proving his liberal commitment despite his opposition to Philippine independence. Lastly, during the 1935 constitutional convention in Manila, debate raged over whether or not women should be allowed the vote in the new commonwealth and future nation.

During this pivotal moment of defining the modern Philippine nation, Mina Roces points out that the majority of the delegates were adamantly opposed to female suffrage. The debates which took place centered on constructing "the Filipino woman" and delineating her relationship to the nation ("Is the suffragist" 35). The justification for such opposition is epitomized by a letter quoted by Roces written by Perfecto E. Laguio, author of the 1932 book Our Modern Women: A National Problem, to the Philippine Assembly: "The leader of the women in this [suffrage] movement aims to be on equal footing with men, to have the same right and responsibilities. If these are obtained, the Filipino woman will no longer experience the same high regard that Filipino men have for her. She will be lowering herself from the shrine where she is 'lord of all she surveys' only to be placed on the level of men among whom the spirit of honor and valor are no longer to be found. She will undergo suffering to lose the potency of all that men have conferred on her over many centuries and the splendor that goes hand in hand with her history will completely fade from her womb…" ("Women" 175-176). In Laugio's letter, the logic present in Rizal's letter to the women of Malolos finds its fullest expression. If women were to ever stray from their roles as mothers by participating too much in the public sphere as professionals and fully enfranchised members of the nation, then their authority and influence over their children would cease. Motherhood becomes a paradox in that it is significant to the survival of the nation because proper mothering produces proper heroic male subjects, but proper motherhood also restricts women to the home and family thereby keeping them from direct participation in the nation through voting, politics or labor outside the domestic. The cohesiveness of the nation becomes dependent

on women to the extent that women are not allowed to participate directly in it. Lastly, Laugio's letter suggests that if a woman were to cease to be a mother, to cease to use her womb, she would to cease to have any power whatsoever in society. In Quezon's commonwealth, the independence of the nation and the formation of the heroic male individual are all predicated on maintaining the woman's heteronormative place in the private sphere.

Significantly, the poems in Gloria's oeuvre that do speak of children and a husband provide complex portraits of what such a life is like and the toll that life has taken on the freedom of expression of the poetic speaker. It was during her period of on and off convalescence from tuberculosis from 1930 to 1937 that Gloria produced her first volume of original poems just in time to submit it for consideration at the 1940 Commonwealth Literary Awards.[36] Gloria was even relegated to bed rest for almost an entire year (1936-1937) while her children and home were cared for by servants. The poems included in her 1940 volume were all dated from between 1934 and 1938. Manlapaz observes that Gloria arranged forty-nine poems under ten headings "in a sequence loosely following the arc of her life: youthful longing for romantic love, courtship and marriage, the death of a friend, illness and recovery, and maturity and wisdom" ("The Poetry" 12). Given Gloria's personal history, we may assume that she wrote most of these poems while contemplating the own course of her life as she lay confined to her bed; these poems thus offer a starting point for considering how an educated woman of the upper middle class negotiated with the constraints and new freedoms resulting from this time period and its intersecting colonial modernities. While

Gloria herself once claimed in a 1983 interview with Fernandez to be "conservative" and a "prude" who never intended to cause a scandal, I read her poems as a response to the narratives of Philippine nationalism with its itinerant gender prescriptions and patriarchal vision of modernity. The poems of Gloria, the autobiography of Quezon and the essays of Lopez are in inescapable conversation with each other. It is from a critical consideration of the resonances and discordances of such a conversation that emerges alternate possibilities of conceiving the constructions of the Philippines, the Filipino and the Filipina that is not predicated on a patriarchal nationalism.

As Gloria writes in a short poem from 1940 entitled "Words":

I never meant the words I said,
    And never mean the words I write,
So trouble not your honest head
    But come and kiss me goodnight.

The words I said break, with the thunder
    Of billows surging into spray:
Unfathomed depths withhold the wonder
    Of all the words I never say. (104)

Gloria's poem gestures to the indeterminacy of meaning and how such indeterminacy in the realm of culture and language can be just as powerful as the ocean breaking. The first two lines suggest that the reader will never truly be able to apprehend the meaning behind the speaker's words. The words said or written (the signifiers) and the meaning meant (the signified) will never coincide; these two simple lines thus express Jacques Derrida's concept of *différance* and rather than lament over the impossibility of pure signification, the speaker comforts her loved one and celebrates.[37] The play of *différance* seems wonderful in its ability to open up "unfathomed depths" of meaning, depths only made

possible by the collaboration between the poet's act of writing and the reader's meaning-making activity.

Gloria's poems seek to define the poetic speaker beyond home and family without resorting to some essential, a priori essence and by resisting meanings that would be imposed. Any attempt to grasp the knowability of the speaker's words is always in tension with that which constantly escapes representation. These female characters of Gloria's poems who revel in adulterous affairs and who reject and expose the violence of the institution of marriage escape the totalizing power of the grand narratives of the *Noli*, *Fili* or Quezon's speeches. These characters reveal the limit of such nationalism as well as how such nationalism is grounded on the control of these seemingly unruly feminine elements of Filipino society.

In a 1935 poem entitled "Mountain Pool," Gloria's speaker pairs two seeming opposite constructions of the Filipina woman:

> You who would hereafter
> Understand my name,
> Learn that mountain water
> Can ripple over flame.
>
> For though I loved so purely,
> I know supreme desire
> My heart a pool demurely
> Holding heaven's fire. (75)

In order to understand the speaker, she exhorts the reader to recognize the unproblematic existence of two opposites: purity and desire, emblematized respectively by water and fire. The first stanza sets the seemingly contradictory co-existence of water and fire in a naturalized setting of a mountain stream. The suggestion then becomes that to attempt to

divorce the two, purity and desire/water and fire, would be unnatural. In stanza two, the poem moves from that which can be observed in nature to a focus on the speaker herself and her own personal experience of the existence of such opposite moral forces within her own life. While capable of loving purely –

and by extension, of chaste devotion, of motherly duty – she is also capable of "desire." This however is not a morally corrupting desire but is described as "heaven's fire," alluding to the tongues of fire which descended upon Jesus's disciples during Pentecost as they were sent out into the world on their proselytizing mission.[38] She locates such heavenly desire within the "pool" of her heart thus continuing the imagery of natural bodies of water begun in the first stanza. Poems such as "Soledad", "To Don Juan", "To an Idolater", "Heloise to Ableard" and "Song of Awakening" would add further complexity to this depiction of the tension between purity and desire, between adherence to motherly duty and the expression of sexual and personal freedom.

For example, "Heloise and Abelard" invokes the figure of the medieval couple who despite engaging in their own torrid love affair still became eminent figures within the Catholic Church. The speaker takes on the voice of Heloise: "That I have loved you is beyond denial. / That I have sinned thereby is not so plain: / Call me, O Joy, and though your voice be phial / Of Hemlock, I would drink of it again" (l-4). Though censured by society for her actions, the speaker cannot admit that her love of Abelard is morally wrong. These lines follow the logic of Heloise's own letters to Abelard who argues that despite engaging in apparently sinful action, her intentions were never to do moral wrong.[39] Heloise thus puts forth a doctrine of intention that distinguishes between

external action and internal moral character. Gloria's use of Heloise's letters to Abelard and her justification of sinful action provide a counter-discourse to Rizal's exhortation to the women of Malolos to maintain a status of *malinis na loob*. In the case of Gloria's poem and invocation of Heloise's historical situation and writings, it is suggested that the internal moral character of a woman cannot be judged or determined by her actions that seem to transgress social and religious expectations. Furthermore, the speaker states in the last lines that even if her evaluation of her moral actions were erroneous, she has no regrets concerning those actions and embraces the consequences: "If this is sin, then never will I be shriven / Who, drunk with hell, now dare the curse of heaven!" (13-14). The invocation of Abelard and Heloise, the gesture to the practice of confession and penance as well as the allusion to the fires of the holy spirit in the poem "Mountain Pool" reference the lasting impact that Spanish Catholicism had on the Philippines' cultural and social milieu and on the conceptualization of gender in the Philippines. Other poems however directly take on the various ways that women have been interpolated in the American and commonwealth period.

"Arabesque Dream," an early poem bearing the date of 1926, is addressed to "Araceli," a friend and fellow boarder at the speaker's college dorm. The first stanza reads:

> Araceli,
> What mocking spirit
> Leads your gay footsteps hither,
> Makes you smile so archly
> While you stand beneath my doorway?
> Hence!
> You spoil my arabesque dream
> With your sheen of ballroom glitter

With your staccato laughter.
A ball tonight?
My frivolous creature,
You lightly warble in sun-golden phrases,
Little thinking how fragile
My arabesque dream is;
Little sensing how fatal
Your chatter to me. (1-16)

The first stanza juxtaposes the speaker's "arabesque dream" to Araceli's "ballroom glitter." While the poem can be read as a college girl's ruminations on a life mostly lived in poetic revelry while classmates and friends socialize, considering the context of 1926 can open up further possibilities of the poem's meaning. Beginning in 1908, the American colonial government instituted the Manila Carnival, which, as Roces observes, was grounded upon pre-existing Filipino traditions, developed under Spanish Catholicism, of honoring beautiful women as either queens (*reynas*) or princesses of the queen's court (*zagalas*) in religious processions celebrating holy days or festivals ("Women" 171). In many ways that have yet to be further explored, the carnival paralleled the projects of world's fairs which took place domestically in the U.S. beginning at the fin de siècle. [40] In this case, while domestic world's fair such as the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 with its infamous "Philippine Reservation" were meant to showcase the grandeur and exotic nature of new U.S. conquests, the Manila Carnival was meant to awe and delight Manileños with the advantages and grandeur of U.S. occupation. As Alfred McCoy describes, "Located at the heart of Manila, the sprawling Carnival enclosure held elaborate displays of provincial products such as rope or coconut. The two week-whirl of spectacle, society, and sport culminated in the crowning of the queen and her court at an elaborate formal ball. With the Philippines on parade, elite

actors gained a stage to project images of nation and society before a mass audience" (324).

The Manila Carnival was an avenue for public participation of Filipinas based on the perception of their physical and inner beauty. As Roces highlights, the Tagalog word for beautiful, *maganda*, also connotes "what society considers good and virtuous"; thus the queen of the Manila Carnival is perceived to be "a woman who exudes the virtues of her gender" ("Women" 172). Gloria's poem indicts the spectacular celebration of women's virtue, revealing how potentially empty such valorization of female beauty and virtue can be. The second stanza expresses annoyance at Araceli's interruption and continues juxtaposing the speaker's inner world to Araceli's participation in the carnival: "My world is a floral sphere /Of moonbleached cobwebs /And dew-kissed camias, / Born on the wings of a gentle zephyr. / Your world is a whirling sphere / Of painted masks in a tipsy pattern, / And metallic whispers and velvet swishes / Of revolving figurines / Within a revolving sphere" (20-29). Gloria creates her own personal and lyrical realm of dreams as the true realm of beauty, criticizing the gendered performance of beauty at the ball that Araceli has just attended. The real world for the speaker is the world of her own room where she has the power to imbue the objects in her domain, the cobwebs or the camias, with her own meanings. This poem does set up a dichotomy between the private and public but not in order to valorize a particular role for women. The speaker rejects the public crowning of the Filipina as beauty queen and emblem of female virtue; she is happy to retreat to a private space that is all her own, but a space that is not populated by

members of her family, such as parents, husband and/or children, by whom she would necessarily be defined.

Gloria's most direct critique of marriage and the relegation of the Filipina to the private and domestic world is in her short poem "Revolt From Hymen," which the judges of the literary awards found so morally questionable:

> O to be free at last, to sleep at last
> As infants sleep within the wombs of rest!
>
> To stir and stirring find no blackness vast
> With passion weighted down upon the breast,
>
> To turn the face this way and that and feel
> No kisses festering on it like sores,
>
> To be alone at last, broken the seal
> That marks the flesh no better than a whore's!

The poem's opening lines invert the expectations that Rizal and Lopez have of the Filipina mother. Rather than embrace her duty to raise strong and courageous children, the speaker actually desires to be a child herself, equating infancy with freedom and marriage with slavery. Here the speaker's revolt from the potential violence and constrictions of marriage become incompatible with the vision of Rizal's revolution against the Spanish and da Costa's critique of emasculation under American rule. For Gloria's speaker, duty to nation cannot override duty to self. Moreover, the fact of marriage in no way sanctifies the sexual labor which the speaker is required to perform. She sees her duty to her husband as akin to prostitution and desires to be alone much in the same way that the speaker of "Arabesque Dream" seeks solace in her own poetic world.

Gloria's "Revolt From Hymen" acknowledges the complications and contradictions of any power available to the Filipina through the position of wife, mother, daughter, lover. The poem exposes how dominant Filipino nationalism imagines a Philippines premised on dutiful mothers and daughters, heroic husbands and sons that results in the violent constriction of Filipina life to marriage and the domestic.[41] Gloria's oeuvre counters how Filipino writing in English could be used to call a knowable nation and its subjects into being; it challenges the transparency of language and the claims to modernity that it enables. In the play in meaning, Gloria's words also invite us to imagine an alternative vision of the Philippines in which Filipinas are not relegated to separate spheres and English is neither completely hegemonic nor entirely resistant but productively and simultaneously both.

(Post)colonial Modernities, Filipino Writing in English and Filipino American Literature

The labeling of Gloria's poetry during the 1940 Literary Awards as morally questionable worked in tandem with its de-valuation as romantic and "passive" in contrast to the "active" and powerful work of da Costa's "socially realistic" poetry. As demonstrated by the call for a "red-blooded literature," this valorization of social realism and proletariat writing relegated literature concerned with the romantic and the intimate to a pre-modern space. Lopez's prescriptions for the Filipino writer and his conceptions of social realism as contrasted to what he feels is the "earlier" and "underdeveloped" stage of Filipino writing in English interpolates a normative heteropatriarchal national subject, relegating women and women's writing to a space outside of the nation and time.

Lopez's characterization of Filipino literature in English's stages of development is not unique. As Gémino Abad observes, "We used to talk about the course of Philippine literature in English as though it passed somewhat miraculously through three stages: a period of apprenticeship, of emergence or growth, and then of maturity. In the 1950s, it was a useful if also subtly condescending way of picturing what was called its development'" ("This Scene" 279).

In his own overview of Filipino poetry in English, Abad rejects such a developmental narrative, choosing instead to conceive of "three transformative phases of dominant *strains*" of poetic influence; he sees "an inveterate Romantic spirit" governing the early published attempts of 1905 to the 1940s ("This Scene" 280). Other literary critics however are not as generous to the early moments of Filipino writing in English or even to Filipino writing in English as a whole. In 1961, Miguel Bernad published what Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo postulates is the first book of literary criticism entirely dedicated to Philippine literature in English (Our People's Story 218). However in his Bamboo and the Greenwood Tree, Bernad declares Filipino literature "forever inchoate, forever adolescent" (107). The reason that Filipino literature in English has not developed is precisely because of the multiple waves of colonization; "the Philippine has not had a thorough chance to assimilate the genius of any particular language" (104). Bernad ends his volume of essay with a familiar horticulture metaphor. The "tree" of Philippine literature in English cannot grow and flourish unless it is rooted deeply in rich soil; that soil is necessarily "cultural unity with Shakespeare and his cultural heritage" (108).

Bernad posits Shakespeare and his "cultural continuity with Rome and Greece" as the impossible telos in his prescription for Filipino literary and cultural development.

Bernad and Lopez both relegate the poetry of the Commonwealth period to an early, underdeveloped stage of Filipino literature in English because of this issue of the "Romantic" and the lack of control over language. For Bernad, it is because poetry requires such technical and linguistic mastery that the Filipino does not possess because of the competing legacy of Spanish and the pervading reality of indigenous languages. For Lopez, it is because poetry of this period is decadent and prone to emotional excess. For both men, the poet must demonstrate the triumph of reason over emotion in the practice of his craft. Mastery of language is linked to mastery of emotion and self. In this light, Gloria's poetry is seen as irresponsibly self-indulgent and adolescent. While Abad sees the Commonwealth period as being influenced by the "Romantic" strain, such characterization potentially overemphasizes its dominance. It is perhaps more accurate to say that the period was defined by the tension between the Romantic and the Proletariat (or socially realistic). Inspired by the writers of the popular front in the U.S. and influenced by peasant uprisings in the provinces, Manileño Filipino writers in English attempted to discipline their decadent poetry and prose and place it in service of what were pressing social issues.[42]

Such a developmental trajectory of Filipino writing in English and this dichotomy between socially realistic and romantic suggests that Gloria's poetry and its investigation of female desire had nothing to do with the workings of society and the nation. However, it was in contrast to this intimate and private world of the feminine that the public social

reality of the Philippine nation was created; it was against the Filipina mother relegated to the home that the masculine hero was defined. The stringent masculine/feminine and public/private divide was utilized to force the maturation of Filipino literature and culture so that concurrent with such cultural maturation, the nation would also progress towards modernity and sovereignty. As time passed and Japan invaded the Philippines, however, Gloria's poetry and the events of the Literary Awards of 1940 were relegated to the background as Manila suffered the worst destruction of any urban center in the period. During the war, Gloria's husband was bayoneted to death by Japanese soldiers; the newly widowed poetess then spent the rest of her life in Albay supporting her children by managing various businesses including a rice mill, eventually dying in 1995 at the age of eighty-eight. Her work languished, almost forgotten, until re-discovered by Filipina feminists in the 1990s.

Gloria's life was the diametric opposite of the last figure of the Commonwealth Literary Awards that I have not considered, José Garcia Villa. Unlike Gloria, Villa, runner-up to da Costa, had already been in self-exile from the Philippines for about a decade when the Japanese invaded. His Doveglion, submitted for consideration to the judges, was only one of his various volumes of poetry to be published both in the Philippines and the U.S. to critical acclaim both in Manila and abroad. Unlike Gloria, he openly championed the mantra of "art for art's sake" and publicly debated with S.P. Lopez about the course of Filipino literature in English – all from his diasporic location in New York City. As I have attempted to investigate, Filipino literature in English is significantly imbricated in the project of nationalism and modernity with resulting

gendered and sexualized prescriptions for the Filipino/a subject. What however becomes of that subject in diaspora? How can we theorize the relationship between Filipino literature in English and Filipino American literature? And how would such considerations of the relationship between the two reveal even more alternatives to the normative constructions of Filipino/a gender and sexuality especially as those gendered and sexualized bodies move between national spaces? From a consideration of Gloria and her "Revolt From Hymen," I turn to the proletariat works of Carlos Bulosan and their relationship to the esoteric lyrics of José Garcia Villa. By considering the queer connections between the quintessential text of Filipino America, Bulosan's America is in the Heart, and the recently rediscovered "comma poems" and "man-songs" of Villa, I suggest approaches to these questions and a new way of considering Filipino American literature.

Chapter Three

The Hypersexualization of Philippine Independence, the Prose of Carlos Bulosan and the Poetry of José Garcia Villa

They are afraid, my brother,
They are afraid of our mighty fists, my brother,
They are afraid of the magnificence of our works, my brother,
They are even afraid of our songs of love, my brother.

- Carlos Buosan, "Song for Chris Mensalvas' Birthday"

In this chapter, I move from American writings about the Philippines and from Philippine writing in English to exploring the granting of Philippine independence and the emergence of Filipino American literature. I focus on the 1934 Philippine Independence Act, also known as the Tydings McDuffie Act (or TM), and consider how the official ending of U.S. control in the Philippines was done not in fulfillment of the teleological goal of benevolent assimilation but because of the dictates of American capital, the processes of which gendered, sexualized, racialized and proletarianized Filipino immigrants to the U.S. in particular ways.[1] Ultimately, I argue that the recognition of Philippine sovereignty was both predicated on and generative of a hypersexualization of Filipino immigrants of the period that indexed the position of the Philippines in regards to U.S. capital, a hypersexualization with which contemporary formations of Filipino America must still reckon. The representations of Filipino immigrants in this period and the writings of Carlos Bulosan and José Garcia Villa demonstrate how the categories of gender, sexuality and race operate as plastic modalities

of colonialism and national power establishing a heteronormative white bourgeois norm that always and inevitably renders Filipinos aberrant, whether as infantilized colonial subject or hypersexual threat.

During the Spanish American War, the Philippines was characterized as a feminized and passive land endangered by Spanish decadence, in need of protection as well as guidance and thus open to the penetration of American capital and development.[2] Concurrently, the program of benevolent assimilation made possible the entry of Filipinos as nationals (neither full citizen nor complete foreigner) into the U.S. It is this presence of the Filipino national in America that indexes the contradictions of benevolent assimilation as well as the economic and political subordination of the Philippine nation. These Filipino laboring bodies reveal the capitalist forces underlying democratic tutelage – the entry into the Spanish American War in order to access overseas markets (or the "backdoor to China") as well as to secure cheap racialized labor necessary for the development of U.S. industry. These forces of capital ensured a specific classed and gendered laboring subject – namely, young single men necessary to fill the role of stoop labor mainly in Hawaiian plantations and the fields of the west coast.

Eventually, as the needs of U.S. capital contracted with the onset of the Depression, the islands became represented as an unnecessary burden and Filipino immigrants in the U.S. as lascivious threats to white women and therefore the nation. The first section of this chapter thus demonstrates how the mostly young, single and male Filipino immigrants of the 1920s and 1930s were disciplined and objectified by a perception of their sexuality as rapaciously primitive, as "one jump from the jungle."[3]

The shift in the gendered and sexualized representation of Filipinos from benighted natives to rapists in Macintosh suits operate on the same continuum of discursive power that conscripts marginalized subjects into the project of U.S. nation and capital. I argue that during the debates over the passage of the Tydings McDuffie Act, Filipino immigrant sexuality thus became a dense metonym for racial, national and evolutionary difference.

In this chapter, I deploy Celine Parreñas Shimizu's term "hypersexuality" to signify the gendered and sexualized modes of representing Filipino immigrant raciality at the moment of independence. Shimizu deploys the term "hypersexuality" in her study of Asian American women in twentieth century and contemporary film; she describes it as "a form of bondage that ties the subjectivity of Asian/American women" (6). Shimizu argues that by virtue of their race Asian American women must always already contend with being interpolated as sexually aberrant from the chaste white female norm, as always desiring sex or at least always available to be desired for sex. Sex saturates and overdetermines any conception of Asian American female subjectivity. In this way, Shimizu reads seemingly overly sexualized portrayals of Asian American women by Asian American writers, directors and actors not as emblematic of false consciousness and self-exoticization but as revealing radical political potential: "if we were to accept sexuality as unavoidable to discourses of Asian women in representation, then let us blow the doors wide open in terms of recasting how to make that sexuality political. These include making alternative sexualities more available as well as opening up the possibilities of how Asian/American women are constructed through sexuality as a

disciplining and objectifying force – as well as its affirming power when put in service of Asian/American woman" (16).

While Shimizu's study is a compelling intervention in the context of contemporary feminism as well as critical race and film theory, I believe it can be a helpful concept for considering the representations of Filipinos in America during the Commonwealth Period. I utilize her conception of "hypersexuality" and its doubled possibilities of discipline and affirming power in order to trace the conditions of possibility of Filipino America and its literature. Such conditions were premised in the need for labor made cheap by colonization, racialization, gendering and sexualization; yet the nascent literature of Filipino America also reveals how writers like Carlos Bulosan and José Garcia Villa imagined possibilities and practices that exceeded the narrowing of Filipino life to cogs in U.S. capitalist development.

Bulosan and Villa were among the first generation of Filipino immigrants to enter the U.S. around the end of World War I. Bulosan epitomizes those of this generation of Filipino immigrants, or the *manong* generation, who worked in Alaskan canneries or tended fields up and down the coast.[4] Villa can be associated with the smaller population of Filipino immigrants who came to the U.S. to pursue higher education despite overt racism and financial difficulties; some were sponsored by government programs, also known as the *pensionados*, while others supported themselves through service sector jobs.[5] While the experiences and stories of Bulosan and Villa's generation of Filipino immigrants, or the *manong* generation, have been well-traced, less

attention has been played to the hypersexualization of independence and its effect on nascent Filipino American literature.

In many ways, the story of the *manong* generation has become *the* representative experience of Filipino America, particularly within Asian American Studies. The position of Bulosan's text America is in the Heart (or AIH) in the Asian American literary canon attests to this dominance. One of the first books written by a Filipino to be published in the U.S., Bulosan's 1946 text is consistently taught in surveys of Asian American Studies and literature as well as excerpted regularly in anthologies of American literature, usually as an example of proletariat or popular front writing and multi-ethnic U.S. literature. His text moreover blurs the line between fiction and autobiography with events in the narrator's life identified not only with the actual individual Bulosan but also as embodying the generalized experiences of that generation of *manongs*.[6] The historical context of the "rediscovery" of Bulosan in many ways explains the ascendancy of his text and of the history of the *manong* generation in Asian American Studies. Marxist Filipino literary scholar E. San Juan, Jr. is most responsible for re-introducing Bulosan after years of anonymity following the end of World War II. In his introduction to an edition of Bulosan's collected writings, San Juan describes how Bulosan was rediscovered in the 1960s "by a generation of Filipino American youth radicalized by antiwar and Civil Rights struggles… Initially sparked by an identity crisis, the Filipino youth movement inaugurated the birth of a political self-reflection – the 'becoming' of a subject claiming to be 'Filipino'" (On Becoming Filipino 1-2).

According to San Juan, it was the re-publication of AIH in 1973 "that made possible the process of recuperating the past, interrogating the present and revisioning the future" that was so necessary to articulating the Filipino self as a political subject (2). San Juan's choice of title, On Becoming Filipino, for his edited volume of Bulosan's selected writing is thus fitting. Bulosan's text becomes the manual by which Filipinos in America (whether immigrant or U.S.-born) can become viable political ethnic subjects – they must recuperate a forgotten past of labor organizing grounded in Marxist considerations and direct their radical energies not towards hedonism or neo-Social Darwinist preoccupations (as San Juan cautions) but towards the fulfillment of the revolutionary goals of this generation of *manongs*. The famous central speech of AIH encapsulates what must have appealed to San Juan and the generation of the 1960s influenced by the resurgence of Third World liberation movements and pan-ethnic farm workers' movements:

> America is not bound by geographical latitudes. America is not merely a land or an institution. America is in the hearts of men that died for freedom; it is also in the eyes of men that are building a new world. America is a prophecy of a new society of men: of a system that knows no sorrow or strife or suffering… America is also the nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, the hungry boy begging for a job and the black body dangling from a tree… All of us, from the first Adams to the last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate – *We are America!* (189)

Delivered by the narrator's brother Macario, the speech expresses Bulosan's investment in claiming an ideal America premised not on empty promises of democracy and the free market but grounded on the material experience of racialized violence and exploitation embodied by the "nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, the hungry boy begging for

a job and the black body dangling from a tree" (189). Through the voice of the respected elder brother, the narrator's own *manong* Macario, Bulosan recognizes the necessary coexistence of white freedom with black death, liberal education with racialized ignorance and capitalist decadence with proletariat starvation. However, Macario gestures ultimately to a dream of America free from the exploitative underside of white bourgeois democracy. This "new world" and "new society" will be brought about by Marx's true historical actors, the racialized proletariat who will rise up in the great struggle against capital to bring about the utopian end of history. In this way, the America of racialized violence operates as metonym for the larger anti-democratic forces in the world, capitalism as well as fascism.

However, as the most visible Filipino American text, AIH potentially inscribes a normative Filipino American subject and experience – one that is male, working-class and leftist.[7] If Bulosan's writings and his praxis are the keys to the process of becoming Filipino, then it seems to leave little room – as Rachel Lee and Susan Koshy insist – for women. Delivered to a room of his brothers and fellow workers, Macario's speech in its universal invocation – "All of us, from the first Adams to the last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate – *We are America!*" – seems to include those of any class or nationality, but subtly excludes Adam's counterpart Eve and the Filipina. In the second section of this chapter, I move from my historical excavation of the hypersexualization of independence to trace through Bulosan scholarship and its tendency either to celebrate AIH's class critiques and politics or to indict the author for potential misogyny. However, I resist such assessments of Bulosan's text and instead focus on the spaces of

contradiction and possibility present in AIH in light of how discussions of *manong* sexuality overdetermined the passage of TM.[8]

In this way, I contest any concretized knowledge of the process of forming Filipino American subjectivity as suggested by San Juan and the canonization of AIH. I analyze Bulosan's representation of the relationship between white women and brown men in his text that occurs against the backdrop of *manong* homosociality. These supposedly miscegenous relationships seem highly idealized and impossibly platonic and thus work to make strange any normative understanding of *manong* sexuality; furthermore, they provide the grounding for Bulosan's larger vision of revolutionary coalition that crosses national, racial, gendered and sexualized lines. By considering the different ways Bulosan represents white women and the specter of miscegenous love, I mine the text for the alternative formations of desire, affiliation and subjectivity that it offers – alternative understandings of Filipino American subjectivity that are neither heteronormative nor demand a particular vision of radical Filipino American being.

Rather, I eschew categorizing Bulosan's gendered, sexualized and racialized portrayals of Filipino American subjectivity as either not radical enough because of its supposed chauvinism or vindicating his praxis because of its incisive class critique (apparently at the elision of indicting gender hierarchy). Considering the body of Bulosan scholarship, I instead ask: what spaces of possibility does AIH open? Simultaneously, what opportunities for coalition and praxis are potentially closed down? I argue that there must be some sort of balancing between inscribing a type of normative revolutionary vision or subjectivity *and* the anti-normative work that Bulosan's text accomplishes

through his destabilizing of *manong* sexuality. Such a reading of AIH forces us to imagine differently from our current world systems while constantly usurping any certain knowability and the power which can emanate from such epistemological claims. Hence this is why America is in the heart – the revolutionary ideal Bulosan posits can never be realized in any actual world-historical sense, it must be constantly grasped, re-considered and ever sought after in the refusal of any revolutionary vision solidifying into a hegemonic epistemology.

From Bulosan's communist leanings, proletariat background and aesthetic sensibility, I turn to the seemingly antithetical José Garcia Villa. Villa, a Manileño mestizo almost expelled from the University of the Philippines for erotic poetry, eventually found himself celebrated by and in the company of high modernists such as e.e. cummings and Marian Moore. Villa's dictum of "art for art's sake" eventually ruled the development of Filipino writing in English despite his self-exile in the U.S. Indeed, Villa and Bulosan have been depicted as political and literary foils and I purposely discuss them together in this last chapter in order to emphasize how Filipino American literature of this period whether esoteric and modernist or blatantly invested in the social all must reckon with the hypersexuality of independence. To be attentive to the ways each writer plays with gender and sexuality within his text is to locate the possibilities and spaces of alternative conceptions of Filipino American subjectivity and agency. Rather than offer a process of becoming Filipino that potentially reifies a masculinist, leftist and proletariat figure, my readings of Bulosan and Villa help us imagine other ways of inhabiting the category of Filipino that is not grounded in stable dichotomies of

masculine/feminine, heteronormative/sexually aberrant, American/Filipino or even, in Villa's case, human/divine. Villa's self-professed "queer songs" and divine lyrics critically invite us to grasp a decolonizing humanism, to grasp a space in between and also exceeding binaries of difference – the same space that I believe Bulosan insists is in "the heart."

The Specter of Filipino Sexuality and the 1934 Tydings McDuffie Act

In order to understand the formation of Filipino America in this period, it is necessary to trace the regulation of immigration and the policing of racial and national borders as balanced against the needs of U.S. capital. As Mae Ngai observes in her study of the category of the "illegal alien," the Johnson Reed Act of 1924 ushered in a new era of immigration restriction: "The law placed numerical limits on immigration and established a national quota system that classified the world's population according to nationality and race, ranking them in a hierarchy of desirability for admission into the United States" (17).[9] The post-World War I milieu generated new technologies of immigration restriction (such as the literacy test in English) as wartime nationalism gave way to a sense of nativism which combined with "a strong antiradical current [that] associated Jews with Bolshevism and Italians with anachronism" (Ngai 19). Furthermore, by the 1920s U.S. industrial capitalism simply no longer needed large influxes of workers to continue to grow – technological advances rather than excess labor power now assured productivity.

This economic reality combined with the fear of degenerate eastern and southern Europeans proliferating in urban slums effectively and completely closed U.S. borders in this period. However, advances in transportation and irrigation technology as well as the development of the refrigerated railroad car created conditions which ensured a boom in western agricultural industry. The stemming of the tide of immigration from Asia as well as southern and eastern Europe created a labor vacuum that needed to be filled if the potential profits of the western fields were to be reaped. Growing agribusiness thus turned to those immigrant populations which could enter the U.S. through loopholes left open by the Johnson Reed Act. For example, starting in 1942, Mexicans entered the U.S. through the Bracero Program because countries of the western hemisphere were exempted from the quota system.[10] Prior to the influx of Mexican workers however, developing agri-business turned to America's colonial wards, Filipinos, who could travel with U.S. passports under national status and thus were not restricted from immigrating.

In 1910, the first notable wave of Filipino immigration arrived in the U.S. as laborers.[11] Their destination was the sugar plantations of Hawai'i because union organizing, particularly amongst the Japanese, and the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 had resulted in a decreasing number of workers and an increasing sense of militancy amongst plantation labor.[12] During World War I, some of these Filipinos in Hawaii were recruited to come to the mainland lured by the wages of working in war industries. It is really post-WWI agricultural development however that brought large numbers of Filipino immigrants to the continental U.S. By 1929, 14,000 Filipinos had migrated from Hawai'i to the mainland while another 37,600 came directly from the Philippines.[13] By

1930, there were over 50,000 Filipinos on the West Coast who were overwhelmingly young (under thirty years of age) as well as over 90% male and 77% unmarried (Ngai 103). Most had no permanent place of residence but followed the cycle of harvesting and cultivation from state to state; others, a minority, worked in service industries or as domestic help in large urban centers such as Los Angeles, Seattle and San Francisco.

Dorothy Fujita-Rony elucidates the demographics of the *manongs* and their motivation to leave the Philippines. She identifies five major factors which contributed to their immigration. First, the tying of the Philippine economy to the U.S. through colonization resulted in the underdevelopment of industry in the archipelago. For example, prior to the 1870s, the Philippines had been a regular exporter of rice; with the onset of U.S. governance, the islands quickly began to rely on the importation of food staples and textiles from the U.S. Fujita-Rony observes, "from 1930 to 1935, the Philippines relied on the United States for 65 percent of its imports and 83 percent of its export trade" (33). Second, exacerbating this shift in the Philippine economy, the cash crop system introduced into the islands reduced land prospects for traditionally agricultural communities. In the 1920s, sugar became the largest export commodity of the archipelago. The pursuit of export profits soon lead to corrupt land governance and near peonage for agricultural families, a condition which Carlos Bulosan describes in the first half of <u>America is in the Heart</u>. Given these conditions, immigration started to present itself as a solution. Meanwhile, U.S. agricultural interests (most visibly the Hawaiian Sugar Planter's Association) began actively recruiting laborers who could take "advantage" of their national status that exempted them from the quotas of the Johnson

Reed Act. Not wanting to detract from the pool of labor needed to maintain sugar plantations in the southern parts of Luzon and the Visayas, such capitalists interests focused on the Ilocos region in northern Luzon which already had a long history of inter-regional migration.[14]

As my discussion of Angela Manalang Gloria's own aborted plans for migration revealed in chapter two, gendered expectations tying women to domesticity and family curtailed the possibility of large-scale Filipina migration into the States and partially explains the overwhelming male majority of Filipino immigrants in the period.[15] As Fujita-Rony also points out, sending only the young men of a family abroad served practical concerns as well as ensured affective ties to the homeland which also resulted in a certain form of gendered and sexualized discipline: "If someone emigrated alone instead of with a family, expenses abroad would be paid for just one person, while the other family members could support themselves at home… Ties were maintained by sending money or making rare visits, or even having a wife at home… These kinds of familial strategies can also be read as a form of social control, since they helped to regulate the sexual conduct of both the women who stayed in the Philippines and the men who went abroad" (45). However, once in the States, it was the supposed sexual conduct of the *manongs* which dominated representations of Filipinos in popular and legal discourse.

In 1931, at the height of Filipino immigration to the mainland, C.M. Goethe, President of the Immigration Study Commission, published an essay in the journal Current History that called for the immediate exclusion of Filipinos.[16] A leading

eugenicist of California and the founder of what would later become the California State University of Sacramento, Goethe's evaluation of Filipino undesirability took on highly sexualized connotations:

> Filipino immigrants are mostly men; 93 percent of the islanders admitted to California in 1920-29 were males. These men are jungle folk, and their primitive moral code accentuates the race problem even more than the economic difficulty…
>
> Legal authorities in California declare that since the Philippines are a ceded territory, the people take on whatever civil and political status the United States chooses to give them. Immediate exclusion is tragically necessary to protect our American seed stock… It is said that our present continental Negro group of more than 10,000,000 has descended from an original slave nucleus of 750,000. Primitive island folk such as the Filipinos do not hesitate to have nine children, while parents of white stock find educating three a problem of finance… Thus, after an emergency stopgap in the nature of a quota against Filipinos, we may find we may have to decide between the rights of our future generations and the danger that lurks in grating the Filipinos the status of American citizenship. (72-73)

In Goethe's evaluation, the "race problem" is of more critical import than the economic issue of labor competition. Goethe locates racial difference in a sexualized primitivism that inhibits Filipinos from adapting to modern U.S. society; he links this primitivism with an uncontrollable sexual impulse to reproduce regardless of economic concerns that violates proper bourgeois familial formations.

Goethe furthermore parallels Filipino reproduction with "Negro" proliferation in a complex nexus of domestic and international race politics and contestations over citizenship and proper national belonging. Against the background of post-emancipation politics and Jim Crow south, primitive Filipino sexuality presents itself as a further threat to a beleaguered white nation which can, and must, be protected by the clear demarcation of Filipino foreign status and "proper" American citizens that has already been

destabilized by emancipation. The linking of whiteness and citizenship had already of course been contested by the end of slavery and the ratification of the fifteenth amendment. To allow the continued blurring of the lines of racialized citizenship would be to invite further (and potentially fatal) damage to the original black and white color line. Granting American citizenship to Filipinos would be tantamount to race suicide as white purity would be attacked on multiple fronts – the Negro threat compounded by Filipino sexualized primitivism.

Goethe's essay also makes mention of anti-Filipino riots which took place up and down the California coast beginning in 1929 as further evidence of the Filipino problem. Rather than condemn the extra-judicial actions of predominantly white working-class mobs, Goethe suggests that it is the Filipino predilection for sexual contact with degenerate white women that is to blame: "The Filipino tends to interbreed with near-moron white girls. The resulting hybrid is almost invariably undesirable. The ever increasing brood of children of Filipino coolie fathers and low-grade white mothers may in time constitute a serious social burden" (73). First, while the miscegenous desire of the Filipino is reduced to uncontrollable primitivism, the same in white women is credited to biological defect. In this way, the desire for racial-mixing reveals female unfitness in the project of white racial purity – inhibiting both the Filipino and miscegenating white woman from inhabiting proper citizenship and more importantly, a fully developed humanity. Second, this consideration of miscegenation and extra-judicial violence further links the Filipino and "Negro" problems in significant ways. The myth of the black rapist and the epidemic of lynchings in post-bellum south operated to police black access to

civil rights and social participation. The specter of black sexual contact with white women operates as a metonym for full black investiture in American (white heteropatriarchal) political society. The black possession of the white female body would signify the fundamental reversal of blackness associated with chattel slavery and whiteness with ownership and power. In this way, the mutilation and lynching of accused black rapists operates to police sexualized racial boundaries of privilege, property and rights.

In California, the specter of Filipino sexuality and the rash of anti-Filipino violence operated in critically similar ways to the black rapist myth and post-bellum lynchings.[17] While not sharing the significant history of chattel slavery with black Americans, Filipinos, however, did occupy a tenuous and threatening space as well at the interstices of race, nationality and citizenship. While lynchings and the rapist mythos operated to keep former slaves and their descendants from full recognition before the law, *manong* hypersexuality and race riots attempted to discipline the Filipino national who inhabited a space of almost-citizenship and yet was undeniably and racially alien. The riots began in the state of Washington in 1928, and continued to occur most notably in Exeter, CA in 1929 and Watsonville, CA in January, 1930.[18] Watsonville was the most noteworthy and violent of the riots and is worth considering at length since it demonstrates dramatically the hypersexualization of the *manong* and the policing of racial and national borders. Prior to the actual onset of violence, tensions had been running high in the area around Watsonville, a mostly agricultural community a little over ninety miles south of San Francisco. On January 10, 1930, barely two weeks before

the height of the riot, a set of resolutions written by a local justice of the peace, D.W. Rohrback, and supported by the Northern Monterey Chamber of Commerce were published in the local newspaper.[19]

In his front-page statement, Rohrback condemned the Filipinos as threats on multiple levels: "the Northern Monterey Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution Wednesday night (January 8) designating the Filipino population of the district with being undesirable and of possessing unhealthy habits and destructive of the wage scale of other nationalities in agricultural and industrial pursuits" (quoted in Bogardus 52). Rohrback went on to further belittle Filipinos as "little brown men attired like 'Solomon in all his glory,' strutting like peacocks and endeavoring to attract the eyes of young American and Mexican girls" (quoted in Volpp 807). The insistence on the Filipino as social/moral/sanitary/economic threat is refracted through the image of the nattily dressed Filipino attracting and attracted to "young" American (read "white") girls.

As Letti Volpp observes (and Mae Ngai supports), the racialized violence directed at Filipinos was critically dissimilar from that aimed at blacks and other Asian groups, particularly the Chinese in an earlier period: "What may have been different between the Chinese and Filipino male immigrant populations was their behavior: Chinese men did not set up dance halls with white taxi dancers, perhaps reflecting a change in what hovered as the limits of tolerable behavior between 1880 and 1920, both for Asian men, and for white women" (812).[20] As España-Maram argues, taxi-dance halls and attention to dress as well as bodily comportment were expressions of Filipino stoop labor re-asserting ownership over their own bodies and forming affiliations with marginalized

white and Mexican women. Moreover, the institution of English-language learning in the Philippine islands could have given immigrants more familiarity with American society than was possible for the Chinese of the 1880s. The focus on Filipino sexuality therefore does not so much reflect concerns over labor competition and economic issues as much as it reflects and refracts the barring of Filipino claims to access to American society that potentially erodes white privilege.

Ultimately, it was the fraternization of Filipino men and white women at a taxi dance hall which pushed the already tense situation into violence in Watsonville. On January 11, 1930, a small group of Filipinos leased a dance hall five miles west of Watsonville and recruited nine white female dancers. According to Emory Bogardus, eminent sociologist of the time and one of the first to study the anti-Filipino riots, the proprietors of the dance hall insisted that their Filipino renters followed "definite rules of propriety" and "conducted their dances in a more orderly fashion than did many American groups who had leased the dance hall property" (54). Nevertheless, given the tense anti-Filipino climate epitomized by Rohrback's article, inhabitants of Watsonville were incensed: "Taxi dance halls where white girls dance with Orientals may be all right in San Francisco or Los Angeles but not in our community. We are a small city and have had nothing of the kind before. We won't stand for anything of the kind" (quoted in Bogardus 54). On January 19, several cars of "American youths" went to the dance-hall to protest its opening. The following day hunting parties ranging from 25 to 100 people sought out and harassed Filipinos. On the 21st, the mob stormed the dance-hall but was eventually pacified by sheriffs. However, the next day lead to the climax of the racialized

violence as 500 to 700 "American" men "attacked Filipino dwellings, destroyed property, and jeopardized lives" (quoted in Bogardus 55). By the end of the three days of rioting, one Filipino immigrant, Fermin Tober had been shot by a bullet fired into the Filipino laborers' quarters.[21]

In many ways, instances of extra-judicial violence such as the Watsonville Riots can be read as responses to the court's inconsistent categorization and censoring of Filipinos. Beginning as early as the 1920s, the question of Filipino miscegenation had been debated in California courts; however, any universal prohibition was impossible because of the ambiguous racial and national status of the Filipino. They were not citizens of the Philippines and therefore not foreigners, nor were they full U.S. citizens but they retained U.S. passports and thus a certain expectation of rights. Previous anti-miscegenation laws directed at the Chinese which could have been used as precedent were phrased to apply to anyone of the "Mongolian" race; Filipinos were supposedly not Mongolian but "Malay." As Letti Volpp notes, the applicability of the ethnic categorization of "Mongolian" to those of Filipino descent was enough of a pressing issue that in 1926 California Attorney General Ulysses S. Webb drafted an opinion letter to be circulated among legal offices of the state.[22] Webb had received a query from the county clerk of San Diego as to whether or not he could issue marriage licenses to Filipinos and "Hindus" who wanted to wed white women. Eschewing traditional anthropological categories of the time which separated the yellow and brown races, Webb argued for a "more recent and best recognized" understanding of Asian ethnicity that joined the Mongolian and the Malay into a "yellow-brown" division (quoted in

Volpp 817). While Webb's letter did not constitute in any way a binding legal statement, his understanding of Mongolian and Malay ethnicity had varying influence on significant cases concerning Filipino miscegenation.[23]

The most important case, Roldan v. Los Angeles, was brought before the California Superior Court on January 27, 1933. The Los Angeles County Clerk had refused to issue a marriage license to Salvador Roldan, "an Ilocano… whose blood was co-mingled a strain of Spanish," and Marjorie Rogers, "a woman of Caucasian descent" (Roldan v. Los Angeles).[24] The judge deciding the case ultimately allowed the marriage to go ahead, citing the commonsense understanding of what constituted the Mongolian ethnicity *at the time* when the Civil Code was amended in 1905 as opposed to the contemporary moment's anti-Filipino tenor: "We are not, however, interested in what the best scientific thought of the day was, but in what the common use of the word 'Mongolian' in California at the time of enactment of the legislation above mentioned… Much more could be shown but we think we have set down sufficient to indict that in 1880[,] there was no thought of applying the name Mongolian to a Malay" (Roldan v. Los Angeles). The victory however was short-lived; the Civil Code was simply amended a few months later to include Malay in the list of races barred from marrying whites. In this way, the ethnic ambiguity of the Filipino was decided in the legislature in response to the *current* "commonsense" understanding of the Filipino as inassimilable alien expressed in the extra-judicial actions of anti-Filipino riots. Given the ambiguous national and ethnic status of Filipinos as well as their perceived persistence in initiating contact

with non-Filipino women, it is thus no wonder that the first instance of legislative action was expressed in anti-miscegenation statutes and legal decisions.

The condition of U.S. colonialism troubled any straightforward understanding of the Filipino's position in U.S. society. On one hand, the Filipino was needed as cheap racialized labor; on the other, his national status dangerously challenged the ascription of whiteness to citizenship and rights. The history of U.S. governance in the islands and the program of benevolent assimilation further exacerbated the "double consciousness" of the Filipino immigrant – taught English and to love American ideals, Filipinos however were barred from actually "loving" white American bodies. Made to hover at the margins of American society, Filipinos presented themselves as an ambiguous sexualized specter poised to unravel both the contradictory fictions of benevolent assimilation and eugenicist dreams of nativism. Independence began to present itself as the only viable solution to the threat to national purity and the erosion of white privilege. In this way, the strange conglomeration of domestic anti-imperialists, agricultural interest, labor organizations and Philippine nationalists finally succeeded in securing the Independence Act of 1934 – one year after the Roldan decision. Heralded as the solution to the exclusionist movement and resulting violence on the West Coast, TM restricted Filipino immigration to the States to a quota of fifty a year.[25] However, TM apparently did not go far enough as a solution to the threat of Filipino sexualized raciality.

One year later, Congress passed the Filipino Repatriation Act which allocated funds and resources to pay for the passage of Filipino immigrants back to islands. Meant to further the project of exclusionists as well as alleviate the burden of providing welfare

support to Filipinos during the Depression, the Repatriation Act was extended multiple times and finally expired in 1940. Despite such extensions, the program was far from a success. Only a total of 2,064 Filipinos were repatriated in the five years of the program's implementation. Fujita-Rony observes that few immigrants took advantage of the offer because of their fear of never being able to return to the states if they so desired because of the newly established quota system. Moreover, many did not wish to return without any material signs of success. Those who did take advantage of the government's offer were either very few relatively well-established families or burdens of the State who had no choice in their return, i.e. mental patients and prisoners.[26]

On October 3, 1938, Time ran an article entitled "Philippine Flop" which affirmed the persisting hypersexual threat of the Filipino to the nation despite independence and repatriation:

> Although $237,000 has been spent to date on Filipino fares, both Immigration officials and California Labor regard the repatriation program as a flop. Remaining in the U.S. are 120,000 low-paid Filipino farm workers, houseboys, janitors, cooks. Half are in California, 97% are bachelors about 30 years old. "The boys," explained Dr. Hilario C. Moncado, president of the Filipino Federation of America, "do not want to go back without money or assurance they will earn a living." Another good reason is that in some cases the boys loathe to leave a country where, as a California judge remarked [in a previous *Time* article on April 13, 1936], they boast of enjoying the favors of white girls because they are a very superior grade of lovers.

This preoccupation with protecting white privilege and refusing Filipino access to (white) American bodies and the body politic thus overdetermines the establishment of Philippine independence and the constitution of the category of Filipino American. This (hyper)sexualized raciality saturates Filipino American subjectivity and culture. The

process of "becoming" Filipino American under the Tydings McDuffie Act also meant the process of being inscribed within a sexualized primitivism. Born from and also resisting this dominant rhetoric of *manong* hypersexaulity is Carlos Bulosan's America is in the Heart. In the next section, I discuss how Bulosan utilizes the representations of white women in his text to forward a complex and nuanced representation of Filipino interiority and subjectivity. I turn now from the construction of the Filipino as brown sexual menace to analyze Bulosan's re-presentation of these tropes of sexuality and race to suggest a greater, potentially radical conception of Philippine-U.S. relations that does not rehearse the racial and national hierarchies of metropole and colony, the sexualized linking of whiteness with citizenship and humanity.

The Possibilities of an America that is in the Heart

Carlos Bulosan's America is in the Heart (or AIH) was published in 1946, twelve years after the passage of the Tydings McDuffie Act. Bulosan's text however, particularly the second half, primarily takes place during the 1930s, chronicling the harsh cycle of labor and immigration experienced by the *manongs* as well as the anti-Filipino violence of the times. More importantly, the text conveys the lived experiences of this generation of workers as Bulosan conflates his life with the general conditions of racialization and proletarianization experienced by Filipino immigrants for whom he believed he acted as a spokesperson.[27] Bulosan himself was born November 24, 1913 in a small village in Luzon, central Philippines to a family of peasant farmers.[28] In 1930, he boarded a steamer bound for America and eventually landed in Seattle, Washington.

Eventually, he made his way to Lompoc, CA to locate his brother Dionisio who had immigrated years before him. However, Dionisio (like his fictional counterpart Amado in AIH) seems to have been involved in racketeering and other criminal activities. After a few months, Bulosan sought out another elder brother, Aurelio – the inspiration for the character Macario who delivers the central speech of AIH.

Working in the service industries of Los Angeles, Aurelio was able to support Bulosan, whose fragile health kept him from exerting himself in manual labor. During that period, Bulosan began his self-education through the public library so that only two years after arriving in Seattle, his writings were published in local Filipino papers and even a small anthology of California poets.[29] By 1934, he began the New Tide, a radical literary magazine with the help of labor organizer Chris Mensalvas (renamed in AIH as Jose). Work on the magazine ceased however when he was hospitalized in Los Angeles for tuberculosis from 1936 to 1938. Bulosan's health would never be the same afterwards, but it was during this period that his efforts at self-education reached its height and Bulosan seems to have most developed his writer's voice and philosophy. At the close of the Depression and the beginning of WWII, the historical and political milieu facilitated Bulosan's first mainstream publications. Interest in the Philippines as the land of America's allies where both Filipinos and U.S. soldiers suffered at the hands of the Japanese made possible the release of three volumes of Bulosan's poetry, one unsurprisingly entitled The Voice of Bataan.

However, Bulosan's early writings were not simply patriotic fodder highlighting an exotic locale. In 1943, Bulosan was invited to write an essay for the Saturday Evening

Post on the "Freedom from Want." The influences of those early hungry years as well as the dynamism of Filipino labor organizing are unmistakable in Bulosan's essay: "But sometimes we wonder if we are really a part of America. We recognize the mainsprings of American democracy in our right to from unions and bargain through them collectively, our opportunity to sell our products at reasonable prices, and the privilege of our children to attend schools where they learn the truth about the world in which they live. We also recognize the forces which have been trying to falsify American history – the forces which drive many Americans to a corner of compromise with those who distort the ideals of men that died for freedom" ("Freedom from Want" 132).[30] In many ways, "Freedom from Want" prefigured Bulosan's radical vision of America that he presents in AIH, after his first book Laughter of My Father paved its way to publication.[31] The release of AIH represents the height of Bulosan's career. After the close of WWII, Bulosan's radical politics lead to his marginalization both in American and Philippine literature and culture.[32] He lived the rest of his life in relative poverty and anonymity, cared for by old friends such as Mensalvas. On September 13, 1956, Bulosan died most likely due to complications from his tuberculosis exacerbated by a night of drinking and wandering the streets of the same city he had arrived in almost thirty years earlier.

During Bulosan's life, he appears to have cultivated intensely personal (yet difficult to define) relationships with a number of white American women. As Carey McWilliams reminisces in his intro to AIH: "Hypersensitive, gentle, wildly imaginative, he had the bright eyes, ready smile, and innocent laughter of a precocious child. Incidentally, those 'Caucausian women' [he reportedly adored] were always interested in

him as he undoubtedly was in them. Most of them were large enough to have held him in their laps with ease but they adored him as much as he adored them" (xviii). While McWilliams's introduction presents a sympathetic rendering of the background of the *manong* generation, his appreciative discussion of Bulosan's life and writings can occasionally slide into paternalism. McWilliams's description above of Bulosan and his white female admirers treats such potentially miscegenous interactions strangely – any suggestion of Bulosan's sexual desire or sexual attractiveness is overlaid with an air of infantilism and maternal predilections. An oddly racialized oedipal scene, the mutual adoration between Bulosan and these "Caucasian women" still hovers in the margins of the sexually aberrant. If the anti-Filipino rhetoric of the Watsonville riots was defined by a fear of an overly licentious and hypersexualized brown male pursuing white women, here in McWilliams description white women are ascribed the physical power (i.e. their large size and ability to hold Bulosan in their laps) while Bulosan occupies the feminine and infantilized. Ultimately, white women's attraction to him here is re-cast as maternal rather than sexual. This complicated twisting of the maternal and sexual cannot be simply ascribed to McWilliams's paternal treatment of Bulosan. Rather, I would argue that it resonates with and is most likely pulled from the ways in which Bulosan represents white women in his text.

Susan Evangelista dedicates a brief section in her biography of Bulosan to his supposed relationships with white women. Pulling from interviews with his family and friends as well as close readings of his writings, she identifies four women who were potentially romantically involved with Bulosan throughout different moments of his

life.[33] However, Evangelista suggests that the significance of these women in Bulosan's life is not merely personal but also symbolic:

> Carlos' own understanding of the sociopolitical ramifications of Filipino-white relationships is apparent in a story he planned to write and outlined in a letter to a friend, Jose de los Reyes. In this story a Filipino houseboy was to kill a friend, and then, fearing detection, find[s] that he has suddenly become white. He is promised that this strange state of pigmentation will last as long as he does not fall in love with a white woman. But he is already involved in such a love. "This," comments Carlos, "is a parable, of course, an American parable. Some elements in America gave us a gift of speech, education, money but they also wanted to take away our heart. They give you money but deny your humanity." (13-14)

Bulosan's choice of a "houseboy" as the main character of this proposed story emblematizes the condition of the Filipino immigrant laborer in this era and his impossibly contradictory position in relation to (white) domesticity and normative gendered and sexualized constructions. These houseboys who served as the domestic labor of white middle to upper class homes were perpetually suspended at the margins of class and racial acceptability – necessary for the maintenance of the heteronormative bourgeois family yet disavowed from becoming part of that family.[34] The houseboy's position in many ways reflects the larger position of the Philippines in the family romance of benevolent assimilation; inhabitants of the islands are embraced as "little brown brothers" necessary for the expansion of American wealth and influence but ultimately always refused full membership in the nation for fear of racial contamination.

In Bulosan's unrealized story therefore, the Filipino enters a "strange state of pigmentation" through the gift of "speech, education and money" – Filipinos believe themselves equal to Americans because of colonial education, language and the

penetration of American capital in the islands and the movement of Filipino laborers to the mainland. However, any true equality would result in the breakdown of racial difference brought about through miscegenation. Any "whiteness" the Filipino has come to inhabit by virtue of colonization disappears once racial mixing becomes a possibility; the Filipino reverts to a state of native primitivism as conveyed by exclusionist rhetoric and anti-Filipino violence discussed in the previous section. Given this reality, white women in Bulosan's writing are complex signifiers of interracial desire, the false promise of benevolent assimilation as well as of the radical possibilities of cross-racial alliances and the full recognition of Filipino humanity.

I turn now to consider how Bulosan represents three important manifestations of the relationships between brown men and white women that were pivotal to the processes of benevolent assimilation and *manong* immigration: white women as colonial photographers, white women as schoolteachers and white women as objects of brown desire. Bulosan suggests that these roles played by white women are inextricable from the processes of sexualization and racialization of the Filipino both in Philippines and, more particularly, in the States; these interracial (but not necessarily miscegenous) relationships emblematize how normative conceptions of race, sexuality and gender constituted and were constituted by the imperial project. Moreover, Bulosan plays with the gendered, sexualized and racialized dynamics of such relationship in an attempt to undermine any certain knowledge about Filipino subjectivity thus implicitly arguing for new considerations of Filipino humanity, new formulations of kinship and romance, and ultimately to suggest a radical anti-capitalist, anti-fascist vision of the world.

Part one of AIH generally follows the chronology of Bulosan's childhood, with close attention paid to the struggles of his father to maintain their land despite a corrupt and exploitative native bourgeoisie, the resilience of his entrepreneurial mother and the arrivals and departures of his brothers in pursuit of opportunities elsewhere in the archipelago and America. In many ways, part one demonstrates the tolls as well as the advantage of U.S. control of the islands – namely, the simultaneous impoverishment of peasant families as well as the opening up of educational opportunity to those marginalized under Spanish colonialism.[35] In AIH, the family struggles to ensure the education of Macario, perceiving it as a key to social mobility and a potential weapon against further exploitation by money lenders and landowners. By this point in Philippine history, the American public system of education had been well-established. The first ship of American teachers, the USS Thomas, had arrived in 1901. A complement to military pacification, these teachers emblematized the ideological heart of benevolent assimilation. Poised as a modern force of social equalization through the guaranteeing of universal literacy in the islands, the Thomasites were meant to accomplish the brunt of the work necessary to undo the damage of Spanish colonialism that had left the Philippines ignorant and decadent.[36]

While the narrator of AIH, never actually attends a school run by a Thomasite, Allos does encounter a white woman in Baguio modeled after the altruistic figure of the modern educator.[37] After leaving his family and village in order to escape the crushing sense of poverty, Allos falls under the protective care of a woman named Mary Strandon. A compassionate white American librarian "who sailed for the Philippines, where her

father had gone and died in the war that was to link the destiny of those two countries" (68), Mary Strandon seems to be a true manifestation of benevolent assimilation in the spirit of the Thomasites.[38] She hires Allos as her houseboy and encourages his desire to read, arranging it so that he will have access to the library and help her deliver books to the richer patrons' homes. Linking her to the supposed educative and civilizing power of the U.S. presence in the Philippines, Mary Strandon tells Allos the myth of Abraham Lincoln. She describes Lincoln as the president who declared "that all men are created equal" and who was executed because he attempted to free the "Negro slaves" (70). Allos responds to this story with wonder, finding it hard to believe that "Abraham Lincoln died for a black person" so that from "that day onward this poor boy who became president filled [his] thoughts" (70). On the surface, this story of Lincoln seems to reify the notion of America as the epitome of civilization and justice, a land where a white man can declare all are created equal and would die for such a cause. The scene reads as the perfect educative colonial moment – the benevolent white woman enlightens the ignorant colonial about the nature of American democracy and racial justice.

However, Bulosan sets up the scene in such a way that destabilizes such outright idealization for it is not Mary who tells Allos first about Lincoln but Dalmacio, an "Igorot houseboy" who works for "another American woman who lived in the apartment next door" (69). In representing Dalmacio, Bulosan undermines the perception of the Igorot as the epitome of Filipino primitivism as well as calls into question the purpose of colonial education.[39] After finishing their housework, Dalmacio and Allos sit and talk:

> "I will soon go to America," he said one day. "I am trying to learn English so that I will not get lost over there."

> "I am planning to go to America in two years," I said. "If I save enough passage money to take me there."
>
> "You don't need money," Dalmacio said. "You could work on the boat. But English is the best weapon. I will teach you if you will do some work for me now and then."
>
> He put a book in my hand and started reading aloud to me.
>
> […] We were reading the story of a homely man named Abraham Lincoln.
>
> "Who *is* this Abraham Lincoln?" I asked Dalmacio.
>
> "He was a poor boy who became a president of the United States," he said. […]
>
> *A poor boy became a president of the United States!* Deep down in me something was touched, was springing out, demanding to be born, to be given a name.

The potential idealization of Mary Strandon is thus counterbalanced by the figure of Dalmacio – the Igorot boy who is more educated than Allos and truly becomes the narrator's teacher. Dalmacio is the first one who introduces Allos to the importance of language and mastering English for success; however, he is not teaching a lesson of assimilation but actually a lesson of mimicry and simulacra – the ability to wield English like a weapon so as to be able to navigate oneself to and through America.

This issue of performance and mimicry suggested through the narrator's triangular relationship with Dalmacio and Mary Strandon is re-enforced in a scene that takes place just shortly after Allos arrives in Baguio. Tellingly, it includes a performance of Igorot primitivism for the enjoyment and consumption of a white woman photographer. Starving and alone, Allos attempts to earn money in the Baguio marketplace:

> One day an American lady tourist asked me to undress before her camera, and gave me ten centavos for doing it. I had found a simple way to make a living. Whenever I saw a white person in the market with a camera, I made myself conspicuously ugly, hoping to earn ten centavos. But what interested the tourists most were the naked Igorot women and their

> children. Sometimes they took pictures of the old men with G-strings. There were not interested in Christian Filipinos like me. They seemed to take a particular delight in photographing young Igorot girls with large breasts and robust mountain men whose genitals were nearly exposed, their G-strings bulging large and alive. (67)

Bulosan not only comments on these processes of representation and power here but also offers an entry point into understanding the objects of colonial surveillance and photography not simply as passive bodies but rather as complicated subjects subversively performing for the colonial white gaze. The figure of the white lady photographer alludes to those of the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. Laura Wexler discusses how the Fair offered 19th century women photographers the chance to "gain recognition and make some money selling photographs" as well the more significant opportunity "to construct a larger identity as a 'lady photographer'" (Wexler 265). In this process of self-making for the lady photographers, they worked "to construct and highlight subtle and not so subtle racial differences between white Americans and other peoples" (Wexler 268). In this way, they displaced the "looked-at-ness" of their own female bodies onto the racialized subjects they gazed at and captured through their own cameras.

However, this effort to control the representation of the narrator as solely a primitive body is undermined by his own recognition of the disjuncture between himself as the object of the photograph and his own personal decision to offer himself *as* that object. The Filipino body thus can possibly subvert the white gaze of the lady photographers for his own purposes of survival and simulacra. Bulosan's "American lady tourist" does not recognize the agreement of the photo's subject to be the constructed object of the camera's focus, a construction accomplished by the poser's volition with

full knowledge that it was not his real self but the simulacrum the lady photographer desired. Bulosan's narrator shows the distance between the object of the photo and his perception of himself as a subject. He contrasts "Christian Filipinos like me" and the naked Igorot men, women and children. He notes the "particular delight" of the photographer thereby recognizing the complicated nexus of representation and power that is involved in the scenes of white women photographing racialized (and overtly sexualized) subjects. Later on, he walks around the Baguio marketplace with mud purposely smeared on his face in order to play the part of savage Igorot for the white lady's cameras. Aware that they racialize his body, he uses it to his economic advantage purposely creating the simulacrum they seek though they are not even aware of its performed nature. Thus the learning of English and the performance of primitive indigeneity become weapons in his hands. Whatever dynamics of power between the Filipino and the white school teacher and/or lady photographer are thus unstable and can never be classified as completely hegemonic nor resistant but necessarily, critically and simultaneously both.

Once in the States, the narrator follows the lessons of Dalmacaio and uses English as a weapon as he and other organizers publish workers' magazines. Bulosan signifies the narrator's political development by having the narrator's name change from Allos to Carlos to Carl; paradoxically and strikingly, his name becomes more and more Anglicized as his awareness of the Filipino immigrant condition in America deepens and writing in English becomes his medium of fighting racial injustice. As the narrator writes and works up and down the West Coast, he encounters many women, white and other,

that impact his life. The most important of these women is named Marian whose name links her to Mary Strandon.[40] Though it is implied in the text that she is a prostitute, she tells Carlos, "For a long time now I've wanted to care for someone. And you are the one" (212). Marian's character and her relationship to Carlos are complex and seemingly paradoxical. She is a white woman who literally prostitutes herself to her death to earn enough money to send Carlos to be educated. Bulosan uses their relationship to challenge dominant representations of the lascivious Filipino laborer and the white whore, suggesting the sense of coalition as well as radical non-heteronormative affiliation that can emerge between marginalized persons of U.S. society.

In the chapter preceding the one dedicated to Carlos and Marian's relationship, the narrator has just narrowly escaped death at the hands of white union-breakers. In chapter XXVIII, white men surprise the labor organizers as they are planning a strike and take them to the woods to torture and lynch them. The violence of the scene is overtly sexualized and racialized as the men are punished for refusing to accept passively their status as racialized cogs in American agricultural industry:

> Then I saw them pouring the tar on José's body. One of them lit a match and burned the delicate hair between his legs.
> "Jesus, he's a well-hung son-of-a-bitch!"
> "Yeah!"
> "No wonder whores stick to them!"
> This other monkey ain't so hot!" […]
> Another man, the one called Jake, tied me to a tree. Then he started beating me with his fists. Why were these men so brutal, so sadistic? […] The man called Lester grabbed my testicles with his left hand and smashed them with his right first. (208)

Carlos manages to flee from his torturers and seeks refuge in a house in the "Oriental section" of town (Bulosan 209). A woman named Marian discovers him in her little room

and seeing his distressed state, hurries to give him aid. Carlos responds, "I almost cried. What was the matter with this land? Just a moment ago I was being beaten by white men. But here was another white person, a woman, giving me food and a place to rest" (209-210). Barely asking any questions about Carlos, Marian unbelievably decides to leave her home and run away with him to Los Angeles. On their drive, they learn more about each other. Marian's story is just as pitiful as Carlos's narrative of immigration, exploitation and violence. Her education was never completed and she was abused by her ex-lover. Despite her instant and almost complete devotion to Carlos, Bulosan is careful to represent Marian and the narrator's relationship as one of utter platonic devotion. Bulosan writes, "She was sweet and near. But I could not touch her. Even when she was close to me, even when all her thoughts were leaning toward me and her heart was in my heart" (Bulosan 213).

As in Baguio City where Mary Strandon and the lady photographer operate as paired depictions of white and Filipino interaction, Bulosan pairs the scene of torture and lynching at the hands of white men with this one of the white woman Marian who willingly sacrifices herself for the goodness she sees in Carlos. One scene reveals the violence of sexualized raciality while the other proves the interiority of the subject that is disavowed by such representations. In chapter XXVIII, the white men seek to reduce Carlos and his companion to their bodies in order to destroy the Filipino immigrants' attempts to unionize and demand equal treatment. Though it is implied that Marian is a prostitute – she is out all night and after a few weeks magically comes back with enough money to send Carlos to school – the narrator is entirely naïve of this possibility. He

cannot conceive of her in those terms. This strategic rendering of Bulosan works to prove Carlos's almost impossible humanity; he disregards Marian's body and any hint of miscegenous desire, only perceiving her beautiful heart and soul. Their relationship is premised on the mutual recognition of the other's intrinsic goodness despite their positions in society - one as racialized labor and the other as a fallen woman.

Once in Los Angeles, Carlos and Marian go to a Hollywood club for a "capitalist dinner" and dancing. However, Marian faints in the restaurant and is rushed to the hospital where her health quickly fails. As she lies dying, she calls Carlos to her and tells him, "'Promise me not to hate. But love – love everything good and clean. There is something in you that radiates an inner light and it affects others. Promise me to let it grow'" (Bulosan 217). Marian's speech can be read as directly referencing the violence of chapter XXVIII. Marian exhorts Carlos to maintain his inner goodness, his sense of humanity, despite the violence of racialization and marginalization in America. Her relationship with Carlos not only proves the depth of his interiority but also moves the reader to sympathize with the plight of Filipino immigrants. In this way, Bulosan re-scripts the relationship between a white prostitute and a brown man into one not of lust and monetary exchange but rather into a sentimental narrative of love and sacrifice. Carlos learns later from the doctor that Marian has died from syphilis. Marian's implied prostitution and yet the author's purposeful de-emphasis of that possibility de-centers the importance of the body and the possibility of a lustful relationship between her and the narrator in order to re-present both her and Carlos as kindred suffering souls. Despite and to spite the dominant narratives of miscegenous relationships that seek to reduce Carlos

and Marian to the status of their bodies in order to maintain the boundaries between nations, classes, genders and races, Bulosan emphasizes the mutual recognition of the caliber of their hearts and souls, this shared "inner light." Carlos's "inner light" is so strong that it inspires Marian to sacrifice her body in order to continue educating his mind.

In the scenarios of the white schoolteacher and lady photographer, Bulosan calls into question the processes of colonial pedagogy and the assumed nature of the ignorant native primitive. In his representations of the miscegenous relationships in the second half of the text, the specters of sex and miscegenation fades into the background as alliances between the supposed white prostitute and the Filipino laborer are forged upon shared suffering and sacrifice. However, Bulosan's re-articulation of these interracial relationships and primarily his deployment of white women in his project of critiquing benevolent assimilation and arguing for Filipino humanity can potentially suggest a monolithic ideal of white women and the marginalization of women of color within the text. In truth, Bulosan scholarship generally falls into two camps concerning this issue. The first valorizes Bulosan's radical vision and indictment of class structures, reading such Marxist critique as inevitably leading to a wholesale destabilization of all forms of hierarchy including the gendered and/or sexualized. The second critiques Bulosan's supposed instrumental idealization of white women that ultimately marginalizes all women, denying them participation in revolutionary praxis, as well as his failure to recognize the differing vectors of power attenuating gender hierarchy as opposed to class hierarchy.

A few passages from E. San Juan's critical introduction to Bulosan's writings collected in On Becoming Filipino are illustrative of this first type of reading of Bulosan:

> If "Eileen" [Odell] and her surrogates function as a synecdoche for all those who demonstrated comradeship to a stranger like Bulosan, then the term should not be conflated with the abstract referent "U.S.A" as a whole. Overall, the caring maternal figure with her multiple personifications (the peasant mother, Marian, the Odell sisters, Mary, and others who serve as icons of mutual recognition) is the singular desire thematized as "America." (11)

> This counters the Robinson Crusoe motif of individualism and replaces it with the Moses/Mother motif of collective concern. The narrator's private self dissolves into the body of an enlarged "family" (recall that he originally traveled to America to find his brothers and thus reconstitute his broken family) whose members are affiliated by purpose or principle, anticipating what Bulosan calls "the revolution… the one and only common thread that bound us together, white and black and brown, in America"…. [The] apostrophe to the multiracial masses as "America" gravitates around a cardinal principle: the unity of all the oppressed across class, gender and racial lines precedes the restructuring of state power… (12)

San Juan considers the "Samaritanic" women in Bulosan's text such as Marian as linked to the original maternal figure in part one of AIH, Allos's mother who struggles to maintain the family by selling their farm products in the marketplace. As Allos's father slowly self-destructs from the humiliation of losing the family's land, Allos's mother teaches the narrator critical lessons about social injustice and survival.

As a child, the narrator regularly accompanied his mother to the market. In this setting, Allos watches his mother interact with various representatives of the class hierarchy – from a wealthy woman who insults his mother to an impoverished old woman who begs his mother for charity. It is this last experience with his mother that shapes the narrator's perception of class conflict. Knowing that the family could not afford to give

away their wares, his mother allows the old woman to dip her fingers in a jar of shrimp paste for a taste of sustenance. Allos does not understand why she would allow this. He watches while the old woman dips her hands in the can "and taking them out as quickly, she washed them in her bowl of clean water. There was agony in her face" (35). She drinks the shrimp-flavored water hungrily and even scrapes the bottom of the bowl for any "sediment" left behind. The narrator "wanted to laugh because it was so comical" yet his mother looks at him with "angry eyes" and tells him, 'Someday you will understand these things'" (35). The chapter ends with these words and the narrator quietly follows his mother down the road watching her expertly balance her basket on her head. Allos does eventually come to understand this moment as he suffers his own impoverishment and starvation in America.

Upon his arrival in the States when he is reunited with the brothers he has not seen in years, their mother's name operates as a magic word that reconnects her sons in a land of racialization that drives them to violence and self-destruction. When Allos finally finds one of his brother's in Lompoc, Amado has been completely changed by America. No longer is Amado the gentle brother who worked the fields alongside their father; now he is a gambler and transient. Amado initially attempts to kill Allos thinking that he is simply another Filipino worker he had cheated previously; but when Allos claims that they are brothers, he questions him suspiciously. Amado tells him if he is really his brother, then what is their mother's name?

> "Our mother's name is Meteria," I said. "That is what the people call her. But her real name is Autilia Sampayan. We used to sell salted fish and salt in the villages. Remember?"

> My brother grabbed me affectionately and for a long time he could not say a word. I knew, then, that he had loved my mother although he had had no chance to show it to her. Yes, to him, and to me afterward, to know my mother's name was to know the password into the secrets of past, into childhood and pleasant memories; but it was also a guiding star, a talisman, a charm that lights us to manhood and decency. (123)

This is the only moment when the narrator's mother is named and Allos specifically mentions how he used to go with her to the marketplace – the setting of his lessons in class consciousness and exploitation. In this way, the mother is not forgotten but is pivotal to the narrator's survival in America. She resisted the impoverishment and demoralization of U.S. colonial violence and its consequences through her quotidian efforts to support the family. Her memory not only links the brothers together despite the changes wrought on them by racialization in the U.S., the narrowing of their lives to a "filthy segment" of American society, but also inspires them to struggle to be more than that which the dominant narrative of the lustful, immoral Filipino. In this way, San Juan suggests that white women like Marian and Mary Strandon enjoy the power of their idealized status in relationship and allusion to the original symbolic mother figure.

Importantly, feminist scholars have come to interrogate the function of these maternal characters. Susan Koshy writes, "But although Bulosan repudiates the myth of benevolent white paternity contained in the colonial family romance, he retains the figure of redemptive white womanhood central to his fiction and uses it to ground an alternative conception of America envisioned as universal fraternity" (23). Rachel C. Lee echoes Koshy's argument that though women are necessary for this universal revolutionary fraternity, they are never actually part of it: "One begins to see how all-male societies in Bulosan's text emerge as precursors to labor activism, which presupposes that women do

not labor. The fact that women toil as prostitutes and entertainment workers does not appear an issue over which they can bond with the properly laboring subjects of the novel, the Filipino migrant workers… Women are not only unrecognized as labor but appear as the Other of labor – the abject identity against which male labor defines itself" (27). Lee's analysis is much more cutting than Koshy's, reading the text closely for what she argues are instances of marginalization of women of color, particularly the village girls in part one who attempt to trick the narrator and his brothers into marriages that are depicted as persistent barriers to revolutionary fraternity.

I believe it is imperative to recognize as Koshy, Lee and others do the incommensurability of class and gender hierarchy – to eradicate class oppression will not automatically lead to a domino effect by which gender oppression (or, for that matter, racial and sexual marginalization) will suddenly cease. Moreover, I am uncomfortable with any reading which links the figure of the peasant mother with the various white women throughout the book that does not address how racial difference, class disparity and national location differently constitute each feminized and maternalized figure. To not consider this is to assume that these women by virtue of being women have commensurate experiences or subject positions. However, in delineating these two trajectories of Bulosan scholarship, I am not attempting to indict Bulosan (or his writings) as misogynist or conversely vindicate his radical politics. Such a project would not be productive given the necessity that political and poetic projects must constantly attend to the persisting dynamics of power. Rather, I want to consider the ways in which Bulosan's text makes gender/sexuality strange – how he reveals the ways in which gender and

sexuality operate as "dense transfer points of power" that discipline Filipino subjects within colonialist/capitalist regimes.[41] It is more important and productive to consider the ways in which Bulosan's treatment of gender and sexuality is not so easily reducible – how it simultaneously disrupts *and* reifies racialized, gendered and sexualized representations of minority subjects.

I would argue that San Juan, Koshy and Lee potentially take for granted the heteronormativity of Bulosan's narrator and the characters of AIH. Does the relationship to white women necessarily have to be defined as maternal or romantic? Bulosan's depiction of the narrator's relationship with Marian and other white women may have an aura of maternalism but it nevertheless exists alongside the suggestion of desire – hence, Marian the prostitute who is also akin to the sacrificing mother. Marian does not fall easily into any category just as Bulosan a colonial pupil or object of the lady photographer's camera cannot either. Moreover, these interracial relationships are never clearly miscegenous – they are marked actually by the absence of sex. As Kandice Chuh points out, the narrator's only experience with actual genital penetration occurs in a homosocial environment when his friends at a labor camp force him to have sex with a prostitute.[42] Such an absence of sex and the prevalence of homosociality challenge not only the representation of the lascivious nature of the Filipino immigrant but also any assumptions concerning the heteronormativity of the *manong* generation. How does Bulosan's text suggest alternative affiliations not grounded in a masculine and patriarchal laboring brotherhood but sensitive to the multiple and dynamic ways that relationships

can be formed, some out of sheer necessity for survival, others out of a shared sense of resistance?

As Dorothy Fujita-Rony observes, the *manongs* were influenced by the reality of bilateral kinship structures dominant in the islands as well as the system of *compradazgo* or ritual kinship formations.[43] The *manongs* thus utilized non-heteronormative forms of affiliations to cultivate alternative forms of family and home in order to survive:

> ...social relations were highly political and formed a central part of community culture. "Family" for the prospective immigrant was thus an expansive concept that included not only immediate relatives or members of the extended family but also townmates and other Filipina/os met while traveling, working, or going to school. Because of the vulnerability of migratory workers, who were largely men, social ties were especially essential for community members far away from their home villages and towns in the Philippines. Through "family," one could potentially receive support in many sites of the West Coast that were focal points for the Filipno/a American diaspora… "Home" for this largely migratory population thus seems not so much tied to a particular location as to a group of people. (97-98)

Given this elasticity of the ideals of "home" and "family" necessitated by the reality of racialization, Fujita-Rony furthermore urges for Filipino American historiography to go beyond a preoccupation with the heterosexual miscegenous relations of the *manongs*, stating that "[i]n particular, we know very little of gay, lesbian, and bisexual relationships" (135). I concur with Fujita-Rony about the necessity of shifting historical focus from issues of miscegenation; such a project, however, should not be about locating the gay (or even *bakla*) *manong* in history since such a label would be anachronistic and presuppose a transhistorical understanding of homosexuality.[44] Rather, what is unknowable about *manong* sexuality? What escapes disciplining in order to erupt and reveal the very same disciplinary structures' collusion with capitalism and colonialism?

What are the spaces both opened up and closed down by reading Bulosan as refusing to take any understanding of racialized sexuality as stable and coherent? How does he suggest new ways to imagine America both positively in his actual grand vision of what is "in his heart" and negatively by demonstrating the pitfalls that must be avoided in ascribing any essential nature to any subject?

Returning to the last lines of the speech Macario delivers, conveying Bulosan's revolutionary vision of an America in the heart:

> The old world is dying, but a new world is being born. It generates inspiration from the chaos that beats upon us all. The false grandeur and security, the unfulfilled promises and illusory power, the number of the dead and those about to die, will charge the forces of our courage and determination. The old world will die so that the new world will be born with less sacrifice and agony on the living. (189)

I want to read this speech against the grain of a Marxist teleology in order to elucidate an alternative form of radical Filipino American politics. While on one hand, it invokes a vision of utopian revolution with the contrast between old and new worlds, I want to focus on the simultaneity of inspiration and chaos, unfulfilled promises and courage, illusory power and determination. If one accepts such simultaneity, then one is forced to imagine a different mode of "becoming Filipino" that is defined by the perpetual effort to establish spaces and acts of freedom that constantly attempt to escape congealing into hegemonic epistemological formations. For example, on one hand, Bulosan's representations of white women-brown men relationships usurp representations of Filipino hypersexualized raciality while at the same time potentially reifying the ideal white female subject. However, Bulosan's representations of gender and sexuality within the text are constantly contested and contradictory thereby making impossible any stable

understanding of what constitutes the Filipino male laborer *as well as* the white woman. We can therefore consider the revolutionary America that Bulosan describes in Macario's speech as defined by this persistence of inspiration in the face of chaos, courage despite unfulfilled promises, determination in spite of the inevitability of power. Within another aesthetic realm, Bulosan's contemporary José Garcia Villa also destabilizes Filipino gender and sexuality, going beyond a radical re-visioning of America to a larger understanding of humanity unmoored from the binaries of the human and divine.

José Garcia Villa's Love Affair with God

> My name is José, my name is Villa.
> I was born on the island of Manila, in the city of Luzon.
> My true name is Doveglion.
> My business is ascension.
> - Jose Garcia Villa, ,,A Composition,,

While Bulosan mandated that literature must be utilized in the great battle to bring about a new world, José Garcia Villa critically distinguished between literature and social criticism: "The thing to remember is that literature *is* literature, if it is *first of all*, literature. If, after having achieved this, it also achieves social criticism then well and good. But the first thing to achieve is *literature*. The point for our would-be proletarians is that social criticism in literature is merely *incidental*, if at all, and not the primary object to fit" ("The Best Filipino Short Stories of 1937" 179). With an acerbic pen, Villa ruled the Philippine literary scene from the inception of Filipino writing in English even unto the years of the Marcos administration/dictatorship. In the States, his poetry was once ranked amongst that of the premier American and British modernists. In recent

years, his work has been re-discovered and re-published by diligent Asian American writers and scholars insistent on recognizing Villa's talent and place in both Asian American literature and the American canon. However, rather than attempt to argue for the inclusion of Villa in the pantheon of American modernism, I am focused on how Villa, though Bulosan's poetic and political opposite, also contended with the hypsersexuality of the Filipino. Moreover, I would argue that through his poetic speaker's fraught love affair with God, Villa like Bulosan creates productive contradictory spaces of freedom, challenging colonial epistemologies and discipline, imaging new ways of becoming Filipino and perhaps even presenting a decolonizing conception of the "human."

José Garcia Villa was born in 1908 in the Singalong area of Manila.[45] His mother, Guia Garcia, came from a well-established family while his father Simeon Villa was at one point the personal physician of Emilio Aguinaldo. An ardent believer in the revolution of 1898, Simeon refused to learn English and indicted American treachery for the failure of the Malolos Republic. Father and son seem to have constantly clashed; when Villa entered the University of the Philippines (UP) in 1929, his father insisted he study medicine. Villa eventually switched to law, but writing was his true passion. At the UP, he was amongst the first generation of Filipino writers in English and with them established the UP Writer's Club with its credo, "Art shall not be a means but an end in itself" (quoted in Espiritu 79). While still a student, Villa began submitting poetry and fiction for publication in the Philippines Herald. From the very beginning of his literary career, Villa reveled in erotic poetics. In 1929, he was charged with obscenity by a local

Manila court for the publication of his poems "Man Songs" in the Herald as well as a short story entitled "Appasionata" which appeared in the student newspaper of the UP. The court in censoring "Man Songs" singled out the "Coconut Poem" as particularly offensive, a poem which likened coconuts in the trees to women's nipples. The editors of the Herald prevailed upon Villa not to contest the charges; for the sake of the newspaper, Villa paid the fine and the Herald printed an apology.

However, when the UP dean of the law school, Jorge Bocobo, moved to discipline Villa for "Appasionata," a short story about a woman who seduces young men by allowing them to gaze upon her body through a peephole, Villa reacted strongly to what he perceived as the sterile prudishness of the poetically illiterate. In a letter written in his own defense to the dean, Villa writes:

> But we must have tolerance. Why is it that the public sees only the superfice? If the physicalities involved in my poems are offensive to them, why can't they go deeper? I am sure they will find something beautiful behind. Unearth, unearth. Do not be prudes and you will soon see in a new light. As soon as this vision comes to you – you will be the better man; the screen will have lifted off your eyes. Just now the screen of conventional morality binds you – you are fettered to it. You see only the body, you touch it with Pharisai[c] fear, so you cannot reach the soul. But you must reach for the soul – always. However, our public does not even try to do this. At once it condemns. That is a tragedy, for them as well as for me. The power of understanding the esoteric has not yet descended upon them – when will the awakening come?[46]

While throughout his life Villa condemned outright social criticism in literature as the corruption of art into propaganda, Villa's letter to the dean, however, suggests the ways in which literature can still challenge social conventions as well as destabilize gendered and sexualized hierarchies. Villa's championing of the body and all its sensuousness challenged bourgeois norms of decency and morality emblematized by the disapprobation

of female sexuality exemplified in Bocobo's indictment of the story of a seductress and in the controversy over Angela Manalang Gloria's poetry discussed in the previous chapter.

Villa's defense of himself insists on an understanding of the connection between the body and the soul that is contrary to the puritanical dismissal of the body as that which contains and corrupts the spirit; for Villa, the body is the way by which the soul is known. Villa's reformulation of the Judeo-Christian body-soul relation can be potentially read as subverting colonialist and white supremacist depictions of Filipino primitivism and hypersexuality. However, Villa simultaneously laments in his letter that the Filipino public has apparently failed to reach a romantic place of "awakening." Such a complaint subtly rehearses the evolutionary characterization of Filipino writing in English as inhabiting a less developed time and space than American modernism. This tension between the radical erotic possibilities of Villa's poetry and the reification of English modernism in contradistinction to Filipino underdevelopment becomes more pronounced in Villa's later poetry written and published in the U.S.

Ultimately, Villa would refuse to apologize to the university and using money he won in a short story competition, he left the Philippines the same year Bulosan arrived in Seattle.[47] Villa left Manila for the University of New Mexico where a former English professor from the UP served on the English faculty. In New Mexico, he pursued his studies, continued writing and founded a literary magazine, Clay, as well as produced his first and only collection of short stories in 1933, A Footnote to Youth. A striking assortment of stories about barrio life in the Philippines as well as modernist semi-autobiographical narratives about a Filipino student's life in the U.S., Footnote to Youth

brought Villa to the attention of the American literary circle.[48] Edward J. O'Brien, best known for compiling annual lists of the best contemporary American short stories, penned the introduction and hailed Villa as "among the half-dozen short story writers in America who count" (5).[49] Despite his relative success with Footnote to Youth, Villa would abandon the short story form (as well as overtly writing about the Philippines) for poetry.[50]

In 1939, Many Voices: Selected Poems was published in the Philippines followed by Poems by Doveglion in 1941.[51] That same year Have Come, Am Here heralded Villa's arrival in the American landscape of poetry. Villa's last collection of original poetry, Volume Two, was published in 1949. In truth, Villa's oeuvre is small indeed especially given that many of the poems in all four collections were constantly re-edited and re-printed. However, Villa's success in the U.S. even with such a small body of work ensured that the "l'enfant terrible" became the dominant figure in Philippine writing in English. From his location in the U.S., Villa ruled the development of English literature in his homeland particularly when he applied his patron Edward O'Brien's annual best of lists to Philippine writing, awarding one to three stars to Filipino writers in English or placing authors on his "criminal record" for their literary incompetence.[52] Though Villa himself eventually gave up the short story form, he explained his focus on Philippine short stories to be one of necessity given the state of Philippine writing in English.

In Villa's 1934 article "Best Philippine Short Stories," Villa declares Philippine poetry to be "phooetry" (Chua 99). Contrasting the vitality of the short story with the "imbecility" of Philippine poetry, Villa calls on poets to "get in step with the age, get

civili[z]ed" and insists, "Filipino 'poets' are still in that stage in which they do nothing but babble mere metrics – 'classicism' they call it – but a meterstick *is* metrical – and yet it is *not* poetry" (99, 100). Given Villa's arguable success as a poet in the U.S., his statement and judgments subtly re-enforce his authority. If Filipino poets have remained mired in mimicking the "classics" rather than producing new poetic forms, Villa as critic and poet seemingly inhabits a new evolutionary stage of literature – and he seemingly does so because of his access to the universal and essential.[53]

Villa goes on to elaborate further on his almost Byronic categories for gauging a true artist: personality, substance, experience and reality. All four categories are steeped in a transcendent conception of literature divorced from socio-historical contexts. In closing, Villa writes: "And I should like to conclude this little aside by saying that, in all my work, *I do NOT write about the Filipino, I write about MAN*. I am not interested in the Filipino as a separate brand of humanity – I am interested in him as a *human being*, as a *man*. The citizen holds no interested for me, whether American, Filipino or Slav; I am interested in the *human being that God created*. I disbelieve in a Filipino literature as a special type of literature: *a national literature is valid in so far as it is world literature*" (110).

Villa thus positions himself in contradistinction to S.P Lopez and the mission of the 1940 Commonwealth Literary Awards' insistence on the need to develop a Philippine literary heritage. Jonathan Chua incisively excavates how colonialism however overdetermines Villa's universal conception of "man:" "[Villa posits that the] individual was above conventional morality or politics, being the self in touch with the inner

meaning of life, not the 'epithelia of life.' From a certain perspective, however, the Filipino as individual was a captive subject. To be 'one man *and* every man' was, given the historical realities, to be a copy of the Western man; for in practice, the 'essential' and avant-garde literature constituted by this discourse required a subject schooled in the colonial literary traditions, attuned to the myths of the genius and the dichotomy between the 'inner man' that seeks self-expression and the faceless mob that stifles him; and sold on the American colonial values of laissez-faire, novelty, and modernity" (14). While Villa thus can be read as potentially reifying colonialist hierarchies and the lie of the rational Enlightenment subject, Chua does consider how Villa's supreme mimicry of the colonial master – his ability to so closely identify himself with American modernism – potentially reveals "the hollowness of the difference between colonial ruler and colonial subject" (27).

This shuttling between recuperative and indicting defines the critical reception of Villa's work (just as it does Bulosan's treatment of white women in AIH). E. San Juan, Jr. in his Philippine Temptation attempts to read against the grain of Villa's refusal of socially conscious literature, and sees Villa as offering a third world modernism. He characterizes Villa as a "subaltern artist who adopted the colonizer's tongue for emancipatory individual and (by extrapolation) collective ends" (185).[54] This focus on the significance of Villa as Filipino artist particularly resonates with the framing of recent republications of Villa's poetry. Eileen Tabios, editor of Anchored Angel, focuses on the figure of Villa as ethnic artist (despite the fact that Villa himself would have resented such an appellation). She writes that the act of "recovering" Villa is important in order to

"provide an important role model for younger generations of Filipino Americans. This is particularly important in light of the controversies over the adverse portrayal of Filipino characters in various literary works, mostly by non-Filipino authors…" (150).[55] While Villa can act as literary patriarch, Tabios also suggests that his refusal to be subsumed under the category of an ethnic artist resonates with other recent Asian American cultural producers who have battled against having to address "ethnic concerns" in order to be considered authentic Asian American artists (152).[56]

Perhaps the most interesting recuperation of Villa as a significant Filipino American writer is Augusto Espiritu's chapter on Villa in his Five Faces of Exile. In it, Espiritu does argue for an expansion of the concept of the ethnic artist along the lines suggested by San Juan, Tabios and others, but he also focuses on Villa's love of Filipino cuisine and Villa's theatrical personality in order to argue that Villa exemplifies an "overlapping relationship between nationalism, performance and patronage" (75). Espiritu argues that Villa "employed shock, posing, and provocation to convey his artistic philosophy. He consciously utilized the power of the body and sexuality… Lastly, Villa performed his identity in his attitude to ethnic food: he extolled the virtues of Filipino cuisine, which served him as an important marker not only of artistic taste but also of an essential Filipino American ethnicity" (75-76). While Espiritu does critically recognize the necessity of considering the significance of the body and sexuality in Villa's life and oeuvre (something strangely missing or underdeveloped in most considerations of Villa's writings),[57] there is however an apparent theoretical contradiction in linking Villa's love of Filipino cuisine with gender performativity.

Espiritu states that Villa considered himself as a kind of "male diva" who delighted in sensuous imagery in his poetry and reveled in suggestive shocking language in social settings (92-93). However, what is at stake in highlighting such behavior on Villa's part? To link such theatricality with performativity invites a Butlerian reading of Villa's figure and writings.[58] In "Imitation and Gender Subordination," Butler argues that to understand gender and sexual identity as "play" is to recognize that there is no essential self that pre-exists the performance of gender and sexuality.[59] In citing Villa's seemingly shocking behavior, is Espiritu suggesting that Villa is attempting to reveal the lie of the coherent gendered subject? That would seem not to be the case since he reads Villa's love of Filipino cuisine as a marker of "essential Filipino American ethnicity." By necessity, to establish the lie of the coherent gendered subject would necessitate a parallel realization of the lie of an essential ethnic subject or at the very least invite questions as to ethnic identity's coherence.

Espiritu's recognition of Villa's gendered and sexualized performativtiy, however, is a critical entry into considerations of Villa beyond recuperating him as an ethnic artist or as a paradigm for Filipino American writers. While such projects like that of Tabios are necessary for bringing recognition to underrepresented writers it seems to me that it can so easily fall into the trap of a banal multiculturalism or conversely a narrow ethnic nationalism. Rather, it is this play with gender and sexuality in Villa's poetry that I want to close this chapter with in order to pose necessary interrogations of the constitution of the Filipino American subject. As Villa himself recognized in his letter to Bocobo, poetic depictions of the sensuousness of the body were capable of challenging

bourgeois morality and reconfiguring how society conceives of the corporeal and the transcendent. Given the ways in which the Filipino body was saturated with extra-discursive meanings through the hypersexualization of Philippine independence and benevolent assimilation, Villa's play with (mortal and divine) bodies can be read as challenging colonialist epistemologies and ontologies, about what defined the human and what defined humanity's other(s). Focusing on Villa's divine poems, I mine them for the ways in which Villa's exploration of the playful and contradictory relationality between the human and divine suggests a decolonized conception of the human that undermines that of the transparent, abstract Enlightenment rationality which grounded colonialist enterprises and violence.

Villa's play with the divine, however, does not necessarily produce an unproblematic decolonized humanity and I would highlight that my reading on Villa relies on contradiction and simultaneity to suggest these spaces and alternatives that constantly slide between reifying colonialist dichotomies and undermining them completely. It is this space of play and contradiction that I want to focus on rather than outright categorization of Villa as suffering from "the miseducation of the Filipino," to use Renato Constantino's phrase, or as undercover usurper of colonialist literary forms and capitalist exploitation. For these reasons, I focus on Villa's "Divine Poems" which are poetic sites of contradiction as well as palimpsests of the Philippine history of multiple colonialisms. These poems in their focus on the trinity gesture to Spanish colonialism and the enforced conversion of the islands to Catholicism while their English language-form signal the processes of benevolent assimilation and their homoerotic play

with God still yet index the hypersexualization of the Filipino in America. The narrator (and author) of these poems cannot easily be categorized as obedient colonial subject or outright decolonizing third world artist; rather, I invoke Sarita See's concept of "devotional praxis" that potentially provide a critical analytic attentive to the play and possibilities in Villa's poetry.

In considering contemporary artist Paul Pfeiffer's digital media, See borrows the term "devotional praxis" from ethno-musicologist Christi-Ann Castro. Analyzing Pfeiffer's Vitruvian Figure, a rendering of the floor plans of what seems to be a medieval church which upon closer inspection is composed of pornographic images in the style of Seurat's pointilism, See argues: "Viewed instead as an artifact of hybrid devotional practice, *Vitruvian* turns out to be a most pious act of sexually shameless reverence" (59). To consider devotional praxis is thus to be forced to ask, what makes a particular practice devotional? Or it other words, what makes devotion to an object assimilative or subversive? What happens when we conceive of such devotion as *potentially both simultaneously*? See thus presents a nuanced and complex conception of agency that takes into account the multiple and varied ways in which resisting actions can eventually and/or simultaneously be co-opted and yet still be mined for their decolonizing potentialities.

For example, in the opening lines of ,,A Composition,, that begins this section, Villa renames himself, undermining any certain knowledge, particularly colonialist knowledge, of the Filipino subject who is named both José and Villa but really is neither. The Hispanicized first and last names are rejected – a telling action when one recalls the

Spanish 1849 decree on Filipino surnames by Captain-General Narciso Clavería.[60] Villa follows up his challenge to name the colonial subject with another challenge to map the colonial space – he inverts island and city, identifying Manila as the former and Luzon as the latter. Villa then posits his "true name" of "Doveglion," an amalgamation of dove, eagle and lion. Villa's choice of an animalistic alias harkens to the turn of the century American characterization of Filipinos as monkeys, insects and dogs during the Filipino American War; such representational moves operated to undermine Aguinaldo and his revolutionary forces' claims to independence.[61]

However, "Doveglion" is a hybrid and mythical animal akin to Judeo-Christian conceptions of the "cherubim" – a winged being with the four faces of a man, ox, lion and eagle in the service of God.[62] Villa claims this religious iconography as his own and its invocation connects the degradation of Filipino revolutionaries as animals with the concurrent rhetoric of the American mission to civilize and Christianize the islands.[63] While alluding to the cherubim, Villa's "Doveglion" in contrast is not a servant of God but rather rivals the divinity for mastery of the earth and the heavens. It is this play, this destabilizing of the human and divine that can be read as also suggesting ways to destabilize the coherence of nations as well as gender hierarchy; moreover, the homoeroticism of Villa's poems empowers non-normative sexualities, collapsing any stable understanding of the heteronormative and its abject sexualized others.

In Villa's second volume of poetry published in the Philippines, Poems by Doveglion, the first mention of God and man in the collection occurs in poem number fifty-one.

When finally before God I disrobed –
(He the most Nude the most Perfect
Lover – in whose eyes seeth most direct
Oh who but Love) – O I fell I sobbed
To see me so mortal imperfect
The very beauty of His mere feet
So outshining Me – to my whole defeat!
I looked at Him and was wreckt.

But came Hands to raise me as were
I the most Beloved: oh came speech
Than all religions more fair
And than all gold more rich –
"O sweet, 'tis *I* am not so perfect!
Too Godly I – to my immortal Defect!"

God and narrator apparently stand naked before each other and the second line emphasizes this seeming contradiction and impossibility. God is the "most" nude but also seemingly the most "Perfect;" the celebration of God's perfection would seem to allude to his divine state and a neo-Platonic cosmology where the created world is simply a shadow of God's ideal perfection. All things that exist in the world exist to the extent that it participates somehow in the perfect goodness of God.[64] The state of God as "the most Perfect," however, is undermined by the line break; moving onto the third line, God is not some ontological perfect being but rather the "Perfect Lover." Read one way, God is the Perfect Lover because of the sacrifice of Jesus – the death of the Son of God for the redemption of sin, an act of absolute unconditional love. Read against the grain and taking into the account the context of the narrator disrobing for the perfectly nude God, then the divine may also literally be the perfect physical lover.[65] The rest of the stanza however performs the expected worship of the perfect Godhead. The detail of "His mere

feet" alludes to the anointing of the feet of Jesus and the woman who dries them with her hair before Jesus enters Jerusalem.[66]

The poem takes a turn in the second stanza, however, as the focus goes from the perfect beauty of Christ's feet to God's "Hands." God lifts up the narrator as if he were "the most Beloved," another allusion but to the beloved disciple present at the crucifixion. However, whereas the beloved disciple is noteworthy for witnessing the perfect sacrifice of Christ and for becoming surrogate son to Mary mother of Jesus, the narrator as Beloved is apparently the object to be admired and worshipped. The last two lines of the poem contradict any understanding of the perfect and the divine. While God's divinity had humbled and "wreckt" the imperfect narrator in the first stanza, God proclaims that being "too Godly" is actually a defect. Moreover, this statement is "more fair" than all religions and "more rich" than all gold. In this poem, Villa thus calls into question what constitutes perfection and divinity, suggesting that to be "too" divine or too divorced from the corporeal and the material is that which is to be pitied. Conversely, the human and the imperfect are that which is to be praised and worshipped. Any stable understanding of the human and the divine are rendered contingent and relational – the definition of the human associated with imperfection becomes fraught. In the poem, imperfection is simultaneously lack of perfection but also too much perfection and if this is the case, then what becomes of any understanding of the human? If the human, in the Christian neo-Platonic conception, is linked to God by participating in God's goodness, then the metaphysical thrust of Christianity and its ideology of salvation necessitate constantly progressing towards the perfect goodness. This contradictory perfection in

poem fifty-one thus usurps the meaning of Christian progress up the great chain of being for to play with the idea of perfection is to destabilize the telos of Christian salvation.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is only because of God's infinite love and mercy that man can be saved from his inevitable failings. Jesus, as the messiah, progresses time forward to its fulfillment of God's kingdom on earth. This teleological conception of history and the hierarchical categorization of beings operated as well in the formulation of benevolent assimilation. We need only remember the famous speech of Pres. McKinley to a Methodist congregation in 1899 when he tells of praying on his knees in the White House about the Philippines.[67] McKinley's speech epitomizes America's fatherly messianic role to instruct Filipinos and lead them into divine modernity and manly development. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the cultural nationalism developed during the Commonwealth Period embraced this telos of benevolent assimilation. Villa however seems to reject such heteropatriarchal assumptions of both benevolent assimilation and commonwealth nationalism by reconstituting the hypersexuality of the Filipino immigrant through the suggestions of the narrator's lust for God.

Originally published as number seventy-six in Have Come, Am Here, the poem below takes the image of the naked God even further than poem number fifty-one.[68]

In the chamber of my philosophy
God is instructed.
God is all naked
For reception of my energy.

God is all naked.
I am all incandescent.
God must begin His ascent

To me the Created.

God is instructed
In the ways of humanity.
God must humanize divinity
To be perfected.

God is my elected.
Him have I chosen
To be berosen.
Him have I elected.

God is my miracle!
God is my Work!
Music from the stark,
Original, marble Syllable!

The poem continues the work of inverting and destabilizing the categories of the divine/perfect and the mortal/imperfect. God again is the one naked, but this time awaiting instruction. This notion of instruction "in the ways of humanity" gestures to the fiction of democratic tutelage and benevolent assimilation.[69] Whereas such colonial education was couched in the patriarchal terms of white love for the little brown brother, Villa suggests that the project of educating God is a homoerotic one; God is all naked and waiting "reception" of the narrator's energy.

Moreover, the fourth stanza upsets the Calvinist conception of unconditional election, the process by which God elects to save certain souls according to his own divine logic.[70] Not only is the narrator the one who has chosen God for education, perfection and salvation but the end rhymes of "chosen" and "berosen" coupled with the repetition of "elected" suggest a homoerotic double entendre. The phrase "to be berosen" is an odd example of diction to denote a process of spiritual uplift; it can also suggest a physical process of rising, perhaps even of the erected phallus due to desire for the naked

God (or for the narrator himself). In the last stanza, the narrator claims status as creator and links that power over God to the power of artistry and the wielding of language – "Music from the Stark, / Original, marble Syllable!" Mastery over the English language thus gives the narrator the discursive ability to turn colonialist categories premised on the perfected and evolved nature of the Anglo Saxon not only upside down but to question such categories' very coherence and knowability. Once such categories have been disarticulated, we are left to re-conceive the very ideas of the human and the non-human.

Beyond the Filipino and Beyond the Human

In this chapter, I have attempted to offer a reading of the Tydings McDuffie Act that is attentive to the ways in which the establishment of Philippine independence resulted in the hypersexualization of the Filipino immigrant. If the commencement of independence also concurrently inaugurated the genre of Filipino American literature, then the prose of Carlos Bulosan and the poetry of Jose Garcia Villa must be read as reckoning with such hypersexualization. Moreover, to be attentive to the ways each writer plays with gender and sexuality within his text is to locate the possibilities and spaces of alternative conceptions of Filipino American subjectivity and agency. Rather than offer a process of becoming Filipino that potentially reifies a masculinist, leftist and proletariat figure, my reading of Bulosan suggests other ways of inhabiting the category of the Filipino while I contend that Villa's poetry forces us to strive beyond a definition of humanity that is mired in colonialist expressions of power and violence. I cannot however say exactly how one inhabits the category of the Filipino differently or how one

imagines a humanity not mired in colonialist violence. I do not see this though as discouraging for it is the attempt to grasp these alternate visions, to imagine an "America that is in the heart," that constitutes necessary acts of freedom. Rather, than offer impossibly exhaustive answers, I have attempted to reveal the existence of these possibilities. In the conclusion that follows, I discuss why it is imperative to imagine beyond the concept of national belonging and beyond a normative Filipino American subject, and how such imaginings can intervene in not only queer theory and Asian American studies but in any poetic and political project that attempts to assert lives and expressions seemingly made impossible in the world-capitalist system.

Conclusion

Towards a Sisyphean Filipino American Practice

In the preceding chapters, I have demonstrated how a queer reading of Commonwealth literary texts reveals how the interplay of race, gender and sexuality discursively and dialectically constitutes the Philippine Commonwealth. In the ambiguous and contradictory moment of the Commonwealth, the racialized, gendered and sexualized representations in these texts struggled to order the relationship between the Philippines and the U.S. and to call a knowable Filipino (American) subject into being. The first chapter began with Katherine Mayo in order to explore the complex relationships between racialization, sexualization and gendering in the project of benevolent assimilation. Mayo's Islands of Fear queers the colonial family romance, allowing its unmarried female author to access the seemingly masculinist realm of imperial power. In this way, Mayo's work and life challenges the relegation of the white woman to the domestic realm of both the nation and the heteronormative home.

In the second chapter, Manuel Quezon's cultural and material policies during the Commonwealth reified the gendered divide between the public and private spaces of the nation.

The utilization of English literature to signify the maturation and modernization of the nation was premised on calling a heteropatriarchal Filipino subject into being, a utilization that both relegated Filipinas to bearers of domestic purity (both national and conjugal) as well as obfuscated persisting material neocolonial ties to the U.S. However, I also offer Angela Manalang Gloria's poetry as an example of the unmooring of English

from such heteropatriarchal nationalism in its exploration of female subjectivity beyond the dichotomy of mother or whore. Finally, in the third chapter I focus on the hypersexualization of Philippine independence and the (im)possibilities of the queer moments in Carlos Bulosan and Josè Garcia Villa's texts – the impossibility of asserting a normative Filipino American subject and the possibility of imagining an America that is in the heart. Focusing on the queer moments in Bulosan and Villa's texts thus traces how the relationships between race, gender and sexuality are not only inundated with power but are also productively contradictory, allowing one access to spaces and acts of freedom.

In this conclusion, I suggest how my study of the intricacies of race, gender and sexuality in Commonwealth Philippine literary texts can potentially intervene in contemporary debates in queer theory concerning LGBTQ claims to national belonging as articulated in the concepts of homonormativity and queer liberalism. I argue that considering the ambiguous and contradictory moment of the Commonwealth can be a productive starting point to imagine a mode of belonging to spaces that are neither national nor diasporic. Admittedly, such spaces may not yet (or ever) exist but we must nonetheless grasp for them in order to resist simply increasing access to rights and national belonging that rebounds to reify the systems of exclusion, marginalization and normativity. Lastly, I consider the contribution this project can make to the current state of Filipino American Studies, particularly concerning the revaluation of its relationship to Asian American Studies and the newly emerging discipline of Critical Ethnic Studies. In this consideration, I strongly caution against prioritizing a single axis of difference as *the*

starting point of any project of cultural analysis and political practice. Rather, I close by offering a rumination on what I term a Sisyphean ethics, which at its heart holds the necessity of constantly recognizing one's saturation in power even as one attempts to imagine beyond power.

The Queer Space Between the Domestic and Diasporic

> It was a winter's night God,s fiftyfive angels deserted Him to warm themselves at my side. For I am the South, God is the North: though the North is but the South's reflection. But every spring I go North, God comes South: then the South is the North's image… This is our Movement, mine and my fiftyfive angels. Mystery is here and greatly. *A Moving Country!* A country that *moves to follow Fire!* That is a real Country.
>
> - José Garcia Villa, ,,A Composition,,

In recent years, the radical potential of the term "queer" has come into question particularly as LGBTQ groups have sought more access to rights as American citizens. Seen most clearly in mainstream rhetoric and propaganda for the gay marriage movement, such LGBTQ campaigns for national inclusion ultimately fail to challenge the marginalizing system of normativity, instead re-inscribing its own form of normativity or what Lisa Duggan has termed homonormativity. Homonormativity can be understood as "rhetorically remapping and recoding freedom and liberation in narrow terms of privacy, domesticity, and the unfettered ability to consume in the 'free' market, collaborat[ing] with a mainstreamed nationalist politics of identity, entitlement, inclusion, and personal responsibility, while abandoning a more global critique of capitalist exploitation and domination, state violence and expansion, and religious fundamentalism and hate."[1] In such homonormative collaboration with mainstreamed nationalist politics, a form of

queer liberalism coalesces that relies on colorblindness and its itinerant emphasis on a U.S. domestic space grounded in banal individualism and fictitious meritocracy to fuel LGBTQ claims for political and social inclusion.[2]

In both the formulations of homonormativity and queer liberalism, the domestic nation is taken as a stable space that the LGBTQ subject seeks access to and inclusion in regardless of sexual difference and at the cost of eliding the persisting social consequences of racial, gender and class difference. However, in the texts I have considered from the Philippine Commonwealth period, the concept of the nation itself is dialectically predicated on the imperialistic convergence of race, sexuality and gender. The nation, as a space to seek belonging in, does not exist outside of such convergence. For example, in Jose Garcia Villa's ,,A Composition,, we can read the poet as not only ruminating on the (post)colonial condition of the Philippine Commonwealth but also as queering the binaries between nation/colony and domestic/diasporic so that the very coherence of "country" disappears.

When Villa immigrated to the states in 1930, he came as a U.S. national. The Philippines was then under direct control of the U.S. but Filipinos were not American citizens and yet they could travel with U.S. passports. When his texts were published, the national status of Filipinos had been revoked by the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act but the Filipino nation was yet to be formally established so he could not have been considered an American citizen. Once the Philippines became independent, Villa remained in the U.S. but never became a citizen and yet his poetry is now recognized as Filipino American and/or Asian American, and even more broadly as American

modernism. During Villa's lifetime, he was a Spanish colonial then an American national then a foreigner in the U.S. (but not a Philippine citizen), and lastly, he died as a resident alien in New York. While Villa did migrate between the Philippines and the U.S., it was not so much his physical movements that made him transnational but that literally the Philippines was *trans*-national, in a constant state of transformation from colony to commonwealth to independence as dictated by the needs of American capital. To borrow Villa's phrase, the Philippines was "*A Moving Country"!*[3]

In ,,A Composition,, Villa thus collapses the distinctions between God/Man and North/South with the consequence that the poem disarticulates any stable notion of the nation. The case of Villa and the Philippines as a "moving country" thus forces us to ask: what spaces open up when the domestic and diasporic have collapsed into each other? For the Philippine (post)colonial formation, there is no option to subsume sexuality into narratives of national identity for during the Commonwealth the Filipino belongs to no stable conception of nation or even diaspora. In what follows, I consider how the queer reading practice I employ in this project is both indebted to but productively divergent from the excellent critical projects of David Eng, Siobhan Sommerville and Roderick Ferguson. I do so in order to trace the contribution that considerations of Philippine (post)coloniality and *trans*-nationalism can make to queer theory. I believe that queering the space between the domestic and the diasporic, as Villa attempts above, will further reveal the lie of homonormativity and the impossibility of national belonging outside systems of power and difference. Furthermore, it forces us to ask: in the space between

the domestic and the diasporic, what other types of belonging, political practices and narratives are then possible?

In his major texts Racial Castration and Q&A: Queer in Asian America, David Eng has arguably made the most conscientious and focused attempts to put Asian American Studies and queer theory into relationship with each other. Eng grounds his application of queer theory to Asian American cultural critique in Lisa Lowe's understanding of citizenship, whiteness and masculinity articulated in her Immigrant Acts. Lowe insists that as U.S. citizenship was extended to nonwhite persons, "it also formally designated these subjects as 'male'" (11). Eng invokes Lowe's observation in order to insist that domestic processes of racialization necessarily renders Asian Americans as queer so that "…Lowe's work highlights the need for Asian American studies scholars to understand that legal and cultural discourse on 'deviant' sexuality do not affect only those contemporary Asian American subjects who readily self-identify as queer, lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgendered; they affect a much larger Asian American constituency as well – regardless of sexual identity or identifications – whose disavowed status as legitimate or proper subjects of the U.S. nation-state render them abnormal as such" (Q&A: Queer in Asian America, 6). Eng's attempt to queer Asian America must be read in the context of the shift in Asian American studies from an investment in a heteropatriarchal cultural nationalist agenda of the 1980s and 1990s to a consideration of the potentially monolithic construction of the category of Asian America as well as the necessity of transnational and diasporic analytics in the field.

In "Out Here and Over There: Queerness and Diaspora in Asian American Studies," Eng further elucidates the stakes of queering Asian America and utilizing a diasporic analytic. He begins be delineating how cultural nationalists such as Frank Chin and others claim a space in U.S. society by rejecting the emasculated image of the Asian American male in favor of a potentially misogynist and homophobic yet militant grassroots activist and artist. In this way, cultural nationalist claims to U.S. belonging do not necessarily critique normative systems of whiteness, masculinity and citizenship but rather uphold the compulsory heterosexuality of the domestic nation-state.[4] In response, Eng importantly asks: "How does Asian American cultural nationalism's claiming of the domestic through the heterosexual preempt a more comprehensive investigation of Asian American identity and a political platform invoked by queerness and diaspora?... How might we invoke a queer and diasporic assumption of the domestic to denaturalize any claims on the nation-state and home as inevitable functions of the heterosexual?" (35). In the context of the theoretical and ideological shift in Asian American Studies at the end of the twentieth century, Eng's questions force one to consider the field's heterosexual investment in the domestic through this juxtaposition of national belonging/heterosexuality and diasporic existence/queerness. However, it also potentially reifies that juxtaposition as if queerness and diaspora were discrete formations that could be applied to the nation and heterosexuality, as if heterosexuality and the nation precede queerness and diaspora. Neither pole of the binary though is stable in itself beyond its relation to the other pole; both are necessarily in a simultaneous and paradoxical relation to each other.

In Eng's most recent project, The Feeling of Kinship, he expands his initial project of queering Asian America, grounding his analytic of queer diaspora in this paradoxical simultaneity and applying it to, what he terms, the racialization of intimacy stemming from the growth of queer liberalism. In his investigation of transnational adoption, mainstream queer investment in the nuclear family, and the possibilities of alternative structures of kinship, Eng references Gayatri Gopinath and refines his deployment of "queer diaspora": "the methodology of queer diasporas denaturalizes race precisely by contesting and rethinking the pervading rhetoric that 'situates the terms "queer" and "diaspora" as dependent on the originality of "heterosexuality" and "nation"'" (14). In this way, by refusing to subsume sexuality within "narratives of national identity" or into "Western developmental narratives of capitalism and gay identity," the methodology of queer diaspora reveals different stories about nation-building and "race under globalization" (14). Eng's consideration of queer liberalism is a critical contribution to queer theory, but I offer Philippine (post)coloniality at the end of the nineteenth century as a further challenge to the originality of heterosexuality and the nation and a further complication to understandings of domestic and diasporic racial formations.

As Eng observes in Q&A, the disavowed and sexually aberrant status of Asian America is "a 'queer' formation that traces its historical roots backward to shifting twentieth-, nineteenth-, and eighteenth-century legal definitions of the U.S. nation-state and the imagined formations of its citizenry" (6). Recent considerations of these shifting legal definitions, such as those of Roderick Ferguson and Siobhan Sommerville contend

with the significance of Jim Crow racialized formations and the emergence of homosexuality in the period. However, both focus on the domestic racial formations of the period while a full consideration of the relationship between the rise of the black/white color line, homosexuality as a category, and U.S. imperialistic overseas endeavors has yet to be attempted. In his investigation of sociology, namely in Aberrations in Black, Roderick Ferguson is invested in using queer of color analysis to reveal the inextricability of racist practice and gender and sexual regulation. While in Siobhan Sommerville's Queering the Color Line, she traces how the formation of the black/white racial divide informs and is informed by the emergence of the categories of homosexual and heterosexual. Both Sommerville and Ferguson gesture to the relationship domestic processes of racialization and sexualization have to the colonial projects of the period; however, it is beyond the scope of their projects to fully consider the dynamic nature of such a relationship.

For example, in his article for the special "What's Queer about Queer Studies Now?" issue of Social Text, Ferguson connects war, sexual normativity, African American citizenship and U.S. colonial expansion: "Indeed, the simultaneity of war as well as gender and sexual normativity means that we might regard the period between Reconstruction and the Spanish-American War as occasioning the emergence of a racialized network of power that speaks in anticipation of a humanity and citizenship that is secured by performing sexual and gender normativity. The genealogy of this network of power lies in the emergence of American nationality as well as in the specificities of African American citizenship, normativity, and intellectuality as they arose out of U.S.

colonial expansion" (96). In this, Ferguson observes how one only becomes human (and a U.S. citizen) through performing sexual and gendered normativity. Such a network of racialized power is seen as developing from the nexus of African American post-bellum citizenship *and* U.S. colonial expansion beyond the continent emblematized by the Spanish American War.

However, how is the process Ferguson presents above complicated by the destabilization of the question of citizenship? For African Americans, gendered and sexualized norms are performed in order to belong to the U.S nation. In the case of the Commonwealth, does the performance of norms signal belonging to the U.S. though the Philippine islands are decidedly unincorporated? Does it signal belonging to the Philippine nation yet to be born? The import of these questions becomes even clearer when considering Sommerville's analysis of how as late nineteenth century categories of black and white were legalized and normativized, so did understandings of sexuality: "Only in the late nineteenth century did a new understanding of sexuality emerge, in which sexual acts and desires became constitutive of identity. Homosexuality, as the condition, and therefore the identity, of particular bodies was thus a historically specific production" (Queering the Color Line 2). If during this period, the hetero/homosexual divide cannot be divorced by the black/white divide particularly in domestic processes of racialization and sexualization, then what of those on the periphery of the nation and those that fall out of the black/white binary?

Rather than consider fully the intricacies posed by the Philippines and other locations on the periphery of the U.S. to the formation of the black/white and

hetero/homosexual divide, Sommerville states instead: "Foreign policy mirrored the racialized violence taking place internally. During this same period, the United States pursued expansionism in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Panama and the Philippines, justifying such domination through the discourse of a 'civilizing mission' to enlighten the 'darker' races. Social anxieties about racial identity during this period led to a deluge of Jim Crow and antimiscegenation laws, laws that can be understood as an aggressive attempt to classify, separate, and racilize bodies as either 'black' or 'white'" (2). Foreign policy is definitely related to the racialized violence taking place internally, but to say that it "mirrored" it as a one-to-one relationship is perhaps not to recognize fully the complex situation of colonization and imperial power. Somerville's analysis is careful and significant, but I wonder what is gained by recognizing that the colonial situations of the Philippines and the other Pacific acquisitions fall outside the black/white and hetero/homosexual paradigm.

If, as Somerville shows, the bifurcation of black/white is necessarily intertwined with that of hetero/homosexual then what can we say about the racialization and sexualization of those who are neither black nor white during the American fin de siècle? In the specific case of the Philippines, the *trans*-national and (post)colonial processes of racialization and sexualization challenge the black/white, hetero/homosexual, domestic/diasporic bifurcation thus rendering the Filipino as a multiply queer subject. This is one case in which no amount of homonormative or queer liberalist practices can recuperate the Filipino's belonging either to the American or Filipino nation for the very conditions of the Filipino subject's emergence at the end of the nineteenth century was

grounded neither in domestic nor diasporic spaces but rather in what can only be imagined as in-between, described in the negative by Justice White as the "disembodied shade." If the nation is constituted by the convergence of racialized, gendered and sexualized categories, then what language must we grasp in order to articulate this space in-between? Such a space is predicated on the convergence of power and categories of difference and yet in our inability to categorize it, I find hope that within this space is the inspiration to imagine life possibilities that exceed and yet are inextricable from the nation-state and global capitalism. This space cannot be named and because of this I am impelled to pursue it.

Filipino America, Necessary Simultaneity, and Productive Contradictions

> There can ultimately be no coherent conception of the 'Filipino American' because the Filipino is permanently distorted by the most violent and experimental extrapolations of American global ambition… "Race," in the perpetually coercive historical constitution of the Filipino condition during and since the moment of the U.S. encounter, encompasses a nexus of historical transformations and identifications
>
> - Dylan Rodriquez, Suspended Apocalypse

> …Filipina/American subjectivity is impelled by a desire for parts, shards, and fragments, a gendered process that diverges radically from the search for unity and wholeness that drives colonial castration.
>
> - Sarita See, The Decolonized Eye

I have attempted to show above how a consideration of the Commonwealth Philippines can contribute to queer theory by providing a critical counterpoint to homonormativity and queer liberalism. Simultaneously, it can enable richer analyses and

alternate political practice within Filipino American cultural critique. In this final section of the project, I provide an overview of the recent developments in Filipino American Studies, particularly focusing on how Dylan Rodriguez calls for the term "Filipino America" and its related discursive, cultural and political practices to be grounded in a consideration of genocide and white supremacy. I then pair my reading of Rodriguez's work with a consideration of Sarita See's analysis of Filipino American modern art. I do so not in order to place Rodriguez's work at odds with See's, but rather to situate them in conversation with each other to suggest the necessity of refusing to prioritize any radical analytic upon a single axis of difference as the only way to read the subjectivities and stakes of Filipino America. Lastly, I close by offering the idea of a Sisyphean Filipino American practice attentive to absurd possibilities.

During the period in which Eng recognized the necessity to queer Asian American Studies, the enfolding of Filipino America into Asian America became contested and influenced the field's move towards poststructuralist and transnational analytics. The awarding of the Association of Asian American Studies fiction award in 1998 to Lois Ann Yamanaka's Blu's Hanging emblematizes the complex relationship between Filipino America and Asian America. At the center of Yamanaka's novel is the depiction of a Filipino child molester which rehearses the sexual demonization of Filipino men, born from and re-enforcing Hawaii's ethnic hierarchy in which East Asians occupy higher social and economic positions and native Hawaiians and Filipinos are relegated to a marginalized status.[5] Protests over the award highlighted the pitfalls of the construction of Asian American as a monolithic category that flattens critical ethnic difference and

disregards political, economic and social disparities amongst Asian ethnic groups in the U.S.

In particular, the award and its controversy highlighted the critical divergence between Filipino American and East Asian American experiences of imperialism, racialization, gendering and sexualization. Even prior to the Yamanaka controversy, key Filipino American scholars such as Oscar Campomanes and E. San Juan Jr. had been insisting on the absence or forgetting of empire in Asian American analytics preoccupied with immigration and citizenship. For example, the pedophilic representation of Yamanaka's Filipino character has its historical grounds in the differential treatment of Asian ethnicities in Hawaii's plantation system. In order to break labor unions and in response to increasing exclusion of Chinese then Japanese migration to the U.S., Hawaiian plantations turned to Filipino nationals to fill the labor vacuum. Unlike the emasculated representation of East Asian American men which could be traced back to Asian exclusion acts and the forced formation of bachelor societies, Filipinos because of their (post)colonial and national status were seen as lascivious figures hovering at the margins of the nation and threatening inclusion into the U.S. body politic thus the resulting hypersexualization of Philippine independence which I discuss in chapter three.

In 2000, Kandice Chuh applied an "analytic of sexuality" to the texts of Carlos Bulosan and Bienvenido Santos "to call attention to the implicit heteronormativity of Asian American studies' historical promotion of uniform identity" (Imagine Otherwise 35). She attempts to combat the heteropatriarchal and masculinist cultural nationalist agenda, which spurred Eng's queer critique, by highlighting how not all Asian American

men must contend with emasculation. Because of the unique colonial condition of Filipino Americans, their experience of racialization and sexualization belies the inclusion of Filipino America into Asian America. In this way, Chuh's consideration of Bulosan and Santos operates in her call for Asian American studies to be a "subjectless discourse." This insistence on this unique colonial condition, exemplified by Campomanes, San Juan and Chuh, has fueled calls to dislodge Filipino American Studies from under the rubric of Asian American Studies.

Most recently, Antonio T. Tiongson and Edgardo V. Gutierrez, the editors of Positively No Filipinos Allowed, have critically considered how Filipino American studies occupy a "tenuous position" in the academy because "Filipinos constitute a disturbing presence to be contained or effaced because of the challenge they pose to the coherence of these fields [such as Asian American studies] that revolves around a refusal to know [empire]" (3). Tiongson and Gutierrez end their introduction by suggesting that Filipino American studies look "to other institutional spaces and arrangements – Chicano studies, Puerto Rican studies, Native American studies, and Pacific Islander studies – and explor[e] the potential of aligning with these fields of study and the kinds of possibilities these alignments open up" (6). In the particular case of Filipino America's connection to Native American studies, the key which enables such an alignment is the emerging analytic of genocide as articulated by Dylan Rodriguez and manifested recently in the first annual Critical Ethnic Studies Conference and the Future of Genocide at the University of California, Riverside.

In his essay included in Positively No Filipinos Allowed, Rodriguez radically re-presents the term "Filipino America" and insists that "at the nexus of the intersection and sometime conflation of the 'Filipino' and 'American' sits an unnamable violence that deeply troubles the formation of the field itself" ("A Million Deaths?" 146). Thus while Tiongson and Gutierrez critique the relationship of Filipino America to Asian America, Rodriguez focuses on disarticulating the very coherence of "Filipino America" as signifier of community and field of study. In another article published in Ateneo de Manila University's Kritika Kultura, Rodriguez poses "'Filipino America' as the signifier of an originary relation of death and killing, the ongoing inscription of a genocidal condition of possibility for the Filipino/a's sustained presence in and (proximity to) the United States" ("The Condition of Filipino Americanism" 42). By genocide, Rodriguez means not only physical extermination but also cultural destruction, the eradication of the specific character of the persecuted group. In the first case, Rodriguez need only point to the literally countless number of deaths ("a million?" according to Luzviminda Francisco) during the "Philippine Insurrection" – countless in that no official numbers exist of Filipino casualties from direct warfare, scorched earth tactics, policies of *reconcentrado,* famine and disease. In the second case, Rodriguez indicts the other arm of American (post)colonial policy emblematized by the schoolteacher – U.S. policies affecting Philippine education, culture and society, namely the "incorporation of native intellectuals as subjects of modernity and agents of modernization" ("The Condition of Filipino Americanism" 49).

Rodriguez's argument finds its fullest articulation in his Suspended Apocalypse where he critically connects white supremacy, genocide and multiculturalism as the conditions of possibility for dominant formations of Filipino America. The denial of Philippine physical and cultural genocide by both Filipino American scholars and particularly dominant Filipino American formations (such as the National Federation of Filipino American Associations enables the participation in a false multicultural vision of U.S. belonging as well as serves to reify white supremacy and its practices of genocide. Rodirguez charges such forms of what he terms "dominant Filipino Americanism" with suffering from "arrested raciality" because such Filipino Americanist discourse and cultural productions posit "a banal, racially unmarked humanism as both the philosophical foundation and future possibility of its cultural-communal production" rather than consider the violent specificity of race (Suspended Apocalypse 90). In order to combat such arrested raciality, Rodriguez stringently calls for theorizations of race to operate as the critical loci of Filipino American studies. While I appreciate Rodriguez's critiques for how it holds Filipino America accountable for multiculturalist fantasies and opens up the chance for Filipino American alliance with Native and African Americans, I am troubled by how he phrases his call for theorizing race, a call that seems to pit studies of race against analytics of gender and sexuality.

In his final chapter, he begins by suggesting that race "is arguably the least rigorously conceptualized and [the] most blatantly undertheorized by scholars and activists alike" in the field (192). He elaborates on this observation by claiming in an endnote that unlike race, the "context of recent, engaging critical work by scholars

examining gender, sexuality, and queer formations as they constituted Filipino socialites in different historical moments and political geographies [has] successfully resituated the field of inquiry such that, at the very least, it cannot be asserted that these axes [of gender, sexuality and queerness] are either inadequately conceptualized or undertheorized" (241). This statement suggests to me a delinking, perhaps unconsciously, of race, sexuality, and gender. I would argue that in the context of a critically queer Filipino American project that race can never be "blatantly undertheorized." Such projects would by necessity be attentive to the ways in which racialization is a gendered and sexualized process as well as how gendering and sexualization are racialized as I have shown in my analyses of literary texts of the Philippine Commonwealth.

To focus solely on race as an analytic or primary axis of difference is to fail to grasp the variegated and multiple ways that Filipino and Filipino American subjects are both complicit with *and* resistant of white supremacist national structures as well as global capitalism and localized scattered hegemonies.[6] My project demonstrates the fluidity of the categorizing technologies of race, gender, sexuality in the (post)colonial period – that is, how constructions of race, gender, sexuality are interwoven in this period with the circumscription/abrogation of true sovereignty in favor of superficial independence. More importantly, by recognizing the necessary simultaneity of race, gender, sexuality, we also recognize the dynamism in the flows of power amongst such categories. By focusing solely on race in Filipino Americanist discourse and cultural practice, it is true that we can critique a banal multiculturalism but how then are we blinded to the different ways in which race is experienced by disparate gender

presentations and sexualities? Moreover, how are we blinded to not only the different experiences of racialization, but how are we also blinded to the different expressions of resistance articulated perhaps not explicitly and primarily in terms of racialization but at the intersection of these categories of difference? In the call to combat white supremacy and genocide, we must be careful at the very least not to quash the possibilities of feminist and queer "practices of survival."[7]

In Sarita See's The Decolonized Eye, she attempts to trace through such possibilities in her consideration of particular modern Filipino American artists who "point to a culture of *presence* and strategies of *indirection* that counter the invisibility surrounding Filipino America's history of racial subjugation and colonization" (xiii). In See's chapter on the films of Angel Velasco Shaw and the canvases of Manuel Ocampo, she utilizes Reynaldo Ileto's concept of the *pasyon* to articulate her understanding of "infinitival subjectivity." In the *pasyon*, the re-enactment of the passion of the Christ possesses "revolutionary potential in the instability of a powerful sign, that of the martyr" (10). While the figure of the martyr (Christ) can be read as re-enforcing religious and colonial hierarchy, it can also convey the idea of communal sacrifice. In this way, the *pasyon* challenges any simple conception in agency. See reads it instead as an example of an "infinitival subjectivity" or "a conception of self primarily defined by potentiality rather than agency" so that at any given moment Filipinos can be conceived of as "potentially active or potentially passive" (12, 14). [8] This necessarily simultaneous state of potential action or passivity allows one to perceive the productive contradictions in Filipino Americanist practice.

For example, in See's reading of Shaw's film Nailed, in which Shaw traces the voluntary crucifixion of Lucy Reyes in the re-enactment of the *pasyon,* she connects the experimental and nonlinear quality of the film to a form of "post/colonial melancholia" (6). Because of the violence of colonization, the colonized is bereft of language to articulate and mourn properly what has been lost. To use Rodriguez's terms, the relationship between physical and cultural genocide has made it impossible to name either and therefore mourn both losses. The Filipino American subject, given this condition, thus resorts to figurations and violations of the body to express the unnamable violence: "Bereft of language, the colonized subject has nothing left but the body to articulate loss, hence the prevalence of fragmented, damaged bodies in Filipino/American art" (6). In Shaw's film then, Reyes's participation in the *pasyon* reifies the colonialist and racist system of Catholicism imposed on the islands while *simultaneously* contradicting heteropatriarchal expectations of the Filipina. This is the significance I see in the claim See makes that the "Filipina/American subjectivity is impelled by a desire for parts, shards, and fragments, a gendered process that diverges radically from the search for unity and wholeness that drives colonial castration" (32). For the Filipina American, because of her racialization, gendering and sexualization, the unity and wholeness of a purely racial (or even purely gendered or sexualized) analytic can never succeed. The subject, like the nation, cannot exist beyond the convergence of race, sexuality and gender. Any pursuit of a unitarian conception of Filipino American cultural practice and radical politics will fail for the whole of Filipino American subjectivity can never be encompassed by "race" (nor by gender or sexuality). This is the productive

contradiction of the necessary simultaneity of categories of difference that must ground projects of Filipino American discourse, culture and politics.

I see Divine Poem #96 from Josè Garcia Villa's Have Come, Am Here as suggesting this necessary simultaneity and productive contradiction:

> First add-subtract
> Until Identity.
> Then to counteract
> Divide-Multiply
>
> Until Unity.

The first two lines suggest that one can simply add and subtract any number of categories of difference to fashion a sense of one's identity in the world. For example, I can add my gender (feminine) to my sex (female) to my sexuality (straight) to my ethnicity (Filipino) to my nationality (American) to my class status (petit-bourgeois) as a way of understanding my identity. But to do so would be to assume that any of these categories are capable of standing on their own, independently and coherently – that there is an essential and discrete conceptual core to the category of "female" that can be added like a building block to an equally coherent discrete experience labeled "petit-bourgeois." "To counteract" this Lego-like understanding of identity, the next three lines of the poem challenge us to consider the divisions and multiplications of subjectivity. For example, in the conceptualization of ethnicity, the category of "Filipino" would suggest a monolithic quality – a readily identifiable group of individuals who all seem to share in something inherent and distinct that justify labeling them as "Filipino." But what exactly is that? Is a Filipino living in the Philippines the same as a Filipino living in America or Italy or

Saudi Arabia? How does identifying as *Filipina* differ from identifying as *Filipino*? And so on and so on so that within seemingly stable categories such as race or gender or nationality, difference still divides thus fracturing the coherence of any category. The coexistence of various categories of identification, moreover, multiplies difference so that it can never be asserted that there is a stable understanding of identity, let alone community.

Closely considering Villa's poem, however, he chooses to insert a line break right in the middle of the sentence that urges us to counteract an additive notion of identity. While an understanding of the divisions and multiplications of categories of difference would seem to shatter any possibility of conceiving of a coherent Filipino subject or community, Villa intimates the opposite. Somehow the recognition of incommensurability and the multiply entwined nature of categories of difference will lead to "Unity." The poem's speaker, however, does not tell us how that is possible. Instead there is a space before "Unity", a gap – a leap poetically and theoretically must be made. It is a challenging space of possibility and imagination. It is a leap that must be made over and over again – a challenge to constantly imagine, un-imagine and re-imagine becoming Filipino.

As I have suggested throughout my textual analyses in the preceding chapters, I believe the literature of the Philippine Commonwealth can help us make such a leap and access the space in-between that defies naming though it is grounded in and yet in excess of the convergence of race, sexuality and gender. As Rodriguez and See have shown, it defies naming because of the unspeakable nature of colonial violence, but, as I have

attempted to trace, it also defies naming because it has yet to be imagined. It probably can never be fully imagined or realized. Such a statement flies in the face of Marxist historical determinism but I must assert this. No single analytic (even my own formulation) is the only method for radical discourse and praxis because no single analytic is innocent of saturation in power. Any analytic – whether grounded in queer theory, postcolonial theory or Filipino American cultural critique – is simultaneously active and passive, simultaneously hegemonic and resistant. And yet this realization cannot stop us from continuing to work, to fight, to make love, to survive.

I want to close with the image of Sisyphus that is indebted to Albert Camus. Perhaps some may say that Greek mythology and continental existentialism participates in a banal humanism – the myth of that Enlightenment subject grounded in and the fuel of colonialist western discourse and practice. Yes, this is true. It is that, but the image is also one that impels my own politics of survival as a Filipina American situated in the university and I believe that it can offer absurd possibilities and act as a metaphor for imagining what seems impossible. According to Camus, Sisyphus is the "scorn of the gods" for "his hatred of death, and his passion for life won him that unspeakable penalty in which the whole being is exerted toward accomplishing nothing" (The Myth of Sisyphus 120). Sisyphus is forced eternally to roll a boulder up a hill. Inevitably, no matter how hard Sisyphus struggles, the boulder will always fall back down and Sisyphus will have to start again. Camus presents Sisyphus as the quintessential hero of postmodernity and reads Sisyphus's punishment as allegory of the conditions of postmodern life, conditions defined by the death of God and the atomic age. I translate

Sisyphus's punishment into the inevitability of power to force radical epistemology and political projects back down the hill of hegemony. Camus posits Sisyphus as an absurd hero who recognizes the inevitability of failure, accepts it and, in the face of such unavoidable truth, still continues to act. The critical subject must imagine him or herself in the position of Sisyphus – constantly pushing the boulder up the hill, refusing apathy or bad faith, knowing the inevitability of the boulder rolling back and yet still struggling for the moment when the boulder teeters on the precipice, a moment of perfect balance (however minute) when the muscles cease to strain and breath is exhaled and one is suspended beyond and above power while still knowing one stands within it and will return to it but will continue to keep pushing.

Notes to Introduction

[1] For a critical reading of the gendered and sexualized representations of the Filipino WWII veterans in relationship to neoliberalism, global capital and the "post-race" age of Obama's presidency, see Josen Gayle Diaz's "Of Specters and Spectacles: Filipino Masculinity and the Haunting of U.S. Modernity" originally presented at the Association of Asian American Conference, May 2010.

[2] Spanish for "learned" or "enlightened," the term *ilustrado* has come to denote the educated mestizo elite of the Philippines. Most were educated, like Rizal, in Spanish in the best universities of the Philippines and traveled throughout Europe and Spain advocating for colonial reforms in the Philippines and eventually outright independence. In 1888, a group of *ilustrados* formed an organization in Spain named La Solidaridad and published a circular under the same name. Headed by Rizal's cousin, Galicano Apacible, they advocated the Philippine cause in the Spanish Parliament and published their newspaper until 1895. For more on the role of La Solidaridad in the Philippine Revolution, see John Schumacher's The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895: the Creation of a Filipino Consciousness (Manila: Ateneo UP, 1997).

[3] Such an observation probably influenced the American colonial government's support of naming Rizal national hero of the Philippines after the end of the Spanish American War.

[4] The thematic development of Rizal's own novels, Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo reflects such a transition as his main character Ibarra initially seeks reform of colonial policies symbolized by his attempt to construct a schoolhouse for his local community only to eventually realize that violent action is the only way to ignite true change in the archipelago. For more on the *Katipuneros*, see note six of chapter three.

[5] The genuineness of the U.S. victory in the Battle of Manila Bay however must be called into question, especially when considering military communications between Dewey and Washington, D.C. revealing negotiations with the Spanish to stage a mock battle in order for them to avoid capitulating to rebel Philippine forces. See chapter three of Stuart Creighton Miller's "Benevolent Assimilation:" The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982).

[6] See Luzviminda Francisco's "The First Vietnam: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902" in The Philippines: The End of an Illusion (London: AREAS, 1973).

[7] My focus here is on the cases which directly affected the political and legal status of the Philippines. Of the thirteen decisions which constitute the Insular Cases, six of them concern the Philippines, five pertain to Puerto Rico, one to Hawaii and one to Alaska. In future projects, I hope to consider the Commonwealth status of Puerto Rico further, particularly as it continues today and provides a productive comparative case to the Philippines. For more on Puerto Rico and the Insular Cases, see Efrén Rivera-

Ramos's "The Legal Doctrine of the Insular Cases" and "The Ideology of the Insular Cases" in The Legal Construction of American Colonialism (Conite Del Centnario, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1898, 236-271, 284-328)

[8] These scheduled ten years were interrupted and prolonged by Japanese occupation of the Philippines during World War II.

[9] Sarita See gestures to McClintock's words as well in describing the critical project of her book, The Decolonized Eye, when she observes how "the Filipino American cultural moment poses a temporal paradox that throws into crisis the 'post' – the pastness – of postcolonialism" (xxx). See's investigation of how modern Filipino art and performance counters "the invisibility surrounding Filipino America's history of racial subjugation and colonization" inspires much of my considerations of the Commonwealth period and the inextricable relationship between race, nation and sexuality.

[10] Al Jazeera has recently touched upon the potential connections between the Philippines and Egypt and the persistence of imperialistic power even when freedom and democracy are seemingly achieved through popular revolt. See the article posted on Februrary 25, 2011 at: http://english.aljazeera.net/video/asia-Pacific/2011/02/2011225 6402987842.html

[11] I borrow Kandice Chuh's phrase here.

Notes to Chapter One

[1] See for example Ernest A. Rayner's "The Future of the Philippines," The New York Times, August 6, 1922.

[2] Wood's opinion concerning the Philippines was well- known long before his tenure as governor general. In 1921, Wood had been sent by Pres. Harding on a fact-finding mission to determine the state of the Philippines under the management of the Woodrow Wilson appointed Harrison and whether or not a truly stable government had come to fruition. The result of this mission, The Wood-Forbes Report, was less than glowing in its evaluation of Filipino progress and ultimately suggested continued American governance: "we feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which [the Filipinos] have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the Government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army and any, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages" (46).

[3]Furthermore, they made it their stated goal to combat propaganda produced by American business interests in Manila who advocated for further retention of the islands. For an excellent discussion of the history and personalities of the independence missions see Bernadita Churchill Reyes's Philippine Independence Missions to the United States: 1919-1934.

[4] Some include: Francis Burton Harrison's The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence (New York: Century, 1922), Charles Edward Russell's The Outlook for the Philippines (New York: Century, 1922) and Daniel R. William's The United States and the Philippines (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1926).

[5] Roosevelt, Nicholas. "America's Blundering Devotion to the Philippines." The New York Times. April 5, 1925. Interestingly enough, Roosevelt was a friend of Mayo's and later went on to write his own polemic a year later against Philippine independence entitled The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem.

[6] William Williams Keen has been called "the father of American brain surgery." A former Assistant Surgeon of the U.S. Army, Keen was also personal physician to six president's during his lifetime. For more bibliographic information, see collection of Keen's papers at The College of Physicians of Philadelphia at http://www.collphyphil.org/FIND_AID/hist/histwwk6.htm. For Keen's letter see Harcourt, Brace and Co. to Mayo with enclosure, May 22, 1925. Folder no. 31, Series 1, Box 4, Katherine Mayo Papers (from now on KMP) , Manuscript Group No. 35 at the Manuscript Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

[7] See Keen to Mayo, May 27, 1925, Folder 31, Ser. 1. Box 4, KMP. In his letter, Keen also forwarded the letters of gratitude from his old friends which included not only Taft but also Kellogg, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Frank McIntyre and Senator D.A. Reed.

[8] See Wood to Mayo, April 4, 1925, Folder no. 31, Ser. 1, Box 4, KMP.

[9] For a critical overview of Mayo and her significance to the formation of Indian nationalism as well as feminism, see Mrinalini Sinha's Specters of Mother India: Global Restructuring of an Empire (Durham: Duke UP, 2006).

[10] I am greatly indebted to Sinha's argument and analysis of Mayo's Mother India. Her work has helped me see the parallels and divergences between the early and later works of Mayo's oeuvre as well as formulate my argument concerning Mayo's Philippine and State Police texts. Also for a more in-depth discussion of the politics of white feminist texts and their use of third-world women figures see Chandra Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses."

[11] Wilson, Liz. "Who is Authorized to Speak? Katherine Mayo and the Politics of Imperial Feminism in British India." Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol 25, No 2, April 1997. 139-151.

[12] Quoted in Gerda Ray's "From Cossack to Trooper: Manliess, Police Reform, and the State," Journal of Social History. Vol 28, No 3 (Spring 1995), 565-586. I must acknowledge to role Ray's article has had in the formulation of my argument concerning Mayo's construction of masculinity and her Anglo-Saxonism. (573).

[13] Mayo produced some early short stories about her experiences in Dutch Guiana and encounters with indentured black laborers that foreshadowed her later attitude towards Indians, African American and Filipinos. For a discussion of the connections between those stories to Mother India, see Ray and Sinha's introduction to Mother India.

[14] The only book not dealing with the State Police, That Damn Y (1920), was an investigation of the activities of the overseas YMCA during World War I as it attempted to provide welfare services to American soldiers fighting in Europe. The connecting theme between That Damn Y and Mayo's three books on the State Police however is a valorization of the American military man in service of the modernizing state in contrast to Mayo's disdain for non-English speaking immigrants who lower the standard of morality and of living in America.In 1922, The Outlook Company forwarded an anonymous letter to Mayo a German reader of Mayo's articles based on extracts from That Damn Y that excoriated her overt Anglo-Saxonism:

But let us return to Mrs. Catherine Mayo's articles. Its title is: ["]Fair play for the World" and it tends to demonstrate that only anglo-saxon people in general and [A]mericans particularly, have the spirit of loyalty. All other people are deprived of it; but they will be able to obtain it exclusively through the Y.M.C.A. Physical Directors. It is a short-winded, lame, disconnected writing, imbued with an incommensurable pride; it contains so many lies, it is pervaded with such a selfish and advertising spirit that it cannot even cause offence. (Folder no. 25, Ser. 1, Box 4, KMP)

[15] Ray, 569.

[16] See Gail Bederman's Manliness and Civilization for an analysis of Roosevelt's self-styling as a western rancher and his later safari trips to Africa to position himself as a big game hunter re-connecting to man's primitive African roots.

[17] Roosevelt, Theodore. The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses. New York: Century Co, 1902. 7-8.

[18] In this period, the forces threatening to sap American masculine vigor were multiple – the rise of the New Woman, the influx of new immigrants into the States, Reconstruction and the migrations of emancipated black slaves and, most importantly for Roosevelt, the closing of the frontier and the ascendancy of industrialization and bourgeois domesticity. See for examples Bederman's Manliness and Civilization, Amy Kaplan's Anarchy of Empire, David Axeen's "Heroes of the Engine Room," Kristin Hoganson's Fighting for American Manhood.

[19] As Judith Halberstam argues in Female Masculinity in the postmodern context of queer theory, "Masculinity in this society inevitably conjures up notions of power and legitimacy and privilege; it often symbolically refers to the power of the state and uneven distributions of wealth… If what we call 'dominant masculinity' appears to be a naturalized relation between maleness and power [then] this book will claim [that masculinity] becomes legible as masculinity where and when it leaves the white male middle-class body" (2).

[20] Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire," 661.

[21] As Ray observes, Mayo's characterization of foreign laborers thus de-legitimized their union activities. Mayo's emphasis on their foreign and inassimilable character challenged the depiction by local labor organizations of strikers as hard-working Americans standing up for fairness in wages and safe working conditions: "Ignoring the on-going cooperation between the private and state police, Mayo portrayed the force as policemen-soldiers serving to enforce the laws of an impartial State. Opposition to the state police, then, became by definition un-American" (570).

[22] Sinha, Mrinalini. Introduction. Mother India. 13. The Mayflower Society is still in existence and was founded in 1897 at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Its mission is to honor the memory of the pilgrims who left England. Membership however was restricted then as it still is now to those who could prove descent from any of the tweny-nine original Mayflower passengers. See http://www.theMayflowersociety.com/index.htm.

[23] In referring to the "fate worse than death," Mayo is of course working within a long tradition of the fear of the black rapist and the valorization of white womanhood. Such a fear and the spectacular scenes of lynching for such crimes, perpetrated or not, operated as extralegal structures of control of threatening black political subjectivity and sexuality in the reality of the post-bellum and Reconstruction south. For further discussion see Robin Weigman's American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender, Amy Wood's "Lynching Photography and the 'Black Beast Rapist' in the Southern White Masculine Imagination" and Sadiya Hartman's Scenes of Subjection.

[24] See Frick's biography of Mayo for the Pennsylvania Center of the Book.

[25] For a discussion of the phenomena of the New Woman and the increased participation of women in politics during the 19th and 20th centuries, see Paula Baker's "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920" The American Historical Review, Vol 89, no 3 (June 1984), 620-647 and Martha Patterson's Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915. Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

[26] Quoted from Ray, 568.

[27] Kalaw, Maximo M. "Ideals of the Philippines." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol 122, The Far East. (Nov 1925) 18-25.

[28] At the time, a prevailing argument against Philippine independence was the fear of Japanese aggression. Some in U.S. congress suggested various compromise plans for independence that would have allowed for continued U.S. "protection" of the islands in cases when the Philippines could not defend itself or when social order was threatened. Further on in his essay, Kalaw himself suggests that if the U.S. truly fears this possibility then surely it is in her power to obtain an international agreement guaranteeing "the political integrity of an independent Philippines" (23).

[29] Quoted in Stuart Creighton Miller's "Benevolent Assimilation", 146.

[30] Moreover by describing the Filipino people as ready *now* to take any chance to emerge and be recognized as a nation, Kalaw subtly participates as well in the quashing of the nascent Philippine nation born earlier under the Malolos Constitution drafted after Emilio Aguinaldo and his revolutionaries believed they had succeeded in expelling the Spanish.

[31] Said, Edward. Orientalism. New York: Random House, Inc, 1978.

[32] For more on the backlash of Mayo's treatment of Hindu sexuality in Mother India, see: Harry H. Field's After Mother India (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929), M. Edith Craske's Sister India: One Solution to the Problems of "Mother India" (London: Religious Tract Society, 1930), John Alexander Chapman's India, Its Character, a Reply to Mother India (Oxford: Blackwell, 1928), C. S. Ranga Iyer's Father India: A Reply to Mother India (London: Selwyn & Blount, Ltd, 1927).

[33] The biographical information in this chapter comes mostly from Sinha's introduction to Mother India, Wilson's "Who is Authorized to Speak?", Ray's "From Cossack to Trooper" and Frick's autobiography of Mayo for the Pennsylvania Center of the Book.

[34] McCallum, Jack. Leonard Wood: Rough Rider, Surgeon, Architect of American Imperialism. New York: NYU Press, 2006. 263-4.

[35] Such preoccupation suggests how Anglo-Saxonism creates a bond between England and America that over-writes the U.S.'s own postcolonial status. As Paul Kramer argues in his essay "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and U.S. Empires, 1880-1910", Anglo-Saxonism was deployed as a tool of international and imperial rapprochement during the era of the Spanish American War as U.S. officials sought to justify expansion beyond the North American continent and into the Pacific.

[36] For further discussions of Anglo-Saxonism during this period, see also Paul Kramer's The Blood of Government, Reginald Horsman's Race and Manifest Destiny, Stuart Anderson's Race and Rapprochement.

[37] The BAC was a direct result of Mayo's research trip to Europe to observe the YMCA; "while in service with the YMCA in Great Britain during World War I, Newell and Mayo were impressed by the hospitality extended towards American servicemen" and returned to New York with the idea in mind of returning such generosity. All information concerning the BAC comes from Valerie Wingfield's description and organization of the BAC Records currently housed at the manuscript and archive division of the New York Public Library. Go to http://www.nypl.org/amatResults.cfm?query=british%20apprentice%20club to access Wingfield's finding aid.

[38] Wood to Mayo, Nov 9, 1922. Folder no. 26, Ser. 1, Box 4, KMP.

[39] See McCallum's biography of Wood.

[40] Wood to Mayo, Jan 29, 1923. Folder no. 27, Ser 1, Box 4, KMP.

[41] What is also interesting is Mayo's choice to quote Dr. Pardo de Tavera, a complicated pro-American figure. For more discussion of Pardo de Tavera's politics especially in regards to his advocacy of English language in the Philippines, see Barbara S. Gaerlan's "The Pursuit of Modernity: Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera and the Educational legacy of the Philippine Revolution" in Amersasia Journal 24,2: 101.

[42] Mayo was not necessarily the only writer of this period to focus on the question of the Filipino race. Daniel R. William, one of Mayo's contemporaries and correspondents, served on the Philippine Commission of 1900 and spent twenty years in Manila representing American business interests. He published three books, The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission in 1913 followed by Watchful Waiting in the Philippines and The United States and the Philippines in 1926, analyzing the Philippine situation and his work was a great influence on Mayo. Although Williams primarily focused on the military and economic importance of the Philippines (the two points of view Mayo chooses to de-emphasize), he did dedicate at least one chapter of his 1926 The United States and the Philippines to the "The Philippines and their People".[42] Williams here emphasizes two points; first, that the Malay race unlike the Anglo-Saxons are somehow biologically incapable of self-government. Second, that the racial mixing which has occurred under the Spanish and with the influx of Chinese into the Philippines has in no way alleviated this racial incapacity. Williams writes: "That ingrained respect for the will of a majority, and that long discipline in self-government acquired by Anglo-Saxon peoples through centuries of participation in town meetings and elective assemblies, find no counterpart in Filipino heredity and training. As a race the Filipinos not only have very much to learn, but very much to unlearn… They are inbred and only the slow process of time and evolution can change them" (60, 67). On January 13, 1925, Williams congratulated Mayo on her book stating that she was now "definitely enrolled in the 'Philippine Crusade,' and can never again fail to respond when the call comes or danger threatens". This preoccupation with the nature of the Filipino race thus may not be original to Mayo, but what is deserving of consideration is how Mayo as a woman and

journalist uses this focus on the human point, not the economic or strategic, as the mode by which she entered the independence debates.

[43] Concerning the administration of justice, Wood and Forbes wrote: "In the lower tribunals, generally speaking, the administration of justice is unsatisfactory, slow and halting, and there is a wide-spread feeling among the people that political, family, and other influences have undue weight in determining issues…The unsatisfactory condition in the administration of justice can be corrected by the insular authorities. In doing this, it is important to build up a strong public opinion in support of a prompt, effective and impartial administration of justice" (24-25).

[44] The area of the Moro Province included the islands of Mindanao, Palawan and the Sulu Islands just north of Borneo. The inhabitants of this southern portion of the Philippines were called "Moros" by the Spanish colonizers who made a connection between the Islamic religion of the Moors of the Iberian Peninsula and the faith of the island inhabitants. The Moros of the Philippine most likely emigrated from Borneo and Malacca sometime a century before Magellan came to the archipelago in 1521. The Spanish were never able to convert or subdue the Islamic south. American control of the Moro Province also was never fully successful. Even unto today, the southern islands occupy a complicated and contested position in regards to the imagination of the Philippine nation. See Joseph C. Y. Liow's Muslim: Resistance in Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines: Religion, Ideology, and Politics. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center, 2006.

[45] After Wood and Roosevelt had successfully led the charge up San Juan Hill during the Spanish American War, Wood was promoted to general and on July 20, 1898 was ordered "to take charge of the City of Santiago, and see that order and quiet are observed".[45] By 1902, under Wood's leadership, yellow fever had been eradicated, the agricultural system restored, the rebellion disarmed, the cities of Havana and Santiago turned into modern, sanitary locales, a new Cuban government formed and a transfer of power accomplished. This was all possible however only because of the absolute authority and autonomy Wood enjoyed in his governance of the island. In a letter sent to his wife from Cuba on October 11, 1898, Wood writes, "My authority is absolute, even to life and death if I choose to use it" (quoted in Mccallum 118). In order to accomplish all he did in Cuba, Wood practiced strict authoritarian measures governed solely by his discretion. For example, the battle against yellow fever was won mostly because of forced quarantines, compulsory immunization and the destruction of homes and neighborhoods thought to house the infected.

[46] Quoted in Hagedorn, 45.

[47] Gowing, Peter Gordon. Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos, 1899-1920. Diliman, Philippines: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, 1977. 164.

[48] A recalcitrant group of Moros who objected to Wood's anti-slavery policy and new taxation system built a village inside the crater and fortified their position. Convinced that such a group was a threat to the order of the province, Wood dispatched over 700 men to Bud Dajo. Hagedorn described Bud Dajo as the strongest position "which hostiles in the Philippines had ever defended against American assault" (64). By the morning of March 8, 600 Moros were dead and there were 94 American casualties. When news reached the States, Wood was criticized for what seemed to be excessive and wanton force. The Senate demanded a report from the War Department and Wood promptly wired the Secretary of War on March 13, 1906 defending his actions and citing that women were disguised as men and the Moros had refused to evacuate their children though given ample opportunity. The details of the Battle of Bud Dajo comes from Gowing, 160-166. This Battle also should not be confused with the Second Battle of Bud Dajo which happened in December of 1911 under Major General John G. Pershing.

[49] Sinha, Specters of Mother India, 97.

[50] See for example chapters fourteen to sixteen of Islands of Fear which deal specifically with the battle against leprosy in the islands begun by Dr. Victor Heiser and continued by Governor General Wood. Mayo argues that before Filipinization, the Philippines were a model example of colonial public health and medical advances. She describes the Culion Leper Colony and its almost perfect system of treatment and control of the disease. Under Harrison however, the people were allowed to revert back to their suspicious and almost medieval attitudes toward medicine and quarantine – particularly exemplified in their use of "witch doctors" and "anting-anting," objects believed to possess supernatural power. For more discussion of the U.S. sanitary regime in the Philippines and how it not only used the Philippines as a laboratory to advance medical science but also operated as a method of biopolitical control and the production of colonial subjects, please see Reynaldo Ileto's "Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines and Warwick Anderson's "'Where Every Prospect Pleases and Only Man is Vile': Laboratory Medicine as Colonial Discourse" both in Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures (Chapel Hill: Temple UP, 1995), 51-129.

[51] Spivak, Gayatri. "Can the Subaltern Speak? Speculations on Widow Sacrifice." Wedge 7-8. (Winter-Spring 1985). 120-30.

[52] See Daly's Gyn/ecology,The Metaethics of Radical Feminism and for criticism of Daly, see Kwok Pui-lan's "Unbinding Our Feet: Saving Brown Women and Feminist Religious Discourse".

[53] Sinha, Mrinalini. Introduction. Mother India. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000. 10.

[54] Though initially colonial administrators hoped that the Spanish rumors of gold mines would prove true, the reality of surveying the region and creating an infrastructure

to make extrication possible proved too difficult and expensive. Instead, the Cordilleras became a sort of American preserve as Worcester and his office developed the city of Baguio, the cool mountain retreat for American colonial overseers and their families. For an interesting comparison of the governance of the Cordilleras to that of the aboriginal Taiwanese by Japan during this period, please see Paul Barclay's "'They Have for the Coast Dwellers a Traditional Hatred': Governing Igorots in Northern Luzon and Central Taiwan, 1895-1915" in Go and Foster pgs 217-255.

[55] Wexler, Laura. Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

[56] Wexler does report though that there was a desire expressed by then Secretary of War William Howard Taft, previous Governor-General of the archipelago, to send successful World's Fair photographer Jessie Tarbox Beals to the Philippines "to bring back, as a contribution to science, pictorial records of the dialy life of the little-known wild tribes" (quoted by Wexler, 279). Beals however, to her disappointment, was not able to accept the offer.

[57] Mayo's relationship to the British colonial officials is well-documented by Jha Manoranjan's Katherine Mayo and India (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1971) and Sinha's introduction of her new edition of Mother India.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] Until the early 1990s, the naval bases of Clark and Subic Bay were the largest American military installations overseas. Even unto today, the Arroyo government depends on U.S. "advisors" in their own "War on Terror" against Islamic separatists in Mindanao. Furthermore, two days before Philippine independence was recognized in 1946, the Bell Trade Act was passed in the U.S. and Philippine Legislatures. Among the various restrictions making Philippine economic protectionism impossible was one that guaranteed that U.S. investors would be treated on par with Filipino citizens. This "parity" amendment ensured that U.S. citizens could have 100% ownership of public utilities and/or any corporations exploiting Philippine natural resources. Alejandro Lichauco argues that these post-WWII economic policies were forced on the Philippines "to preserve the Philippines as a raw material economy in order to service the raw material requirements of Japan's factories" as the U.S. sought to industrialize its new partner-nation (5). I must also point out that currently President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo is attempting to pass through congress a "Charter for Change" that would allow 100% ownership by any foreign national, not just American. See IBON Foundation, "Cha-Cha Proponents: Clinging to an Obsolete Ideology," 16 April 2009,

<http://www.pinoypress.net/2009/04/16/cha-cha-proponents-clinging-to-an-obsolete-ideology/>.

[2] The 1935 Philippine Constitution mandated a search for a national language based on one of the existing 150+ native dialects. The National Language issue has since then been a fraught and contentious affair. As Caroling S. Hau and Victoria L. Tinio point out, the national language project is challenged by the desire for nationalistic unity, persisting "subnational group loyalties", the reality of a multilingual country and the legacy of American colonialism: "Since 1935 the Philippine state has worked to develop a *wikang pambansa*, or national language. Initially called 'Pilipino' and based on one of the country's major languages (Tagalog), the national language was renamed 'Filipino' in 1973 and made inclusive of all existing Philippine languages and dialects. This policy shift occurred largely as a consequence of the objections raised by non-Tagalog speakers to the 'ethnic bias' of a Tagalog-based national language. State efforts to promote the national language have been complicated by the existence of a hierarchy of languages the privileges English about Filipino and other indigenous languages and enshrines the former as the language of power in the country" (321).

The debates over the national language are in turn further complicated by the current reality of globalization. In the 1960s, nationalistic fervor (best emblematized by Renato Constantino's essay "The Mis-Education of the Filipino") resulted in a compromise concerning bilingual education with "Pilipino" mandated as the language which would be used to teach social studies and history while English was reserved for mathematics and science (Bernardo 32). However by 2005, at least three bills were introduced into the Philippines legislature mandating the restoration of English-only education primarily driven by the explosion of the call center industry and related "business processing outsourcing operations" (such as medical and legal transcription) in the islands (Bautista and Bolton 5).

There are therefore multiple sides to the debate that persist unto today and can be simplistically rendered as: (a) advocates of continued bilingualism, meaning the simultaneous cultivation of both Tagalog and English as well as the recognition of "Taglish" (hybridized Tagalog and English) as the true lingua franca; (b) calls for a (nationalistic) return to a *wikang pambansa* based on Tagalog as necessary to counteracting pervading neo-colonialism and exploitative globalization; (c) insistence on the power of English-only to somehow solve the problem of inter-dialect dominance as well as make the Philippines appealing for the investments of foreign capital. See Allan B.I. Bernardo's "English in Philippine Education: Solution or Problem?", E. San Juan, Jr's "Sneaking into the Philippines, Along the Rivers of Babylon, An Intervention into the Language Question" and D.V.S. Manarpac's "'When I was a child, I spake as a child': Reflecting the Limits of a Nationalist Language Policy" for respective examples of each perspective.

[3] See her Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation, 1946-1980 (Manila: Ateneo De Manila UP, 2000).

[4] In this way, Quezon's text seems to apply the Filipino cultural value of *utang na loob* to the U.S.-Philippines relationship. *Utang na loob* has been defined as a "debt of prime obligation" (Kaut 256). However, such a definition fails to convey the significance of *utang na loob* as governing an important system of reciprocal obligation and expected social behavior. For an in depth consideration of *utang na loob* and other significant social values of Tagalog society, see Virgilio Enriquez's Philippine World-View (Singapore: South-East Asian Studies Program, 1986).

[5] Biographical data is from Quezon's own autobiography, Quirino's Quezon: Paladin of Philippine Freedom, Sol Gwekoh's Manuel L. Quezon: His Life and Career, Stanley Karnow's In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines, José's Advocate of Independence, and Michael Cullinane's "Ilustrado" Politics.

[6] The *Katipunan* or *Kataastaasan Kagalangalang na Katipunan nang manga Anak nang Bayan* (The Supreme and Venerable Society of the Children of the Nation) was founded July 7, 1892 by Andres Bonifacio and a few others who were committed to Philippine freedom from Spain and moral and civic uplift of the islands. Influenced by the organization of Masonic lodges, the *Katipunan* was structured as a secret society with its own alphabetic code. Eventually the society grew to as many as 30,000 members and despite being fraught by internal conflict and division was primarily responsible for the revolution against Spain. See chapters nine through thirteen of Teodoro Agoncillo's History of the Filipino People (1990) for an overview of the society's activities and mission and for a more in depth account, his The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan (1956).

[7] This differentiation between the nature of the peasant masses and their future leaders, in this case Quezon, was more directly explicated in a 1905 memorial written to Secretary of War Taft by Quezon's political party the Partido Nacional: "The memorial stressed the capacity of the educated Filipinos to rule over the 'popular masses,' who for three centuries had demonstrated their 'capacity' to obey. 'These factors,' the memorial concluded, 'are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country; an entity that knows how to govern, the directing class, and an entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses'" (Cullinane 519). Class hierarchy is thus justified by a perception of biological capacities for leadership, rather than a consideration of the ways in which the Spanish economidenda system laid the grounds for the feudalistic system of land later exacerbated by American free market policies.

[8] Emililo Aguinaldo, born March 22, 1869 in the Cavite province, is recognized as the first president of the Philippines. Once a native participant in the local Spanish government, Aguinaldo became a Mason and eventually joined Bonifacio's *Katipunan.* However, the two men vied for control of the revolutionary regime, eventually setting up separate Filipino governments in 1897. The situation was resolved when Aguinaldo ordered Bonifacio's capture and execution for treason on May 10, 1897. Though Quezon served under Aguinaldo, the American occupation would cause a reversal of positions.

Though the old general was of no real political threat to Quezon in the Commonwealth Period, the two would occasionally and publically clash over Philippine policy. For more on Aguinaldo, see Ambeth Ocampo's entry in Philippine Presidents and The Young Aguinaldo, from Kawit to Biyak-na-Bato by Carlos Quirino (who was also Quezon's biographer).

[9] This narrative strategy of course leaves no room for alternate representations of the war that recognizes the violence and loss which continued even well after the Philippine Commission had declared the islands "pacified." Luzviminda Francisco, citing an interview given by the same General Bell mentioned in Quezon's story, offers an estimate of 600,000 people killed in Luzon alone either as direct casualties of the war or from disease. However as Francisco points out, any number offered is usually arbitrary as reports of killings were suppressed in order to avoid domestic anti-imperialist protests; she puts the number closer to one million. See Francisco's "The First Vietnam: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902" in The Philippines: End of An Illusion (London: AREAS, 1973). For an excellent collection of critical essays, visual art and literary responses concerning the war and its aftermath, see Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999, eds. Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis H. Francia (New York: NYU Press, 2002). Also, for a thought-provoking re-orientation of the field of Filipino American Studies that argues for the recognition of the "unnamable violence" at the heart of prevailing Filipino-American discourse born from the genocidal conditions of the War, see Dylan Rodriguez's "The Condition of Filipino Americanism: Global American as a Relation of Death" in *Kritika Kultura* Issue 11, Aug 2008, 36-63 or his forthcoming book Suspended Apocalypse: White Supremacy, Genocide, and the Filipino Condition (University of Minnesota Press).

[10] Bandholtz was liberal in his treatment of his constituents, fluent in Spanish, willing to learn Tagalog and, unlike his more overtly racist colleagues, dedicated to cultivating relationships with provincial elite. A graduate of West Point, Bandholtz was a career army officer who had previously served in Cuba before arriving in the Philippines in 1900. Dean Worcester, who served until 1913 as Secretary of the Philippine Interior, called Bandholtz, "first, last and all the time a politician" (Cullinane 275). By 1906, Bandholtz had been promoted to General and assumed directorship of the Philippine Constabulary, thus making him a powerful supporter of Quezon's political ambitions. Biographical information on Bandholtz comes from Cullinane's chapter on Quezon in his dissertation "Ilustrado" Politics: The Response of the Filipino Educated Elite to American Colonial Rule, 1898-1907 (Diss. The University of Michigan, 1989. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989).

[11] The "trouble in Mindoro" that Bandholtz refers to occurred during Quezon's stint as fiscal officer of the island east of Tayabas where, barely six months in office, Quezon was charged with crimes including "malfeasance in office, rape, and assault" (Cullinane 276). Not surprisingly the charges were never mentioned in Quezon's autobiography and Cullinane suggests that they were hushed up by Bandholtz and

Linebarger thereby allowing Quezon to avoid prosecution. Bandholtz offers Quezon's "youth" – he was barely thirty at the time of the events – as explanation and apology for any political corruption. It is Quezon's immaturity which is to blame for his mistakes, but only with the wise and proper handling of the more mature American soldier-politician can Quezon learn the lessons necessary to make colonial governance run more smoothly. When Bandholtz left for Manila, he thus exhorted his close friend and successor Harbord to have a firm hand in guiding Quezon's political maturation.[11] Harbord continued Bandholtz's paternalistic attitude, writing his friend during the run up to the Tayabas election, "I like little Quezon… Did it ever occur to you that Quezon might be the dark horse with an idea of coming out himself a little before the election?" (quoted in Cullinane 280-281).

[12] See chapter seven of Cullinane's dissertation for a breakdown of the various political factions of Tayabas vying for office of the governor. Bandholtz and Harbord were mainly concerned with blocking one Sofio Alandy from election to office. What exactly made Alandy's political platform fanatical is unclear.

[13] Quezon continued to count on Bandholtz and Harbord's support despite such rhetoric because Bandholtz, ever the political pragmatist, realized that most politicians were not radically committed to independence. Rather than oppose such political parties, unlike some of his contemporaries, Bandholtz chose not to radicalize them; instead he worked to make sure that those in charge of such parties, despite their rhetoric, recognized and accepted the reality of American cooperation. As Cullinane observes, the contradiction of Philippine nationalism was that "the collaborators were the nationalists" (515). Ironically, it was the American introduction of the electoral system which, rather than challenge the feudalistic structure of the Spanish period, actually enabled the perpetuation of an oligarchic government because of high voter qualifications – only property-holding, literate males born in the Philippines could register. For more information on the electoral system, American policies and elite "cooperation," see Norman G. Owens, Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines Under American Rule (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Papers on South and Southeast Asia no 3, 1971).

[14] See Franco Moretti's The Way of the World: The Bildungrsoman of European Culture (Verso: London, 1987) for an explication of the genre and its relationship to the management of modernity and the advent of the upheaval of capitalist societies.

[15] This scene as well as his description of the Ilongots in his home village of course relegates Ilongots to a pre-modern space. Ilongot here for Quezon similarly operates in Mayo's text as the persisting doubt that the Philippines will ever fully become modern or civilized, that despite whatever individual development of singular Filipinos, the nation will always be haunted by pockets of savagery and the stagnation of time and history.

[16] Sergio Osmeña has been depicted as Quezon's foil during these formative years of the Filipino nation. A schoolmate of Quezon, Osmeña came to power in his province of Cebu, becoming governor around the same time as Quezon. Represented as poised, hard-working and dedicated to fairness, he has been contrasted to Quezon's passionate rhetoric, political maneuvering and amorous personality. The two were simultaneously political allies and rivals. In their early years in the National Assembly, Osmeña was clearly in control of the Partido Nacional. After the Jones Act of 1916 however, political power swung towards Quezon and Osmeña seems to have graciously accepted his secondary role, eventually serving as Quezon's vice-president during the Commonwealth years and then as president after Quezon's death. For more on Osmeña, see Cullinane's eighth and eleventh chapters of his dissertation and Resil B. Mojares's The Man Who Would Be President: Sergio Osmeña and Philippine Politics (Cebu: M. Cacao, 1986).

Manuel Roxas was elected to the Philippine House of Representatives in 1921 and eventually served as Quezon's Secretary of Finance during the Commonwealth. When the Japanese invaded and forced Quezon into exile, Roxas remained behind and was designated Executive Secretary by Quezon, making him third in line for the presidency of the Commonwealth. After WWII, Roxas was elected president of a finally independent Philippines and is best known for controversially pardoning all Japanese collaborators. See M.P. Lichuaco's biography Roxas: The Story of a Great Filipino and of the Political Era in Which He Lived (Manila: 1952).

[17] See text of the Tydings-McDuffie Act at http://www.chanrobles.com /tidingsmcduffieact.htm.

[18] This issue of the colonized using the colonizer's language to express his or herself is of course a long-standing one in any postcolonial analysis of the literature of any decolonizing nation. Key authors who have theorized the issue include: Frantz Fanon, Homi Bhabha, Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, and Bill Ashcroft and his fellow editors of The Empire Writes Back.

In the particular Philippine case of English literature, I want to highlight the debate between Gemino Abad and J. Neil Garcia. Abad's Man of Earth (1989) and Native Clearing (1993) are landmark anthologies collecting the significant poetic texts of Filipino literature in English from its earliest examples in 1905 to the contemporary period. Abad coined the phrase "writing *from* English" to express the Filipino writer in English's postcolonial project of making the language his own: "Through poetry, after the mastery of its medium and tradition, the Filipino writer of English is enabled to transform, to mold unto his own image and sensibility, the ideology or the way of seeing and feeling which the alien language secretes. English in the Filipino hands, under pressure of his own circumstances and choices, becomes not English but Filipino" (Man of Earth 9). Abad's theory importantly recognizes the ways in which colonial and colonized cultures and languages can never be kept pure from appropriation as well as highlights the ways in which Filipino poets have critically used English in order to make

it strange and reflect back on the conditions and consequences of U.S. hegemony in the archipelago.

However, as J. Neil Garcia critically elucidates in his 2004 Postcolonialism and Filipino Poetics, Abad's insistence on the English language as the tool of Filipino writer suggests a belief that language does not constitute subjectivity or the "self," but rather that the self somehow pre-exists and commands language. Garcia reads this as the potential subscription to the humanist ideology that posits the "existence of an essential, 'human' self who is not and cannot ever be subjected to forces outside him – to ideology, culture or language, for example" (62). Such an essentialist conception of the human subject then falls back into the trap of self and other which motivated the colonial project: "Seen from the perspective of imperialist history, the various features and qualities of this 'human' are, in truth, the features and qualities of those who have brought its idea into precolonial space in the first place. Thus, to be precise, the colonial masters are the people who are finally human, who enjoy history, who have a right to exist in the world" (63).

I must thank John Blanco for introducing me to Garcia's work. These critiques of Abad have helped me to understand how the Commonwealth Literary Awards and its emphasis on social realism is premised on falling into a similar trap of presupposing a rational, coherent and masculine subject of the Enlightenment.

[19] The Commonwealth Period of Filipino literature in English was defined by this debate over the purposes of literature. On one hand, the League of Filipino Writers and its most vocal proponent S.P. Lopez exhorted that the clear duty of the writer is "to lend his arm to the struggle against injustice and oppression in every form in order to preserve those cultur[al] values which generations of writers before him have built up with slow and painful effort" ("Philippine Writers League Manifesto" 58). On the other, were those like Jose Garcia Villa who exalted literary play and aesthetics, rejecting the use of literature as "propaganda." I discuss Villa's poetics further in chapter three.

[20] Quezon's wife and daughters are rarely mentioned in his autobiography. While he does include a chapter entitled "Youthful Romance and Legal Studies" about his college days and romantic pursuits, Quezon unsurprisingly makes no mention of his amorous reputation; Stanley Karnow goes so far as to describe him as an "obsessive libertine" (233). It was rumored that during his days as an *insurrecto* he was married in an indigenous ceremony to an unnamed woman. The rumored union proved to be an obstacle when Quezon attempted to marry Sergio Osmeña's sister-in-law in 1906. In 1918, he married his cousin Aurora Antonia Aragon; they had three daughters and one son.

[21] In Gemino Abad's biographical note on Da Costa in Man of Earth, he quotes Da Costa as admitting that he wrote Like the Molave "'explicitly for the contest'… He read the rules for the contest 'carefully, and said, 'I am going to win this contest'" (415). However, after the publication of Like the Molave, Zulueta was asked to resign his teaching post at Manila's De La Salle University because of the perceived anti-American

tenor of the text. He left education to become a prominent Manila businessman. Like the Molave was his last major publication.

[22] In an interview with Edilberto N. Alegre published in The Writer and his Milieu, Lopez acknowledges in 1984 "how absurd" it was that the first generation of Filipino writers in English never questioned the language policies of the 30s and the adoption of English as a national language (161). For a more critical assessment by Lopez of the Commonwealth period, see his article "The Colonial Relationship" in The United States and the Philippines, edited by Frank H. Golay (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966), 7-31.

[23] Full text of the speech available at: http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Grow_and_be

_like_a_molave_copy

[24] As Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo observes in Our People's Story, Lopez's collection of essays were an important "benchmark" not just in Filipino literature in English but in Philippine literature in general:

"Lopez's work was in fact the first example of literary theory in Philippine literary scholarship. The attempt to enlist literature in the goal of transforming society, rather than just recording it, became the defining characteristic of one important type of fiction in English… We shall see the triumph of this school of fiction when we come to the fiction written during the period immediately preceding the declaration of martial law by Ferdinand Marcos in 1972" (172). Before the War, Lopez taught journalism and literature at the University of the Philippines, eventually serving as the university's president from 1969 to 1975.

[25] The background and context of the letter comes from Nicanor Tiongon's lovingly and carefully researched account The Women of Malolos (Manila: Ateneo University Press, 2004).

[26] For the original Tagalog version with English translation, see A Letter to the Young Women of Malolos by Jose Rizal (publisher and date uncertain). Interestingly, this special edition was dedicated to "The Youth of the Commonwealth" and the editor points out in the preface the contemporary "growing political consciousness of our women" as well as how the reader will "readily see the bearing Rizal's ideas nearly half a century ago still have on current conditions." I quote this English version particularly for this reason and provide the original Tagalog in the notes in order highlight how the editor translates Rizal's letter into English perhaps according to an agenda that makes it more fully speak to this contemporary "growing political consciousness" of the Filipina woman.

[27] "Nang akin sulatin ang Noli Me Tangere, tinanong kong laon kung dalaga'y karaniwan kaya diyan sa ating bayan" (1).

[28] "Ang babaing Tagalog ay di na payuko at luhod; buhay na ang pag-asa sa pànahong sasapìt; wala na ang inang katulong sa pagbulag sa anak, na palalakhin sa alipusta at pag-ayop" (2).

[29] "Napagkilala din ninyo na ang utos ng Dios ay iba sa utos ng Pari, na ang kabanalan ay hindi ang matagal na luhod, mahabang dasal, malaking kuintas, libaging kalman, *kundi ang mabuting asal, malinis na loob at matuid na isip*" (2, italics mine).

[30] "Gawa ng mga ina ang kalugamian ngayon ng ating mga kababayan, sa lubos na paniniwala ng kanilang masintahing pusu, at sa malaking pagkaibig na ang kanilang anak ay mapakagaling. Ang kagulanga'y bunga ng pagkabata, at ang pagkabata'y nasa kandungang ng ina. Ang inang walang maituru kundi ang lumuhod at humalik ng kamay, huag mag antay ng anak na iba sa dungo or alipustang alipin. Kahoy na laki sa burak daluro o pagatpat o pangatong lamang…" (4).

[31] All autobiographical information concerning Gloria comes from Edna Zapanta Manlapaz's Angela Manalang Gloria: A Literary Biography (Manila: Ateneo UP, 1993). Manlapaz is almost single-handedly responsible for "re-discovering" Gloria in the 90s and editing and publishing Gloria's poetry once again. Without her careful and critical research, my own investigation of Gloria in relationship to the formation of the Commonwealth, Philippine nationalism and Filipino writing in English would not have been possible.

[32] The significance of the influence of these native English-speaker instructors plays out in Gloria's own life. While attending the U.P., Gloria's success in composition earned her the notice of her English professor, an American named C.V. Wickers. Gloria credits his encouragement as the reason she switched from pre-law to English: "He [Wickers] told us one day to write a theme about the ocean, so I did. It came back to me with a notation at the bottom: 'This is pure poetry.' Afterwards he said to me, 'Why don't you take up English instead?...' That is what made me change. So in the second year, I took up English as a major" (51). The other writers interviewed in the same volume, The Writer and His Milieu, all tell a similar story of how their decisions to embrace English were personally affected by a respected American teacher or professor.

[33] The scholarship program was established in 1914 by one Levi L. Barbour, who at one point had been a regent of the University of Michigan. The program is still in existence; its mission is to bring to the University of Michigan "women of the highest academic and professional caliber from the area formerly known as the Orient (encompassing the lands extending from Turkey in the west to Japan and the Philippines in the east) to study modern science, medicine, mathematics and other academic disciplines and professions critical to the development of their native lands." See the program homepage at: http://rackham.helpserve.com/index.php?_m=knowledgebase &_a=viewarticle&kbarticleid=3.

[34] It is critical to note, however, that upper class women's increased participation in the public sphere was only made possible by the relegation of poorer women more firmly to the domestic sphere. As Eviota argues, "What had gone almost unnoticed as the sphere of propertied and middle-class women widened was the growing number of female servants at whose expense these women's activities were made possible. Although women of the propertied and middle classes were discouraged from pursuing careers, their access to financial resources gave them privileges had by neither men nor women of the other classes. As women they clearly experienced the private-public dichotomy of home and work-place, but however much the home was their realm, the work in it was done by working-class women" (74)

[35] As Antoinette Burton observes in Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities, "modern colonial regimes are never self-evidently hegemonic, but are always in process, subject to disruption and contest, and therefore never fully or finally accomplished, to such an extent that they must be conceived of as 'unfinished business'… [G]endered and sexualized social orders produced by such regimes are equally precarious and hence offer us unique opportunities to see the incompleteness of colonial modernities at work" (1).

[36] Besides the 1940 volume, Gloria did produce a revised student edition including some new poems in 1950; however, before the Bureau of Education validated it as acceptable teaching material, they demanded Gloria edit her poems of the morally questionable content the Commonwealth judges objected to ten years earlier.

[37] See Jacques Derrida's Of Grammatology translated by Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1976).

[38] See Acts: 2:1-13.

[39] See The Letters of Abelard and Heloise translated by Betty Radice (London: Penguin, 2003).

[40] The dearth of scholarship on the Manila Carnival is surprising especially given the excellent investigations and theorizations on its U.S. counterpart, the world's fairs, by scholars such as Wexler and Rydell.

[41] Mina C. Roces has argued in her 1998 study of female political power in the Philippines that women wielded political authority unofficially through their familial, marital or even adulterous relationships with male politicians. Studying the later figures of Corazon Aquino and Imelda Marcos, Roces formulates a conception of kinship politics in which she argues that women were powerful political actors in the archipelago even if official access to authority was seemingly denied. This conception of kinships politics is important in that it destabilizes the perception of this period's political power structure as solely the province of men (such as in the conceptions of benevolent assimilation and democratic tutelage), but Roces's theory grounds this unofficial expression of female power in the seemingly unproblematic sphere of domestic and heteropatriarchal life. One

must always remember that any expression of power through one's role as wife, mother, daughter, lover will always be potentially co-opted, compromised and circumscribed.

[42] For the exemplary piece of proletariat writing produced during this period, see Manuel Arguilla's "How My Brother Leon Brought Home a Wife" in Luis Francia's Brown River, White Ocean: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Philippine Literature in English (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1993), 29-33. It is telling that concurrent with his push to mobilize the Philippine military, stabilize the Philippine economy and instituting a national literary heritage, Quezon also attempted to enact inevitably toothless land reform that would solve the problem of exploitative and absentee landlords and alleviate the injustices suffered by peasant-workers. As Pedro Abad Santos, leader of the Philippine Socialist Party during the Commonwealth, observes: "Quezon's program has not passed the intentional stage, it has not been translated to any appreciable extent into actual measures. I believe President Quezon is sincere in his avowed desire to assist the worker. He is for the worker in the abstract. But President Quezon does not act in a vacuum; he is constantly under pressure from capitalist and landlord interests on account of his personal connections with the privileged class. Also, many if not all his advisers and official assistants are reactionary. In short, he is surrounded by economic loyalists and their hirelings" (Quoted in Tan 26).

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] Please see Lowe's Immigrant Acts for more on how the "history of racial formation of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans has always included a 'class formation' and a 'gender' formation that, mediated through such state apparatuses as the law, articulated a contradiction between capital and racialized, gendered labor" (14).

[2] See Kristin Hoganson's Fighting for American Manhood for an in-depth discussion of the gender politics of the Spanish American War.

[3] Susan Koshy suggests a similar reading of the inextricable nature of sexuality and race in relation to the Filipino American subject as well in her study of the history of antimiscegenation laws directed against Asian Americans. She suggests that the "colonial archive of representations of the Filipino subject is defined by […] the *hypercorporeality* of the native/migrant subject, or the reduction of the Filipino subjectivity to primordial sensations, appetites, and propensities and the corresponding equation of Filipino culture with a primitive level of social and cultural development" (101). I prefer Shimizu's theorization of hypersexuality to Koshy's concept of hypercorporeality because it makes possible a Focauldian understanding of the discursive nature of sexuality and its imbrications in circuits of power.

[4] According to Linda España-Maram, the terms *Manong* or *Manang* was "inserted before a given name, [and] are Ilocano words that express deference to, respectively, an

older brother or sister. Generally, the titles are also used to show respect for a much older person. In contemporary usage, the terms *manongs* and *manangs* and '*manong* generation' also denote the Filipino immigrants of the 1920s and 1930s" (175). For more on the *manong* generation, see the studies of : Ronald Takaki, Leti Volpp, Linda España-Maram, Dorothy Fujita-Rony and Mae Ngai.

[5] See chapter three for more historical background on the establishment and purpose of such *pensionado* programs.

[6] See for example Strangers from a Different Shore where Ronald Takaki quotes AIH regularly to illustrate the historical experience of the *manongs*.

[7] I am indebted to Thea Quiray Tagle's discussion of the normative subject of Filipino American historiography and cultural criticism in her master's thesis *Banal Spectacles:* On the Production of the "Filipino" Subject Through Performance and Display.

[8] While this chapter does deal specifically with the hypersexualization of the *manong* generation, an obviously male-centric consideration, I will discuss and query this hypersexualized history and its legacy for *pinay* subjectivity in the following concluding chapter.

[9] Prior to the Johnson Reed Act, the most notable measures of legislative exclusion were directed at the Chinese in 1882 and the Japanese in 1917. The exceptional nature of the Johnson Reed Act lies in the fact that it was the first immigration statute to apply not only to "Asiatic" peoples but to Europeans as well through the quota system. The Act therefore indexes the consolidation of American Anglo Saxon ethnic identity and the refusal to recognize the "whiteness" of southern and eastern Europeans.

[10] See chapter four of Ngai's study entitled "Braceros, 'Wetbacks,' and the National Boundaries of Class" for more on the historical background as well as critical implications of Mexican labor and immigration of this period.

[11] The first supposed instance of immigration of Filipinos to the U.S. occurred in 1763 when Filipino sailors upon galleons bearing cargo from Manila to Spanish holdings in the New World jumped ship and eventually settled in Louisiana. For more on these "Filipino Cajuns," see Stephen H. Sumida's "East of California: Points of Orgin in Asian American Studies," Journal of Asian American Studies 1.1 (1998), 83-100.

[12] See Ronald Takaki's Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor for a historical overview of the period. See Gary Okihiro's Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States for an analysis of the position of Hawaii in and challenges to American history and cultural imaginary. Lastly, see Sister Mary Dorita Clifford's historical delineation of the role the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association played in recruiting Filipino labor to the islands in Letters in Exile for a more in-depth understanding of the Filipino position in the racial and labor hierarchy of the plantation system.

[13] These statistics have been pulled primarily from Ngai but E. San Juan Jr., Ronald Takaki, Fred Cordova, Linda España-Maram, Dorothy Fujita-Rony and the contributors to the collection of essays on Filipino American history in Letters in Exile all present similar numbers with slight differences probably owing to exaggeration for rhetorical effect and varying source material.

[14] Fujita-Rony notes that the dry northern climate inhibited development of an area that was already overpopulated; Ilocanos since the 1850s had moved throughout Luzon in pursuit of economic opportunities such as those offered by the Compañia General de Tobacos in the Cagayan Valley (41).

[15] In 1910, there was an attempt by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association to recruit an entire village (the parish priest included) to the plantations. Clifford writes, "It was hoped that such a village would have a stabilizing effect on single men, encourage the married men to bring their wives and overcome the natural timidity of the Filipina who did not believe that the Catholic Church existed in Hawaii and feared to leave the Philippines" (77). However, no village was found that was willing to relocate. Such active recruitment of Filipino families to come to the mainland was incredibly rare though especially given the U.S.'s history of dissuading female immigration from Asia stemming back to the Page Act of 1875 intended to stop the importation of Chinese prostitutes. Passed in an effort to control the perceived proliferation of vice in Chinese enclaves, the Page Act effectively barred the immigration of all Chinese women since it required all female potential immigrants to submit to rigorous interrogation to determine whether or not they were prostitutes.

[16] Charles M. Goethe (1875-1966) is a fascinating figure in California history. An entrepreneur, philanthropist, conservationist and eugenicist, Goethe established the Immigration Study Commission in the 1920s to advocate for immediate solutions to the "immigration problems" of his home state as well as the nation. In 1947, Goethe was a major figure in the founding of the California State University at Sacramento (then known as Sacramento State College) which now continues to honor him as a founding father. For more on Goethe's life and writings see CSUS's digital collection at http://digital.lib.csus.edu/exhibits/goethe/eugenics.htm.

[17] My intention here of course is not to suggest that black lynching in the south and the anti-Filipino riots in California were in any way equivalent but rather to mine the potential connections in order to understand how extra-judicial violence and representations of sexualized raciality have operated in a range of specific cases to maintain the norm of white heteropatriarchal power. Excavating such potential points of comparison that refuse to be reductive is necessary in promoting coalitional possibilities amongst the marginalized within U.S. society. For example as Roderick Ferguson observes in relation to the Spanish American War and Reconstruction, critical connections are still waiting to be excavated between black history and subjectivity and that of those affected by U.S. empire: "Indeed, the simultaneity of war as well as gender

and sexual normativity means that we might regard the period between Reconstruction and the Spanish-American War as occasioning the emergence of a racialized network of power that speaks in anticipation of a humanity and citizenship that is secured by performing sexual and gender normativity. The genealogy of this network of power lies in the emergence of American nationality as well as in the specificities of African American citizenship, normativity, and intellectuality as they arose out of U.S. colonial expansion" ("Of Our Normative Strivings" 96).

[18] This overview of anti-Filipino violence follows the narratives of Ngai, San Juan, Takaki, Cordova, España-Maram, Fujita-Rony and Emory Bogardus's report on the riots reprinted in Letters in Exile.

[19] Rohrback appears to have been a local political figure of some note in the areas surrounding Watsonville. The extent of his participation in the broader anti-Filipino movement however is unknown. For brief biography of Rohrback, see the Monterey County genealogy page at http://cagenweb.net/monterey/bios/rohrbackdw.shtml.

[20] Susan Koshy discusses further how the economic crises of the Great Depression eroded gendered, sexualized and racialized barriers thus facilitating increased contact between lower class white women and Filiipno men. See chapter three of Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation. Moreover, while the majority of dominant anti-Filipino rhetoric represented Filipino men as threatening vulnerable white women, it seems that a significant number of taxi dancers were actually from Mexico. In the panic over the Filipino sexual threat, it is thus important to recognize how some women become rendered white and worthy of protection. See España-Maram's fourth chapter of Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila.

[21] While eight men were arrested for rioting, the murder of Tober was never investigated or prosecuted. The Filipino community domestically and internationally reacted to the Tober's killing and the general anti-Filipino violence in California. On February 2, roughly a thousand Filipinos protested in Los Angeles while the Philippines declared a National Day of Humiliation when Tober's body was returned to Manila and interred (Ngai 114). Philippine politicians seized the event as another example of the necessity for immediate and absolute independence. In California, anti-Filipino forces would soon realize that independence was the solution to both the concerns of Filipino politicos as well as their own.

[22] Ulysses S. Webb was the 18th Attorney General of California who served nine consecutive terms for a total of almost 37 years. Webb is most well-known for being a vigorous proponent and enforcer of the Alien Land Law. See his brief official biography at the official website of the California Attorney General: http://caag.state.ca.us/ag/history/19webb.htm.

[23] Volpp identifies these cases as: the 1925 Yatko Case which followed Webb's conjoining of Malay with Mongolian thus denying a Filipino's right to marry; the

Robinson Case when a mother sued to stop her white daughter from marrying a Filipino; Visco v. Lampton when a judge allowed a supposed white woman to marry a Filipino once it was proved that she was Latina; and Murillo v. Murillo when a white woman attempted to divorce her Filipino husband on the grounds that their marriage was illegal. The majority of these cases were brought to court in Los Angeles County.

[24] See the excerpted texts of the judge's decision in The Columbia Documenarty History of the Asian American Experience 220-222.

[25] Hawai'i however was exempted from the quota: "For the purposes of the Immigration Act of 1917, the Immigration Act of 1924 [except section 13 (c)], this section, and all other laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens, citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall be considered as if they were aliens. For such purposes the Philippine Islands shall be considered as a separate country and shall have for each fiscal year a quota of fifty. This paragraph shall not apply to a person coming or seeking to come to the Territory of Hawaii who does not apply for and secure an immigration or passport visa, but such immigration shall be determined by the Department of the Interior on the basis of the needs of industries in the Territory of Hawaii." See full text of the act at http://www.chanrobles.com/tydingsmcduffieact.htm.

[26] The Philippine government understandably protested the exportation of such potential social indigents and for some time repatriation of those classified as mentally insane or criminal was halted and re-negotiated. For more on the reception of the repatriates see chapter five of Fujita-Rony entitled "Resistance, Return and Organization."

[27] See Augusto Espiritu's chapter on Bulosan in Five Faces of Exile for an incisive reading of Bulosan's life and work through the lens of the *pasyon* narrative of suffering and redemption theorized by Reynaldo Ileto.

[28] I draw the biographical information on Bulosan here primarily from Carey McWilliams's introduction to America is in the Heart, the various volumes of E. San Juan, Jr. on Bulosan particularly On Becoming Filipino, Susan Evangelista's biography of Bulosan and anthology of his poems, P.C. Morantte's reflection of Bulosan's life and Augusto Espiritu's incredibly researched chapter on Bulosan in his Five Faces of Exile.

[29] See Morantte and Evangelista for more details on Bulosan's early publishing career.

[30] Reprinted in On Becoming Filipino 131-134.

[31] Published in 1944 also by Harcourt, Brace and Co., Laughter of my Father was Bulosan's first book of prose. A collection of short stories, each one revolves around the (mis)adventures of the narrator's father in his village in the Philippines. Many motifs and images in the stories are repeated in part one of AIH. Evangelista relates the rage Bulosan

felt when Laughter was embraced simply as a tragicomic exploration of a tropical locale divorced from the political critique of "Freedom from Want." San Juan reads them as social satire of the corruption of capitalism and colonialism wrought on native life and consciousness.

[32] Though never a registered member of the Communist Party, Bulosan's support and reporting of labor organizing efforts amongst Filipinos in California, his fraternization with known Communists as well as his avowedly Marxist leanings marked him in the McCarthy period for censorship and FBI surveillance. Moreover, his class consciousness and transnational advocacy for peasant struggles in the Philippines – for example, his praise of Luis Taruc, leader of the *Hukbalahaps* – alienated him from the nationalist elite of the Commonwealth and the newly independent government of Roxas after Quezon. Initially a peasant guerilla force established to contest Japanese occupation of the islands, the *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa mga Hapon* (or *Hukbalahap*) continued to protest agrarian injustice after MacArthur liberated Manila. For more on the complexity of the *Hukbalahap's* campaigns and clashes with the Philippine government, see Taruc's autobiographical writings, Born of the People and He Who Rides the Tiger.

[33] First, the Babb sisters, Dorothy and Sanora, were primarily responsible for caring for Bulosan during his two-year confinement for tuberculosis. Evangelista surmises that Bulosan was in love with Dorothy but that the anti-miscegenation laws of the time and "the outside pressure against interracial relationships" kept him from fully pursuing a relationship with her (12). Of the two sisters, Sanora is more well-known as a writer having published several novels concerned with the lives of Dust Bowl immigrants of the Great Depression. Sanora also knew Jose Garcia Villa and was one of his first contributors to his literary magazine Clay which he published while attending university in New Mexico.

Dorothy completed a degree in English at the University of California, Los Angeles. Both sisters were involved with the popular front and labor organizing culture of Los Angeles which Bulosan circulated in as well. For more on the sisters, particularly Sanora, see the web exhibition hosted by the University of Texas at Austin on the writings and photographs of the Babbs at: www.hrc.utexas.edu/exhibitions/web/babb/.

Evangelista also suggests that Bulosan was potentially married to a white woman named Marjorie Patton in the 1940s who was active in the Cannery Union for which he once served as Publicity Director (13). Though she called herself "Mrs. Bulosan," in private correspondences, the marriage was never confirmed. In either case, towards the end of his life in Seattle, Bulosan was associated with Josephine Patrick, an activist against the injustice of the deportation of Filipinos for labor organizing.

[34] My understanding of the houseboy's simultaneous inside/outside positioning is indebted to Sarita See's discussion of performance artist Nicky Paraiso's House/Boy in chapter four of The Decolonized Eye.

[35] See the previous chapter for a discussion of the educational opportunities opened to women such as Angela Manalang Gloria who could now attend the public universities where English became the universal language of instruction.

[36] See "Egalitarian Ideals and Exclusioanry Practices: U.S. Pedagogy in the Colonial Philippines" by Jane A. Margold for a succinct overview of the official purpose of the Thomasites as well as a consideration of their own personal motivations. Margold's article critically attempts to go beyond a dichotomy of perfectly dominant colonial power and simply dominated periphery in her investigation of "local sites and ordinary, everyday practices of social regulation" (375). However, she fails to consider how the Thomasites' espousal of agrarian ideals of the yeoman farmer and the dignity of labor actually also enables "the growing convergence between Filipino upper class and U.S. commercial interest" (391). While such agrarian ideals do result in a valuing of labor, they however do not take into account the ways in which such faith in individual merit and uplift can fail to take into account structural inequalities necessary to the growth of capitalism. Even if the Thomasites had succeeded in the formation of a class of Filipino yeoman farmers, that class and their focus on individual meritocracy would have been just as ill-equipped to understanding the system of transnational capital as the native who continued to cling to "aristocratic" Spanish ideals.

[37] I am careful here to distinguish between the character of the narrator and the actual Carlos Bulosan. Even though at publication, AIH was lauded as autobiography, it is clear that many of the events in the narrator's life do not actually follow the historical events of Bulosan's life and the fictional nature of the AIH narrator is widely accepted in Bulosan scholarship. For example, see Marilyn Alquizola's "Subversion or Affirmation: The Text and Subtext of America is in the Heart".

[38] Bulosan also more explicitly treats the figure of the white lady school teacher in a short story actually set in America, "As Long as the Grass Shall Grow" (reprinted in On Becoming Filipino 77-84). In it, a white woman named Helen O'Reilly generously volunteers to teach the narrator and his fellow migrant farm workers to read. However, town officials begin to intervene and stop the lessons. The narrator is even beaten after visiting Helen in her boardinghouse for a reading lesson. The story ends with Helen leaving the town but promising to continue teaching "people like [the narrator] as long as the grass shall grow" (84).

[39] See for example the encounter between Mayo and the unseen Ilongots discussed at the end of chapter one or the treatment of the Igorot in Quezon's autobiography analyzed in chapter two.

[40] The use of forms of the name "Mary" for both women also imbues the characters with an idealized aura through the allusion to the mother of Jesus Christ.

[41] This phrase is from Michel Foucault's History of Sexuality.

[42] Chuh's chapter on Bulosan in here Imagine Otherwise was incredibly helpful for formulating my own readings of the text. Of the scene in the labor camp, Chuh writes: "Literally forced by fellow laborers […] into that experience, Allos articulates a disjuncture between the experience of the body and that of the mind. […] Heterosexuality appears here as a markedly homosocial ritual that disrupts its standing as a natural, inherently romantic phenomenon. Because this eroticized violence occurs at the hands of his fellow Filipinos, it may be recognized that the novel is critiquing heteronormative masculinity and not just its white iteration. Through these representations, we witness Bulosan literarily formulating an identity resistant to heteronormativity" (41).

[43] Of *compradazgo*, Fujita-Rony writes: "*Compradazgo*, or ritual kinship, reinforced kinship ties through sponsors named in times of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Ties were created between parents and godparents, and by extension, the siblings of *compadres* and *comadres*, thus bonding families closer together. Godparents were selected to help raise children, and children were expected to treat and help godparents as real parents" (97). For more on *compradazgo*, see Philippine Kinship and Society edited by Yasushi Kikuchi.

[44] See Martin Manalansan's Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora for a critical contrast and comparison of "gay" and *bakla*.

[45] I pull this biographical information mostly from chapter three of Augusto Espiritu's Five Faces of Exile.

[46] The full text of the letter is reprinted in Appendix A of Jonathan Chua's edited collection of Villa's literary essays, The Critical Villa.

[47] Ironically, Villa won the prize money for a short story about a chaste love triangle entitled "Mir-i-nisa" which is set in a pre-colonial Philippines. See Ponce for a critical reading of the story that suggests that Villa is posing a narrative that subverts heteronormative consummation as the telos of romance.

[48] In "Jose Garcia Villa's Collection of 'Others,'" Denise Cruz analyzes the strange juxtaposition between the American and Filipino stories in Footnote to Youth. She argues that the collection of stories ultimately reveals the irreconcilability between the U.S and the Philippines premised on the disavowed colonial relationship. See Modern Fiction Studies Vol 55, no 1, Spring 2009, 11-41.

[49] O'Brien's praise however is premised on what he perceives as Villa's ability to hybridize American literary and Filipino racial influences. Noting the inspiration of Sherwood Anderson's Winesburg, Ohio on Footnote to Youth, O'Brien writes: "These stories [though] have a lyrical quality which is foreign to Sherwood Anderson's work, and Mr. Villa's innocence of eye sees American life in new aspects with a freshness conferred upon it by his virginal approach. The lyrical quality is equally obvious in Mr. Villa's Filipino tales, where memory takes the place of vision and race consciousness

flowers in an unfamiliar kind of art" (4). O'Brien's evaluation of Villa's writing in many ways epitomizes the perception of Villa by the majority of modernist American writers and critics of the time. As Timothy Yu argues in his article "'The Hand of a Chinese Master': Jose Garcia Villa and Modernist Orientalism," the perceived exotic nature of Villa, which disregarded the U.S-Philippines colonial relationship, operated according to the orientalist strain within modernism and enabled Villa's entry into the modernist circles of the period.

[50] It has been said that Villa's abandonment of poetry occurred after he read ee cummings for the first time and decided that such poetry was the highest form of writing. The appreciation was not one-sided. In 1962, cummings wrote a poem entitled "Doveglion" which appeared opposite a portrait of Villa taken by cummings's wife Marion Morehouse in their collaborative book Adventures in Value. The poem has been re-printed in the 2008 Penguin Classics edition of Doveglion.

[51] Poems by Doveglion was Villa's submission to the 1940 Commonwealth Literary Awards and won second honorable mention, a prize of five hundred Philippine pesos.

[52] Jonathan Chua has painstakingly collected all of Villa's essays which appeared in Manila newspapers and literary magazines from the period of 1927 up to WWII in the volume, The Critical Villa.

[53] I would argue as well that his location in the diaspora and publication history in the U.S. further indicates his "evolved" literary state.

[54] Furthermore, San Juan paradoxically reads Villa's retreat from socially conscious literature as a statement in and of itself about capitalist exploitation: "Villa's predicament, however, defies easy assimilation into the paradigm of disenchanted genius. Villa exemplifies the colonized subject who revolts against the philistine milieu of a society divided by caste and class, wherein vulgar commercialism coexists with feudal taboos and religious injunctions, and wherein individual freedom (both of the native subaltern and of the artist as critic of conventional morality) is limited by the political, economic and cultural backwardness of a dependent formation" (Philippine Temptation186).

[55] See Candace Fujikane's article "Sweeping Racism Under the Rug of 'Censorship:' The Controversy over Lois Ann-Yamanaka's Blu's Hanging" in Amerasia Journal Vol 26 No 2/2000 for a critical overview of the situation to which Tabios alludes.

[56] Luis Francia echoes this sentiment in his introduction to the recent Penguin Classic edition of Villa's poetry, Doveglion: "Contemporary Asian American poets, thankfully insist on their full rights as citizens of the republic of poetry, are as likely to write on topics that have nothing to do with their historical condition as they are to dwell on it. In this, too, Villa was a pioneer" (xxxvi).

[57] For example, most of the essays in Anchored Angel make mention of Villa's flirtations with men and the erotic nature of his poetry but few go further than a few suggestive questions or nostalgic reminiscences. I would however exempt Denise Cruz's article on Footnote to Youth and Martin J. Ponce's dissertation "The Labor of Un-Oneing": The Transnational Poetics of Anglophone Filipino Literature (Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, 2005). Ponce's dissertation is probably the only extended meditation on Villa's erotics to date, with a primary focus on his short stories

[58] Espiritu does mention Butler in his preface but does not develop further how exactly he utilizes Butler's theories in terms of a rigorous analytic.

[59] Butler writes: "What 'performs' does not exhaust the 'I;' it does not lay out in visible terms the comprehensive content of that 'I,' for if the performance is 'repeated,' there is always a question of what differentiates from each other the moments of identity that are repeated. And if the 'I' is the effect of a certain repetition, one which produces the semblance of continuity or coherence, then there is no 'I' that precedes the gender that is said to perform; the repetition, and the failure to repeat, produce a string of performances that constitute and contest the coherence of that 'I'" (311).

[60] As John Blanco discusses in Frontier Constitutions, the Captain-General of the Philippines "required all colonial subjects to preserve and pass on regular family names to their descendants. Until that time, the only individuals who had preserved their patronymics belonged to the wealthy families or families with Spanish blood. For those colonial subjects lacking a surname, Claverí a ordered families to choose from a catalog of Spanish names prepared by the government, forbidding the adoption of names that belonged to the hereditary elite or nobility of precolonial times" (3).

[61] For a pictorial exploration of such characterizations, please see The Forbidden Book and its chapter on the political cartoons at the turn of the century that portrayed Filipinos "as lower forms of animals" (83).

[62] See Genesis 3:24: "So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the Garden of Eden Cherubims and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life." Cherubims also are mentioned in the books of Ezekiel, Isaiah and of Revelations.

[63] We need only remember President William McKinley's November 21, 1899 address to a delegation of Methodist church leaders to realize how the rendering of Filipinos as less than human operated on the same ideological plane as the desire to uplift the population: "I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way – I don't know how it was, but it came: (1) That we could not give them back to Spain… (2) that we could not turn them over to France and Germany… (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 Christianized them…" (quoted from Schirmer and Shalom, 22).

[64] See for example the allegory of the cave in Plato's Republic. For the medieval Christian iteration of the great chain of being, see St. Augustine's Confessions.

[65] The double play on "perfect lover" also calls to mind parallels with the narrative of the ecstasy of St. Theresa most famously captured by Bernini's sculpture.

[66] In John 12:3, the woman is identified as Mary Magdalene while she goes unnamed in Luke 7:38. The connecting thread between the two scenes however is how the woman's act is meant to contrast the disciples' ignorance concerning the death Jesus would suffer in Jerusalem.

[67] William McKinely, "Remarks to Methodist Delegation," in The Philippines Reader, Schirmer and Shalom, Eds., 22-23.

[68] This poem is numbered as ninety-five in the new Penguin edition of Doveglion. It was also republished as number seventy-six in Anchored Angel.

[69] To quote the words of McKinley in 1899: "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 by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died" (reprinted in Schirmer and Shalom 22-23)

[70] See Calvin's "Of the Eternal Election" in his Institutes of the Christian Religion.

Notes to Conclusion

[1] Eng et al. What's Queer About Queer Studies?, 11.

[2] For a critical consideration of the colorblindness of queer liberalism in the wake of Obama's election to the presidency, see Eng's introduction to The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy.

[3] I must also point out the brief period during World War II when the Philippines was forcibly included in the Japanese co-prosperity sphere.

[4] Eng's highlighting of how heteromasculinism is wielded as the tool to secure national belonging is particularly significant currently in light of the "racist rant" broadcasted on www.YouTube.com by University of California, Los Angeles undergraduate Alexandra Wallace and its resulting responses by Asian American users of social media platforms. While Wallace's diatribe against "Asians in the library" recycles images of the perpetually foreign nature of Asian Americans, the responses by Asian

Americans ranging from death threats to parody videos are alarmingly misogynistic in their excoriation of Wallace. It would seem that recuperating the Asian American's right to belong to the American nation is premised on a rhetoric of gendered and sexist violence. For a critical response to the situation by the Asian Pacific Coalition of UCLA, see http://www.dailybruin.com/index.php/article/2011/03/ucla_community_should_respond_to_viral_offensive_youtube_clip_with_civility

[5] For a full discussion of the controversy, see Candace Fujikane's "Sweeping Racism under the Rug of 'Censorship': The Controversy over Lois-Ann Yamanaka's Blu's Hanging" (Amerasia Journal 26, 2000, no. 2: 158–94).

[6] For the phrase "scattered hegemonies," see Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices. Grewal, Inderpal and Caren Kaplan, Eds. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

[7] I am highly indebted to Thea Quiray Tagle for the many talks we have had about Filipino Americanist discourse, queer theory and, what she understands, as "a feminist politics of survival."

[8] See's grammatical and etymological reading of the word "infinitive" elucidates this formulation of subjectivity further: "unattached to any particular subject, the infinitive expresses the potential for various kinds of actions, which can be rather haphazard and unpredictable precisely because they are not connected to a subject" (12).

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