Mapping Empire

_Cartography and American Imperialism in the Philippines_

President McKinley’s religious conviction about American empire in the Philippines putatively came after many nights of prayer. When “guidance” finally arrived, he realized that America needed “to help” the Filipinos, and his first order of business was to direct his head military cartographer “to put the Philippines on the map of the United States.” After McKinley went “down on [his] knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance,” the mission became obvious and the imperative of mapping answered the president’s entreaty.²

Maps facilitate the course of empire. By creating imagined landscapes, which, readers believe, arise out of a desire to represent the truth, maps epitomize an imperial logic. Cartographers distill the excesses of representation by judiciously redacting and making geography legible. Maps can be held in the hand, as if the world were available on a human scale; maps divide lands into tracts indicating possession, through the double act of naming and placing a rational grid of knowledge over the location depicted; maps edit out that which interferes with their supposed subject; maps enforce an ethos of total and complete perception through a visually mediated ideology of what the reader conceives of as an axiomatic understanding; and, finally, maps, as J. B. Harley has so astutely observed, envisage empire through their formulation of “myths which would assist in the maintenance of the territorial status quo.”³
CHAPTER FOUR

The flood of maps available to Americans that attended the imperial project in the Philippines is significant. Those created about the Philippines during the early colonial period could be found in popular newspapers, magazines, academic journals, government sources, and atlases. Historian Susan Schulten explains that the Spanish-American War brought "critical changes" to American "cartographic culture." These documents appear to be innocent surfaces where the sole purpose is to provide the reader with information about the Spanish-American War, the Philippine-American War, or other facets of the early colonial period. However, by assessing these maps, and the cartographic imperative that incited their design and production, we can determine the role these images played in the creation of American empire. Maps were a cartographic scape that helped instigate and further the objectives of American imperialism in the Pacific. By analyzing maps found in the popular press, maps created by the United States military, and maps of Philippine bodies (done through photography, diagrams, and corporeal measurements) this chapter details how the visual power of delineation allowed Americans to create a visually based assessment of the Philippine colony.

Philippine Legibility and the American Mass Media

In January 1900 the World ran an advertisement for a new edition of The Century Dictionary & Cyclopedia & Atlas (fig. 37). The strength of this new reference guide, according to the full-page advertisement, is the volume's war maps. The copy explains how this presentation of battle cartography "enable[s] one to trace instantly the movements of every important campaign on land or sea, the routes of invading armies, raids, etc., placing and dating on the maps the battles, sieges and blockades not only of ancient and medieval times, but also those of the year just ended—and this without any complexity in the maps themselves." In case the reader needed to be reminded about recent wars, the advertisement has enormous graphic representations of "Africa" and the "Philippine Is." Thinking outside the traditional borders of American nationhood became a selling point, and an atlas—a cartographic guide to other places—became a desirable resource; it rendered colonial locales by outlining their boundaries and explaining their importance in relation to American empire.

The Century Dictionary & Cyclopedia & Atlas, published in 1899, is a ten-volume set, and although this advertisement used the Philippines as a hook, the enormous project devoted only a few pages to the archipelago.
However, the need for atlases after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War was enormous, since many Americans finally realized, through the popular media, that there was a larger world to explore. The oversized Century books promised to facilitate this encounter with the globe. Although it was an expensive reference guide, at $120 full price and $60 discounted at department stores such as Wanamaker’s, the volume was advertised as an item for both personal and business use. Large advertisements in places such as the New York Times and the World speak to its marketing and availability.

In volume 9 of the Cyclopaedia, which contains The Century Cyclopaedia of Names, the Philippines is described as “lying between the China Sea on the west and the Pacific Ocean on the east. Capital, Manila. It is situated on the east of the Annam and northeast of Borneo, and is separated from the Celebes on the south by the Celebes Sea.” After providing the reader with a clear indication of where the islands could be found, the reference guide notes the “chief products” as “tobacco, hemp, coffee, sugar, cocoa, and rice.” Only after establishing its economic viability do we read about the history and racial makeup of this contested place.
CHAPTER FOUR

The group was ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty of Paris, Dec. 10, 1898. The inhabitants are mostly different Malay tribes (Tagals, Visayas, etc.); there are also Chinese, Negritos, and mixed races. The nominal religion is Roman Catholic. The islands were discovered in 1521 by Magalhaes, who was killed there. Settlement was commenced in 1565. A native insurrection against the Spanish rule broke out in 1896, was quelled by Jan., 1898, but again broke out under the leadership of Aguinaldo after the battle of Manila, in May, 1898. In Feb., 1899, the insurgents turned their arms against the United States. Area 114,326 miles. Population, estimated, 7,000,000.9

The Cyclopaedia redacts the Philippines into a single and simplified entry, giving details to the reader about its political, social, and economic viability. The Philippines is first given a geographic position, a place on the global stage. Next its marketable resources are listed, making its future viability come alive through its potential for commerce. Then its position within the history of empire is raised, followed by a discussion of its racial parameters and current political turmoil. Religion is defined as “nominal” in the colony, and “mixed races” and other groups appear to be members of a difficult insurgency that menaced Spain and now has rebelled against the United States.

Volume 10 of the Cyclopaedia is the atlas, and the preface to this section introduces the importance of America’s imperial expansion. Here we learn how “the results of the recent Spanish-American war have made it desirable that The Century Atlas should show with greater detail the regions affected by these events.” Thus, the atlas includes a map of Hawaii and the Philippines, with additional maps that give details of Puerto Rico, the Lesser Antilles, and other recent colonial acquisitions.10 Map number 118 in this volume is a standard representation of the Philippines from this period (fig. 38). It includes a representation of Hawaii and smaller, detailed maps of Manila and Honolulu. The overtly jingoistic tenor found in the popular press, where the Cyclopaedia advertised, does not exist. The map, however, acknowledges the military victories that led to American interest in this part of the world. The upper-left quadrant contains this short history: “Note—The Spanish divisions of the Philippine Islands into 4 Governments, subdivided into 53 Provinces, are shown on this Map. During the Spanish-American War the Spanish fleet was destroyed in Manila Bay, May 1, 1898. The authorities at Manila capitulated to the United States, August 13, 1898.” The same note further explains, “The Islands were ceded to the United States by the treaty at Paris, December 10, 1898.”11 Discussions of the Philippines were repeatedly found in the popular media during 1898, but not with the type of specificity provided in the Cyclopaedia, where the editors included hundreds of town names and topographic information on
Figure 38 “Philippine Islands,” map no. 118, from The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia & Atlas
(New York: Century Company, 1899), call #xscp1625.c4 1899, vol. 10, negative 831037/D.
Collection of the New-York Historical Society.

their map of the islands. The new technology of wax engraving allowed
for details on this map that provided the viewer with astonishing amounts
of information. The Cyclopaedia asserted a brief history of the Philippines
and bolstered this narrative with geographic boundaries and minutiae that
defined this area that had been forfeited to American governance.

Outside of the large expense of the Century guide, another way to cap-
ture the popular imagination was to create maps of military maneuvers in
the mass media, where newspapers were inexpensive and plentiful. Dur-
ing 1899, Hearst’s Evening Journal used several maps to depict battles from
the Philippine-American War. One map from March 16 represents what
the caption describes as a “Map Showing Scene of To-day’s Battles,” and
another map from November 18 represents an American victory over the
insurgent leader Aguinaldo with the caption “Aguinaldo Caught: Waited
Too Long.” The March map uses simple graphics with large black dots
signifying battle sites (fig. 39), while the November map groups a circle
of American flags (signifying American troops) surrounding a Filipino
flag. These maps permit a type of armchair travel that would give the
reader the illusion of participation in an event that was taking place in
a far-off locale. These military maps allowed the numerous readers of
the *Evening Journal* to be a part of the US colonization of the Philippines. Americans at home may not have actually been on the front fighting insurgents, but the press made this contested landscape accessible through a form of cartography that elided the realities of battle. Comparing these military maps with actual government maps from the period, and even *The Century Cyclopedia*’s map of the region, reveals how simplified representations of the islands were far more desirable in the pages of the popular press, where readers did not want to be taxed with details. Bold and crude graphics would have signified the travails of war without the burden of overly complex representations.

The press simplified maps of the Philippines, juxtaposed with jingoistic rhetoric, to excite the American public. A map from November 1898, in the *Evening Journal*, shows the Philippines with the caption: “The Islands We Demand in the East.” Another map, published five days later, includes the oceans surrounding the Philippines with the tag line, “Our New Sulu Islands.” Maps that showed the region beyond the Philippines were even more persuasive. In December 1898, the *Evening Journal* ran a small map of the world with circles around Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines (fig. 40). Here the caption reads: “Map of the Greater United
States." In May 1898, a few weeks after Dewey invaded Manila, the
World published a brief column entitled “Facts about the Philippines,”
which informed readers about the size of the islands and statistics about
natural resources. Underneath this article, at the bottom of the page, is a
drawing of the globe (fig. 41). The words “THE SUN THIS DAY DOES NOT SET ON
UNCLE SAM’S DOMAIN. BEFORE HIS SUNSET LIGHT FAILS THE PHILIPPINES; MAINE GLORIES
IN THE DAWN” follow the curve of the earth’s surface. Portions of the para-
graph below this caption are even more jingoistic:

By a glimpse at the map it is readily seen that when the sun rises at Eastport, Me., it
has not yet set at the Philippine Islands. And when it rises at the Philippines it has not
set even on the coast of California. The possession of the great Asiatic group gives
Uncle Sam his first equatorial territory, and places him in a position to enjoy any kind
of climate he may desire, and to dwell among the most diverse races. If the climate
of Washington, Denver, San Francisco or Alaska is not suitable to his state of health,
he can sail for Manila, where the average native finds it comfortable to dwell the year
round without clothes.18

The passage uses cartography, as well as an old adage about the British
Empire, to carry out an imperialist fantasy predicated on the US presen-
tence in the Philippines, a location where the natives’ predilection for
uncivilized attire becomes an important highlight.19 Images of maps and

Figure 40 “Map of the Greater United States,” New York Evening Journal, December 5, 1898.
Courtesy of Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.
written text worked together to draw attention to the possibilities of empire.\footnote{20}

Returning to a map discussed in the previous chapter, titled “Map of the Orient Showing Manila, P.L.” (fig. 34) the imperialist ideology found in the popular press becomes more apparent. Recall that this map accompanied text that commanded the reader to remember America’s primacy as a world leader and protector of capitalist virtue and Christian righteousness. This remarkable admixture of religious and financial wherewithal is, according to the article’s author, John Barrett, critical in America’s quest for the Philippines. Remember, Barrett commands us “to study the map and remember what it teaches in regard to Manila’s commanding location as the centre of the mighty Asian-Australian coast-line.” Heeding his call, we observe the concentric circles marking distances “from Manila.” Each circle inscribes one thousand miles from the Philippine capital. As our eyes move outward, it becomes evident that to hold the Philippines was to possess an important part of Asia, and thus become a viable member of an elite group of nations that held colonies in this region, including, according to the map, the French, the Dutch, and, of course, the British. Each ring, with its mile marker, visually renders the critical importance of the Philippines as a geographic centerpiece of American hegemony in the Orient.

These maps from the popular press were guides to colonialism. After seeing a map of the Philippines and reading a caption that explained that this Oriental site was now in the protective hands of the United States, the reader would confidently assume a fund of knowledge. Seeing became believing, and this same ethos can be found in military maps from this period. Although more mission-oriented than the images found in the mainstream press, the military’s maps also helped Americans visually navigate the colonial terrain.
Mapping Leyte

While the mass media disseminated maps to influence their enormous readership, the US military and government used cartography to facilitate colonial rule. These military maps of the Philippines do not overtly adhere to the jingoistic tenor of the popular maps from the period, but instead transform the Philippine landscape into a legible territory that could be readily controlled. These documents contain valuable information that helps us understand the extent to which visuality played a key role in establishing empire. Looking closely at a few of these government-sponsored cartographic exercises that focus on the Philippine province of Leyte makes it evident that the military and the colonial administration required maps to maintain the early colonial project.

The popular press commented on the government’s interest in mapping America’s new acquisition. A 1902 Harper’s Weekly article relates, “With every expedition of any importance an officer of engineers, or another officer acting in his place, was sent, in compliance with existing orders, to map the country traversed, and other maps were made from time to time as the country became more pacified, covering the roads and principal trails.” Cartography does not occur without training and so, “Engineer soldiers are given instructions in mapping-work, first in drawing conventional signs, then in making scales for plotting-work, and then in making reconnaissance sketches, first on foot and then mounted.”

These government-sponsored maps of the Philippines, created by groups such as the Engineer Corps, fit into three categories. First, there are reconnaissance maps that detail the Philippine landscape for military operations. Trails, densely overgrown fields, bridges, and other specifics all the keys of these maps that provide the easiest and safest route from one location to the next. Many of these carefully drawn maps note that they were completed through observation and with reference to existing Spanish maps. Second, there are maps that provide details about warfare. Unlike the reconnaissance maps, which were carefully rendered on blueprint paper to allow for easy reproduction, these improvised maps are hand-drawn on paper and rendered in pencil. They are often signed by a witnessing officer and combine both typical cartographic markings and handwritten notations. Maps in these first two categories were, in the words of Warren Du Pré Smith, an early twentieth-century geographer, done by “primarily soldiers and professional topographers” and were “not so accurate” when compared to mapping done by American cartographers working outside the military. Regardless, during the early colonial period, the military mapped “an immense area throughout the
islands” and were very “active” in the Visayan Islands, which are south of the capital island of Luzon and include the island of Leyte. Finally, there are also government maps that detail American building projects in the Philippines. These efforts, which I will focus on in chapter 6, were not as numerous, but they were often completed with great care to show colonial officials projections of America’s future in the colony.

“Road Sketch from Tacloban to Carigara, Leyte, PI” is a typical blueprint military map of the Philippines from the first decade of the American occupation (fig. 42). The map is done in three sheets, and each is large, approximately twenty-four by thirty-four inches, to allow for ease of visibility and use. All three sheets include details of what Americans might find along the road in Leyte. The map’s generous scale of three inches equaling each mile allows for details such as types of crops grown along the trail (hemp, coconuts, and rice) and whether or not bridges that cross streams and rivers are “safe” or “unsafe.” This oversized map could be copied multiple times, thanks to blueprint technology, and opened by infantrymen as they moved from Tacloban to Carigara. The map evokes a sense of clarity and order. The line of progress from Tacloban to Carigara is marked, and the intent here is to make certain that military units did not lose their way because of the hazardous diversions that dot the map’s surface.

Other American cartographic endeavors from this period include copious notes about specific Philippine towns. In late 1902, second lieutenant Joseph Kay issued a lengthy description of Baybay, which is also in the province of Leyte. Kay starts with several typed pages that detail Baybay, including information about roads, houses, and churches. On the third page of the report, after he estimates the population of Baybay at twenty thousand, Kay claims that the town’s “inhabitants are very untrustworthy and during insurrectionary times were fairly respectful to Americans, but are now very indifferent.” This group is so devious they “seem to enjoy any trouble or misfortune which comes to an American.” They also take advantage of their position economically and sell goods “at exorbitant prices” when they can. Finally, he notes, “They are very lazy and unfriendly.” Kay’s qualifying language about the people of Baybay was typical. Stereotypes about Philippine behavior became another factor in the larger configuration of the landscape that Kay wanted his superiors to keep in mind while they were in Leyte. Not only does the unknown landscape need to be carefully described, but the people in that landscape also must be mapped in a way that explicates their faults and potential menace.
Kay includes two small maps in his report. One details a river (maybe the Tigbauan) crossing from Baybay to Tigbauan (fig. 43) and the other shows a crossing from Baybay to St. Augustin (fig. 44). The first map represents a river where there is a “ford for ponies, but very difficult for American horses.” The other map includes a notation about how “native boats (canoes) are easily obtained[,] Only adaptable for light load, seldom having ferrying capacity beyond 600 lbs.” Earlier in the report Kay also claims, “Native boats can be procured without difficulty.” For all their supposed lazy and troubling behavior, it is peculiar to encounter ways in which the local population can be helpful, especially when it comes to moving American troops through a route that Kay describes as being “very poor.”

Kay’s commentary brings together the cartographic and the ethnographic into an official account. He maps the region of Baybay by deploying the charged Orientalist language that repeatedly surfaced during the American colonization of the Philippines. Kay’s discourse follows a well-trodden strategy where the landscape and the people of the Philippines need to be mapped and analyzed to ensure American mastery over their new colony. In fact, given the December 1902 date of this report, Kay’s
thoroughness—his obsessive documentation of what he visualizes—is not surprising. Recall that in July 1902, President Roosevelt claimed the Philippine-American War complete, but the conflict continued regardless of this presidential pronouncement.

A hand-drawn map submitted to the American military command in the Philippines, from 1906, reveals the protracted nature of the colonial conflict. Underneath the map's key we read that this is the "Route
of expedition from Abuyog leaving Nov. 7th 1906.” Additionally, the “arrow[s] indicate route of troops by 1st Leuit R.G. Rutherford Jr. 24th U.S. Infantry” (fig. 4S). Rutherford’s handwriting is different from the cartographer’s, but his signature shows that this was seen as an official document meant to serve as evidence of a series of skirmishes. The map is approximately twenty-four by twenty-seven inches, and it represents a rough outline of the area near Abuyog, which like Baybay, Tacloban, and
Carigara is in Leyte. Trails, rivers, route arrows, and what may be lakes are the only clear markings on the map. In the lower-left quadrant the trail is drawn in thicker ink and the arrows are more numerous, indicating a high level of activity. In the angle vector created by two diverging trails is text:

Pulajane Camp and Outposts.
Struck by troops under Lt. Rutherford
Pulajanes hit three times
One 1 killed 5 wounded, later
Report of Volunteer States Pablo Vsodo was killed here.27

The Pulajanes were a supposedly insurgent tribe on Leyte.28 The map details an attack that happened to the 24th Infantry, but Rutherford and his men struck back and were victorious. There is no mention of American deaths, and the military must have wanted Vsodo dead, since his full name is included.

Each of these maps suppresses the conflict of war through a dramatic exercise in visual editing. These mapping efforts highlight what the military deemed as necessary information, such as facts about the terrain, quick judgments about Filipino character, and details about insurgent deaths. One of the most dramatic aspects of these maps is the empty space that dominates these documents. Were people living in these unfilled areas? Was it simply vegetation? What was there? Additionally, unlike the maps found in the popular media, these examples focus on a very specific region of the Philippines that most Americans from this period would not have been aware of. Some ethnographic accounts of the colony mention Leyte, but it is not given the attention that Luzon (the capital island) receives. In short, these maps outline what the military might find on Leyte and the events that transpired while US troops were there. Once the military began the process of charting the colonial landscape, these records provided a type of comfort couched in visibility, or the ability to discern America’s new colony. An important part of these possessions, of course, included the people of the Philippines who were now under American dominion. Thus, the final section of this chapter returns to American interest in mapping Philippine bodies, a project initiated during the early colonial period.

Mapping the Philippine Body

On April 5, 1909, the physician and anthropologist Robert Bennett Bean ordered that a Kodak Brownie camera be used to capture a remarkable sight at his medical clinic in the town of Taytay in the Philippines. Bean explained that a man entered the dispensary and “was treated for sexual neurasthenia. The man disappeared as quietly as he came, and I was unable to find him again.” The man, according to Bean’s physical assessment, resembled nothing less than a Neanderthal, an earlier form of man long thought connected to modern man by a chain of evolutionary change. To document the case, Bean “endeavored to obtain a photograph,
but unfortunately the Government photographer was absent that day, and the only camera available was a No. 2 A Brownie pocket Kodak. This was utilized, and the resulting photographs are reproduced here for the first time." We can imagine Bean, or perhaps one of his Filipino workers, rushing to get the camera out to snap the images that would provide visual evidence of the "missing link."

Bean’s main purpose in the Philippines was to map the bodies of different types of Filipinos and group their forms into racial categories. As he declares in the preface to his book *The Racial Anatomy of the Philippine Islanders*, “This book... represents a new departure in anthropology, and the term racial anatomy of the living is not inappropriate as a title." Using a variety of measurement techniques, Bean offered clear delineations between Filipino types. Head sizes, limb measurements, and assessment of stature led him to conclusions about Filipinos and their place within the evolutionary hierarchy that was popular within anthropology in the early years of the twentieth century. Bean mapped the Philippine body as an exercise in colonial knowledge that could help his American readers better understand the physical attributes of their new subjects.

Bean must have seen detailed maps of the Philippine landscape in the popular press, and, perhaps, in the more rarified context of government publications that he would have been privy to as an American working in the new colony. He took the idea of mapping to its next logical conclusion: if the landscape could be surveyed and redacted into the form of a map, then certainly the Philippine body—the corporeal enigma encountered in the colonial zone—could also be surveyed, represented, and visually mapped for an American audience. In a scientifically motivated act similar to Charley Longfellow’s amateur quest for visual souvenirs of Asia, Bean investigated the body of the Other to explicate and catalog the people of the Philippines.

Bean came to this work because of his background as an anthropologist and physician. Born in Virginia in 1874, Bean received his undergraduate degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute (now called Virginia Tech) and then went on to receive his MD from Johns Hopkins University in 1904. In 1907, he went to the Philippines to work in anatomy at the Philippines Medical School. It was undoubtedly his interest in mapping the human system that fostered his obsession with measuring and detailing specific differences between Philippine racial types.

To accomplish his task of understanding the "racial anatomy" of Filipinos, Bean compared several groups of Filipinos with racial types from the United States. He explained that he "measured a few negroes in Baltimore at the Anatomical Laboratory of the Johns Hopkins University." To make
the study as exhaustive as possible he also "added the measurements of about 100 negroes in the Free Dispensary" at Hopkins and "more than 1,000 students at the University of Michigan, and the measurements of 1,500 school children of Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1905-07." He compared this American cohort to about "800 students of the Trade and Normal Schools of Manila, more than 100 Igorots, 500 individuals of Taytay and Cainta, and about 200 subjects of Malecon Mborg." Although his measuring criteria were inconsistent throughout the book, Bean assessed these groups based on head measurements (what he refers to as the Cephalic Index), stature (height), eye color, limb measurements, and even ear dimensions. In the first chapter of The Racial Anatomy of the Philippine Islanders, which focuses on Filipino students, Bean described how racial characteristics can be imparted through generations. In fact, he made specific references to Mendelism and revealed that like the characteristics of plants in Gregor Mendel's experiments, Filipino racial categories get passed down through generations of offspring.31

To highlight these differences in racial typology, Bean includes visual charts that map the bodies of Filipinos and their Euro-American counterparts. He provides clear diagrams that demarcate bodies using lines. For instance, one diagram has dotted lines on the right side that represent the "average Taytayan" and on the left side a solid line that represents the "average European" (fig. 46). In this image the Taytayan is shorter in stature than the European and Bean indicates exactly how this difference in body height measures along the entire length of both bodies. The diagram combines the Philippine and the European statures into one whole, abstracting the form of legs, torso, and head. The melding of corporeality into one single form—a body that is part Filipino and part European—is precisely Bean’s point. His study often references connections between racial groups whose geographic point of origin are disparate. For instance, in his discussion of the Igorots, who were, as discussed in the previous chapter, a major focal point for ethnographic studies of the Philippines, Bean claims that "in a few individuals a tinge of red may be seen, or the face appears bronzed, some Igorots strikingly resembling the North American Indian."34 There are also numerous places where Bean describes how migration patterns led to new racial types "as the recent infusion of Spanish in the Filipino during the past few hundred years may be suggested" as an important development.35 Thus, visual schematics that diagrammed the divide between the East and the West with a single body visually render Bean’s contention about the range of racial types living in the colony.

The graphic representation of the Taytayan man is similar to the geographic maps of the Philippines that filled the pages of the popular press
and the folders of American military commanders. Bean redacted the body into straight lines that abstract human form, allowing his audience to project fantasies about the physicality of this Taytayan onto the drawing. Arms, legs, torso, and head are marked to provide a sense of stature, but the Taytayan’s particular physical features are absent. In a rendering that imitates the manner in which cartography reduces the landscape to a set of mere lines, Bean’s drawing permits the viewer to imagine this Filipino’s attributes. This lack of characteristics is further heightened since straight lines signify the European’s stature, while dotted lines, which have a greater sense of absence because of gaps and periodic spaces, signify the Filipino. Thus, the myriad readings that turn-of-the-century Americans would bring to this seemingly underdetermined Taytayan man are significant. Bean utilized photography in other sections of his book, but, in this instance, the simplicity of the dotted line renders a man whose mapped body manifests Bean’s racialized understanding of the archipelago.

The single-body forms depicted in these line diagrams, which unite Filipino, Western, and Southern-hemisphere types, also suggest a history of racial progress, an anthropological obsession from the turn of the century that connected notions of racial hierarchy with a survey of races from
around the world. "The three types represent the three fundamental units of mankind, the Iberian being the fundamental European type, the Primitive being the type of the Orient, and the Australoid the primary Negroid element." Bean continues, "The other types, such as the Cro-Magnon, Alpine and B.B.B., are modifications and combinations of the three fundamental types."36 Bean concludes by revealing that the Philippines has people "derived principally from East Indian sources, the southern Pacific Islands, China, and Japan, and Europe."37

One of Bean's important contributions to early twentieth-century anthropology was, as one contemporary reviewer of his book explained, that he "invented in this work a racial anatomy of the living."38 Rather than rely on cadavers, Bean took his work into the field and measured live humans to assess the racial makeup of America's new colony. Given the ongoing media attention that the Philippines received during this era, the notion of getting a better understanding of the colony through a careful study of live "specimens" is not surprising. Bean divulged information about the island nation that would have been seen by his academic audience as current and fresh. His diagrams and photographs would have been understood as documentary evidence that presented not a dated representation of the empire, but a place filled with living potentialities.

Let us return to Bean's use of the Brownie camera that he mentions in his book's appendix. Included in this final chapter, which declares that earlier forms of man exist in the Philippines, are photographs supposedly taken with the Brownie. As the title of the appendix notes, Bean calls this man "Palaeolithic Man in the Philippines: Homo Philippinensis." Opposite the first page of this chapter is the man standing barefoot in front of a thatched hut. He wears light-colored pants and a collarless tunic type of shirt over his very thin body, where the bones of his ribcage create ridges in the shirt's opening (fig. 47). The "Homo Philippinensis. A Hillman from near Taytay of the Australoid Type," as the caption posits, stands at his right hand behind his back and his left hand at his side. A set of four photographs of the same man appears on a plate three pages later (fig. 48). Here the photographer who manned the Brownie took two images straight on, and two images that depict the man's profile. Reminiscent of other photographs in Bean's text, these images represent the man from different angles to ease the process of identification. The man, whose name, Alejandro Mesa, is at the top of a chart that details his specific body measurements from his lip width to the distance from his chin to nose, is shown from a variety of angles to reveal Bean's estimation that this is "the primordial form of man. Europeans are modified products of various forms that have evolved from the primordial. It is conceivable
that a form similar to this primordial type produced *Homo Philippensis.* Bean claims that this earlier version of man, the Neanderthal type, perhaps left Europe during the ice age in the hopes of finding a better climate, hence creating a geographic distinction between the disparate races of man.

In all the photographs that Bean includes, *Homo philippensis* stares at the camera in a manner reminiscent of a police mug shot. The intent here is to create a sense of scientific accuracy—a map of the human form—so the camera depicts the “Philippine Man” from multiple angles: head-on,
left profile, and right profile. In fact, two of the images appear to be the same (figures 22 and 25 in Bean), but the first image, on the upper left (22), gives us a close-up to make certain we can assess the man’s Neanderthal traits; additionally, Bean may have altered this photo with a pen or pencil to make *Homo philippinensis*’s features more pronounced. Bean notes, “The features of this man are large and heavy, the lower jaw is heavy, long, square, narrow . . . . The brow ridges protrude, the cheeks are large and prominent, the nose is massive, wide, straight, and depressed at the nasion, and the lips are full and thick.” The photos function as a form of Foucauldian power, where the body is on display for the viewer’s surveillance. John Tagg describes a group of nineteenth-century identification photos where there is “a repetitive pattern: the body isolated;

the narrow space; the subjection to an unreturnable gaze; the scrutiny of gestures, faces and features; the clarity of illumination and sharpness of focus; the names and number boards.” In Bean’s plates the focus is not there, after all a Brownie camera had been grabbed to capture this man’s unique physical presence, but, otherwise, there are “traces of power” within the visual field. The photos of the Philippine Neanderthal type manifest the American colonial policy. Indeed, they represent the diminished evolutionary state of America’s new geographic possession. The man looks at the camera and clearly, but unwittingly, calls out for benevolent assimilation.

Like many of his colleagues in anthropology, Bean understood Europeans as having progressed from primordial man. However, Homo philippensis is a form stuck in time, a leftover specimen that signifies an earlier type of man. Bean describes recent discoveries in places such as Heidelberg and La Chapelle-aux-Saints, the original locations where Neanderthals were found, to the measurements of several men he has seen in the Philippines. “In the Philippines to-day men of similar form [to the Neanderthal] may be seen, rarely, it is true, but the close observer who lives among the people of different parts of the archipelago for years can hardly fail to notice such types.” Enmeshed in Philippine culture and able to observe individuals at close range, Bean identified a new classification of human that the camera documents as conclusively linked to an earlier period, a time when man’s physical form was nascent and not evolved.

Since its discovery in the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of a Neanderthal has been a contested topic in anthropology. In the early twentieth century it was seen as axiomatic that the Neanderthal was an early form of man descended from simians. Anthropologists spent ample time mapping the geographic regions and “races” that descended from Neanderthals, arguing how different continents could be linked to variations of early man. For instance, John Gray created a speculative diagram tracing the Neanderthal, which eventually arrived in Europe and evolved into modern man (fig. 49). One of the racially charged visual clues that Gray included in his chart of arrows is that while the Neanderthal crossed with Chimpansoids, and closely followed the path of Gorilloids, its line of evolutionary ascent went directly to Europe in an upward motion away from Africa. However, the chimp and gorilla family continued downward toward Africa, marking the ancestry of the Southern hemisphere as simian and distinctly separate from the European past. On the other hand, anthropologist Gustaf Retzius explained to his readers in 1909 “that there does not exist anything like enough material for definite conclusions
to be drawn concerning” the Neanderthal.\textsuperscript{46} Regardless of the myriad theories that filled the pages of anthropological journals during the early years of the twentieth century, well-regarded scholars accepted that there were early forms of man who were considered less evolved and inferior to modern man.

Erik Trinkaus and Pat Shiplan have traced the nineteenth- and twentieth-century academic approaches to the study of the Neanderthal. They reveal how the Neanderthal was thought to be a missing link to man’s current state and how it was understood as uncivilized, devoid of modern man’s refined sensibilities.\textsuperscript{47} One theme that recurs in early twentieth-century descriptions of Neanderthals was their supposed cannibalistic practices. Because of nineteenth-century claims that surfaced shortly after the first discovery of Neanderthal bones, it became accepted that Neanderthals practiced cannibalism. Trinkaus and Shipman note that this practice “is one of the most universal taboos, one of the most repellent and uncivilized behaviors.”\textsuperscript{48} Since many writers in anthropological journals stressed the connection between Neanderthals and the continued existence of primitive man throughout the world, especially in those regions understood as in need of colonial intervention, it became the rigueur to mention this distressing ritual as a way of separating modern man—Western man—from the abhorrent custom of cannibalism.\textsuperscript{49} And, of course, scholars often singled out the Philippines as a site where cannibalistic practices could be found. While speaking to the American Geographic Society in 1901, George Becker claimed the Manobos, a Philippine
CHAPTER FOUR

tribe that could be found in Mindanao, “practice ceremonial cannibalism and offer to their gods human sacrifices.” Granted, Bean did not suggest that *Homo philippinensis* engaged in anthropophagous behavior, but these types of sensational characteristics about Neanderthals and Filipinos were prevalent. Bean’s subject must have been frightening to an American audience, since *Homo philippinensis* qualified as both a savage Filipino and a modern-day Neanderthal.

Bean’s photographic plates, his desire to use a camera, and his obsessive physical mapping of Philippine bodies reveal a quest to label the Philippines as uncivilized for his American audience. His work, and other scientific inquiries into the archipelago described in the previous chapter, purported stereotyped mythologies about the Philippines that adhered to the colonial rhetoric of the early twentieth century. Bean’s theory that the Neanderthal still existed in all its physical glory supported both his own belief in the notion of early forms of man, and his and the wider colonial project’s contention that the Philippines was the home of a less evolved human form. Ultimately, Bean’s desire to map the corporeality of the Philippine citizenry was not unique, and many other Americans looked at the Philippines as a place where reading the colonized—the sizes, shapes, and dimensions of Filipinos—could lead to knowledge, although dubious, about America’s subjects.

These cartographic conceptions of bodies and places fostered American visions of empire. While the intrigues of empire often remained distant and physically removed from the everyday, these maps and photographs authorized Americans to create a “place-image” that would adhere to turn-of-the-century fantasies about imperial conquest. These representations established a duality of both distance and proximity in relation to the colonial zone. On the one hand, the armchair traveler, the soldier, and the ethnographer could have the sense that the Philippines was a knowable terrain, a cartographic scape where the movement of empire could be delineated and understood. On the other hand, these maps—both in their corporeal and geographic manifestation—allowed for a type of distancing where the colony could be magnified and easily seen, but from the safety of a detached position. Even in the case of the soldier, who would have utilized the hand-drawn maps while in the colony and in the heat of battle, the rendering of the landscape permitted a type of disassociation from the actual bloodshed and complexities of war. The place-image formed by these maps facilitated empire through a visually mediated cartographic scape where the agents of empire—the popular press, the military, and the anthropologist—defined boundaries of meaning that established the American colony in the Philippines.