Collapsing moments: confronting anti-Black logics in the Philippines' colonial archive

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Abstract

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This thesis draws from Black geographies and Black studies to re-examine the Philippines' colonial archives. I focus on the US Imperial perspective at the turn of the 20th century, and devote particular attention to how the US articulates Blackness in the Philippines through the caricature of the sambo, through racial pseudo-science, and through racializing the Philippines in larger currents of Pacific racialization. This project uses archival methodologies alongside discourse analysis to trace anti-Blackness from the archive to discuss Dean Worcester's text Slavery and Peonage (1913) and the carceral logics of the US Forestry Bureau and the Philippines' Public Lands Act of 1902. Foregrounding this project is the persistence of the racial organization of the plantation as a force extending beyond the bounds of its geographies and into the political forest. Using the analytic of anti-Blackness as a primary structuring force, I trace archival moments that together address US logics of racial capitalism in the Philippines that have previously been lesser attended to by Filipinx studies and Black geographies

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Contents

Introduction

This project traces racial formations and their repercussions from the vantage point of US Imperialists in the Philippines in the early twentieth century. It is geographic in the sense that much of the archival work traces the discipline in the stages when human geography had a racial charge[1], and focuses on how race and imaginaries bind particular people to forms of labor and subjection to discuss how Blackness is sensed in the Philippines. This project is heavily informed by three distinct discourses, I would categorize the first as a challenging and problematic archive and discourse of eugenics that bleeds into and circulates itself - ossifying into an epistemology of racial truth that becomes a scaffold in disciplines from human geography, zoology, to anthropology. This older archive is not one I lean on to give any of its claims legitimacy, rather it is to consider and read the archive for a Blackness that has been overlooked significantly in Filipinx studies and broader histories of agricultural and social change in the Philippines. The second overarching literature theme combines Black studies and Black geographies, to work specifically with how the discipline treats violent archives and conspires within their necessary confines but also takes an expansive look at what possibilities that archives can hold. The third are discourses and methods from political ecology, which try and make sense of complex relationships that tie together people, place, land and political changes.

This project seeks to answer a few questions about what it means to be considered or made Black in the Philippines. What that means for the analyses we hold of the Philippines, what that means

[1] Geography as a discipline in the 19th and 20th century was devoted to understanding people and place through a colonial and imperial avenue. Geographers continue to grapple with the history and legacy of the discipline (Hudson, 2008; Curley & Smith, 2020).

for broader questions of racial capitalism and organization, and what new questions and possibilities we can think of for solidarities. This project consists of three chapters, the first being an exploration into the logics of racialization that are informed by different sources that pin dark skinned Indigenous peoples in the Philippines to Blackness. The sources are diffuse, from literal texts to colonial objects like photographs, postcards, and plays, but they together work to describe how anti-Black thought and racialization travel between the US and the Philippines. Central to this analysis is critically engaging with the caricature of the "sambo" that is employed in US periodicals and in the desires of US actors both as literally – acting in plays, and acting on behalf of the US Imperialism.

This second chapter sets up what I hope to be the foundations for future archival work and studies of memory by examining the archive on slavery and enslavement in the Philippines. It begins by tracing the legacy of slavery through the Spanish Galleon trade, the limits and possibilities for solidarities across Indigenous geographies of now Mexico, and as well as the anti-Blackness of the Pacific Islander slave trade, known as "Blackbirding", that structured plantation agriculture in the Pacific and Australia. Lastly, it asks questions that Black studies continues to grapple with - surrounding as Hartman puts it, the "non-event" of emancipation - and the limitations of Black redaction as methodology when working through archives dealing with deep scales of disenfranchisement and death. Further, this chapter works through the limitations of critical fabulation in the as both necessary method and as one perhaps unable to be practiced by one with my own subject position in the scope of this project and one that deals with already lacking archives, loss of memory, and revisionist histories of enslavement.

The third and final chapter thinks through US led strategies for colonial domination and the anti-Black lines they trace regarding the establishment of the US Forestry Bureau in the Philippines. I use the archival documents of the Forestry Bureau and associated actors such as Dean Worcester and further periodicals of sugar plantation and sugar science to position the forest in the Philippines as directly tied into the plantation in distinct but twinned formations. This chapter draws heavily from discourses on the political forest, racial capitalism and enclosure, and uses humanities that span archival and digital humanities. It makes claims that the plantation in the Philippines is an anti-Black endeavor, even if Black labor isn't seen or sensed in the ways that it may be in other plantation alignments. It brings into light how anti-Blackness does not to be seen or sensed to be the foundations through which racial capitalism and plantation capitalism is produced and reproduced.

A note on methods

The project's methodology began during a trip to various archives in the US with funding from the UW Graduate Department. The most important of which in this project being the Newberry Library in Chicago, specifically their Ayer collections. In these archives, I saw many images and documents pertaining to the Philippines in a condensed, almost rapid-fire sequence. While I was hoping to find materials on food production and agrarian change and how this intersected with anti-Black dispossession, and even older recipes for perhaps less commonly cooked Philippine dishes, what I found instead - colonial administrative documents on the US Forestry Service and Forestry Bureau, Forestry Department and Agricultural School handbooks, and declassified intelligence reports trying to make sense of public perceptions of the politics in the Philippines, and a long stretch of cold-war

and McCarthyism over agricultural unrest, I knew I had to think more deeply about the interfaces of US Administrative policy, race, and land use change as it slotted into and created new plantation regimes.

The methodology of this paper is rooted entirely in archival work, and draws heavily from scholars in history, historical geography, Philippine studies, and Black studies broadly composed. Before I began this project, I thought about different research avenues and a mixed-methods approach, but with the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, uncertain waves of openings and closures, and political tumult in the Philippines itself combined with the desire to reread the archives for anti-Blackness specifically converged to offer the opportunity to rethink the framing of the past in order to move forward, and to allow myself to develop a strong foundation in the literatures on these subject fields that will come to shape future work.

On terms, and on race

As Ferreira Da Silva speaks to in *A Global Idea of Race* (2007) scholarship must attend to the fiction of race, while simultaneously unpacking its reality as a structuring force, a subjugation, and a world-boundary drawer. This project deals heavily with racialization - the process of understanding race and creating racial categories that are woven into the fabric of racial capitalism in the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century. As this project unfolds, it is important to note that racial distinctions remain an enduring *fiction* (Ferreira Da Silva, 2007). Dark-skinned Indigenous peoples – sometimes referred to as Melanesian - in the Philippines have more in common genetically with "Malay" peoples in the Philippines than they do to other communities categorically labeled as Melanesian. (Douglas, 2023)

Racialization is always a project upheld through myth, and entrenching difference in service to supremacy and hegemony. Centering the importance in dealing with race as simultaneously a fiction and powerful force constructing axes of difference in the Philippines, spanning empires, is how race must be interpreted in this piece.

Defining common terms used throughout this piece, I want to start first with acknowledging the challenging nature of terms used in this work. There are many terms still in operation and circulation in newer literature that are pejorative in origin. Further, there are terms in this work that collapse time periods and themselves are vestiges of colonial legacies. The term *Negrito* is used throughout this piece when citing Spanish and US colonial projects. This term while still used widely in the Philippines, is also pejorative in nature and stems from colonial encounters with Blackness as it appears phenotypically and attends to the way that height and size factors into the colonial encounter. Indigenous dark-skinned peoples in the Philippines refer to themselves in multiple ways, but also terms used to describe them by contemporary Filipinos include Ajeta, Agta, Ita, Ati, and Aeta, and much earlier Balugas. These terms reflect ethnic groups located in distinct regions of the Philippines, with distinct languages and customs. These terms too are variations on the Tagalog word *itim* which translates to the English word "black." Tracing Blackness even in language becomes a throughline in understanding how phenotypical perceptions of race span empires and perceptions. From the US Imperial archive, it becomes clear that they find it challenging to stick to one term, cycling between terms with both care and carelessness.[2] In careful ways, the US archive places these

[2] I bring in recent and important scholarship by Douglas, who writes "This reflex conflation of primordiality with dark skin colour testifies to an enduring paradox of the science of race – its impossible to quest to force diverse, complex human actuality into neat, timeless, a priori biological pigenholes (Douglas, 2023, p. 305).

terms in consideration when drawing distinct racial lines and draws together phenotypic similarity under the guises and processes of racial science. Continuing with the various terms used to describe Indigenous dark-skinned peoples in the Philippines - the US also begins to cycle into language that parallels those in the Philippines to Afro-descendent peoples, using a direct translation, saying "little blacks", "negroes", "negroids", "negro" and in some cases "nigger."

Today, there is much debate still on the proper terminology to understand dark-skinned Indigenous peoples in the Philippines. The term "Negrito" is still used in recent publications and histories; however the term is loaded within the context of colonial inferiority and subjugation. The term itself is important to understanding the history and genesis of anti-Black racialization in the Philippines from the Spanish and US governments, but is not suitable for referencing the culturally distinct communities previously mentioned. For the purposes of this piece, the term "Negrito" will only be used when discussing how the term is used to racialize dark-skinned Indigenous peoples in dealing with the nuances of the colonial archive. Further, the term "Aeta" as a blanket term to describe "Negrito" in the colonial archive is lacking as it refers in truth to only certain ethnic communities living in Luzon. For the purposes of this project, when not referring to the colonial archive's specific use of terms, I will describe peoples being dark-skinned Indigenous peoples of the Philippines as racial categories are all slippery, and the way they are employed in current literature and historically embed connotations of violence or insufficiency. While some scholars agree that many dark-skinned Indigenous peoples in the Philippines are Melanesians, the term Melanesian is imperfect as it more closely is used to describe a bounded region of Melanesia than people themselves (Douglas, 2023).

Lastly, this project uses the term anti-Blackness as an anchor to describe projects, attitudes, and interventions that transpired around the US Imperial period following the Philippine-American war. For the purposes of this piece, anti-Blackness is best explained in relation to the global. Anti-Blackness is a structure of domination "antithetical to all manifestations of Black social life, yet requires Blackness for its political, economic, ontological, epistemological, and spatial coherence" (Bledsoe & Wright, 2019, p. 10). Anti-Black racialization which becomes simultaneously encoded into the archive of scientific racism and racist periodicals as it actively shapes a realignment of race and capital in the Philippines becomes the central examples this analytic is used to explain.

Desired opening-ups

I came to this project with questions that others have posed namely Tao Leigh Goffe, Quito Swan, and Tamar-Sharma, who think about the confluence of Blackness and the broadly constructed Pacific and Oceanic world. I also came to this project thinking through experiences with noting an absence in a Black studies analytic in the reproduction and circulation of dominant frames, narratives, and materials that determine the state of perhaps political consciousness and racial capitalism in the Philippines and broader diaspora. Bringing the Philippines into conversation with anti-Blackness and legacies of anti-Black racialization as a traceable throughline between histories and empires perhaps opens up new opportunities to think in solidarities alongside scholars working in plantation capitalism, racialization, and the push for global solidarities and to create "rather, a future" (McKittrick, 2013, p.11).

Chapter 1: Imagining a Black Pacific, locating racialization and its demands for Filipinx studies

Image from the Newberry Library, *Carta Hydrographica y chorographica de las yslas Filipinas, Pedro Murillo Velarde, 1734.* I was particularly interested in this center text, depicting various racialized peoples revolving around the center.

"I hope my thinking will foster other considerations of black and racial geographies - rural, suburban, gated, beyond the Americas, too - that might benefit from the sort of imagining of plantation futures I put forth." – Katherine McKittrick, 2013, p. 5

In this chapter, I think with scholars at the intersections of race, drawing from Filipinx studies, Black geographies, and Black studies. This chapter attends to a moment in the nineteenth and twentieth century where the Philippines and the Pacific more broadly is framed as a laboratory to study and inform competing theories about the origin of 'man'. Whilst already running-up with and weaving into predetermined racial hierarchies established in empires long gone and going in the archipelago that had shaped the geography and labor structure of Philippine society already. The implications of such twisted endeavors go on to shape global trajectories of development practice - including projects enacted under the premise of "civilizing" Indigenous peoples (and deeming some even too backwards for it). And further, in the passing over of the Philippines' administrative system to the US Insular Government, I ask and explore questions of anti-Black racializing logics and methods as they are circulating between the continental US and the Philippines through material objects, peoples, arts and aesthetics. I argue that these moments treat Blackness as a fungible marker of subjugation, that can move seamlessly between locales as it is employed to enshrine structures of domination.

Thinking about the US Colonial Administration and Philippine-American war from 1898 – 1945 as an extension of and historically peers with both the westward frontier push and the American government's Indian Wars and Assimilation campaigns, as well as the Jim-Crow South (1870 – 1965),

the charge to administer the Philippines complex multi-ethnic and Indigenous populations was a deeply pointed effort to first understand the nuances of race to align the archipelago for capital accumulation. This project is not one undertaken solely to "fill in gaps" wrought from the siloing of disciplines, but to bring into question the genealogy and directions of Filipinx studies more broadly, and to sit with the heavy implications of anti-Black racialization and its captivating possibility as some scholars and internationalists have already thought and lived with (Swan, 2020; 2022). Further, in reading *Plantation Futures* as method, I have taken-up McKittrick's ask and Ferreira Da Silva's provocations to trace the specter of the plantation and the global experiment of race-making together, as in naming their superstructure to imagine futures by turning to the procedure of the past (McKittrick, 2013; Ferreira Da Silva, 2007).

The US coming in from a particularly social-Darwinist and eugenicist understanding of race as biological truth contained within "ideal types" presented and explained neatly through the Philippines' complex geography, enabled parallel experiments in racial science and an aligned economic comparative advantage based on the presumed capabilities of particular "races" in archipelago. This chapter answers questions regarding the culmination of racial myths and ideologies that create a growing discourse of anti-Blackness in the Philippines that then continues to structure processes of dispossession as outlined in the subsequent chapters. Further, it anchors racialization as a central tenant to the US-led transition of the Philippines to a market-based capitalist economy. Lastly, this chapter addresses some of problems and challenges that arise when the central threads of anti-Black racialization are ignored in attempts to analyze race in the Philippines. Recent turns in the

discipline of Filipinx studies attends to some of these challenges, however applying this lens on historical archival documents and processes has not yet been attempted.

Attending to Black erasure in critical Filipinx Studies and in practice

Filipinx studies, Filipinx diaspora studies, and Filipino American writing broadly does not shy away from talking about race. From novels like *America is in the Heart* by Carlos Bulosan, to grounded campaigns to spark defection (and succeeding) amongst Black soldiers during the Philippine-American war, to conversations surrounding the enduring impact of *mestizaje*. To contemporary conversations about the persistence and ubiquity of skin-lightening cosmetics and advertisements. To bring a much-needed critical perspective to the character of *Nita Negrita* in Blackface on national television which ran for 83 episodes (Rafael, Bonus, Marquis, Malatag Rodriguez, De Leon, Ocampo). Yet, scholars in the diaspora and in the Philippines repeatedly reproduce analyses that do not consider the gravity of Black racialization, the anti-Black anchoring of mestizaje, and the (im)possibility of Black Indigeneity in the Philippines. When Blackness is thought about, it is usually from the perspective of Black Americans or from the vantage point of mixed-Filipino and Black individuals and their treatment or exclusion in contemporary Filipinx-diaspora or the Philippines body-politic. Rarely, is Blackness thought of as compatible with Philippines as existing always already phenotypically within the sovereignty of Indigenous dark-skinned peoples. Further, archival sources such as Philippine political

cartoons that are often mobilized by Filipinx studies scholars, people invested in social movements in the Philippines, and others fail to critically examine the work that caricature of sambo does, or its ties explicitly to anti-Blackness. While Filipinx studies grows more capacious every year, and there is no doubt that the political stakes are high, Blackness demands we think with it, wherever it may be and however it shows up to scaffold a national body politic. While this work is extremely thorough and well composed by scholars far more senior and accredited, I am left to wonder how this work will be received and I hope that this inspires a far more creative opening of the field.

With regard to how Blackness is depicted in the Philippines, scholar Laforteza (2015) discusses how Blackness was not seen or written into the Spanish understanding of *indio* and as such has reproduced or not reproduced Blackness as ever belonging within the Philippines body-politic.

In many ways it does not surprise me that many of the scholars in Filipinx studies do not think about anti-Blackness. Robyn Rodriguez does think through movement building and anti-Blackness with respect to Philippine activism, but tends to think of the Filipino worker as being racialized in the broader context of labor flows and employment. Furthermore, scholars in Bonus (2022) such as Bock tend to perform similar lines of analysis when thinking about Blackness and Filipinxness - positioning them as analyses and identities that are separately constructed rather than co-constituted, and in so erasing the shared history of anti-Black racialization that comes to structure the Filipinx identity in the first place.

A note on method

The methodology of this chapter relies on archival resources that were collected and made available through an archival trip conducted in the summer of 2022 to the Newberry Library in Chicago, IL, and further examined through a variety of online open-source and public-domain archival collections. This chapter examines Blackness in the Philippines through engaging with Philippines studies scholars, and as such the ways of knowing and understanding racialization as it flows between different circuits and histories uses much more diffuse colonial archives and objects. Re-reading the colonial *archives* [3] through Black studies scholars, helps work through the challenges of racialization in the Philippines constituting an anti-Black angle to both the US' imperial endeavor, and the foundations of the Philippines' Nation-State. To draw from Black studies is to be incredibly careful not to apply it carte blanche, but to attend to its' resonances and careful ways of dealing with Black unfreedoms as they are constructed precisely through anti-Black logics, in unique times and places, in the Philippines. Further, this project grapples with creative and essential methods in Black studies such as Hartman's *critical fabulation* and Sharpe's *Black redaction*, to think with the generosity and limitation of applying these methods to the Philippines' archives. In this first chapter, I consider a broad sample of primary sources including images and periodicals, plays, maps, and poems. Anti-Blackness becomes a *moment* - of inertia and of place and time (Hartman, 1997; Sharpe, 2016).

[3] The italicized plural referencing the multiplicity of intersecting colonial projects from Spain, the US, and circuits of ethnic elitism stemming from Tagalog hegemony.

The enduring architecture of race in the Philippines

To trace the precolonial conditions of racialization along colorist constructions too is of central importance to scholarship on race, identity, nationalism and colonialism that is so lacking in current discourse contained within the sphere of Filipinx studies. It is especially pertinent to understand pre-colonial notions of racialization in the Philippines as well as many of the ways anti-Blackness and anti-Black racialization in the Philippines can be understood are located *both* from a colonial-aligned Tagalog elite (during the US Colonial period) and from US Colonial actors bringing their idealized racial categories with them to try and understand the collision of both Indigeneity and Blackness in the Philippines that attempt to rationalize.

Saraswati's (2013) *Seeing Beauty, Sensing Race in Transnational Indonesia* is an excellent text on the history and trajectory of racialization in Indonesia through a combined analysis of multiple influences spanning "sensing" human difference from pre-colonial times to the present, located through textual analysis of a variety of written Javanese cultural artifacts, focusing on the epic poem Ramayana, which has been reproduced and retold in different forms throughout the Philippines. An excellent starting off point for the Philippines, as precolonial Java and the proximity of shared culture especially surrounding shared colonial influences provide touchpoints to similar situations. To begin, Saraswati writes that,

> "Arguing that preface for light skin color in Java pre-dates European colonialism is not to argue that the construction of women with light skin color as beautiful is a "local" or "indigenous" construction (to be pitted against a "globalized" or Westernized construction) and that it has forever existed in indigenous communities, even without the force of European colonialism. Nor does it suggest that preference for light skin color that is considered beautiful even in precolonial Java, I argue, is a "transnational" (avant la lettre) construction." (p.16)

Saraswati, through carefully navigating her assertions that racialization through epic poetry and the arts coming from Java-centric cultural production does not assert that this construction has existed forever. Rather, Saraswati *enters* the conversation much as I aspire to do, with sticking to archival constructions and a deep-rooted exegesis. Stating that the archival sources I am tracing and the arguments I make do not construct a racial claim to the multitudes of pre-colonial knowledge in the Philippines, rather I bring in Saraswati's work as a premier example of the methods of understanding Southeast Asian and Pacific modes of racialization that deal with deep histories of kingdoms and complex ways of knowing in archipelagic constellations.[4] And further, to bring in the work as an analog to similar cultural artifacts that lend themselves to a characterization of sensing race in the

[4] I like how Saraswati attends to this through outlining the history of Javanese kingdoms and writing systems through the introduction of Chapter 1, pages 17-18.

Philippines. Saraswati's close reading of the Ramayana describes how the epic poem that spans many translations, authors, and interpretations, brings in and characterizes people along a spectrum of qualities that map onto a color hierarchy, traced through its historical and textual connotations. (Saraswati 2013, p. 20) Through storytelling, Saraswati articulates that the telling and retelling of the Ramayana perpetuates a quality of *rasa* - a feeling "often hidden, significance of something obscure" which is bound together with method, affect, and aesthetics.[5]

Saraswati writes that within the Ramayana,

"Throughout this epic poem, many metaphors are used to highlight the ways in which white is affectively represented as desirable for its attachment to beauty, purity, and cleanliness. The pollen of pandanus in the Old Javanese *Ramayana* is used as "face powder, so that [the women] look perfectly white" (*Ramayana 697).*" - p. 29

And similarly, the *rasa* of blackness is discussed

"Black and dark skin color is used to suggest the *rasa* of suffering. In the Old Javanese Ramayana, a lady ascetic whose skin is as "black as the color of collyrium" (Ramayana 97-98, 148) narrates how her skin changes its color to black as a form of punishment when she eats the flesh of the

[5] "In both Indian and Javanese contexts, *rasa* registers as "an experience at once physical, emotional, and cognitive" (Saraswati, 2013, p. 25).

God Wisnu. She sees her transformation to black skin as "the origin of her suffering" (Ramayana 150).

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Parallels that could be drawn between Saraswati's focus on Java-centric cultural production, politics, are claimed and designed to "serve the interests of the Javanese ruling elites." Further, "Javanese epics and myths are evoked to maintain the status quo in modern Indonesia" (Sarswati, 2013, p. 17). Furthermore, such origin stories and their implications translated in the Boxer codex reference and reveal understandings of race that are tied to social position.[6] It is unsurprising to me that it has taken a blogger to begin to unpack these relationships as previously discussed the formal academy has not yet attended to considering anti-Black historiography in the Philippines is critically examined.

> "They are called datus in their language. And the ones who stayed in the main room of the house became their knights and nobles, because they are free and pay no tribute; these are called timawa in their language. And they say that those who hid behind the walls of the house are their slaves, which they call olipon in their language. They say that those who went to the kitchen and hid in the chimney and among the pots are the Negritos, claiming that from them descend all the Negritos who live in the mountains of the Philippine Islands of the West" (Caballes, 2020).

[6] The boxer codex is a late 16th century Spanish document containing illustrations of the peoples of the Philippines and other South East Asian regions.

Saraswati's text provides a key anchor in the thought processes of anti-Black racialization and how it exists in the Philippines and Hawaii - which also works as a key locale in thinking through the history of anti-Black racialization and the Pacific. Saraswati describes the hold of aesthetic alignments toward "lightness", as demonstrated in folk tales from the Javanese perspective, and as the whole region shared cultural influences with the Philippines (Saraswati, 2013). The Javanese epic poem, Ramayana which was adapted from India, works to culturally disseminate ideas of race and colorism through the association of ideals, heroes, and virtues with colorist aesthetics. The Ramayana has been adapted and shared in similar ways in the Philippines, where it has gone on to inform various epic poems and stories such as the Bicolano Ibalong, and the Maranao Maharadia Lawana, and has become a facet of the Philippines' cultural consciousness [7] (Francisco, 1989).

Instances of pre-colonial anti-Black racial terror directed toward dark-skinned Indigenous peoples of the Philippines by dominant cultural groups collectively are well recorded in the Spanish histories and reproduced through writing recounting these histories by the US Colonial Administration. Further, these narratives of "Negritos" as a "disappearing race" appear in countless ways in history texts and encyclopedias written in partnerships with scholars and museums and "experts" of varying qualification and position.[8] It is important to think through pre-colonial notions of anti-Blackness contained within this analysis, and helps to explain the genesis and origins of anti-Blackness coming from the lens of the South Asian and Pacific rather than the European and Atlantic

[7] This could be a whole dissertation itself. It also brings into question the ways that "pre-colonial" notions of Philippine Indigeneity are also fraught with histories and challenges relevant to contemporary diasporic thought.

[8] After going to various libraries and considering their collections on Philippine history, I noticed that even contemporary encyclopedias and histories continue to reproduce the notion of "Negrito" backwardness and inferiority through continuing to bring forward and recycle the notion of migration waves.

spheres of thought and history. I bring this history in to note a much longer and shared Southeast Asian history of *rasa*, race, and racialization that predates European importations of scientific racism and racialization. To do so also positions a future study of exegesis methods and comparative analysis on the impact and characterization of qualities, features, and possibilities. [9] Black geographies and scholarship attending to the expansive and nuanced ways that anti-Blackness can be traced globally locates converging and shifting epistemologies of racialization.

From the Tagalog Elite and the racial project of Mestizaje

When the Spanish crown claimed the Philippines through the Legazpi in 1565, the Philippines became wrapped up with the complex governing systems that denoted distinction between *indio* and Spanish. Administered through the Viceroyalty of New Spain based in Mexico City, in the three hundred or so years of Spanish rule, ideas, people, and goods were exchanged, trafficked, and pillaged from locales within the empire. Many Philippine studies scholars who look at racialization tend to focus on the project of *mestizaje* using rich discourses and ideas from Latinx scholarship to inform their understanding of racialization in the Philippines. The Spanish entirely restructured the geography of the Philippines through creating many small towns revolving around a church, funneling forced labor into galleon construction, and setting up systems of colonial governance administered through the many Datus (chiefs) of independent territories. Sony Coranez Bolton in *Crip Colony* 2023, *argues*

[9] In the Ibalong, there is a reference to the "Dagatnong" as antagonists. These characters are the "black pygmies'' who lived on seacoasts (Derry, 1991).

further that "the mestizo body then is the evidence, product, and agent of colonial rehabilitation, a *racial ideology of ability* marking a preface for able-bodied and able-mindedness aligned with the colonial project" (Bolton, 2023, p. 7). Bolton's analysis considered mestizaje as distinct in the Philippines especially due to the presence of cultural Chinese influence and peoples, wherein the project becomes a tool that works by "differentiating Filipino asianness as itself a form of Indigenous rehabilitation and philosophical distance from depraved Chineseness" (Bolton, 2023, p. 11).

As scholars have attended to, *mestizo* identities - meaning both Asian and *indio* and Asian, *indio,* and Spanish come to scaffold the ruling class of Philippine elites. Through this distinction along lines within the Spanish racial constructions and hierarchies introduced into the Philippines came an understanding of *mestizaje* that did not consider "Negrito" peoples as inherently *indio* (Aguilar Jr., 2005). While Bolton 2023 pays careful attention to and traces the Philippines *mestizaje* alongside Latinx scholarship through his methodology of *crip colonial critique* bridging disability studies, queer studies, and Filipinx historiography, it does little to consider Blackness. To grapple with *mestizaje* in the Philippines as a process that constructs an architecture of anti-Black exclusion in the context of the Spanish Philippines gives one the analytical tools to trace anti-Black subjugation as a keystone feature of *mestizaje*.

In particular, the project of Tagalog supremacy wherein Tagalog cultural production and influence came to become the lingua franca of the Philippine Nation. Asserting Tagalog supremacy and cultural dominance is not new especially through Philippine studies' rich history of class discourse and Marxist analytical positions. It is well known that Mestiza/o owning classes came to dominance and power through plantocracies and hacienda dominance. (Rodao, 2022) While Tagalog cultural

hegemony has been discussed, it is important to note that it is apparent class inequalities remain and uneven power dynamics continue to deeply impact the Philippines. I am careful to say certainly Tagalog culture is dominant, but it does not mean that Tagalogs are unilaterally in positions of power, especially considering racist and exclusionary practices and experiences globally.

> " I mark and archivally locate such interstitial spaces within racial fusions that foment, as part of mestizaje's project, intermediary subjects at the crux of ostensibly monolithic racial identifications. For this reason, the transitory period from late Spanish colonialism to early US imperialism is striking, as we can view a snapshot into how racial meanings shifted from one epoch to the next through an already ambivalent and multivalent discourse like mestizaje." (Bolton, 2023, p. 6-7)

> "In a basic sense, the Spanish Empire incorporated the *indio*, while Anglo imperialism treated the Indian as separate and distinct." (Bolton, 2023, p.13)

In a careful analysis of tracing racial ideologies in the Philippines, one must especially consider the role of the *Illustrado* - a dominant, Western-educated, Filipino Mestizo thought leader at the turn of the twentieth century - as a figure that produces and reproduces racial understandings in articulating a National vision. The Illustrados are considered national heroes, figures who through various means wrote, organized, and planned seditious acts and uprisings against the Spanish Government during the Philippine revolution. Their core ideas and writing, the most famous being by

Jose Rizal, form the basis of what becomes a narrative of National cohesion and origin. Through analyzing Rizal's education and writing, one can discern the bridges and overt connections between Rizal's articulation of Nationhood and who *is* and *is not* included in that framing. Rizal's understanding of Philippine Nationhood are imbued with circuits of European racial thought and racial science heavily influenced by Ferdinand Blumentritt - Rizal's interlocutor, friend, and Professor of ethnology in the Austro-Hungarian empire who drew heavily from Lamarckian theories of racialization.[10] As a repercussion, "Negritos" are excluded from the onset of Philippine National consciousness and from the identity of Filipino, and the formation of the Nation as a racial project. As Aguilar Jr. writes in reference to Jose Rizal's education and articulation, this anti-Blackness takes shape in two ways; a silence and through his viewpoints regarding the capacity for self-governance and European informed "civilization" in the Philippines

> "His silence implied that Negritos were not his people and did not deserve his defense.. Rizal conformed with the standard colonial practice, which, Scott notes, routinely excluded Negritos from the rubric of *indio*. Denigrated by Spaniards and their lowland subjects, Negirots were strangers, an alien race that the Europeans and "Malay Christians" placed beyond the reach of civilization. Even the most "enlightened" considered Negritos inherently primitive." (Aguilar Jr., 2005, p. 163)

[10] Lamarckism being how genetic traits were theorized as being inherited and combined, forming the basis for Spanish forms of *mestizaje.* Further, Lamarckism emphasized the role of environment in determining characteristics.

The political category of the *non-indio* at this moment has further stakes at this moment when a large portion of attention in creating the stories that articulate the Nation are rooted in imaginings of a pre-colonial Indigenous way of being and knowing the world. I enter the conversation placed between these ongoing histories to name that the circuits of racial thought in the Philippines are deeply complex, and that anti-Blackness can be located at a convergence of shared racial belief systems. It is not enough to believe that naming Mestizaje will do the work it needs to do for us, rather we must consider the demands of locating Blackness' intersectionality across time and place.

FILIPINO SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

From left to right: Justice Torres, Chief Justice Arellano, and Justice Mapa. If these men are contrasted with the Negritos, some idea will be gained of the extreme difference between the highest and lowest peoples of the Philippines

Images above titled Filipino Supreme Court Justices pin a spectrum of Filipino peoples to a racist development logic.

Fig. 29. Migration-zones illustrating racial evolution between Tibet and Tasmania. The section below shows in a generalized form the ethnic strata in the same region.

The image above is a map featured in "The Races of Man" from Deniker, 1912

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, racial theorists in the fields of Human Anthropology, Geography, Sociology, and Zoology took and tried to develop racial theories coming from a long trajectory of French racial science and applying those theories to methodologies of eugenics. Darwin, drawing from Lamarck went on a trip in the Pacific in the HMS Beagle, and while often Darwinist thinking is interpreted drawing lines thinking about non-humans, Darwin's racial

ideologies were informed heavily by seeing and interfacing with peoples throughout the Pacific Islands (Douglas, 2022). Darwin is only one entry-point into a long history of European racialization, but what emerges in the early twentieth century becomes an obsession with trying to confirm two distinct threads and theories of racial thought that both have their connections and origins to French and British academic theories (Douglas, 2022). The first is the theory of race as Polygenetic, and the second is the theory of race as Monogenetic. Both theories that become dominant within discourses of Scientific Racism reproduce anti-Blackness, however the stakes are arguably higher in theories of Polygenic scientific racism. While the Spanish empire in the Philippines believed in the integration of Indigenous peoples though *mestizaje*, though as previously discussed this routinely excluded dark-skinned Indigenous peoples, the US government worked hard to understand and treat the many ethnic groups they encountered as distinct "races."

> "Monogenist neoclassical and Christian orthodoxy - variously represented in this paper by Buffon, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and his son, Prichard, Omalius d'Halloy, Lyell, the 'quite orthodox' young Darwin, and Quatrefages - conceived physical differences between races as outcomes of the impact of varied climates, geographies, or life styles on a single, migrating human species of common ancestry. Polygenists - such as Virey, Bory de Saint-Vincent, Agassiz after 1850, and Broca - classified races as separate morphologically distinct biological species, resistant to external influences and probably with spatially dispersed plural origins. 'White' race pride and contempt for non-whites were ubiquitous; anthropometry and taxonomy were normalized tools

> across the science of race; but polygenist racial verdicts and rankings were usually extreme. (Douglas, 2022, p. 175)

The Philippines becomes a place of racial experimentation - as when the US defeats the Spanish in the Spanish-American war and then the Philippine resistance in the Philippine-American war, understandings of "aptitude" and "fitness" for certain levels and degrees of "civilization" hinged on the demographic composition of the Philippines. The US perception of Blackness in the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century as existing among dark-skinned Indigenous peoples brought the archipelago into a high stakes relationship to an emerging global capitalism. As the dominant theories of race during the time positioned that the medical effects of the tropics on white men were unbearable in the long term, the Philippines had to become a place where the US could eventually administer from afar. With the goal of arranging the Philippines to become a place where White men could eventually leave and administer from a far, hinged on the "proper" delegation of roles into a global comparative-advantage based plantation economy.

The Philippines as being unsuitable for white men brought into relation the positioning of Blackness, and the challenge of its existence as troublesomely sensed and extracted. And, further in this line of thought the notion that darker skinned Indigenous populations are better suited to the tropics. Democracy, freedom, education, and self-governance were all hot-button issues of the time in the Philippines and were subject of intense discussion, debate and experimentation. With the defeat of the Spanish in the Spanish-American war of 1898, the United States began to take over the administrative function of the Philippines and import new cultural and social beliefs transmitted

through the transition of the Philippines from a Spanish-dominant cultural presence and language to an English language and cultural politic. Central to the differences in management of the Philippines economy and culture - what was coined as "social engineering" hinged on the understanding of the Philippines as a complex society composed of many different ethnic communities at varying levels of civilization according to the US Government. While the Spanish administration and colonial presence focused - like they did in other areas of their empire - on the project of *mestizaje*, believing in the homogeneity and of peoples, through a racial project of Catholicism and reproduction. The US Government believed that innate characteristics showing their various qualities through racial mixture would create challenges in aligning education and industry to each racial group's mental and physical capacity to work. If the white man were to leave, which he must due to his inability to remain in the tropics per the qualities of his own race, US Administrators asked, what was to become of what they brought?

I argue that what emerges in this scientific racial discourse can be thought through as colonial anti-Blackness creating a fungibility of Blackness to serve racial capitalism. The distinctions between *Negrillo* and *Negrito* and *Negro*, Ethiopian and Pygmy, Aboriginal and "Papuan" as imagined by scientific racists come to all be used to refer to peoples interpreted phenotypically to be Black in documents describing how to classify dark skinned and curly haired Indigenous peoples in the Philippines. With this, Blackness memetically recycled in the discourses of racial science in the twentieth century, slotting Blackness within a role that is always made to be subjugated. In the archive these logics of racialization appear in diffuse ways, from how images are constructed to the racialized

capitalism of labor regimes.[11] In multiple avenues of writing from academic ethnography, to periodicals, to presentations for academic societies, and public forum, the origin of "man" and the associated aptitudes of "races" had immense repercussions for the future of US and British empires. People proudly held their thoughts and exposed them on the origins of man drawing from certain evolutionary theorists. For example, the Director of the United States Geological Survey and the Bureau of American Ethnology, Lester Frank, and the president of Clark university, Granville Stanley Hall (Stocking Jr. 1962).

To think of anti-Blackness as a central tenant to knowledge production in the early 20th century makes it overtly simple to trace as it is reproduced, literally, through literature reviews. Unsurprisingly, some of the theories within are still uncritically reproduced in relatively recent scholarship. As such, the literature reviews of student papers and talks look remarkably the same. And produce a racial discourse and epistemology that is constantly recycled, refined, and informed through the Philippines as racial laboratory. I argue that perhaps it is important to think that these ideas are not being informed linearly, rather they are being explored in constant conversation with the scaffolds of the past, and the push to align the Philippines into an ideal future hinged on proper comparative advantage and plantation economics.

[11] All of these racial "types" are found within the archive and refer to how dark-skinned Indigenous people are seen and described by the US.

Blumentritt's [1] numerous papers on the Philippines did much to clear up ethnographic confusion, as did also those of Meyer [2] and Shadenberg.[3] Numerous verbal and photographic descriptions have appeared by many authors. First among these should be mentioned those of Dean C. Worcester [4] and Meyer [5]. More general discussions may be found in the works of Deniker [6] and Keane [7].

The craniology of the Philippines has been dealt with by Virchow,[8] Schadenberg,[9] and Koeze [10]. The conclusions of Koeze agree in the main with those of Montano and Blumentritt.

Perhaps the most extensive series of measurements on the living are those of Folkmar .[11] In his *Album of Philippine Types* are the averages of the measurements on fairly large series of individuals representing nearly the whole of the Christian population on the Islands.

In 1904 Reed [12] recorded the measurements on the Negrito of Zambales. In the same year Savage Landor [13] made a complete survey of the Islands, but his anthropometric data are of a peculiar character, not comparable with that of other observers. In 1905 Jenks [14] published averages for the Bontok Igorot and in 1906 Kroeber [15] measured individuals from the same locality.

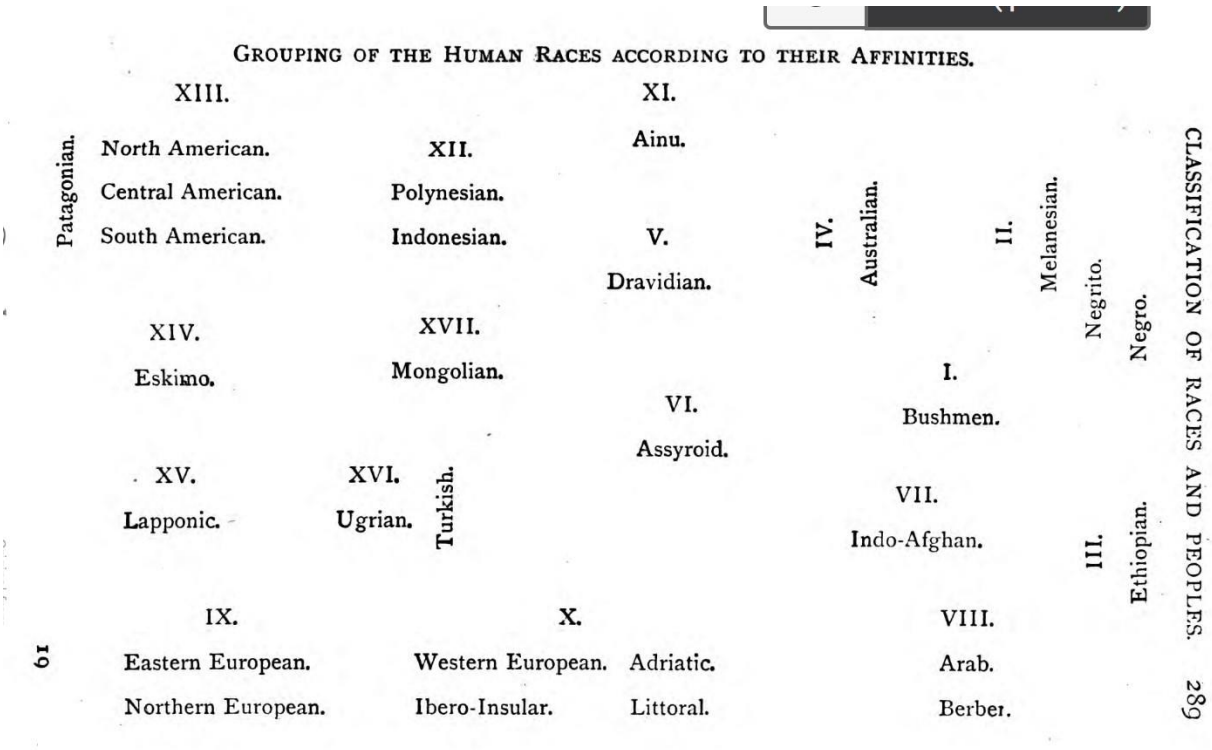
Image of a typical literature review combining racial viewpoints in a twentieth century study on the Negritos. From, *Anthropological Papers American Museum of Natural History, Racial Types in the Philippine Islands Vol. 23, Sullivan, 1918*

A typical literature review on the understanding of human origins and racial "types" in the Philippines begins in this way. Predominant actors and their theories on racialization coming from different hemispheres all locate the figure of the "Negrito" as somewhere near the bottom rung of humanity. Through following and tracing the discourses of the "Negrito" as emerging directly from the European academy one sees that the European positioning of the "Negrito" regardless of source theories places Blackness at the bottom of any kind of social metric and describes Blackness using words that come to mean "Black" characteristics. Not only "Black" characteristics as those being sensible through the human eye, but "scientifically" confirmed through methods and measurements

such as cranial size, nasal index measurements, and arm to height ratios. As such, one can argue, congruently with McKittrick (2013), that dominant discourses of scientific racism constitute a Black geography not due to barrenness - but due to the way that Black geographies signal an "overarching system wherein particular spaces of otherness were designated as incongruous with humanness" (McKittrick, 2013, p. 6). Read to mean that humanness is not a category that the "Negrito" can occupy given the collapsing understanding of racial science, and because Blackness is sensed that white men cannot exist in the Philippines either.[12]

Thinking about racialization as it pertains specifically to geographic discourse, Lipsitz (2007) considers how whitened imaginaries place scaffold systems of value that predispose some to privileged outcomes and others to restrictive racial covenants and create the conditions for negative health and social outcomes. Racialization as a concept, describes the process of an "extension of racial meaning to previously racially unclassified social relationship, social practice, or group." (Omi and Winant, 2014) Racialization in the Philippines as such is brought about through a convergence of multiple histories and locales, and is a process that holds acute and contextual meaning depending on the power relationships governing interactions. Beyond simply evidencing anti-Black racialization in the Philippines during the US Colonial Administration, subsequent chapters of this project begin to attend to the discrete ways that racialization serves to create infrastructures of anti-Blackness that come to explain and nuance an emerging racial capitalism and intensify plantation agriculture in the Philippines (Bledsoe 2018; 2020).

[12] Bagio became the colonial resort and governing center of the Philippines as it's mountainous and cooler climate gave white men a relief from the hostility of tropical assaults including fatigue and disease (McKenna, 2017).



GROUPING OF THE HUMAN RACES ACCORDING TO THEIR AFFINITIES.

XIII. Patagonian.
North American.
Central American.
South American.

XII.
Polynesian.
Indonesian.

XI.
Ainu.

V.
Dravidian.

IV. Australian.

II. Melanesian.
Negrito.
Negro.

XIV.
Eskimo.

XVII.
Mongolian.

I.
Bushmen.

VI.
Assyroid.

XV.
Lapponic.

XVI.
Ugrian.
Turkish.

VII.
Indo-Afghan.

III. Ethiopian.

IX.
Eastern European.
Northern European.

X.
Western European.
Ibero-Insular.

Adriatic.
Littoral.

VIII.
Arab.
Berber.

19

CLASSIFICATION OF RACES AND PEOPLES. 289

Grouping of the human races according to their affinities, from Deniker, The Races of Man

The attitudes of the US in the Philippines represent a different form of racialization that hinges on a Darwinist logic that refuses any kind of racial mixing. Rather, instead of theorizing race as a project that through reproduction and environment can alter racial characteristics, race itself represents the product of ideal "types" that cannot be diluted through the processes of reproduction. Blackness, as it exists, is incompatible with civilization both in the US continent and wherever it exists, from the Philippines to Australia. As Blackness folded within a Darwinian logic of racialization is seen as a marker of "inherent" genetic inferiority and demonstrated as a fact circulating in different textual forms of knowledge, the question of the US presence in the Philippines becomes one of dealing with and in terms of another place where Blackness exists. Racialization, therefore, in line with an analysis

by Robinson, becomes a primary mode through which labor is organized in the Philippines, from the scale of the individual to the scale of the Nation (Robinson,). This evidence in attending to this particular period where racialization and logics are transmitted from the US to the Philippines and vice-versa should be of particular attention to scholars.

What the US Brings to "the new Pacific"

While I have already briefly described the racial logics coming from the Spanish, Precolonial Java, Europe broadly, and how they inform Tagalog elites, tracing anti-Black racial logics from the US become bound explicitly inside and within anti-Blackness that structures and informs US history throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Racial vocabularies, expressions, and interests come uniquely into the fold through the US Army, tourists, playwrights, and US figures and cultural products such as the sambo[13], music, and theater. The US perspective on race as informed by colliding wakes of history, including the non-event of emancipation and chattel slavery, anti-Black Jim Crow laws, and the ongoing Indian Wars and Allotment and Assimilation. As US Imperial aspirations expanded further across the Pacific into the Philippines this chapter asks, what can we derive from the ways that the Philippines begins to both reify and challenge US racial logics - and how can racialization be thought through as a key tenant of US Imperialism and domination? Lastly, how does thinking with racialization in the Philippines resist and challenge the way that racial categories are created and reinforced through power regimes?

[13] Sambo as a caricature and as once a living human being.

Blackness as a fungible construct and idea is discussed in Black geographies specifically as the concept relates to plantation labor. Black bodies rendered inhuman and (almost) completely stripped of their agency are replaceable, liquid, in the sense that their humanity is chattel, currency and property. In the transnational context, Blackness as is both created and evidenced through a phenotypic marker and enforced and bounded through the constraints of limiting the capacity for the Philippines' dark-skinned Indigenous peoples' relations. Some scholars theorize Blackness as having origins in the severance of Indigeneity and relation to homeland through the violence of the middle passage (Sexton, 2018). US perceptions of racialization out of the logics of Darwinian racial thought, saw and sensed Blackness as an inherent racial identity or ideal "type" incompatible with Indigeneity too, produced not through the violences of chattel slavery or the middle passage, but through distinct interventions and structures from the prison, to the mountain school, and the homestead plot designed to disembed dark-skinned Indigenous peoples from their lifeways.

To understand how the US uniquely frames Blackness in the Philippines is to examine the attitudes and culture of White US agents in their dealings with and imaginaries of Filipinos, and specifically their fixation with "Negritos" and Black peoples more broadly within the context of a growing US Imperial moment. Perhaps similarly to how Sarswati imagines race, *rasa* - as being sensed and produced by culture, the US does the same through a specific Dixie lexicon that scaffolds White US agents' imaginaries, actions, cultural production, and aspirations. In so doing, many simultaneous ends are achieved - the US understands their role as master, US citizens understand their whiteness, the US can think through processes of Plantation economy, comparative advantage, and education.

American historian Paul Kramer is quick to frame the Philippine-American war as a "race war" - digging into the racist attitudes, writings, and behaviors of American soldiers fighting against Philippine liberation armies. Yet, while Kramer does think of and trace the term "nigger" as it was applied to Filipino soldiers, and brings in quotations from historical texts that describe the killing of "black rascals" (Pearsall, 1899) , "black devils" (Hubbard, 1899) but does not consider how these understandings are arrived at or informed by longer histories of anti-Black racism. Kramer does the essential work of bringing in race and a racial analysis to the history of the Philippine-American war, yet his analysis falls short in thinking through the origins and significance of anti-Blackness as a structuring force that defines a strand of American imperialism. (Kramer, 2006) Perhaps revisiting this analysis thinking through the relations that define American soldiers - their families, allegiances, and the racial climate of the US would be beneficial in thinking through the ways that race is seen, sensed, and acted upon in the Philippines.

Just as important to consider during the Philippine-American war is the way that race and solidarity is located within the Buffalo Soldier regiments of entirely Black men serving in the Philippine-American war, (which - do get a lot of attention from scholarship) and the Black writers and thought leaders that openly criticized the US Occupation. Further, the issue of Black soldiers defecting to join the Philippine cause stirred anxiety in the American administration and war leaders on the continent, with solidarity being seen as deeply threatening to the American government. This story is often retold and sensationalized through the portrayal of Private David Fagen, who defected to the Philippines' army and became a notorious fighting force against the American soldiers. Yet, the

story of Black Americans and solidarity with the Philippines and the Philippine Nationalist struggle is far more complicated, with many Black thought leaders offering critical insights into the positioning of Black soldiers' relationship solely as solidarity. [14] Too, a deeply contextual experience tied to recent events unfolding in the wake of enslavement and the US Civil War.

The many ways that American texts work to create a discourse and logic of racialization are described by the mediums that these texts occur within. For example, texts that contain images as a primary reading source including *Negritos of Zambales,* and *Types as Found Within Bilibid Prison* place themselves as part of a lineage of discourse, and as creators of knowledge and discourse. In *Displaying Filipinos* by Benito Vergara Jr., the medium of photography as a US colonial project that facilitates the knowing and racializing of the Philippines and peoples who live there is discussed in depth. Many of the colonial documents I encountered in the archives of the Newberry Library were photographs from the Dean Worcester photography collection. Having this text as an anchor to explain the meta narrative of a knowledge production through photography. In Vergas' words, the "colonial officials, anthropologists, and travelers of different kinds utilized the camera as an instrument of surveillance and display, and imagined the Filipinos as racially and technologically inferior" (Vergara, 1995, p. 4). With photographs seen as more "truthful" and "objective" than other forms of narration, images taken of the Philippines and people living there became too because of their "reproducibility and consequent mass circulation, constitute ideology and transmit and perpetuate it" (Vergara, 1995, p. 17). Vergara's methods and naming of colonial power and power relations as

[14] This could be its own dissertation, may return to in future work.

diffuse, “a floating mass of beliefs, materially constituted through representations, form a colonial ideology” (Vergara, 1995, p. 17).

With the introduction of postcards and kodak film, these representations could circulate and be collected, which created a practice where photography became equally as important and “appropriate for the subjugation and self-perpetuation that the colonial narrative required” (Vergara, 1995, p. 23). As photography and postcards are a major component to this analysis, it becomes salient to trace how anti-Blackness and anti-Black ideas are captured and circulated literally across the Pacific through postcards, periodicals, and photography. While photography primarily seems to serve the purpose of justifying the American occupation’s presence and cataloging the infrastructural changes that the US Occupation made in the region. Thinking about photography’s primary purpose in the region while reading the Dean Worcester Photography collections was an anchor. In reading these images, one must ask what purpose does Blackness serve to anchor? How is Blackness expanded and circulated? What roles is Blackness assigned to play?

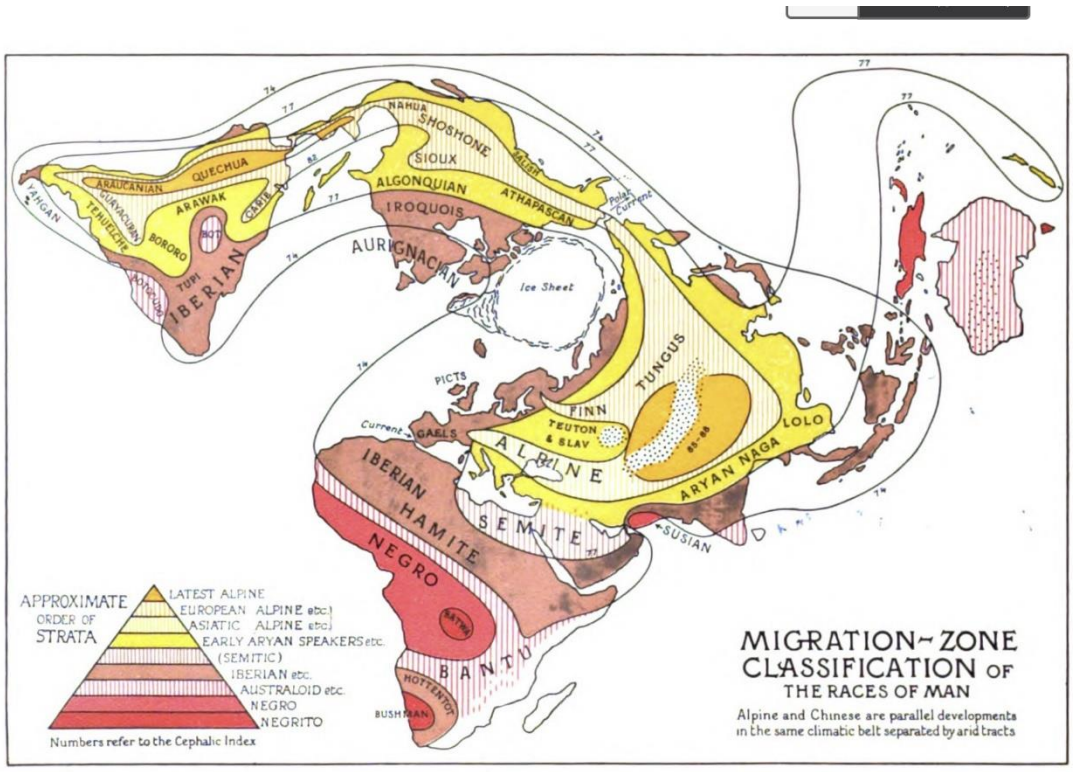


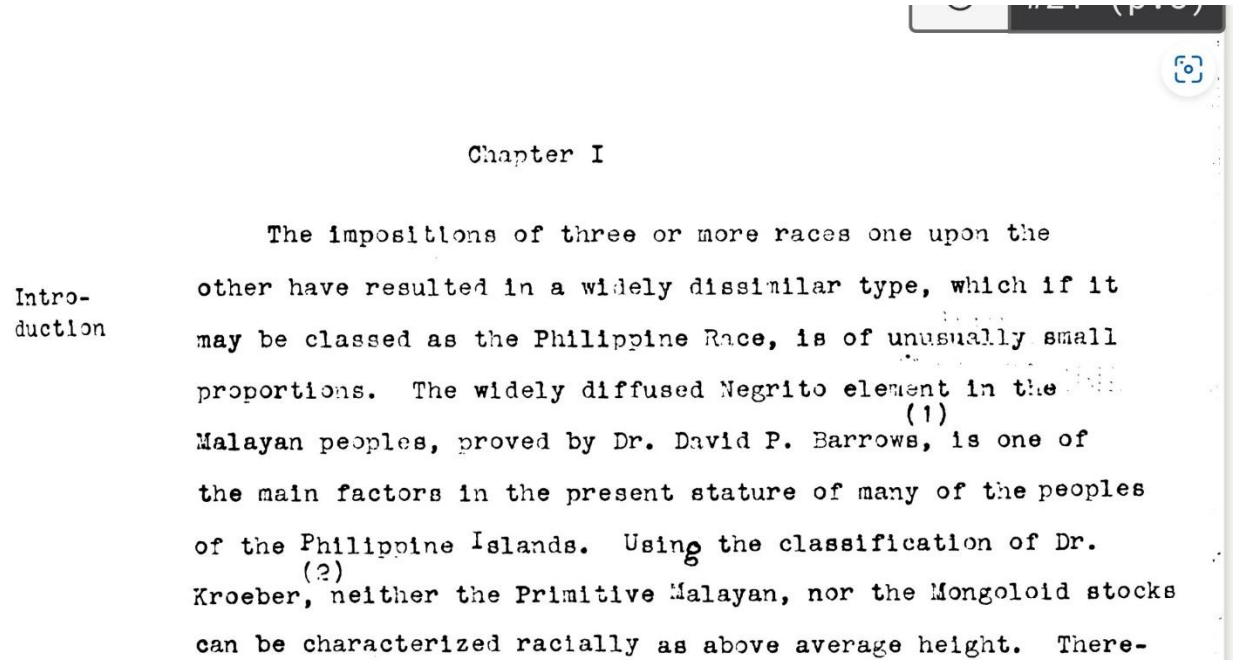
Image above from The Races of Man, and considers the "Negrito" as literally, the bottom of the pyramid of races. This cartographic representation of migration contains many racist assumptions and eugenic arguments.

Experimentation and knowledge production through the pretense of scientific racism is heavily evidenced in the archival record of knowledge production that is funneled into understanding the racial composition of the Philippines. At the time, the racial composition of the Philippines remained somewhat of a mystery, however competing theories emerged stemming from Anthropologists, Ethnologists, Zoologists, and Eugenicists that spent a great deal of time and energy conducting studies on the Philippines to discern ideal "types" of racial and ethnic groupings. This

formal knowledge production, sanctioned by multiple actors including US Universities, Forums, European Universities, Magazines, and the colonial government itself drafted seemingly hundreds of reports, images, and papers that formed the foundation for a discourse of anti-Blackness that cited itself, circulated, and built a discourse of racial science. But it is these ideas that get created and recirculated that form the basis for a plantation intervention, and that begin to structure social engineering programs such as educational initiatives for some, trade schools for others, and the targeted anti-Black systems of public land management, plantation agricultural labor, display and entertainment, as well as imprisonment.

Regardless of the source however, these texts collapse their racist imaginaries to agree that the "Negrito" is the most primitive or lowest form of race found in the Philippines. These ideas are apparent both in text, and in cartographic representations that work, like other cartographic projects, to assert these racial theories as bounded fact. These ideas become recycled again and again in literature reviews in sociology, human geography, and ethnology that form a traceable discourse of Darwinian racialization and become an epistemological throughline in all sorts of disparate works. Such works include children's books, normal school periodicals and teaching materials, as well as encyclopedias. Tracing the impacts of knowledge production within US Imperialism is not a new methodology, but perhaps reading these texts for anti-Black racialization is. While there are many texts of significance that are not included in this section below, these chosen texts below highlight the major works that were often cited and recirculated with authority, from MA Theses to scientific publications and

encyclopedias. I argue that the production of an anti-Black epistemology in the Pacific binds Blackness to a specific relation to racial capitalism in the Philippines as explored by subsequent chapters.



Chapter I

Intro-duction

The impositions of three or more races one upon the other have resulted in a widely dissimilar type, which if it may be classed as the Philippine Race, is of unusually small proportions. The widely diffused Negrito element in the Malayan peoples, proved by Dr. David P. Barrows,(1) is one of the main factors in the present stature of many of the peoples of the Philippine Islands. Using the classification of Dr. Kroeber,(2) neither the Primitive Malayan, nor the Mongoloid stocks can be characterized racially as above average height. There-

An image of Clara Tabler's work, submitted to UCLA in 1926 for partial completion of a Political Science Degree is an archival relic of its own. Titled, *A comparative study of the physical capacities of the Filipino Race*, captures on the page a moment where ideas of distinct racial types permeated the academy and were the justification of new forms of scholarship at the root of civilizing and justifying projects in the Philippines. To account for the physical characteristics of racial types in the Philippines at their levels pre-US involvement and years into the campaign, like the "hard evidence" that photography posed, gave the US a barometer to understand the "successes" of civilizing

projects as reflected in the bodies of Filipinos.[15] This work, completed well into the 1920s, brings in work that reproduces racial theories developed in the early 20th century by Barrows, to describe the physical characteristics and disposition of the "Negrito" as fact. The recycling of 19th and 20th century texts that contain, from the onset, anti-Black eugenic logics come to define knowledge production regarding the Philippines from the US. Through earlier analysis of US and European actors being re-incorporated and rehearsed in the US Academy (and I really should say Western more broadly), and its diffuse locales including through museums and public forums, racialization is evidenced literally as being honed through these relations. There are many examples that further this scholarly reproduction of racial myth.

Tracing the citations in the introduction of this project, the academies and places of origin and racial logics that the authors produce reveal the Philippines as a nexus of racial theories that all collapse along the axis and issue of Blackness. How Blackness and the origins of the "Negrito" race are attended to in each archival text as well as the projects borne from the minds of colonial academics, administrators and actors inform one avenue through which anti-Blackness is circulated in the Philippines. The works cited below, listed with select quotations in chronological order, represent how anti-Black racialization forms a unique charge and primacy in the historical archive. With overwhelming evidence and alignment, it is incredibly important to think about how the specificity of anti-Black racialization underscores the logics of 20th century US interventions in the Philippines.

[15] Also apparent in physical education initiatives for the purpose of "civilizing" and "improving" the communities in the Philippines evidenced.

The Texts and Authors

The Philippine Islands, 1900, by

> "It is universally conceded that the Negritos of to-day are the disappearing remnants of a people which once populated the entire archipelago. They are physically weaklings of low stature, with black skin, closely curling hair, flat noses, thick lips, and large, clumsy feet. In the matter of intelligence they stand at or near the bottom of the human series, and they are believed to be incapable of any considerable degree of civilization or advancement." (p. 7)

The Negritos of Zambales by William Allan Reed, 1904

William Allan Reed was the lead author on this text and was advised by Albert Earnest Jenks, a professor of anthropology at the University of Minnesota. He joined the United States Bureau of Ethnology in 1901 and served in the US colonial government of the Philippines from 1902-1905. He was involved in the exhibition of the Igorot people at the 1904 St. Louis world's fair.

The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon by Dean Worcester, 1906
The Races of Man, Deniker, *1912*

Chief Librarian of the Museum of Natural History, Paris; Honorary Fellow of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.

> "The Negriod group comprises three races: Negrito, Negro, and Melanesian." - p. 287

The Philippines Under American Government, Jenks, 1913

> "There is little question that the Negritos preceded the Malayans in whatever areas they both occur. De Quatrefages and others regard them as representatives of the parent stem of which the Pygmies of Africa are a branch. Another theory is that the Negritos are the common ancestors of the African Negroes and the Oceanic Melanesians. Again it has been suggested that the Negritos as well as the Melanesians are a branch of the original negroid stock, perhaps African. Keane regards the Negritos as the true aborigines of Indio-China and western Malaysia. The Negritos are regarded by some as closer to the primitive human type than any other existing race." (p. 43)

Distribution of the Negritos, Neilson 1914

> "The Negritos are a widely distributed people. What accounts for this? Meyer suggests two hypotheses. 1) That they are ancestors of all Negroid peoples. 2) That isolation and confinement has caused them to retrograde. From the information to date, one cannot form conclusions. It is only interesting to surmise what might be the origin of this little black race, now so scattered and limited in numbers, which once must have occupied a large territory" (Neilson, 1914, p. 17).

Racial Types in the Philippine Islands, Sullivan 1918

> "There are 700,000 pagan or uncivilized people in the Philippines. We shall consider first the Luzon groups. The wild tribes inhabit the interior of Luzon and in earlier literature are referred to as Igorot." (p. 23)

Distribution of the Negritos in the Philippines and Elsewhere, Meyer

A.B. Meyer was the Director of the Royal Zoological, Anthropological, and Ethnographical Museum at Dresden University.

> "The Negritos are besides characterized by their small stature and their curly hair. Their white teeth also appear remarkable in contrast with their dark skin, as is the case with all negroes" (Meyer, . 6)

> "They are somewhat less black and less ugly than those of Guinea, but on the other hand smaller and more weakly, perfectly resembling them however as regards the hair of their head and their beards" (Meyer, p. 15)

Native Races of the Indian Archipelago, Earl

> "The Ajetas or Negritos are ebony-black, like the negroes of Africa." (p. 130)

> "The features of the Ajetas somewhat resemble those of African blacks; the lips, however are less prominent." (p. 131)

> "It is extremely curious to see fifty of these creatures of all ages, more or less deformed, thus collected together." (p. 131)

The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines, Barrows

> "Indeed, the presence of a marked-ly platyrhinian type of nose may almost be taken as clear proof of negro derivation. The nasal index of Negritos, as would be expected in a race whose outward characters are so obviously Negroid, is exceptionally high or platyrhinian."[16] (p. 360)

Roosevelt, *The Philippines a Treasure and a Problem,* 1926

> "Nor are the peoples of the Philippines even all one race. Three distinct types are found among them, one predominantly Malaysian, another Mongoloid, and the third, Negroid.' (p. 9)

> "Some of the Negritos have a savage appearance." (p. 80)

> "The Negritos have practically no culture." (p. 82)

Addressed to "General Wood" American Statesman and Philippine Patriot.

[16] This text focuses heavily on the eugenic "science" of nasal indices.

Environment and Race, Taylor 1927

> "There are 700,000 pagan or uncivilized people in the Philippines. We shall consider first the Luzon groups. The wild tribes inhabit the interior of Luzon and in earlier literature are referred to as Igorot." (p. 23)

As noted from the texts above that perform the work of establishing a geographic racial discourse and cannon for understanding the "Negrito" regardless of the Monogenist or Polygenist belief on their status, pin their racial understandings of Blackness in the Philippines to the African continent and consider their existence as evidence of the most "backward" characteristics of humanity.

What perhaps is surprising, is that this notion of distinctive "types" or races, and how they work together in the Philippines is still perhaps an enduring legacy, and in encyclopedias dated as recently as the 1990s and the 2000s. The anti-Black language and assumption of Blackness even when traceable to race as being sensed and not-ever or even possibly "racially" confirmed, even within the most cutting-edge literature on racial science at the time, identifies Blackness as a method to detect inferiority and justify subjugation, and furthermore as a problem needing to be solved in the same way that racial issues needed to be solved in the continental US. The formality of this knowledge production is only one angle that this US logic of anti-Blackness becomes a geographic circuit. Less formal but equally as impactful sites of knowledge production are explored in the casual creation of photographs that become postcards by American tourists and Army volunteers. Adrian De Leon and Varaga Jr. are some anchors through this archival approach as their methodologies pertaining to analyzing violent archival images of the Philippines' Indigenous peoples, in particular how images are

posed and contribute to a broader white gaze meant to subject, portray, and justify a US led "civilizing" mission. In the following chapter, I consider how Black studies reads these archives alongside the possibilities and limitations of innovative, liberatory, and creative methodologies.

Anti-Blackness in Photographs and Postcards, the enduring caricature of Sambo

As I am tracing anti-Blackness through a variety of sources images constitute a large narrative portion, especially as the Newberry Library Ayer Collection was mostly devoted to images of Indigenous peoples as contained within the Worcester photographs. Many scholars have already taken up the narrative value and the literal material quality of photographs of Indigenous peoples in the Philippines. Photography in the Philippines by US Citizens came from a variety of sources. Some photographs were created for the intent to capture "ideal" racial types between ethnic communities for educational purposes, some were created to document the Philippine-American war, and some were created as tourist keepsakes that found their way around the world in postcard images. These images, I argue feature Blackness as a fungible narrative, never allowing the images to speak and center humanity, rather to mobilize and politicize US Citizens through avenues that are familiar in the sense that National struggle exists in the wake of events dealing explicitly with US Blackness - such as the Civil War, an exodus of confederates to the Pacific and Fiji especially, and the endurance of Jim Crow laws and racial terror in the US. A US colonial anxiety around Blackness takes shape in the archival record via text and images that posit the occurrence of Black peoples in the Philippines as a fascination,

a challenge, and a threat[17] (Horne, 2007). Further, in the narrative of these images a focus on mestizo Christianized Filipinos reflects an anti-Black logic of racialization as the archive is over-represented through these images, and Blackness as inherently "other" is given the role to diametrically and dialectically anchor the calibration of humanity and the possibility of civilization. The gaze of these images is strictly directed as a facet of subjugation and consumption, wherein the photos become a commodity and representation of Blackness as it exists in the Philippines as a curiosity.

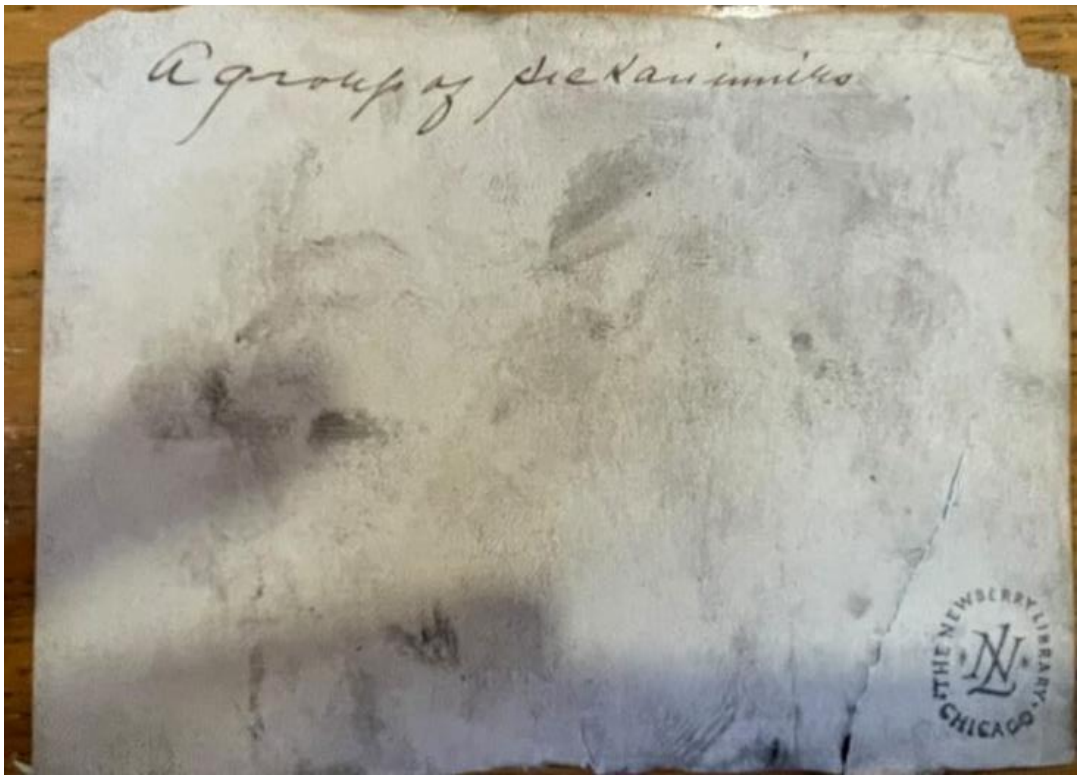
Images taken by Worcester were highly posed and attempted to demonstrate the imagination of the white gaze as it viewed Blackness in the Philippines as something inherently impossible to "civilize" - further, his own writings and reports of the attempts to educate "Negritos" by the US Occupation are often described as "every effort thus far made to educate the Negritos has failed utterly" (Worcester, 1913, p. 1251). In bringing in this challenge of Blackness, the US too often cites texts that describe even the failure of the Spanish Colonial administration in "civilizing" the Negritos, and overtly suggests that there are elements inherently inferior in them. For example, for *National Geographic* Worcester writes, "these people are born nomads of very low intelligence, and all that we can hope to accomplish for them is to restrain their mischievous, and occasionally criminal tendencies"[18] (Worcester, 1913, p. 1251).

In *Decolonising Sambo* (2020) Shirley Tate examines the cultural significance of the figure of Sambo through bringing in a detailed tracing of the term's use as stemming from the living named

[17] Arguably even civilizing "infrastructure" and where the US Colonial government cited engineering projects, can be read with an eye toward thinking through how anti-Blackness is constructed.

[18] Postcards as well were caught in a moment where they were no longer able to be circulated due to the nature by which they were seen as projecting a narrative that the Philippines was a place of racial backwardness, scaring the general US public (Jung, 2022).

Sambo. Important to Tate's analysis is Wynter's understanding of Sambo as "a shortcut to describing the Black body and character as a central component of the 'implicit cultural blanchitude which had been central to the social machine of the world system.'" (Wynter, 1979, p. 150; Tate, 2020, p. 19) Congruent with social experiments relying on racialization and scientific racism taking place in the US occupied Philippines at the turn of the century is the role of sambo as a tool of "de-humanisation was placed as the binary of white hyper-humanisation through visual, discursive, and economic epistemological and affective regimes of whiteness." (Tate, 2020, p. 21) To figure the Philippines as a sambo-ized character is necessary as a function of US based racial dominance and control of the archipelago, precisely due to the assumed characteristics of Blackness. To mark the Philippines through caricature as Black and to sambo-ize dark-skinned Indigenous individuals serves a twinned function - to mark the Philippines as inherently backward and thus another challenge to "civilize", and to aesthetically exaggerate and make inhuman dark-skinned Indigenous peoples to further justify their systemic subjugation.



The back of a postcard in the Newberry library that reads "a group of pickaninnies" in describing Filipino children.

This appears overtly - through language as previously described in the epistemologies of anti-Blackness - and ways that are more subtly embedded. In writing in script on the back of a postcard in the Ayer Collections at the Newberry, or in the ways that humanity is dealt in the descriptions of photographs. And it also appears through the specific language of the US South, where Negritos are referred to continuously as "pickaninnies" by American travelers in disparate sources.[19] (Tyndall, 1922, p. 661) Caricatures unique to the way that Blackness is sensed and subjugated in the US begin to emerge and take form around the enduring subjugation of the category of nonhuman. The image above of "pickaninnies" is interesting too, as the language references a particular Black caricature - the

[19] This particular instance is from a Boston Cooking School Magazine's cookbook titled *American Cookery*.

figure of the child, that begins to lean into language unique to the culture of Sambo-izing Blackness within the US context.

The text *An army woman in the Philippines* (1916) is a fascinating, and challenging, repository on how the US interacts with Negrito peoples as they come by their military camp. While reading through the document, I found this passage as the woman describes seeing a dark-skinned Indigenous boy for the first time and describes how he is wearing western style clothing.

who wears a brilliant scarlet shirt, which comprises his entire costume. A little boy brings up the rear of the procession, clad in a pair of bright green trousers. The law of compensation holds good, it seems—to him with shirt, no trousers; to the trouserless, a shirt. The satin-brown skins, combined with the scarlet and green of the garments, is a delightful color-scheme. To add the note of color to complete the picture, I threw an orange to the boy; he caught it in his teeth.

Image above from An Army Woman in the Philippines (1916)

What is overt is the literal way her mind sees this boy and his Blackness and immediately thinks it to be important to turn him into the caricature of a Sambo with "orange in his teeth". The racialized geography of the camp is spoken about too in the text, with the dynamics of dark-skinned Indigenous peoples coming through to sell wares. The military camp as a site of future interest in thinking through Black geographies in the Philippines could be a point of further engagement with this idea. While Blackness and the military in the Philippines is usually thought through as a site where Black US

Soldiers interact with Filipinos, there is room to think about this more expansively as a site of dispossession and racial negotiation itself.

DOMESTICATED NEGRITOS OF LUZON.

The image above is captioned *Domesticated Negritos of Luzon* displays an image of dark-skinned Indigenous peoples wearing non-traditional dress, and posed to appear as if they are completing chores. There are many things deeply unsettling about this photo - but before one think through the visual presence of this image and how it appears, drawing attention to the text below helps to understand the level of non-humanness afforded to the people in the image above though the word "domesticated." Further it is hard to find evidence of what duties were performed or why/how people

ended up in this situation as seen above. Were they captured? Was this a kind of widespread approach and program? In particular, who are the three white people in this image - what are their histories, and especially with the way this image is composed, connections to the US South? To me this image feels like an opening-up to consider and dig deeper into archival silences. There is one passage in a footnote that describes the establishment of a "Negrito Pacification Committee" distinct from others as a project of the department of the interior but this footnote is the only reference to this project I found.[20]

[20] Further work here would be good, to figure out what actually happened through the establishment of the committee, who was on it, how it informed schools, etc.

The image above depicts a “Negrito” village at the Saint Louis World’s fair in 1904, which has been referenced in many analyses of race on the Philippines, in particular with Igorot Village being used and framed as a moment where Igorots became a stand-in for racial attitudes that went on to inform American understandings of the Philippines (Rafael, 1993). Yet, the images of “Negritos” who were also subjugated at the World's Fairs are not discussed in relation to their positionality and function as an oddity and spectacle of Blackness. In other archival sources, people describe “Negritos” as being given caps and canes which were donned by men in the tribe to the delight and amusement of American travelers and educators. What I am drawn to about this image and others produced as a result of this treatment is the “sambo-izing” of the chief, made to dress in full suit and tie with a top hat. This image bridges others that form a visual discourse of the sambo as constructing Blackness within a US connotation and subject position. In working with these images, I am trying not to reproduce the violence of this archive, yet bringing in the tool of redaction seems insufficient. Like I

haven't given these images enough thought or that method cannot be paralleled through a comparative analysis on racialization in the face of an under-represented analysis.

Another image from Dean Worcester's writings in the National Geographic periodical further accentuates qualities that make the Negrito seem nonhuman and distant from other categorically racialized "Malays". In the periodical, we see the individual portrayed with highly saturated colors -

with the lips colored in red. I read this image as an intentional reference to the caricature of sambo,

often portrayed with similar colors and characteristics. As these images were done in black and white on glass plates, the coloring had to be added in after the fact. What we see is an artist's interpretation at National Geographic of how Blackness appears, and it seems to have been a conscious choice at depicting this person with these colors to appear distanced from humanness and familiarity as what was often done with the character of the sambo.

The Arts and Theatre

Anti-Black racialization also occurs through cultural production in the Philippines, especially through playwriting and music in the early 20th century, but as we have seen continues to linger into the relative present. The cultural impact of plays as well as the thematic circulation and reproduction of anti-Black themes captures the importance of minstrelsy, and the figure of the sambo, as well as the characters of the dixie south, to highlight and inform the similarities and racial differences of Blackness in the Philippines and how it should be approached. While I say the Philippines, I also mean the Pacific more broadly, as plays circulating during this time also capture sentiments of racial anxieties at play during the US imperial takeover of Hawaii. While scholars have thought about and expanded Black geographies into the Pacific, including *Hawaii Is My Haven* (2021) by Tamar Sharma, considers the legacy of Blackness and anti-Black racism in Hawaii in both precolonial, and current times. Her work illuminates how the idea of King Kamehameha's Blackness was seen as a point of threat to US empire and a challenge to the idea of racial logics. The notion of Blackness adhering to a royal line proved troublesome for American imperial aspirations. Bringing the Kingdom of Hawaii into this

analysis serves to help position the racial geography of the Pacific, as the Philippines and Hawaii were read in many ways by colonial administrators as twinned places. Both with unique but similar climates, both bound together through the notion of plantation labor and through the occurrence of Blackness. Later in the twentieth century, Hawaii will become a site of massive Philippine labor migration to work on sugarcane and pineapple plantations.

King Kamehameha's cultural moment was informed by

> "Nineteenth and twentieth centuries imported US conceptions of Black inferiority developed in the context of slavery and applied them to Hawaiians, calling them a heathen and "shiftless" people, to justify colonization. To discredit the monarchy, colonizers crafted rumors of King Kamehameha's African ancestry by pointing to his dark complexion. Queen Lili'oukalani faced the same "Negro-ification" when a news writer claimed that she "had no 'real hereditary royalty" and that she and King Kalakaua "were instead the illegitimate children of a mulatto shoemaker." (Tamar Sharma, 2011, p. 51)

As Tamar-Sharma describes so well, the turn to position Indigenous royalty as Blackness works within the dynamics of Darwinian racial understandings that the continental US enshrines within their turn to bring Plantation Economic systems into global fruition. Further, the character of the sambo and other anti-Black caricature representations are brought in further anchoring Indigeneity to

Blackness in Hawaii. The figure of the sambo is one that further works in the Philippines and manifests through anti-Black language and depictions on postcards.

The way that racialization comes to twin the Philippines to Hawaii through sambo-izing the figure of the Black King evidences a fascinating circuit of and the limitations of imagination in recycling the same racial tropes and anxieties into a new region of US contact. This moment exemplifies how an anti-Black notion of Blackness moves as fungible to categorically subjugate entire regions and peoples in the name of US 20th century Imperialism.

Further, anti-Blackness was a culturally permeable spectacle that impacted every facet of US arts and culture. The play, read with previously discussed modern scientific racism, shows a process through which Blackness lives in arts and popular culture for American consumption of the Philippines. Blackface itself and the minstrel character work together to constitute humor alongside the theme of white womanhood as sacred. Further, character construction itself between an African-American character (name) as living in a delusion about his race for audience humor, and a Blackface interpretation of the King of the Philippines who then is mistaken for the play's Black culture satirizes and demonstrates Blackness as fungible between bodies, language, and status.

The passage from the play below satirizes the Philippines by personifying the country through the figure of the Black King, and places two characters at odds with each other through the understanding and reminding the audience of how Blackness negates any other royal or "civilized" quality.

DICK (*in surprise*). You have? (*Quickly.*) And who is this some one else, pray?

JOHN (*proudly*). My friend Weller, the king of the Philippines!

DICK. Then you would marry her to a savage nigger?

JOHN (*sternly*). Remember, young man, you are speaking of a friend of mine, and that gentleman is a king. And not only that, he is not a savage! He is an educated colored man! My boy, he is a peach! He's a sport for your life! He drinks, swears, smokes, plays cards, and when it comes to ragtime, my boy, he can beat any man on the stage! Oh, you bet he is a hummer, all right!

DICK (*in disgust*). And yet you would marry your beautiful child to this nigger?

Image above from the King of the Philippines, Moore, 1901.

These images from the play demonstrate the collapsing of minstrelsy, indigeneity, monarchy, value, and read with previously discussed modern Philippine shows articulates a process through which Blackness lives in arts and popular culture for American consumption of the Philippines. In this play hinging on the cultural moment where Blackface itself and the minstrel character work together to constitute humor. This is also interesting because the play's central theme revolves around the weaponization of white womanhood and patriarchy to anchor the ridiculous quality of Blackness yet in another US territory. Through mirroring oppositional sentiments on the Philippines and the absurd and violent way that Blackness is depicted in this play, it feels as though the audience is in viewing it is being shown what to believe about the Philippines, its future, and the stakes for whiteness and the Nation should it be met with any authority.

TODDY *enters from* L.

TODDY. There is a gintleman wishin' to see ye, sur!
JOHN. Show him in!

(TODDY *turns to exit when* DICK *enters and shoves him aside; his face is blackened up; he has a white crushed plug hat, a linen duster, blue army pants, one shoe and one boot, dirty white shirt, large rings in his ears and nose; he is smoking a big cigar, and he has a large umbrella under his arm; his make up as King Weller is very comical.*)

From The King of the Philippines, Moore, 1901.

The second passage of the play above demonstrates the notion of Sambo minstrelsy as fungible, literally collapsing blackface and a misjudged identification to as farce, racialize the King of the Philippines as simultaneously "sambo" and Black. The play's one Black character, Toddy, who is also portrayed as a classic minstrel trope. As the play progresses, we meet the "King of the Philippines" as a character in blackface, as described above, who is then mistaken by a white character to be the only other Black character.. In binding how these two characters are racially located, the play works to solidly claim that the Philippines personified by the King, should be racialized and as such devalued, to the same extent that Black people in the US are. Platforming this play and where it was viewed is also important for the duration and circuits of anti-Blackness as caricature and performance is understood between the US and the Philippines. For the purposes of this thesis, this presents explorations for further work.

Blackness and Political Cartoons

Political cartoons circulating in multiple periodicals have much to say about the way Blackness is sensed and reproduced to different audiences from white US citizens to elites within the Philippines. The Philippines and Filipinos are often brought into the conversation around democracy, civilization, rights, and American imperialism through personification alongside other imperial territories. I argue that this demonstrates two notions and operates along multiple axes to both alarm white US citizens, and to parallel the Philippines with other emerging plantation economies, and to both display and illuminate the threat of Blackness. When Blackness is portrayed through the Philippines Free Press, it performs a role to distinguish elite Filipinos from their Indigenous relations and to demonstrate social ills like poverty and crime. Blackness in the Pacific is located intersectionally through the convergence of Spanish, Philippine, and US Based racial logics.[21]

[21] It is interesting to me that these cartoons are continuously applied and circulated to represent the entirety of the Philippine struggle without their origins in anti-Blackness brought into the conversation. These are ideas that need to be spoken about.

Image from the Judge, 1899.

This image above from the cover of Judge magazine in 1899 is one that is often used to bring the conversation of American expansion and colonial rule into deeper consideration. As a historical artifact, it lives long into the present. I have seen this image circulating many times in other papers, social media, and in classroom settings but naming the specific ways that Black characterization works to pin political messages through bodies is apparent here. Following victory in the Spanish-American war from the onset, the Philippines as an entire nation was represented through the presence of a Black sambo figure. This decision, with the racial connotations of Blackness already discussed, sets a precedent for an impossible challenge of development and stokes racial anxieties that are already issues in the country.

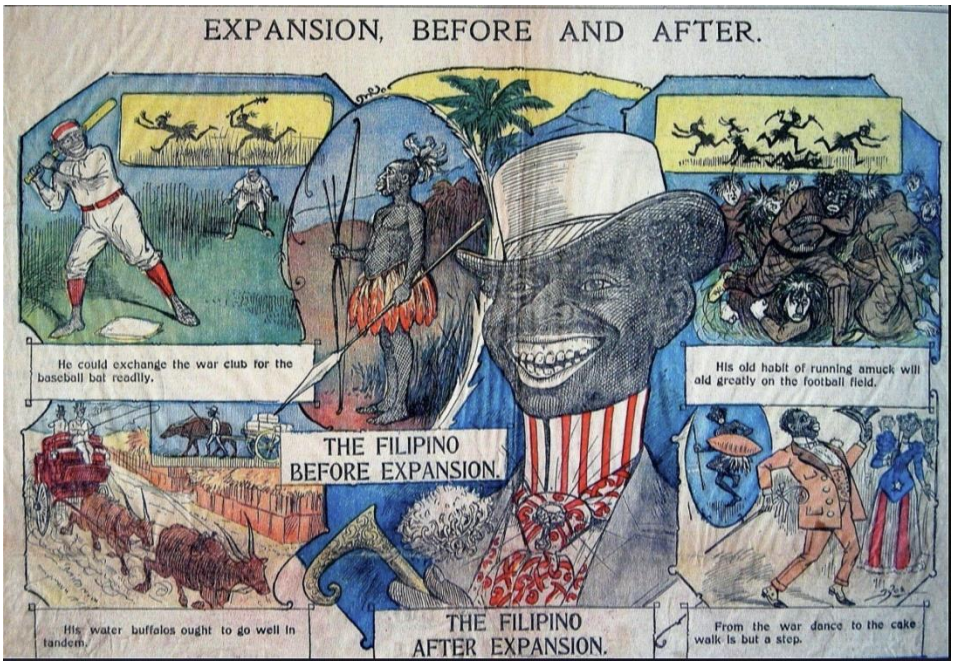
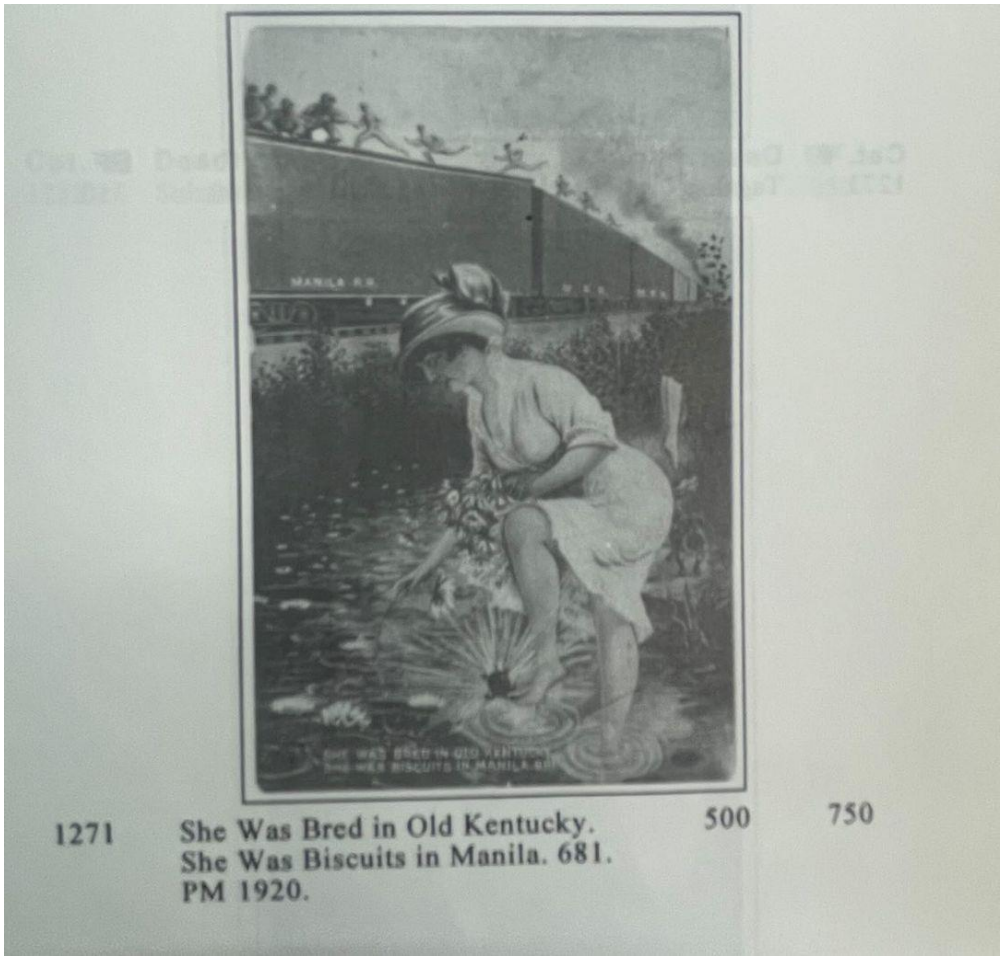


Image from the Boston Globe, 1899.

Whereas the anti-Blackness and sambo-izing of the image above overtly speaks for itself, I want to draw attention to the panel on the far bottom right. "His old habit of running amuck will aid greatly on the football field…From the war dance to the cake walk is but a step." Not only is the character of the Filipino made into that of sambo, but the cultural references to the African-American dance of the cakewalk and the posturing toward minstrelsy too makes itself apparent. Reading these narratives visually functioning toward the sambo is profoundly important. Not only is Blackness located in the construction of emerging scientific racism, but in the specific cultural ways that African-Americanness is located in political cartoons that circulate at the turn of the century.[22] Importantly,

we see the Philippines and people within it, not only portrayed as Black to symbolize the backwardness and subjugation that the archipelago "deserves," but as an enduring reference to the caricature of the sambo and associated manifestations of it that tie Blackness in the Philippines to other sites where Blackness is sensed. The "negro-ification" as a tool of colonial control and subjugation at the turn of the twentieth century to bring the Philippines into a place of plantation-export economies.



An image from a collection of Philippine postcards, as an interesting example of white Southernness making its way into the stories and circulations of the Philippines. Another project entirely, but I want to flush out the leads here.

Conclusions, Swan and the Capacity for Global Black Solidarity

In this chapter, I traced anti-Blackness and racialization coming from multiple avenues, empires, and time-space locales. I theorized Blackness being read on to dark-skinned Indigenous peoples as a moment, encompassing a moment in time and a moment of inertia through which the logics of empire in their additive mass, pivot around a central axis of thought. I trace this moment through varied texts, from the writings of scientific racists, to poetry, plays, postcards and images. Further, I bring in writings in Black geography to understand how this theorization places the Philippines into the sphere of how Black geographies are articulated, imagined, and enacted upon. This work provides the necessary foundation to engaging further in thinking through studies of Black geographies in the Philippines and broader Pacific locales, that brings in and builds upon scholarship bridging Black geographies beyond the focus of the US and Canada. Building with this rich scholarship, deeply informed and resonant with scholars such as Camila Hawthorne, Tao Leigh Goffe, Lorgia Garcia-Pena, and Quito Swan.

To think of Blackness as a global presence and anti-Blackness as it presents in the Philippines is a necessary building upon foundations set forth[23] In *Pauulu's Diaspora* (2020) tracing the life of Pauulu Kamarakafego develops a framework in archival methods of what he terms "radical diaspora" - while this analysis stands firmly rooted in the colonial archive, I hope bringing together threads of anti-Black racialization in the Philippines acts as a new moment to frame Blackness in the Philippines as a collision of subjugating tactics that demand the necessity of their simultaneous undoing.

[23] A text I really want to think with in this conclusion is *They all Look Alike: All of them? From Egypt to Papua New Guinea*, by Yosef Ben -Jochannan but I haven't had the chance to figure out how to acquire it yet.

Chapter 2: Slavery in the Philippines, Race, *Scenes* and Moments

Introduction

It was in another text, a cookbook written in the 1970s, where I encountered a letter written by a woman who spoke about the "common" practice of housing a dark-skinned Indigenous servant in their home, living underneath the bed of the child in the household. It wasn't the fact that this instance existed, it was the attitude of the letter that was written in such a cavalier manner describing racialized ways people were expected to labor and live in the Philippines. This chapter draws heavily from Hartman's *Scenes of Subjection* (1997) to understand how to read the archive for instances of slavery in the Philippines, understand the racialized dynamics and parallel histories that slavery of Melanesians and dark-skinned Indigenous peoples, through empirical turns represented by the introduction and uptake of scientific racism, and some of the tenuous spaces and repercussions of life in a state between "emancipation" and "freedom" as the US Colonial Government brings attention to slavery in the Philippines through attempting to pass a Bill outlawing slavery in the Philippines in 1912. *Scenes'* analytical positionings play heavily into this project, in particular, discourses surrounding limitations of the law and extensions of empathy and humanness to Black peoples, and the benefits and limitations of archival analysis. Further, Hartman's analytic of emancipation as a "non-event" helps to guide my thinking in the fraught limitations and US ambitions toward making enslavement illegal. For, what can a legal intervention solve in the ongoing wake of racialized anti-Black subjugation?

This chapter draws almost exclusively from one archival document that I encountered in the Newberry Archives Ayer Collection, a report called *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippines* by Dean Worcester, then Secretary of the Interior. In this archive, I trace the ways that the non-event of abolition as it pertains to the illegality of slavery as it is seen and sensed in the Philippines is taken up in a tenuous political landscape which includes resistance by Filipino senate representatives and felt deeply by racialized as Black communities in the Philippines. I am also cautious to claim and translate Hartman's method of critical fabulation onto this archive both due to my own subject positionality, and that resistance may not be seen or sensed in analogous ways given the pretext of Indigeneity, lifeways I cannot know or speculate with. Hartman's methods use archival sources as a root to then explore possibilities of freedoms and livingness that are not apparent through the uneven power dynamics that structure the "truth" behind archival sources. Hartman asks instead, what if we use the archive, in all its violences, to imagine and tell stories about survival and living. To do so, reclaims the power and the fullness of lives led in despite the hostilities of racial terror and subjugation faced during and in the afterlife of enslavement (Hartman, 1997). However, I hope that someone may in the future see these threads and think with them, but until then the archive must speak from the perspective of Black studies and the violences of anti-Black racism that spans the historical record and is lived differentially through enslavement.

While I do not have time to unpack conversations with colleagues in this chapter, I want the conversations I have been having throughout the scope of this project to lead to new directions for future work. One particularly memorable conversation that I had with colleagues who are all from different areas of the Philippines ancestrally, was on the subject of slavery as I began to understand it

from archival documents. Many seemed to be unfamiliar and some were quite taken aback with the assertion that slavery existed on racial lines in the Philippines. Some who run in activist circles saw the parallels to the description I said that I found in the cookbook to experiences of domestic workers who are often forced to live underneath TV consoles, in closets, or beneath beds and other furniture. What I am trying to unpack in this chapter revolves around the limits of imagination when it comes to the racialization of people based on characteristics perceived. I hope that this chapter answers these few questions through history, discourse analysis, and diffuse archival documents.

1) How do circuits of anti-Black thought bind disparate people together to servitude and labor? In particular, in the Philippines - how did slavery and racialization work to distinguish the limits of who was human, and civilized, and to whom?
2) How did the legislative work to outlaw slavery in the Philippines relate to the promises of emancipation in the reconstruction era? And, perhaps to name and address clearly the stakes of not naming anti-Blackness, enslavement, and subjugation at the core of projects of mestizaje in the Philippines and imaginaries of Tagalog-centric nationhood that was introduced previously.[24]

In this chapter I first trace the way that slavery is sensed and articulated in the Philippines, emerging at a critical time in the wake of Spanish systems of enslavement and domination, during Jim Crow (1880 – 1965) in the US as well as a global move to understand through eugenic processes the

origin of 'man' and the repercussions for global racial capitalism. Further, this moment in the Pacific more broadly from the middle to late 1800s and into the twentieth century as Horne describes experienced the brutality of "Blackbirding" enslavement of Melanesians to Queensland. Through discourse and image analysis, I explain how assumptions and encounters with racialized slavery mirror those described in *scenes*, and how they emerge from a distinctly US based set of racial assumptions that are throughlines to scientific racism outlined in chapter one but are too located at a nexus of already existing racial hierarchies also described in chapter one. Finally, this chapter asks questions about the way that Blackness is presumed to be in a state of slavery in the Philippines located differently but in the same manner *both* from Filipino elites and the US colonial government - albeit differently - and the repercussions of this collapsing logic for how Blackness is thought of distinctly in the Philippines. This second chapter builds relationally from the first, to explore how anti-Black racialization manifested in enslavement and other forms of imagined unfreedoms both from the perspective of the US and the Filipinos holding others in subjected relationships. This is a complicated dynamic, as it both holds the US anti-Black racial logics that scaffold many of the materials and understandings of Philippine peoples that are circulating, and it asserts that even in moments that can be interpreted as in the best interest of those subjugated, an anti-Black relationship still exists. In this way, this analysis falls in line with Hartman, as she works through the limits of legal reform in challenging or improving relationships predicated on assumed superiority.

The history of slavery in the Philippines

The history of slavery in the Philippines takes many forms to say the least and is often discussed with a revisionist lens that tends to obstruct the ways that slavery is racially constructed. Slavery as an institution in the Philippines pre-colonial, was as historians argue, more akin to "debt-servitude" wherein many Indigenous peoples occupied a *alpin* (debt servant, from Tagalog) social class wherein people could be "bought and sold" and the system could "cross generations" however it is not analogous entirely to the system of chattel slavery where a slave's offspring also inherited the social status of slave always. (Mawson, 2021; Scott, 1991) With this comes a general gloss and assumption made on behalf of the slave that is often repeated on government websites looking at the prehistory of the Philippines, and contemporary scholarship rarely includes an analysis of racial difference in understanding the system of slavery in the Philippines.[25] What the archive reveals is starkly different from what current discourses on slavery in the Philippines reproduce, and the startling ubiquity through which instances of Melanesian and dark-skinned Indigenous subjugations are retold. [26]

Following the arrival of the Spanish, slavery took on new form in the Philippines both in the traffic of peoples and in funding a broader system of chattel slavery.[27] From Acapulco to Manila, the Spanish galleons brought enslaved *indio*[28] labor back and forth between these central nodes of the

[25] Government website quotation speaks to slavery as very mild when discussing it precolonially. Though, I ask, how do we know? And, what does it mean to center stories of people who were in subjugated relationships rather than assume their contentment?

[26] 'An extremely mild form of slavery…of the worst sort' Amirell (2022)

[27] Funds from the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade went to sponsor British slave trading ship voyages.

[28] Indo, while pejorative continues to be used in discussions on slavery in Philippine scholarship as it refers to the historical grouping under Spanish colonialism.

empire. (Seijas, 2014) This becomes a moment to engage with the limits of racial identity, how race is seen and sensed through the assumption of enslavement, and the futurities created through fugitivity. As Seijas describes, the perception of racial affiliation became a key to potential escape and kinship. (Seijas, 2014) The text *Slavery and Peonage*, while listing those affected by enslavement by name, also introduces stories of the unknown. In some cases, those enslaved flee where they are held in servitude. While the US administration attempts to know what became of those who fled, not every instance can be traced and known.

Scholarship on Slavery in the Philippines In the early twentieth century further tends to historicize it as an event that represented broader political ideologies. The charge by Dean Worcester's committee responsible for investigating enslavement in the Philippines for *Slavery and Peonage* concluded that it tended to exploit what he termed to be "Non-Christians" with "Negritos" bearing the brunt of the damage. (Worcester, 1913, p.) However, as many scholars have already attended to, the charge of slavery from the US Colonial administration was immediately contested and refuted by Filipino members of the lower house of the Senate as it was interpreted as evidencing Tagalog and Christian Filipinos' ineptitude to govern and "backwardness."

Lastly, the enslavement of racialized as Black Melanesian pacific Islanders was an ongoing phenomenon during this time period especially from Oceana to Australia. (Horne, 2007) Clear confederate-Pacific connections are drawn via the establishment of KKK chapters in Fiji, as well as the methodological way that slaves were captured through the front of missionary participants, and death. This phenomenon moving concurrently alongside how anti-Black racism has traveled and been reproduced in the Philippines creates a moment of density where Blackness is marked as a site for

enslavement, and as such the desire to shift the conversation about how slavery is talked about and understood in the Philippines historically comes from a confluence of anti-Black currents working in and around the Pacific during this time. [29]

The limits of slavery in the law

The Philippine Legislature made an effort to pass Act no. 2071 in 1912, *An Act prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, and the sale or purchase of human beings in the Mountain Province and the Provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Agusan, and providing punishment therefor.* Which was tabled by the Assembly in January of 1913, and escalated to the Congress of the United States through the vehicle of the report *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippines.*

As this text compiled in the report is the largest document that wholly references slavery in the Philippines broken down by location and individuals enslaved, as well as the repercussions of subjugating others through slavery it has become a popular text to analyze. Further, it contains specific passages from Filipino senators responding to the allegations that slavery exists. Framing slavery in the Philippines as a wholly *legal* process that is removed from the actual experiences of people is why even though there is archival presence on how enslavement affects people in the Philippines, the legal pretense of it absorbs all interest (Salman, 1993, 2001). As Hartman discusses in *Scenes*, a fixation on the legal grounds of "freedom" is an incomplete and limiting analysis. Instead, we should look at the

[29] Not only a deep dissatisfaction with how slavery is talked about, but a failure to engage with a discipline that is devoted to understanding enslavement and slavery and Blackness together.

ways people are attended to in the archive and try to exhume those stories but be cautious that the limits of the archive can serve to in turn limit our analyses and imaginations and more importantly, reproduce the colonial violences we hope to subvert (Hartman, 1997; Sharpe, 2016). Lastly, Hartman's provocation that brings into question "whether the rights of man and citizen are realizable or whether the appellation "human" can be borne equally by all'' is especially salient given the discourses and categories of humanity that through discourses of polygenist scientific racism purport that it cannot (Hartman, 1997, p.6).

In this way, I wonder about the limitations and boundaries applied to the concept of freedom and the legal abolishment of slavery in the Philippines. I argue that a legal analysis can only provide insights into the logics and aspirations of the US occupation and the powerful actors who had the capacity to contest these claims as slander. To understand slavery in the Philippines we must look at the accounts of those who were subject to what is called slavery, their experiences, and read through the lines to understand racialized subjection. Further, we need to consider the limitations of the archive and the historical threads through which race is seen as a marker of subjugation. How Blackness appears in the Philippines brings in varied forms of imagination and assertions about life histories, family, and social position.

Also important to consider, during the introduction of the Act, Filipino senators in the house dismissed it as a collection of lies and slander. Their understanding of the occurrence of slavery as to how Worcester saw and defined it, was nothing more than "adoption" or "conversion" or "debt-peonage" - and believed that the assertion that slavery existed and currently exists in the Philippines to be slanderous and an intentional move by the US government to argue that the emerging Nation still

needed to be closely managed under this trusteeship dynamic. In response to the report on *Slavery and Peonage* that was presented to the US Senate, the Philippines' representatives commissioned their own report which essentially just recovered many of the same claims that the US did, only with slightly different phrasing.

Racial logics of Spanish Enslavement in the Philippines and Mexico

Thinking through how enslavement in the Philippines is a project that locates race on particular peoples both from Filipinos and the US, tracing this line through the Spanish Empire's Galleon trade offers ways to think through the limits of fugitivity and solidarity by precisely thinking through *fugitivity for who* in the context of how both the category of *indio* and *negrito* is historically determined. During the height of the Spanish Empire and the Acapulco-Manila Galleon traded the enslavement of Indigenous Filipinos and those being put to labor on behalf of the Galleon routes on their path to and from Manila racialized slavery. Scholars of this time period such as Seijas (2014) and Mehl (2018) have written extensively on the brutality of this system. Yet reading between the lines of these texts, I was thinking and wondering "*who is imagined to be a slave?*" In the Galleon trade that enslaved dark-skinned Indigenous peoples in the Philippines and Astroneasean peoples alike, those with dark skin who were read as phenotypically Black were slave enough not to need to be branded by a hot iron spoke, in the symbol of the Spanish empire - a nail, to produce the word "esclavo" the symbol of the empire. (Seijas, 2014)

With the law of the Indies applying to all of those who were seen as Indigenous in New Spain, and the category of Indian expanding into the Pacific to include the Pan-Asian identifier "Chino-Indio", racial differences crystalized how the Spanish empire took stock and control of its various imperial conquests. Untangling the mess of history that is the Philippines is no easy task, and I am not attempting to do so. Rather, I am attempting to trace the legacies of racial difference in the Philippines through the lines of freedom and unfreedom to trace the ways that racial difference constrains the imagination to both determine who is *deserving* of a free life, and who is determined to be subjected.

Even in instances of recorded freedom, of solidarity and subversion, where Chino-Indios deserted and found community in New Spain with Indigenous peoples there had limitations in that fugitive aspiration. While a degree of that freedom was gained though appearing similar to other Indigenous peoples in New Spain it was racially and phenotypically determined. Face branding became a way to distinguish who was a slave and who was *indio* in the Spanish sense. Sneaking away to forge new kinships with communities of people in now Mexico and Central America, I wonder if this ability to be fugitive and unseen, is too a legacy made possible by the presence of Blackness as exemplified through the "Chino-Negros" who were, marked so different by their appearance, assumed incapable for the conditions of freedom. However, it would be interesting to consider the ways through which in the record solidarity and fugitivity was achieved if at all possible through different routes.[30] For example, in thinking through the ways Filipino people are racialized in the context of the US South during the 19th century, Micheal Salgarolo says this:

[30] I would love to think through this situation more thoroughly in future work building from scholarships from JT Roane (2018;2023) and others.

> "The apparent lack of discrimination faced by Filipinos in Louisiana was all the more unexpected given the context of American colonialism in the Philippines, where the United States justified its domination of the islands by propagating the notion that Filipinos were racially unfit for self-governance. While "in his own country, [the Filipino] is a semi-savage, incapable of exercising the rights of citizenship," Lopez observed, "the Filipinos of New Orleans are in all respects treated as white men (Salgarolo, p. 25)

Through specifically focusing on Filipinos located as an "interstitial" or "in-between" population that upholds both anti-Black racisms and upholds white supremacy focusing on the racial category of the "Malay" that appears in the mid 1800s (Salgarolo, p. 34). However, Salgarolo does not locate the construction of Malay as the counter to the racial category of the "Negrito" or dark-skinned Indigenous person, and in so doing does not consider how anti-Black distinction between the Philippines and the US was working already to limit the degrees of freedom and nuance the conversation on racial categorization. [31]

Finding my way through the archive

This project began with a trip to the archives where through the organization of the catalog I was able to see images and texts that all felt related to each other. I took many photos of images and texts, but I found digital archives held by various universities and available through Hathi trust to be the most useful way to recall some of the texts I had seen in the Newberry Library and at the Cornell Agricultural Archives in particular and analyze them together. Within that volume of material, I stayed

organized through using a system of nested folders on my computer which I then put into narrative organization.

Using mostly digital archives for this project has me scanning lots of information from various sources all around the world. As such I encounter lots of information and try to keep track of it all in a neat and organized way, but oftentimes things slip through the cracks. Perhaps like all of us who work in archives do, an image found and then forgotten becomes a mindworm and a haunting. One where you see it and then you know that the story it holds is far deeper than the image captured. This image for me is one of three small children pounding rice in a field, all dark-skinned Indigenous peoples. This image combined with their dress, and the evidence described in previous texts that point to dark-skinned house workers and debt workers and children created an index in my mind to the dynamics spoken about in the Philippines. Of children being put to labor, outside and inside. Children especially are taken up in the process of enslavement from a young age and are/were described as the victims of trafficking and forced adoption under the guise of their racial inferiority. Now, this image is just a haunting that I have lost in the archives, and speaks to the challenging nature of conducting archival work. As a researcher and as someone who cares deeply about having the possibility of images speak for those placed in a subjugated relationship, this haunting is one that I hope to trace throughout future work and as this project continues to be built out.

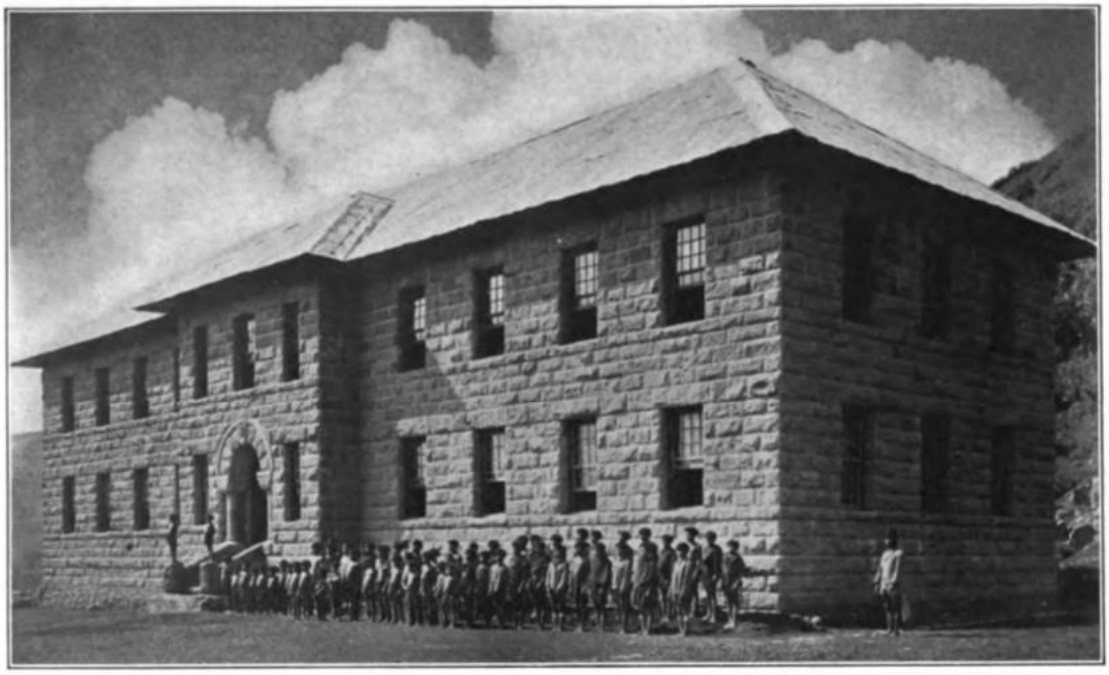
It is a reminder to me of our responsibility as researchers, to work diligently and with care through archives. Further, it is a lesson to future projects to make sure to carve out time to move slowly, to honor the time with these sources, remembering that it may not be easy to find them again.

Racial Assumptions upholding the system of slavery and racial terror

Tracing the formation of "Negrito" slavery in the Philippines as a racial project, similar assumptions of race and Blackness are read onto bodies from the perspective of US - from colonial administrators like Dean Worcester, to the Belgian missionary Vanoverberg, and to those writing and reading Blackness and enslavement onto certain bodies in a particular time-space arrangement. When a dark-skinned Indigenous person existed within the company of a Tagalog person, why was it assumed to be in a position of subjugation through the perspective of the US administration? What racial myths are perpetuated and referenced from the perspective of the Tagalog elite to the US Imperial presence on the Black body bound in slavery?

While this chapter is particularly concerned with the treatment of "Negritos" in slavery in the Philippines due to the ways that concepts of Blackness map on to dark skinned Indigenous peoples, their desirability, and framings of disposition, are unique in the context of global anti-Blackness. However, Igorot peoples as well were subjugated in similar ways and along similar lines. Their closeness and proximity as framed to the "Negritos" is interesting as it positions them in relation to Blackness, and their inability to be "civilized" and "Christianized" comes into the fold but as they are positioned to be either their own race, or a racial mixture with "Malay" characteristics present, they are "able" to be "civilized." The image below from *Slavery and Peonage* which shows Igorot child slaves who were forced to construct a stone "schoolhouse" is one that I have seen many times in colonial documents, but the caption changes depending on the context. And as one sees, these children put to labor were supervised by an American Foreman. There are many instances like this that complicate the

simple narrative that it was solely “Christianized” Filipinos using subjugated labor during this time, and must be included in analyses as we understand how collapsing forms of subjection coalesce in the Philippines during this time. Further, in other documents, US racialization has almost celebrated the Igorot “capacity for hard work and industry”, in this one it uses this image as a benchmark to say that racial differences - even though this image is brutal - construct slavery so that it is differentially felt between “Negritos” and Igorots, as differing racial assumptions underpin the forms of their subjugation (Worcester, 1913).



THE QUIANGAN SCHOOLHOUSE.

It was built by the Ifugao boys shown in the photograph and an American foreman.
Ifugao children are sold into slavery more frequently than are the children of any other tribe except the Negritos.

The caption in the above image reads "Ifugao children are sold into slavery more frequently than are the children of any other tribe except the Negritos."

Christianized and Mestiza/o "benevolence"

Multiple sources - but those most in depth including *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippines* describe that racial subjugation by Christianized Filipinos was enacted upon through presumed inferiority and Christianized benevolence. This pattern of positing that "Negritos" were a function of the past and were quickly becoming eradicated and replaced by "superior" races framed the acquisition of slaves as children as *adoption* for the purpose of securing a better life and future for the Indigenous person in

question bridges multiple dynamics that are often sites of struggle and contention in discourse. Seeing Blackness and Indigeneity as twinned formations work in different ways to produce the conditions of subjugation in the Philippines, illuminates that both are required to uphold white supremacy as manifest through Mestizaje and Christianized domination. Indigeneity and relations to land mobilize through discourses of backwardness, as evidenced in the next chapter through carceral land management, while Blackness is the phenotypic marker of innate inferiority. Slavery of dark-skinned Indigenous peoples in this way is a unique spatial fix that is the resultant mobilization of both beliefs; one that attends to the unique circumstances of Blackness and Indigeneity at the edge of an almost Christianized frontier. McKittrick describes the process of enclosure as *both* question of land and of race/gender (McKittrick, 2013).

The idea of a "spatial fix" in geographic thought has been explored and coined by scholars including Harvey (year), Gilmore (2006), and others that attempts to understand how "the production, reproduction, and reconfiguration of space" (p. 23, Harvey) function as a core of socio-political-economic remakings of society. Emphasizing the core analytical framework of capitalism, I believe this term aptly characterizes the emerging consciousness and "necessity" through which Slavery of dark-skinned Indigenous peoples in the Philippines is articulated. As is repeated in multiple colonial documents and recirculated, a convergence of imaginaries locating Black Indigenous peoples as needed to be brought into the fold of a capitalist relation but being "inept" and "indolent"; and the processes mirrored through discourses of *mestizaje* and Christianized Filipinos on the presumed disappearing and sufferable lives of the "Negrito" peoples they shared land and space with. To take further the idea

from Harvey, that spatial fixes require a moment of inner crisis and reconfiguration of social and political relationships.

While there is evidence of dark-skinned Indigenous peoples' capture and enslavement prior to the Spanish occupation, archival documents on Slavery position it as a signal of class and a structure that is highly power-laden at the scale at which it occurs. The site of the domestic, in the rich city of Manila and the countryside Hacienda plantation, is fundamentally a new relationship to land and economics that bring all into the fold of a capitalist relation. Slavery and the domestic nature of these instances as occurring on the Haciendas and in the home also pose interesting questions to think through vis-a-vis literature on the production of Whitened womanhood, bonds of duty and family, as well as social reproduction.

In Worcester's (then Secretary of the Interior) 1913 text, *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippines*, and in the counter-text proposed, a discourse analysis serves to anchor both these claims and ideas. In analyses posited by other scholars who do not attend to race as a critical analytical framework misses these key notions. By focusing entirely on the discourse framings and legal processes as they relate to notions of self-governance, independence, and Nationalism especially focusing on the fracturing of the Upper and Lower Philippine Senate around the issue of slavery, scholars fail to discuss the nuances through which racialization is articulated, captured, and evidenced through the collected examples and framings of slavery in the Philippines (Worcester, 1913).

The text contains descriptions of instances of enslavement throughout the archipelago, primarily focusing on "Negritos", Ifugao peoples, and Igorot peoples. The text is 120 pages long, with a portion dedicated to writing out the full text of the proposed law to make any forms of slavery and

peonage punishable by law. Furthermore, it details patterns of how people end up being enslaved and working in peonage, the nuances of being *born* into slavery through an inherited status and being stolen through slave raiders or acquired through the sale or abandonment of a parent especially with the case of children.

To start, it frames slavery mostly as an occurrence that is both spatially and racially determined. Filipinos that are "Christian" and culturally dominant and have more proximity to power to purchase and hold people as slaves that are either "Negrito" or considered to be of an "inferior" non-Christian affiliation. Racialization as a dynamic that is continually reworked in the Philippines crystallizes around the specific lens of subjugation that slavery entails. While the text does describe "Negrito" instances of enslavement as being predominant, it is important to consider how relationships to Indigeneity and proximity to "wildness" are also framed as closer to "Blackness" than Christianized and Tagalog Filipinos. As Worcester writes, slavery as it is occurring and how he and his interlocutors see it has a geographic component that determines a racial element.

> "It has been and still is a comparatively common thing for Filipinos living in territory adjacent to that inhabited by Negritos, Tagbanuas, Illongots, or Ifugaos to obtain children or adults of these tribes by capture or by purchase and to hold them as slaves, selling them to others when it proves financially advantageous to do so." (Worcester, 1913, p. 6)

Living in "adjacent" territory to any of the non-Christian peoples mentioned above by Worcester as grounds for enslavement evidences a spatialization, or spatial pattern, of the phenomenon. Through bringing in discourse surrounding the notion of a "spatial-fix" involving the transition of the Philippines into an export based capitalist economy, it also becomes important to name the plantation

and status as important indications of a new class formation. Further, it becomes important to read this text (that itself is full of racialized assumptions and familiar discourses surrounding domestic enslavement and labor) such as especially female slaves involved in social reproduction as "considered members of the household." [32]

> "In answer to your request for information in regard to slave holding in the province, I will say that in old times it was often the custom to have slave-servants in some of the rich families of certain pueblos; these slaves were generally well treated, to such an extent that they were considered members of the household, especially the female slaves." (Worcester, 1913, p. 13)

This text and other instances appearing across archival sources describe the phenomenon of "Negrito" peoples being purchased and sold as young children. The text both reproduces assumptions and racialized biases surrounding the nature of "Negrito" peoples in the Philippines, as well as beings to unpack this pattern. Further, events and stories that I will describe later in this chapter center vignettes of children working and hoping to regain their connections to land, and the fugitivity made possible in escape. Slavery is presumed to exist in a particular geographic relationship, both where dark-skinned Indigenous people live and how that life translates to a structure of an "untamable savageness" and proximity to Blackness is explored through the strands of scientific racism I reference in chapter one. Worcester articulates enslavement in many ways in geographic lines, finding the presence of Blackness where it shouldn't be - or recollecting stories where someone who is enslaved

[32] In a travel book by an American School Teacher, he describes "Negritos" working on plantations set up at far larger numbers than the report suggests in 1906. Again, a sparse archival trail and competing claims, but a potential lead to explore further.

tries to flee and ends up wandering in the forest. Further, Worcester describes the kinds of relations to land that are severed through the process of child enslavement bound up with racialized assumptions of "backwardness" the reality is family separation and Black death produce the conditions for disembedded relations to place.

> "Negrito slaves are usually purchased when mere babes and later have no recollection of their parents or their former wild life in the hills." (Worcester, 1913, p. 29)

The geographic delineation of "civilized" and "wild" in the Philippines falls along topographic understandings through at the time, the dominant theory that "civilized" Malay peoples pushed "Negrito" communities away from the coasts and into the forested areas of the Philippines. Therefore in a study of the discourse, seeing Blackness becomes an indication that space is racialized in the Philippines through where and why Blackness appears. Further, another key theme in the text that emerges and also echoes in other instances is the difficulty of discerning and communicating conditions of subjugation. When observing particular forms of servitude, the team directed under Worcester concluded that:

> "Adult Negritos, and adult members of other tribes held in slavery, have as a rule been made to feel the heavy hand of the oppressor and are so afraid of their lives that they will not testify. Only under very exceptional circumstances will they admit that they are being held against their will." (Worcester, 1913, p. 30)

Which adds to the challenge of tracing a history of enslavement in the Philippines through archival sources, and results in somewhat scattered references to the practice outside *Slavery and Peonage* that I

pull from in this analysis, though the sources exist, they are found in travel logs or through missionary's reports. Further, the text above is an invitation to examine the kinds of racial assumptions that are sensed - carried - from a moment of post-Civil War reforms into the Philippines. What does it mean that US Administrators are perhaps deeply familiar with the way that slavery looks both socially and politically in the context of the continental US? It becomes clear that race is sensed to perform a particular role.

And finally, another theme this text describes is an instance of racial violence directed at dark-skinned Indigenous peoples for the purpose of procuring slaves. Thomas Lonely, a British sugar plantation baron and investor came to the Philippines in the 1840s to build on the sugar industry there. In his texts, a few years before the subject of enslavement was raised by the United States, he describes as he is noting the growth of the sugar development of the Philippines and the specific forms of violence directed toward dark-skinned Indigenous peoples he was witnessing. In the passage below, the term *ladrones* is loaded and racialized in its own capacity, usually describing Filipinos who were working in resistance to colonial laws and doing deeds one could consider as robbing, piracy, or in general being a bandit/highwayman. Lonely describes a scene of subjection wherein a raid to capture "Negritos" is captured before similar raids are described in Worcester's collection of stories for *Slavery and Peonage*:

"Sir: I have the honor to inform you that a report has this day been made to me that a party of hostile Filipinos, about 15 in number, armed with 1 rifle, 1 revolver and the remainder with bolos, presumably *ladrones*, entered a small Negrito barrio situated about one and one-half miles directly southeast from the post during the forenoon of Tuesday, September 20, 1910, and killed three men and carried away two small children." (Rucker correspondence, p. 40)

Making sense of a racially targeted acts of violence as they appear in disparate source material and often somewhat unexpectedly, has made me wonder about the timeline and trajectory of these stories taken together, and where others like them may exist to begin to build out a project that contains more data, and that can further center the stories of those impacted. Further, this pattern of racial terror emerging almost suddenly from disparate sources has made this chapter personally the most challenging to write.[33]

These themes and vignettes evidenced in the text *Slavery and Peonage* become important as they are tangible throughlines to stories of Negrito and Igorot subjugation and enslavement that carry through across text and medium, from folk tales to military reports, to missionary notes. In the subsequent section, I unpack some of these vignettes of subjection to trace their canonical similarity to anti-Black racial language found in scholarship on African slavery in the US, as well as some of the enduring hauntings that describe some of the scale of Melanesian and dark-skinned Indigenous peoples' enslavement that may never be recorded.

The theme of "Disposition" to labor and joy

The Colonial obsession with Blackness in the Philippines resulted in many documents being published attempting to explain the presence of "Black Pygmies" in the Philippines. Opportunistic social scientists ranging from zoology to anthropology, sociology, and geography went to the Philippines to carve out their interventions in the field. Viewing the ethnic and cultural diversity of the

[33] I found myself having to stop and start the most while writing this chapter.

Philippines as a playground, the text *Peonage and Slavery* reproduces these ideas meanwhile trying to attend to the violences of slavery and peonage that are built upon these same ideas. In text aforementioned in chapter one, "Negritos" are framed as people who are already dead or gone. Colonial strategies undertaken to preserve and document dark-skinned Indigenous peoples are framed within this context of documentation and a sought-after to understand humanness through a social-Darwinian lens before their eventual disappearance.

Founded in 1906, *Anthropos*, an international journal of anthropology and linguistics, published many pieces that anchored themselves in the fascination of Negrito "types". Morice Vanoverbergh, a Belgian Missionary, wrote *Negritos of Northern Luzon*, describing the disposition of "Negritos". He writes:

> A Negrito is always happy, he laughs more than he weeps; he is devoted to his friends (and he has no enemies) and is always ready to succor them; he is very polite, and he is hospitable to a remarkable degree. To quote all the occasions on which I saw confirmed my opinion of the natural gaiety of the Negrito would take too much space, but I may at least give some of the most striking instances that came to my own observation." (Vanoverbergh, 1906, p. 191)

The "disposition" of "Negritos" as being *happy* entirely of their own relates to concepts in Black studies and history that describe and frame the conditions for unfreedom through justifying innate characteristics of Blackness as Hartman describes in *Scenes* (Hartman, 1997).

And, as Horne also traces "the bonded laborers, these blackbirds, like their slave counterparts in North America, were habitually described as "happy, singing at work and jolly" or as "docile, laborious, light-hearted, good-tempered and most faithful and affectionate." Like enslaved Africans,

they were said to have an almost "feudal" attachment to their "kindly master," though in the same breath, fieldwork was harshly described as "only fit for a nigger" (Horne, 2007, p. 46).

Tracing subjugation in this amorphous and shifting way, from discourse sentiment to the sphere of the domestic and the sphere of Industry frames the conditions of slavery in the Philippines as one that is borne from and maintained by racialization. Scholars have discussed Melanesian enslavement and labor exploitation through the concept of "Blackbirding" in Horne's *The White Pacific* (2007) and it remains important to see the Philippines and questions of the legality of slavery entangled with these events. Questions that appear at the closing of these spheres of broader Oceania during this time period - make me wonder about the legal reform turn to make slavery illegal in the Philippines, and how much was the Philippines a site for Blackbirding or how much these colonial administrators had contact with this occurrence elsewhere.

Francisca

Aside from the document on *Peonage and Slavery*, mentions of slavery appear in multiple records, always through a kind of resistance to name it - but an observation of it - by those who are documenting their various journey's through the Philippines. One such account is recorded by Vanoverbergh - which when I read it, painted a similar picture to the description of the ways the "Black Venus" is recalled, spoken for, and dehumanized to be seen solely an object of desire and curiosity. (Hartman, 2008) Further, thinking through Hartman's recollection of the Black Venus as a moment of haunting and opening up for imaginative storytelling about the futures of so many Black women and girls made objects of desire, unable to speak for themselves. Vanoverberg in this passage

reproduces the idea of Francisa as both a fascination and as a person that he eventually gazed upon in a way that translates to evidence of his own desire.

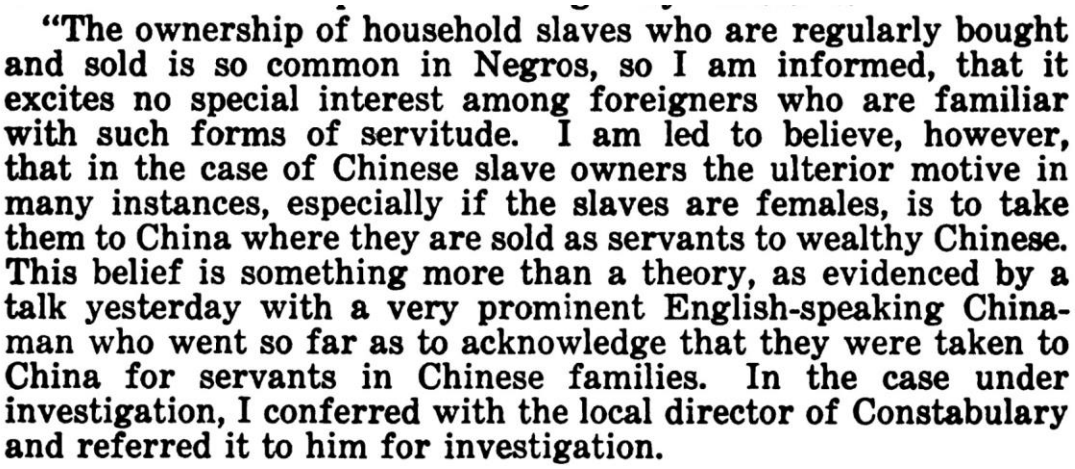
> "*Francisca,* a Negrito, who was taken in (others say: bought) when she was a little child. She was married to a native of the place, not a Negrito, and had four children. Nothing, however, could prevail upon her to appear, as she was ashamed, they said; so for the present I had to content myself with the information I obtained about her. I had an interesting talk with the president about Negritos." (Vanoverberg, 1906, p.)

And he continues:

> "We accepted the invitation with pleasure, and at the meeting we got a glimpse of the famous Negrito, Francisca, who until now had never given me the opportunity to admire her features: although dressed exactly like an ordinary Christian Filipino, she was easily distinguished from all others by her short stature, the color of her skin and her undisguised wooly hair." (Vanoverberg, 1906, p.)

The Belgian missionary's account of Francisca names that she may have been sold into slavery as a young child, which runs in line with many of the accounts of slavery evidenced through other archival sources. The violence of this acts is obscured, we do not and cannot know Francisca's relationship to her husband, all we know is relegated to the description and gaze of Vanoverberg. Vanoverberg describes his joy that he was able to "admire her features" - as if she was an object and feminine curiosity. Further in the passage, he remarks that he had no desire to speak to her for nothing she told him would be new or interesting information. Reading the archive and sources for these unexpected and telling few lines flows into Hartman's description of the Black Venus as someone that "hundreds of thousands of other girls who share her circumstances, and these circumstances have

generated few stories. And the stories that exist are not about them, but rather about the violence, excess, mendacity, and reason that seized hold of their lives." (Hartman, 2008, p. 2) Continuing this thread, on the subject of enslavement in Negros in particular, from *Slavery and Peonage* the combination of racialization and sexual trafficking and enslavement is described in young women being taken to China.



"The ownership of household slaves who are regularly bought and sold is so common in Negros, so I am informed, that it excites no special interest among foreigners who are familiar with such forms of servitude. I am led to believe, however, that in the case of Chinese slave owners the ulterior motive in many instances, especially if the slaves are females, is to take them to China where they are sold as servants to wealthy Chinese. This belief is something more than a theory, as evidenced by a talk yesterday with a very prominent English-speaking Chinaman who went so far as to acknowledge that they were taken to China for servants in Chinese families. In the case under investigation, I conferred with the local director of Constabulary and referred it to him for investigation.

Image above from Slavery and Peonage, 1913.

I am reminded about the idea of the Black Venus as not just one individual locked into one telling of a story, but rather an emphasis on the quality of shared circumstances that trace both race and gender. I imagine what it would look like to pursue a future where these stories and circumstances can be researched more fully for the sake of the collective capacity for these instances to allow a possibility of closure, and a movement away solely from depicting these moments where subjection is occurring. I hope in the future a redirection of the gaze is possible by another whose subject position allows for the possibility of fabulation.

Dominance and control

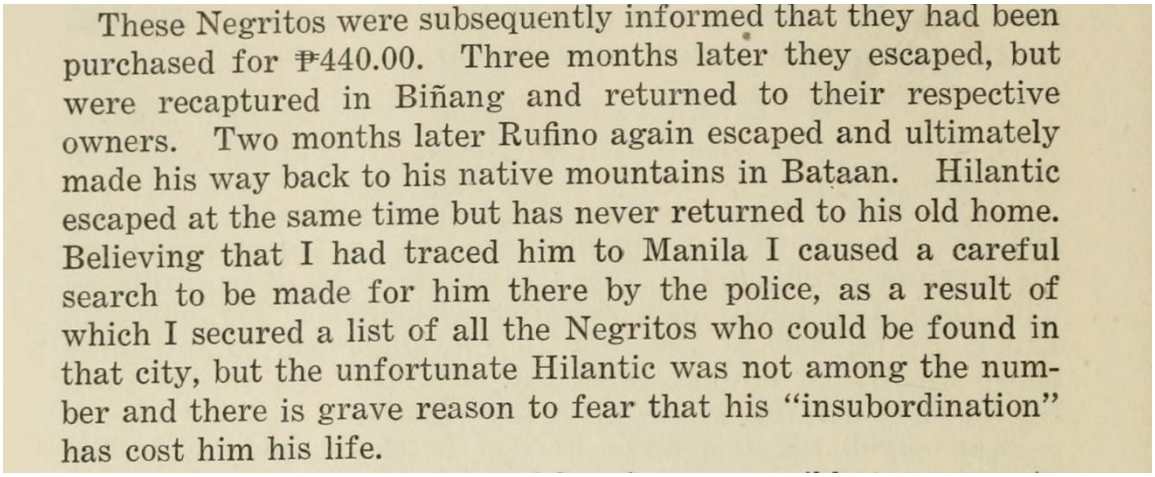
Another challenge in linking stories together comes from the availability of a continuous archive of sources. Moments in reference to slavery seemed to appear from anywhere, and were just as brief as they were unexpected. And instances of violence that speak to the value of human life, of life devalued, and the punishment associated for attempted escape of a slave relation continues to pose questions about the nature of enslavement in the Philippines. Reading through a collection of National Geographic articles, in Worcester's article, *Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippines* (1906) another moment of enslavement is described.

> "The *comisionado* in turn had a Negrito slave, whom he suspected of designing to escape...Abaya cheerfully sought out the unsuspecting Negrito, whom he attempted to decapitate with a terrific blow." - (Worcester, 1906, p. 1248)

The excerpt from the story above describes a situation where the enslaved person was accused of attempting to escape, and then is ordered to be killed by a man named Abaya in exchange for half a hog. Through this exchange - although it is brief - it generates questions that can form the basis for further nuance in the relationships of the enslaved to their subjugation. For example, what is inferred about the value of a slave in this labor-relationship? What does attempting to murder a slave do to reproduce power and instill fear, and to whom by whom? And lastly, what does this passage reveal about quotidian and casual ways that violence is enacted on "Negrito" peoples in an enslaved relationship in the Philippines? I ask these questions to state that even though the archive is sparse, it

can be a place full of starting off points and nuances. That perhaps these questions can still be asked and answered, and that the Philippines can from these moments figure out a course of action forward.

Hilantic and Rufino



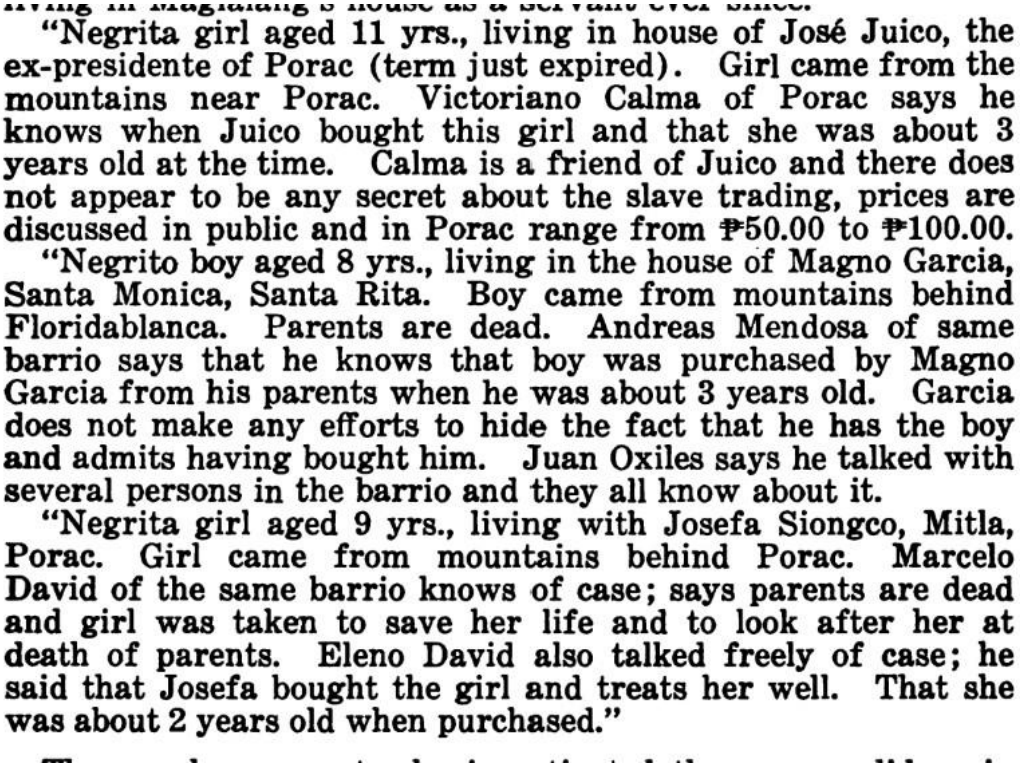
These Negritos were subsequently informed that they had been purchased for ₱440.00. Three months later they escaped, but were recaptured in Biñang and returned to their respective owners. Two months later Rufino again escaped and ultimately made his way back to his native mountains in Bataan. Hilantic escaped at the same time but has never returned to his old home. Believing that I had traced him to Manila I caused a careful search to be made for him there by the police, as a result of which I secured a list of all the Negritos who could be found in that city, but the unfortunate Hilantic was not among the number and there is grave reason to fear that his "insubordination" has cost him his life.

Image above from Slavery and Peonage, 1913 describing Hilantic and Rufino's story.

While the archive is full of instances of racial violence, perhaps cautiously, it can also be read for moments of possibility. Hilantic and Rufino are two "Negrito" individuals who are enslaved and brought to Manila. Their story is one that results in the possibility of escape and fugitivity. While one is presumed dead, the incompleteness of the archive and his evasion of capture could be a moment of hopeful inroads to thinking through the possibility of fabulation in this moment. Hartman's use of names and images as a path forward through archival imaginations leave those who work with her thinking a path forward to draw from in their own methodological approach to storytelling. While I understand the limitations of fabulation based on my subject-position, there is a beauty in the unknown, in the presumed end. The gap in the archival trail of losing the location of Rufino can be seen as - how the archive puts it - death. Or, it can be read as the unknowable freedom of escape.

Instead of asserting the known of Rufino's death, I take this gap in the archival assertion of truth as the possibility for Rufino's continued life outside of the purview of Imperial knowingness.

Lists



"Negrita girl aged 11 yrs., living in house of José Juico, the ex-presidente of Porac (term just expired). Girl came from the mountains near Porac. Victoriano Calma of Porac says he knows when Juico bought this girl and that she was about 3 years old at the time. Calma is a friend of Juico and there does not appear to be any secret about the slave trading, prices are discussed in public and in Porac range from ₱50.00 to ₱100.00.

"Negrito boy aged 8 yrs., living in the house of Magno Garcia, Santa Monica, Santa Rita. Boy came from mountains behind Floridablanca. Parents are dead. Andreas Mendosa of same barrio says that he knows that boy was purchased by Magno Garcia from his parents when he was about 3 years old. Garcia does not make any efforts to hide the fact that he has the boy and admits having bought him. Juan Oxiles says he talked with several persons in the barrio and they all know about it.

"Negrita girl aged 9 yrs., living with Josefa Siongco, Mitla, Porac. Girl came from mountains behind Porac. Marcelo David of the same barrio knows of case; says parents are dead and girl was taken to save her life and to look after her at death of parents. Eleno David also talked freely of case; he said that Josefa bought the girl and treats her well. That she was about 2 years old when purchased."

The text above is from Slavery and Peonage, 1913

The text above from Slavery and Peonage is an example of how many of the stories of enslavement are told, through lists. Through these lists, sometimes the reader can learn the names of those who were enslaved and get a gloss at some of the circumstances surrounding their enslavement. I add this text to foreground the capacity to treat the pages as a kind of map, one that often implicates those that are involved in owning and trading enslaved people, as well as locations and places where lands Indigenous Agta, Aita, and other peoples

are. While I think the capacity for critical fabulation is limited within the structure of this text, the capacity to understand and trace lines of subjugation as well as even make political and social claims to land and social awareness today are not. Approaching this text through the tools offered via digital humanities and GIS may be a method of critical fabulation that has yet to be explored. To think with lists and ledgers in the archive of enslavement and Colonial knowledge production posits a challenging bind. The restrictive reduction of human lives to lines and numbers, itself is a form of boundedness. However, like the previous example shows, there is a potential in both the freedom of the unknown, and the possibility of reading - with new methods, and especially with digital humanities - a path forward that can create new understandings of relations to place, land, history, and sovereignty in the Philippines.

Conclusion

In this chapter I pulled together archival resources and stories pertaining to enslavement in the Philippines. I trace how enslavement in the Philippines is mentioned in disparate archival materials, but most overtly in *Slavery and Peonage,* a report produced by Dean Worcester for the purpose of pressuring the US Congress to make slavery illegal in all forms in the Philippines. I enter into this history knowing the limits of my subject-position, and with the texts that describe a diffuse and patterned system of violence spanning centuries in the Philippines. Enslavement in this moment collapses particular imaginaries of Blackness and Philippines' dark-skinned Indigeneity into a container that can be both sensed through Blackness and subjugated through Filipino systems of domination. The category of "slave" is assumed when considering the presence of Blackness from the

perspective of US and Europeans in the Philippines, and is also seen enacted upon through other histories that position Blackness as a category undesirable in the eyes of Filipino elites.

Thinking with scholars in Black studies and Black geography brings an opening-up to the idea of slavery in the Philippines as previous scholarship fails to center the stories of people trapped at the center of these brutal experiments. Rather, it takes an academic focus that works to pin the specific legal structures and definitions of domination as it runs up with other narratives contesting the charge to begin with. Through centering the stories of enslavement and how they appear similarly and through discourse analysis I hope to recover some of the similar assumptions and logics that trace anti-Black understandings of enslavement and the role of Blackness to the Philippines, and center the stories of dispossession that may spark to further processes of recovery and future fabulation.

Anticipatory Blackness in *Negros*

When Legazpi - the Spanish hired colonial pawn navigated through the Pacific and to the Philippines, he had a strategy to encounter Indigenous peoples that relied on building alliances with the *datus* or chieftains. These alliances would be formed for political gain, and often built upon further to play out political tensions between kingdoms for the purpose of internal subjection. Legazpi's charge under Philip II was to establish Spanish control of Pacific territories. It is purely speculative to suggest that Legazpi's racial consciousness was informed by his adulthood in New Spain, and as a regional magistrate in Mexico City in 1559, but the Spanish racial governance of the colony is not something to ignore. At the time when Legazpi set sail from Mexico City to the Philippines, New Spain's economy would already be underpinned by captured Indigenous labor and mineral extractivism. And, equally important to note, during this time engaged in an unfinished struggle against Indigenous sovereignty, with many parts of New Spain that remained unfolded into this colonial project.

Legazpi, his two sons, and their crew left Mexico in 1564, with an armada of soldiers - many of whom were Indigenous. According to the journal log of the shipmaster, following rumors that there would be an island inhabited solely by Black people in the Philippines, Legazpi brought out a captured

African and preemptively planned to mediate the first encounter through him. However, when he arrived, he found that the Black peoples they were *supposed* to encounter had already been pushed inland by newcomers settled along the shores.

This historical vignette illustrates the speculative power of race - based on rumor, Blackness as a phenotypic showing-up and a benchmark for colonial gain. This is not a Blackness as brotherhood, rather it is subjugation employed for extractivist ends. While the archive keeps the record of the encounter and strategy, we are left with gaps and a yearning to learn more - such is the Colonial record. Who was the Indigenous African man on the ship? What was it like to be circulated already - from a homeland across the perilous Atlantic and yet again brought to bear the weight of voyage. Captured, far from home, and made to bear the weight of a colonial mission?

Race as a marker of place appears at this moment. *Negros* the fourth largest island landmass in the Philippine Archipelago, and the site for future transformations to land and living. Before the sugar barons made their plantations, and before the logging companies sited their operations in the mountains, *Negros* upon its first colonial encounter with the Spanish was already marked, made different, set apart in ways that continue to reverberate in the colonial archive - as a place where Blackness is expected, reproduced, and systemically devalued.

Chapter 3: The Plantation and the Forest in Negros, carcerality and enclosure

Introduction

Forestry in the Philippines was bound together with the US desire to capitalize on an emerging lumber market in Asia corresponding with a concern of dwindling forest stock in the Western US at the turn of the 20th century. Forestry also became, as well as the avenues for social "development" and "civilization" that Forestry education - like home economics and trade schools - could bring to peoples in the Philippines and specifically, those of "non-Christian" affiliation. In this chapter, I focus on the Forestry Department's ties to creating legal systems of forest management and punitive structures, forced resettlement and "Homesteading" schemes, the structure of labor regimes within the Forestry service, and what I am describing as Plantation "edge effects" - over a period of 30 years. The US Forestry Service fine-tuned a specific set of Forestry logics that were predicated on anti-Black dispossession, patrolling and use of the "prison" as a site for Forestry management and Forest product manufacture, as spurred on by the intensification of Negros' Sugar Plantation industry. I bring in the concept of an edge-effect to describe the interface of the sugar plantation and the forest as its own distinct area of geographic focus. Proximity to the Sugar plantation produces and structures its own relation to the forest area and peoples utilizing it. Negros as a site of importance in the construction of global plantation practices can be seen as a node in an expansive web unifying through flows of people, ideas, processes, commodities, machinery, and infrastructure. From the US South and Kingdom of

Hawaii, to India, to Indonesia - from the Cornell Agricultural School to the Yale School of Forestry Management - the historical legacy of Negros harbors these lineages and illuminates the collision of colonial and imperial contours beginning to pull worlds apart at the railroad's iron seams.

Building from the previous two chapters, this chapter explores the geographic transformation to land, labor, and place at the nexus of the forest and the plantation in the Philippines. This chapter deals with the mobilization of the logics of anti-Blackness described in detail in the first two chapters. With the foundations of anti-Blackness already described as coming simultaneously in a *moment* located from the Spanish, US, and precolonial Philippines, this chapter unpacks the impacts and implications for an anti-Black and carceral plantation capitalism emerging in the Philippines in the mid 1800s, and continuing into the early 20th century and further. Paying particular attention to the Forest as a resource built out after the push Westward resulted in a large-scale reduction of the continental US' hardwoods, I think through how the US government structured new labor relations in the Philippines as an experiment in imagined racial fitness.

Chapter organization and methods:

This chapter uses archival methods, discourse analysis, historical methods, a touch of digital humanities, and geographic analysis to describe how the intensification of Negros' sugar industry fit hand in glove with the carcerality of the Forestry services' methods in protecting and insuring the Forest resource of Negros as facilitated through public-private partnerships between the local

government and Forestry corporations.[34] This chapter was made possible through an exploratory archival trip to the Newberry Library Ayer Collections in Chicago, IL. Where I originally thought I was going to encounter material on food systems, I saw an overwhelming representation of images and documents about Forestry. Working in an archive was something that I wanted to experience for myself, knowing I'd be sitting literally at the core of colonial knowledge production and retention. Yet it was precisely this method that led me to search through different historical documents, think deeply about sites of colonial relation that upon further examination reveal an outsized contribution to the way dominant systems of power and politics continue to function in the present.

In this chapter, I trace the history of the Sugar industry in Negros centering in particular some of the archival documents that describe the foundations of plantations and anti-Black dispossession describing violence enacted by the Governor to the "Non-Christian" peoples of Negros.[35] I tie this to the structure of mestizaje that underpins much of the ruling class influence of the plantation "*hacienda"* owners and overseers, as well as the political transitions that enable US based regulation that leave the racial foundations of Spanish *hacienda* unchallenged. Further, I describe some of the labor dynamics that are present on Negros' sugar *haciendas* and plantations. Next in the sections that follow on Forestry specifically, I show how talk about the history of the Forestry service was tied to the civilizing aspirations of George P. Ahern, Director of Forestry from 1904 - 1914 and the logics of the subsequent Forestry directors as well as their ties to prominent US and Global institutions. Next, I describe the carceral aspects and practices of the Forestry service to argue that these methods are a

[34] I define carcerality as both relating to the prison or "of the prison" as well as being a complicated set of legal transformations and a specter of punitive consequence (Gilmore, 2007; Moran, Turner, and Schliehe, 2018)
[35] Negros is now Negros Oriental and Occidental.

uniquely US concern that is mobilized specifically around "non-Christian" peoples in Negros. Finally, I articulate how the historical record indicates the relationships between the Negros' Forest and Negros' Sugar Plantations are quite literally "stitched" together by the railroad's interface.

The documents that I work with are sourced from many places. Some come from the University of Washington archives and microfiche, some are from the Newberry Library, others have been digitized on Hathi trust and are available through interlibrary loan. Others were from private collections that were then gifted to libraries. I learned many lessons in the archive that stretched my skills as a researcher. Organization, analytical skills, and probably the most challenging just sitting with the emotional and spiritual toll of the work when encountering documents that try to dehumanize and subject the peoples depicted to eugenic aspirations. This was met further with the emotional toll of encountering cavalier descriptions of mass death, resettlement, and cultural genocide in the case of the history of Negros. Through it all I feel like I have just scratched the surface of the US Colonial materials about the Philippines. There is so much more necessary work and research that must be done to further explore and bring to light the density of colonial and imperial logics that crystallized around anti-Black and anti-Indigenous sets of beliefs that foregrounded the simultaneous dehumanization of dark-skinned Indigenous peoples and land itself.

List of archival documents on Sugar:

The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer, 1888

The Sugar Industry in the Island of Negros, 1910

Handbook on the Sugar Industry of the Philippine Islands, 1912

Sugar Central and Planters News, 1919 - 1926

List of archival documents on Forestry:

Special Report of Captain George P. Ahern, 1901

The Forest Manual, 1904

A Ranger's Handbook, 1908

Circulars of the Forestry Bureau, 1908

Annual Report of the Director of Forestry of the Philippine Islands, 1904 – 1937

Report of the Director of Lands, 1919 - 1926

The Ayer Photography Collections, Newberry Library Chicago, IL.

Homesteading Act and Philippine Forestry

As the creation of the Forestry Law by the Department of the Interior in 1904 and then managed by the Forestry Bureau from 1905 onwards set in place the infrastructure for criminal prosecution, the Homesteading Act of 1902 further built-out the vision for US colonial forestry as a solution to multiple problems experienced by the Forestry service surrounding destruction of supposedly "Government Public" property. The sets of US colonial logics that went into the creation of the Homesteading Law revolve around the assumption of the "backwardness" of "Non-Christian" tribes, building from the prior historical work of eugenicists' surveys and categorizations of Indigenous peoples in the Philippines, and especially the Forestry services' particular issue of property destruction from "illegal kaingins" (kaingins being the method of shifting cultivation and Agroforestry utilized by Indigenous peoples in the Philippines for millennium involving managed fire.) Through incentivizing homesteading specifically in areas of the forest that had been cleared due to previous logging activity or due to kaingin controlled burning, the Forestry Department believed that it could create the literal infrastructure and incentives to promote "proper" farming, eliminate the "backwards" practices of Non-Christian Indigenous peoples, and further bring more of the forest into the fold of market dynamics (as homesteaders were incentivized to grow cash crops for export) and disembedded land from Indigenous forms of management.

APPENDIX No. 5.—*Homestead—Combined applications.*

Detailed statement covering homestead applications received under the provisions of the Public Land Act, from July 26, 1904, to and including December 31, 1919, and showing actions taken on same.

Province.	Applications received.		Pending action.		Applications cancelled or rejected.		Entries allowed.		Entries cancelled.		Patents issued.	
	Number.	Area.	Number.	Area.	Number.	Area.	Number.	Area.	Number.	Area.	Number.	Area.
		Ha. a. c.		Ha. a. c.		Ha. a. c.		Ha. a. c.		Ha. a. c.		Ha. a. c.
Abra	74	908 11 05	13	237 68 41	11	160 12 50	41	400 56 42	9	109 73 72		
Agusan	1,106	16,207 16 17	381	6,565 86 95	132	2,044 08 95	560	7,272 59 02	30	299 31 56	3	25 29 69
Albay	751	7,531 99 51	255	2,608 22 51	153	1,675 16 84	308	2,914 76 82	12	119 02 37	23	214 80 97
Ambos Camarines	2,701	30,577 15 00	722	6,905 11 81	806	9,724 26 09	1,039	12,172 69 09	132	1,759 16 63	2	15 91 38
Antique	411	5,109 66 75	64	748 24 19	106	1,346 08 63	210	2,634 74 17	31	380 59 76		
Bataan	1,200	15,676 53 40	161	2,188 85 35	267	3,573 47 62	569	7,566 88 13	128	1,556 92 94	75	790 39 36
Batanes	91	1,027 83 68	2	28 44 90	18	197 85 54	65	723 50 80	6	78 02 94		
Batangas	15	122 52 86	11	106 82 85	1	7 20 51	3	8 49 50				
Bohol	210	3,141 27 04	84	1,395 78 90	3	44 10 77	116	1,600 77 37	7	100 60 00		
Bukidnon	382	5,175 38 11	134	2,154 61 61	35	502 17 56	208	2,462 41 47	5	56 17 47		
Bulacan	269	3,687 86 79	49	743 94 65	90	1,250 57 96	122	1,580 34 18	8	113 00 00		
Cagayan	2,830	40,203 30 79	638	9,065 25 81	445	6,344 21 31	1,586	22,744 36 49	137	1,769 94 51	24	279 52 67
Capiz	548	7,943 40 83	64	1,383 33 11	259	3,317 71 07	204	2,943 58 43	21	298 78 22		
Cebu	162	1,822 57 22	29	628 21 96	79	745 27 44	48	373 77 23	2	52 08 02	4	23 22 57
Cotabato	2,090	20,428 39 32	1,241	9,914 92 57	207	2,637 24 21	617	7,652 28 10	23	197 78 75	2	26 15 69
Davao	1,549	20,448 71 83	592	6,394 29 97	175	2,734 03 34	748	10,857 08 78	26	335 29 74	8	128 00 00
Ilocos Norte	694	9,420 13 52	72	286 98 94	197	2,653 80 52	306	5,050 47 23	85	1,114 18 98	34	314 67 85
Ilocos Sur	1,258	13,506 13 53	147	931 28 89	342	3,865 32 45	653	7,399 84 06	101	1,180 23 20	15	129 44 93
Iloilo	260	3,830 39 01	67	1,189 96 95	92	1,281 55 95	77	1,046 77 22	23	296 56 74	1	15 52 15
Isabela	1,869	20,422 80 35	363	3,933 71 43	380	4,234 41 35	984	10,607 17 27	115	1,411 25 68	27	216 24 62
Laguna	368	4,773 80 61	79	1,111 47 62	191	2,449 52 46	72	874 52 81	24	310 81 96	2	27 45 76
Lanao	647	8,183 27 82	284	3,731 35 74	115	1,246 71 36	228	2,948 03 26	20	257 17 46		
Leyte	1,636	21,070 01 93	466	3,970 23 74	358	7,850 12 54	772	8,752 61 44	28	364 54 85	12	132 49 36
Mindoro	3,105	45,625 08 42	653	10,490 22 75	626	8,464 09 78	1,429	21,139 12 39	150	2,114 87 34	247	3,416 76 16
Misamis	202	2,596 67 64	43	522 92 59	29	388 64 52	127	1,637 10 53	3	48 00 00		
Mountain	636	8,496 91 48	147	1,921 61 20	135	1,875 35 75	313	4,202 31 07	38	469 18 55	3	28 44 91
Negros Occidental	2,986	44,201 37 33	686	3,568 54 85	1,042	15,014 99 69	1,009	22,190 60 27	220	3,018 85 80	29	408 36 72
Negros Oriental	112	984 44 35	33	322 51 58	46	425 23 98	18	125 68 44	15	111 00 35		
Nueva Ecija	14,530	188,445 18 65	3,351	41,563 55 95	3,796	52,826 49 72	5,745	74,017 56 80	1,061	12,598 90 68	577	7,438 65 50
Nueva Vizcaya	1,019	9,827 22 20	399	3,751 21 90	116	1,114 88 69	476	4,701 79 23	18	180 57 12	10	78 75 26
Palawan	1,437	19,481 40 17	337	3,845 21 68	272	4,002 13 18	753	10,585 28 01	62	871 88 29	13	176 89 01
Pampanga	317	4,254 31 63	92	1,340 21 35	90	1,049 22 83	100	1,361 72 31	19	273 96 13	16	229 19 01
Pangasinan	3,144	38,490 80 37	773	9,953 54 46	657	7,547 96 25	1,409	17,188 46 72	185	2,304 81 29	120	1,501 01 65
Rizal	694	8,747 12 09	73	809 23 96	154	1,188 22 16	317	4,547 75 85	116	1,792 76 67	34	409 13 45

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Chart on Homestead Approvals from 1904-1919 from the Bureau of Lands

Further, the Homesteading Act worked to bind land together with the racial ideologies that were imparted on the Archipelago from the standpoint of the US administration. While Americans and Christianized Filipinos were allowed to apply for homesteading lots anywhere and at lot sizes of up to 24 hectares, "non-Christian" peoples in the Philippines were allowed access to lands only on specific reservations and with a maximum lot size of up to 10 hectares (Aquino, 1923, p. 60). Further, "Non-Christian" tribes were bound to land in a rent-style agreement, where they were to pay the Bureau of Lands 5 pesos annually to incentivize participation in growing cash crops geared toward export. As Aquino describes in 1923 this specific arrangement was pursued to further "civilize" non-Christian peoples. Further, this homesteading process specifically was angled toward the "Negrito" and Igorot communities deemed in need of policing, observation, "civilizing" and brought into the purview of capitalism.

> "This is to encourage the "non-Christian" people to settle permanently, to engage them in a high pursuit of living, and to train them to a higher plane" (Aquino, 1923, p. 60).

The Homestead Act under the Public Lands Act of 1902, No. 926, was authored by the Philippine Commission and approved in the US Congress by the President. This Philippine Commission, known as the Taft Commission was created by the McKinley administration under executive authority. Due to the Philippine Organic Act passed by the US Congress in 1902, the Philippine commission was granted legislative and executive authority. As homesteading processes and land usurpation through claiming improvement was a central settler strategy of US domestic policy during Westward expansion, the legal genealogy of the Homestead Act should be traced through its' key drafters and proponents. The Philippine Organic Act established both an upper and lower house, with the lower house consisting of a Philippine Assembly elected democratically, and the upper house consisting of the Philippine Commission "which was to be appointed by the president of the United States. The two houses would share legislative powers, although the upper house alone would pass laws relating to the Moros and other non-Christian peoples" (Dolan, 1993, p. 28). To the commission after the Philippine-American war, inventing legal systems to replace Spanish law was of utmost importance.

Therefore, the genesis of all legislation relating specifically to non-Christian peoples of the Philippines can be traced through the membership of the upper house and the beliefs and acts of the Mckinley administration. In 1902, it consisted of William Howard Taft (1901-1904) serving as the

Governor-General, Henry Clay Ide (1901 - 1906) as the Secretary of Finance and Justice, Dean C. Worcester (1901 - 1913) as the Secretary of the Interior, Luke Edward Wright (1901-1904) as the Secretary of Commerce and Police, and Bernard Moses and James Francis Smith (1902-1906) as the Secretaries of Public Instruction.

William Howard Taft served as the 27th president of the US from (1909-13) following his work leading with the Philippine Commission, and was also the 42nd US Secretary of War serving from (1904-1908) before being appointed as the Governor-General of the Philippines in 1901, Taft served as a judge in the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

During his presidency, Taft issues Proclamation 879 - which appears to (need some consultation on this) dissolve the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock reservations in South Dakota and North Dakota, and open the land up for homesteading through an application system. The processes and procedures for allocating this land to homesteaders seem similar enough to the clauses of law first put forth by the Philippine Commission in 1902. The trans-Pacific flows of power and statecraft rooted in anti-Indigenous and anti-Black dispossession bring the Philippines and US into deep conversation along these exact lines. A Pacific whetstone hones two edges of the same blade, as settler law and logic pass back and forth between the Philippines and US, made one in the same, yet entirely different, land and flesh to be carved apart.

> "*I, William H. Taft,* President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the Act of Congress approved May 29th, 1908, do hereby prescribe, proclaim and make known that all nonmineral, unallotted unreserved lands within the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Indian Reservations in the States of South Dakota and North Dakota which have been or may be classified

> under said Act of Congress into agricultural land of the first class, agricultural land of the second class, grazing land and timber land shall be disposed of under the general provisions of the homestead laws of the United States and of said Act of Congress, and be opened to settlement and entry, and be settled upon, occupied, and entered in the following manner, and not otherwise:" - Proclamation 879, 1909

Taft's proclamation works similarly to the Public Land Act, in that it sets forth a "proper" use of land through the demarcation of land-use classes of Agriculture and Forestry. Further, it uses a similar bureaucratic administrative process of application for settlers. And, most importantly, it dispossesses and disembeds land from Native peoples through the homesteading process.

The Public Land Act in the Philippines uses similar logic in partnership with land classification schema and data collected and facilitated by the Forestry Department, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and Department of Interior to "officiate" through circuits of paperwork and empiricism, the "proper" management of land. The route to securing a homesteading permit was both bureaucratic, and demonstrates clearly the way that Forestry in the Philippines was not just conducted through sawmills and Forestry rangers, but through forms of soft governance that worked along anti-Indigenous and anti-Black lines to dispossess people of lifeways, resource, and homeland.

> "From the point where it is filled in one of the outlying Provinces, it travels, first to the Bureau of Lands in Manila; if it is found there all right it is next sent to the Bureau of Forestry in Manila; the Bureau of Forestry sends it back to the province from which it originated, for the report from the local forestry representative on the question whether the land is better suited for agriculture than for cutting timber; after this it must return to the Bureau of Forestry in Manila; then it is transmitted back to the Bureau of Lands, and if it still survives the approval it will be sent back to the Province"

Similarly to how Gilmore theorizes the prison as a carceral space that works toward the annihilation of communities and lifeways of Black places through stealing the force of life - time; so too the process of Homesteading binds the subjected to its' processes and removes relation - other than to capital and "civilizing improvement" for a set duration of time, originally a period of 5 years but then revised to a period of 2 years (Gilmore, 2007).

Homesteading in the Philippines had a twinned logic as well. The first was to create inroads for infrastructure enabling a form of "citizen" prevention of kaingan agricultural practices, effectively extending the US 'monitoring of Philippine Forests, and the second to provide paths for "modernization" and "civilizing" (even though the term itself wasn't quite used in the discourse) through the premise of homesteaders "improving" their land by opening it up to grow crops and other commodities fit for export.

> "The other conditions required of the homesteaders are (1) he must begin to cultivate and improve the land applied for within six months from and after the date of approval of the application continuously for at least 2 years." (P. 57)

Sugar Plantation Modernization and Edge Effects in Negros

Image of sugar cane from The Sugar Industry in the Island of Negros, 1912.

In Negros, homesteading into the upland forested regions was also a way for the sugar haciendas to expand their land for sugaring, but this too was a limited prospect. As homesteading was determined in many ways by the needs of the Forestry Department and facilitated through their surveys and processes, it is another infrastructural connection that places the sugar plantations in conversation with forestry in the Philippines and into these broader circuits and global flows. While there were strategies to increase US controlled Philippine sugar exports, the sugar industry itself felt as though the best strategy for sugar haciendas was not to expand their plantations, but to intensify their refining

operations. Thus the project began to "modernize" sugar mills through technological means, the iron and steel and steam, reconfigured through the locomotive and cane juice furnace. Therefore, the preservation of forests through proper management was to maintain the availability of forest firewood resources to burn as furnace fuel. Kaingan criminality as evidenced through the Forestry Department's offensive on these practices and anxieties over fire usage only manifest when capital pathways to supply lumber and firewood for export and processing are severed. This is only one way that demonstrates how US Colonial policy, while rooted in a positivist and empirical mythos, begins to fall apart when thinking through the consequences of preservation, conservation, and capital.

The use of firewood in Negros' sugar processing furnaces stems from a series of converging facets - land, the political economy of sugar, and the way US colonial efforts in the early 20th century are twinning "modernization" with "development." Scholar Mona Domosh's archival work on the global tractor company International Harvester describes the use of tractor technology as a "participant in a dominant mode of geoeconomic imaginings in the early 20th century" and particularly salient, a form of racialization that encapsulates a "sociological and economic" understanding of race. That all "peoples could be made "modern" through the purchase of American commodities (Domosh, 2015). I argue that the push toward sourcing steam furnaces and "modernizing" Negros' sugar operations through concentrating sugar hacienda's cane supplies to sugar refineries or "centrales" functions in line with the tractor as a technological application that couched these claims, and increased the plantation's reach through demanding more forest resources to run.

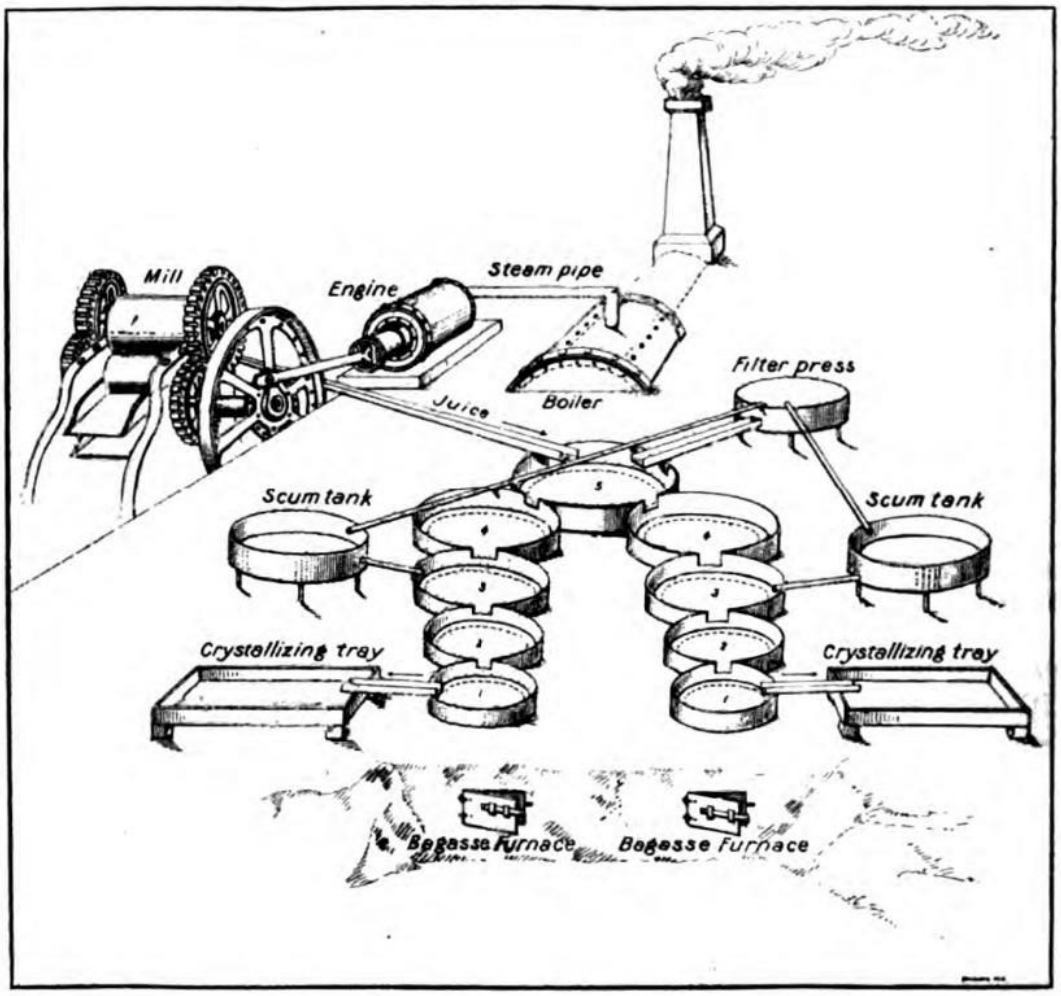
While designs of the sugar mills in Negros were imagined with the greatest efficiency in mind, and interestingly bagasse byproduct was seen as an example in and of itself as a marker of advancement in sugar processing technology as the "drier" the end byproduct was the more cane juice was extracted from the pulp leaving only the cane fibers behind, US Engineers and scientists dreams of the most efficient sugar processing closed-loop system were shattered by the reality of Philippine rain.

> "One of the most serious problems the hacendero has to solve is that of always keeping on hand a sufficient supply of dry bagasse to run his mill. In rainy weather this is almost impossible; the surplus stored up in the sheds become exhausted in a couple of weeks, and he is compelled to either shut down entirely or to burn wood at a heavy expense. In the meantime the fresh bagasse produced can not be properly dried; and if stored wet it ferments and loses much of its fuel value in consequence." - *The Sugar Industry in the Philippines* p. 93, 1912

As bagasse needed to remain extremely dry in order to run in the furnaces designed to power the sugar processing centrales, firewood was still needed in large quantities to run the furnaces during the rainy season. As described in the 1912 text *The Sugar Industry in the Philippines* bagasse was never enough.

> "The evaporating apparatus consists of a series of cast-iron kettles set in a furnace and fired with the cane trash which is taken from the mill, placed in the sun to dry and returned to the furnace room for fuel. It is never sufficient in quantity for firing the steam boiler and evaporating kettles. The mill is generally run independently and wood is used as fuel for the boiler at a considerable expense, averaging as much as P3.20 per ton." *The Sugar Industry in the Philippines, p. 103, 1912*

gram gives a good idea of the most customary arrangement of a sugar house.



(Note the "Bagasse" furnaces specified) in the schematic of the idealized sugar processing central in Negros Occidental.)

> In the thinly settled forest regions it is necessary to import labor from the more thickly settled districts. Yet there are tracts of commercial forest so located that there is an abundant and good supply of labor available in the regions themselves. One lumber company is located in the sugar-growing district of Negros where labor is abundant and cheap. It has found no difficulty in securing a force of several hundred men, to most of whom it pays $0.25 per day. The laborers are satisfied and work well.

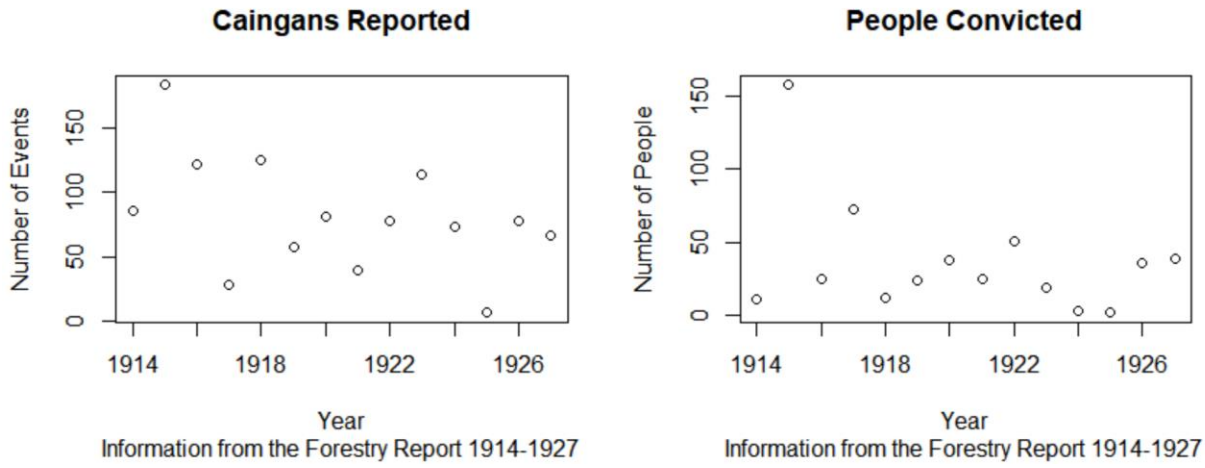
Infrastructural paths connecting the sugar plantations to the forestry service and lumber were also linked through a transient and precarious labor force. As Negros was treated as a frontier and settlers could from other parts of the Philippines apply to" homestead", the influx of settlers from other areas of the Philippines to Negros for work on the sugar plantations supplied "abundant and cheap" labor to the sawmills and processing areas, as well as the hands needed to log. Internal settler dispossession into the interior was spurred on through an edge-effect of plantation proximity.

This push to modernize the sugar industry was configured as well through education. The "modern" sugar central located in Negros Occidental, served as a demonstration school that showed students and laborers how to "properly" use new steam technologies and furnaces to extract the most crystal sugar from cane juice, and to a degree that maintains the quality of the sugar for global markets. In this way, the Negros, became a site of global interest and importance to the sugar industry with ties to the US South, the Kingdom of Hawaii, Indonesia, and more tied together in through the industry circular manual *The Louisiana Planter's Guide*.

These confluences of factors as Larkin (1993) describes, changes the demographics and sugar production landscape of Negros Occidental tremendously. From 1845 - 1918, the amount of steam mills working in Negros Occidental increases from 0 to over 390, and sugar production in piculs skyrockets from 3,000 to 2,258,023. While Larkin discusses the background political and labor conditions that allow for this drastic increase, he does not examine the further implications of sugar production as a place intimately linked to forestry and carcerality. While furnaces were designed to run on the byproduct of the sugar cane itself, known as "bagasse" or the discarded dry pulp following cane processing, to handle large volumes or bring the furnaces up to temperature required firewood in times of bagasse scarcity or intense production. This is noted within the guide on the Negros' sugar industry and demonstrated in the cost of labor chart in the image below. Further, quantifying the number of firewood licenses granted in Negros over time demonstrates a demand increase that can be read alongside reports describing the abundant need and demand for firewood resources in Negros - so much so that even other provinces began supplying the region with fuel. In thinking through the logics and infrastructures that place the Sugar Plantation and the forest into intimate relationship, and the circuits of American knowledge that have their roots in the US's plantation economy, one can see that the US demonstrates a specific kind of plantation capitalism that embeds death dealing systems into land and death dealing processes into social, economic, and political relationships.

THE MODERN PLANT OF THE INSULAR LUMBER COMPANY ON THE ISLAND OF NEGROS.

While perhaps it seems like the sites of the Plantation, the Forest, and the carceral implications that necessitate their function could themselves be separate places of analysis, I have chosen to speak to them as one interwoven system to describe the necessity of carcerality at the core of US Colonial enterprise in the Philippines, and to be in conversation with arguments that position the plantation as expansive and transformative geohistorical sites due to the transformative calls for thinking with, alongside, and a centering of Black geographies (Purifoy, Roane, Wright). To describe the edge effects of the plantation economy surrounding sugar in the Philippines names the circuits of colonial logic that scaffold the world in the 20th century, so that we may identify them with precision and begin to docs our energies on the outsized nodes that will unmake them.

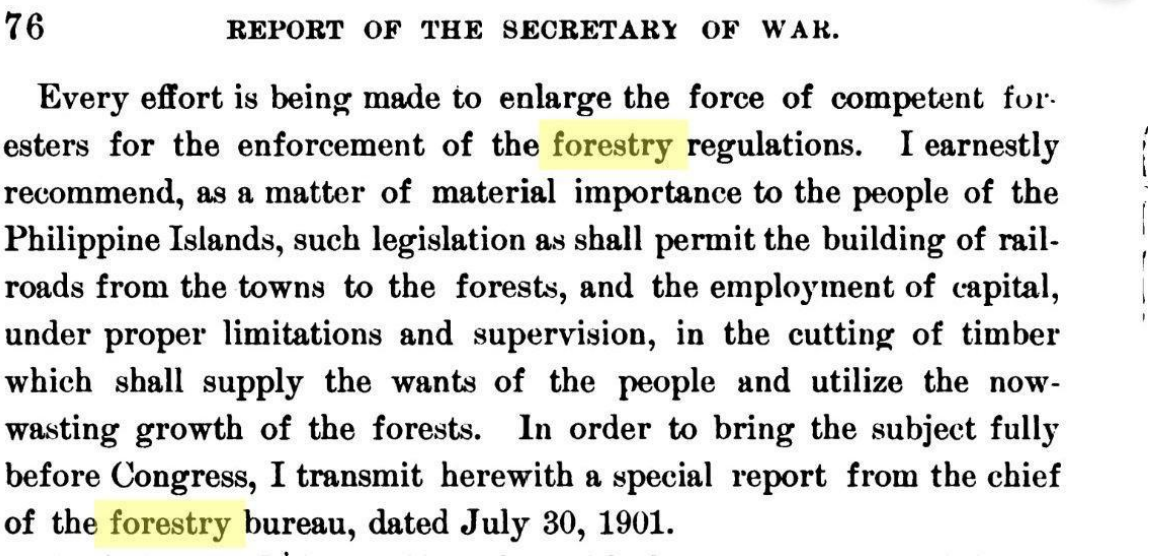


This chart is a draft version of data I gathered while exploring the charts of the Forestry Bureau's annual report. I thought it would be interesting to place the data together over time to see how convictions aligned with the criminalization of Caingan agriculture - purported to take valuable forestry resources away via Indigenous forms of management.

My inroads to thinking about Forestry as a site where discourses of conservation mobilize through carcerality, occurred when in the archives in the Newberry Library's Ayer Collections I found more information on forestry than anything else. While I came to the archives to read it specifically for anti-Blackness, as described in the previous chapter this was overt and rooted in American anxieties as well as racial eugenics and the creation of cartesian understandings of Philippine geography. Through the forestry service, and the ties to the always in-process legal infrastructure of the Philippine Commission, structures of racialized labor, criminality, and forest management intersect. These avenues in the Philippines further come to inform conservation processes and policy used by the Forestry Service on the mainland US. Through understanding Forestry's carceral ties in the Philippines, an imaginary of the "forest" as a foil to the plantation through its lushness and diversity are further revealed to be areas of intense management, dispossession, and colonial violence. While the

forest has been a site of resistance; perhaps it is overdetermined as a singular place in opposition to plantation and carceral violence. The webs of these systems are expansive, and futurity and marronage are interwoven within as well.

The US Forestry Service in the Philippines is rooted in a long colonial history of forestry management spanning empires, regions, and logics. Exploring the forest as a political site of struggle and environmental change is nothing new, and this interlinking of the Forest to the Plantation and the Prison in the Philippines, builds upon a long tradition of inquiries made into the "political forest." However, the US Strategy in managing forests took on a particularly American flavor through a carceral approach that built out the capacity for punitive repercussions and patrolling through the supplement of increasing the forest ranger force. The US War department believed that Spanish forestry management was inadequate because they did not have enough personnel to enforce the laws that the Spanish government set.



76 REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Every effort is being made to enlarge the force of competent foresters for the enforcement of the forestry regulations. I earnestly recommend, as a matter of material importance to the people of the Philippine Islands, such legislation as shall permit the building of railroads from the towns to the forests, and the employment of capital, under proper limitations and supervision, in the cutting of timber which shall supply the wants of the people and utilize the now-wasting growth of the forests. In order to bring the subject fully before Congress, I transmit herewith a special report from the chief of the forestry bureau, dated July 30, 1901.

With the goal of Forestry Law enforcement one of the top priorities of the Bureau of Forestry in the US, webs of carceral enforcement become the gradient that Forestry service processes angle towards. Homesteading, policing kaingan agriculture and forestry management, training a force of Forestry Rangers, and infrastructural projects like roads and railroads all work to protect property and make personhood.

Through the analysis of archival documents from Ranger Handbooks, and annual reports by the director of Forestry, one begins to unpack the relationships between conservation, anxiety around losses of capital and competitive advantage contained within Philippine Forests, and how this is all bound up with anti-Black Indigenous dispossession, carcerality, and "civilizing" scaffolded within other technological interventions including the rise of "modern" steam engines in logging, sugar, and rail, as well as a site of deep relation to the prison and plantation.

George P. Ahern and the Department of the Interior

As previously outlined in this chapter, the structure of the Philippine Commission under Taft's administration set up different bureaus to govern over areas of the Philippines, as well as had a "lower" committee consisting of Filipino representatives. Many of the policies and experiments taken up by the Forestry Bureau were crystalized and enacted through the Director of the Forestry service from 1900-1914, George P. Ahern. Ahern's life prior to the Philippines traces an arc that spans the US

Military, conservation, and elite schooling - wherein he managed to combine these interests through developing courses that combined military science and forestry.

> "European or European-trained foresters, striving to adapt Old World forestry techniques to New World conditions. By contrast, Ahern's training in forestry was purely American." (Rakestraw, 144)

The American logic of forestry in the Philippines is directly traced back to Ahern's own life and priorities - his values, belief systems, and attitudes in particular toward "civilizing" and "proper management" of forest resources as working hand in glove. These American imaginaries made the Forestry Bureau of the Philippines a laboratory for colliding modernization-like economic theory with the bootstraps rigor of a west-point education, and access to a network of other similarly powerful colonial interlocutors including British and Dutch foresters.

From the Ahern tradition Rakestraw argues, the Philippines' lumber industry became the mechanized, efficient, and export-oriented procedure that went on to shape the trajectory of Forestry globally, including China, the Caribbean, Borneo and Sumatra. Yet, in Ahern's approach, teaching in this older piece by Rakestraw is overemphasized. Ahern and Pinochet's true innovation is in reorienting and inventing law and legal management of the Philippine Forests, which result in punitive and carceral enforcement and criminalization of mostly "non-Christian" Filipinos - the Indigenous peoples of the Archipelago who in practicing and continuing their lifeways were considered threats to Forestry property and held liable for damages incurred through settler logics on stolen land. Ahern's key role as the first and longest-serving director of Forestry built out the procedures that remain constant and shift only very slightly throughout the years from 1900 - 1927 as demonstrated by the

consistency of the tabulation contained within Forestry reports, especially around data containing information about ranger patrols, and people criminalized for violating forestry law.

The Forestry Ranger's Handbook and Forestry Ranger Schooling

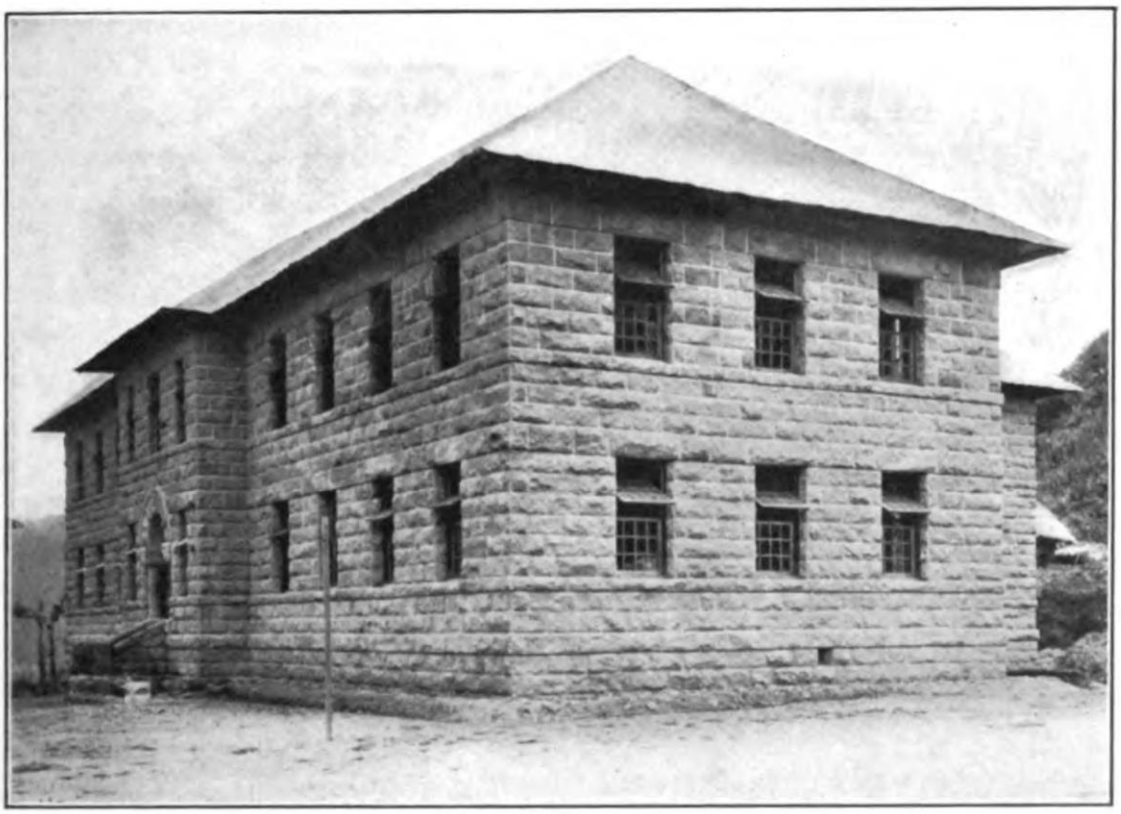
The Forestry service was upheld (as were the plantations) similarly through public-private partnerships and aggressively opened up by the Philippine Commission to American and European investment. Forestry rangers and ranger training was designed specifically around protecting and "patrolling" sites of property like sawmills and particularly valued species of Philippine hardwood lumber and enforcing license procedures and ownership.

Through circulars that serve as primer's demonstrating the opportunity for investment in Philippine lumber and forest products, one can understand how racialized labor is viewed in this instance. White men were seen as the experts and leaders of the forestry service, whereas Christianized Filipino labor was seen more so as grunt work laborers who can be modernized and civilized through training on "modern" machinery, similar to the logics of the steam engine and sugar refinery central. Through the opening of a Forestry School modeled with "expert" guidance from the Yale School of Forestry and Cornell Agricultural School in 1910 emphasized the creation of cartesian information and placed hierarchies of value on certain forest products and goods. Students came from a variety of places, but demographics were segregated along "Christianized" and "non-Christianized" lines. [36] Further, the school attracted an international student base. As many have described, the US imposed

[36] This pattern of segregation remains in the UP school system, as well as is emphasized in other documents leading up to this until the 1960s, where the creation of different agricultural schools uses design and modern accommodations to attract Western and American expert teachers.

colonial school system was segregated based on an assumed ability for students to take to trades vs. academic knowledge. Those who were "non-Christianized" were forced to enroll in mountain schools and trade schools built for the purpose of "civilizing" mountain peoples. These schools were built with dark-skinned Indigenous and Igorot child labor as described in the archives, and were some of the most emotionally taxing images to view. Forest schools differed from the official schools of Forestry, while one was created to disembedding Indigenous peoples from their lifeways through educational practices similar to Native residential schools in the continental US, the other trained Forestry Rangers as upholders of forestry law, forest specimen identification, and cartography among other things. While serving different aims and segregated toward specific populations in the Philippines, both address a key issue faced by the US Occupation's logics of Forestry. Carcerality is expected both in curriculum as demonstrated by the Forestry School's student course work, and is also taken expansively through the Forest and mountain schools intentional separation of kin through boarding practices, a capture of child labor through trades, farming, and processing, and punitive strategies. [37]

[37] To any eye, the image of the mountain province school appears more like a prison than a school. Especially with the iron bars over the open windows.

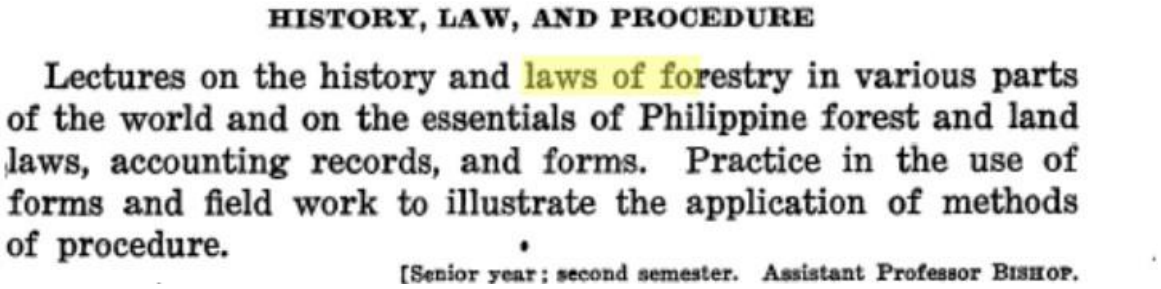


CENTRAL PRIMARY SCHOOL BUILDING AT KIANGAN, MOUNTAIN PROVINCE.

The work of cutting the stone for this building and of constructing the building was done almost entirely by Ifugao school boys, under the direction of their American teacher.

The curriculum at the Forestry School contains courses specifically on history and law, as forestry rangers were expected to be the first point of enforcement for US Forestry law as the Forest Laws describe. The course was usually completed over 2 years, however some students were able to complete it sooner if they were noted as promising candidates for forestry rangers in highschool.

Students submitted a thesis as their final requirement. Further, students participated in "mock trial" like debates surrounding Forest Law violations and persecution.



HISTORY, LAW, AND PROCEDURE

Lectures on the history and laws of forestry in various parts of the world and on the essentials of Philippine forest and land laws, accounting records, and forms. Practice in the use of forms and field work to illustrate the application of methods of procedure.

[Senior year; second semester. Assistant Professor BISHOP.

While the forestry ranger schools were explicit about enrolling Christianized Filipinos, this practice emerged only through a process called Filipinization, or a route for the Filipino people to be "uplifted" through US colonial occupation and schooling. Racialization through schooling was only one facet through which racial hierarchies and expertise was allocated. From sawmill employees to forestry rangers, white men were preferred, and much energy and resources were allocated to secure white labor. Propaganda, flyers, circulars, and recruitment schemes in partnership with US universities attempted to bring white men to the Philippines to operate machinery, train Forestry rangers, and lead patrols.

After the Philippine-American war, there were many areas that sustained significant damage. The Philippines' dense forests full of tropical hardwoods had a longstanding reputation already as being some of the best in the world for ship building. As exemplified by the angling of resources toward building ships by the Spanish for use in the galleon trades that bridged the Spanish empire in now Mexico City in Central America with Manila, the capital city of the Philippines. Philippine

hardwoods especially lauan - or Philippine Mahogany - was known for its particular advantages, flexibility, durability, and ability to take to a high polish. The USs Occupation viewed *conservation* as a means to establish both lumber self-sufficiency for an archipelago in need of rebuilding from war, and as an emerging market with a comparative advantage in lumber export.

The above image from the Newberry Library shows a solid piece of Lauan made into a table. I still am struck by the young women's expressions staring at the camera and their use as prop in this image.

Sawmill company circulars and pamphlets soliciting US and Foreign investment often compare the geography of the western US to that of the Philippines, and the vastness of lumber resources there fit for exploitation. Similarly to how the British opened up Negros for sugar export in the 1850s, the US' opening up of sawmills, trade schools for furniture making, the increased emphasis on creating law and legal procedures to manage the forest, and directed energy toward training forest

rangers to enforce these laws. Running parallel to the sugar industry, empirical systems and studies to understand the qualities of forest products and their usefulness, as well as how to manage forests so that they were the most efficient systems possible relied heavily on introducing "modern" methods by building steam-powered sawmills, railroads, and forest trails and roads for ease of ranger patrolling. Further, circuits of people flowed between these two systems not just on the US Philippine Commission and business end, but through an internal-settler dynamic where Christianized Filipinos - taking up employment in the sugar centrales and haciendas, shifted to working in sawmills when the sugar season was complete.

In the archives on the Forestry Bureau, the department of the interior, and the education bureau Ione pieces together clearly how the desire to "modernize", "manage", and "civilize" the Forest through conservation also extended to the Indigenous peoples of the forest. Anti-Blackness was mobilized in particular to identify Indigenous dark-skinned peoples of the Philippines as the most troublesome with regard to expanding the forest industry and reaching a maximum return for forestry goods like lumber, firewood, rubber, and other materials. Thus, the focus of the Forest Rangers to stop "illegal" kaingans served a twinned purpose of protecting property either in the public domain as owned by the US Occupation or privately by sawmills, and to penalize kaingan makers through multiple avenues including fines and prison. Further, the data on the frequency of illegal kaingin-making was one of the most repeated metrics for understanding how well forest conservation and management was progressing.

Detailed tables of the number of illegal kaingin created by region, the individual's progression through the court system, the amount of financial loss attributed to that person by the Bureau, and

their punishment are detailed extensively in tables in the Annual Reports of the Forestry Bureau.[38] Further, information on criminality is stored within the census and tables there detail the overall number of "forestry law violators" that were subject to punishment. While I have checked the records of Bilibid Prison at the Newberry Library, I found that for the scope of this chapter I was unable to trace the end flow of what happened to, or where people were imprisoned following a violation of the forestry law. Perhaps, with sufficient time I could look at the archives held at various locations in the Philippines to try and understand and draw out the connections between the forestry law and where people themselves were being imprisoned.

As far as labor exploitation within the prison system of the Philippines, Bilibid Prison, a large colonial prison at the time sited adjacent to Manila, had a large wood wagon-wheel assembling facility as well as furniture and other wood product manufacture. The prison was not just a place for those who violated forestry laws, it was also a site where forest materials were transformed into commodities for further colonial exploitation. The Industrial Division of Bilibid Prison managed prisoner labor for building constructing furniture, and released the *Bureau of Prisons Catalog* where people could place mail-in orders for prison constructed furniture complete with prices and shipping routes to the Pacific Northwest and Japan. (Bureau of Prisons, 1925) Furthermore, the prison was a site for experiments in scientific racism and developing what the US would be a system of understanding the physical

[38] There is so much data contained within these reports year to year. Further processing the data is a future goal of this research, as I believe it can hold some interesting arguments related to struggles for sovereignty and self-determination in the Philippines.

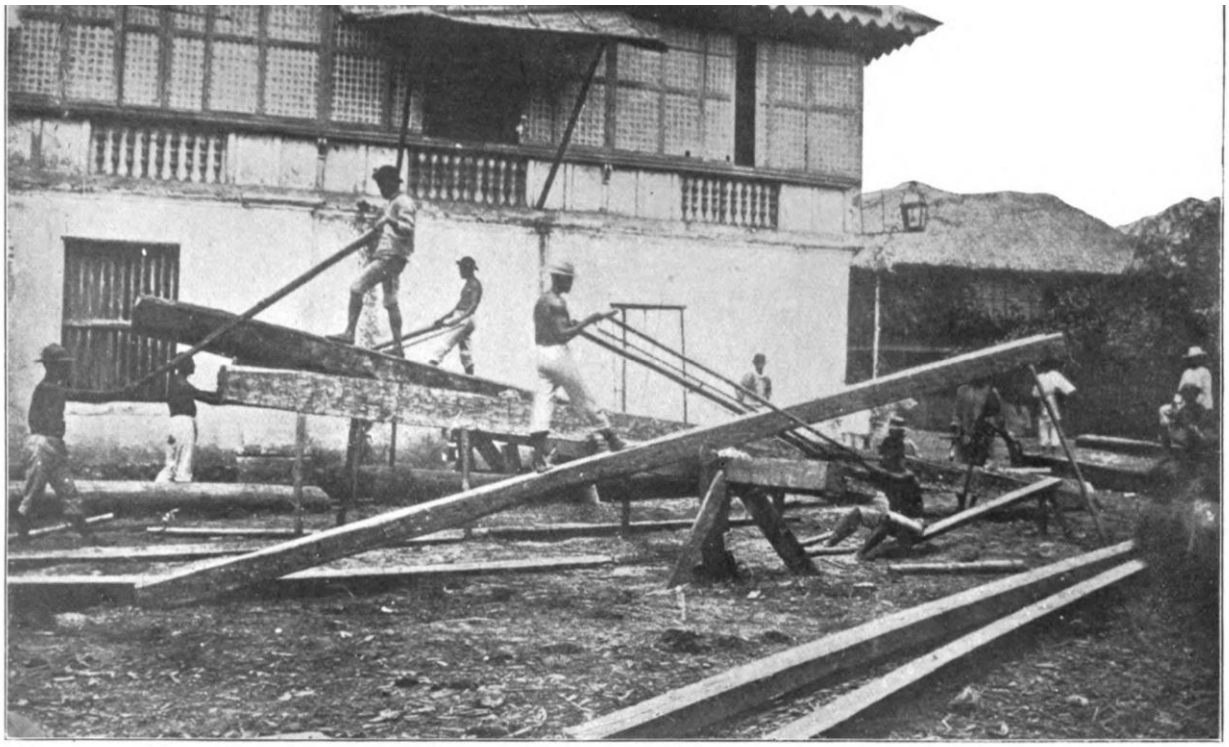
characteristics of criminals as exemplified in *Album of Philippine types: Found in Bilibid Prison.* (Folkmar, 1904)

Conclusions

In conclusion, carceral resource management distinguished the US Occupation's Forestry management practices from the Spanish, and such processes emerged in parallel with the rise of Negros' sugar plantations, homesteading law, and infrastructural initiatives, and racialization coming from discourses and logics of scientific racism. Racial capitalism, dispossession, and racialization worked together to underscore which populations and which lands US initiatives opened up for lumber and sugar exploitation. While many scholars have written about the nuances and impacts of US colonialism in the Philippines, thinking with Black studies and Black geography to center the global flows of capitalism and racialization in the Philippines contributes to an understanding.

Through understanding the forces shaping the political forest and enclosure, we can turn to McKittrick's *plantation futures* to locate the ways that both logics of capitalism and race together at the interface of the plantation can be read congruently with the twinned forces at work in shaping the industries of the archipelago during the American occupation. Through naming the forces connecting the political forest to the plantation and the prison, I explored how anti-Black and anti-Indigenous law mobilized together in the name of "civilizing" the Philippine archipelago.

Further Images



NO. 10. RIPPING OUT BOARDS IN THE CITY OF MANILA.

From the Newberry Archive, creating lumber boards in Manila was a job that usually employed Chinese labor.

This is important when one considers the overarching theme of racial capitalism to locate how Chinese peoples were racialized both from the perspective of the Tagalog elite, and the US Colonial Administration.

STEAM LOGGING IN A TIMBER CONCESSION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Image of a steam locomotive hauling logs through the forest in the Philippines.

I was just struck by the lumber used in this railroad track construction. This photo tells such a story, and I would hope to understand more about how labor on railroad construction is racialized, and how the train tracks were sited through the Sugar plantation and into the Forest.

Image of forestry patrol road construction. Road construction used Indigenous labor almost exclusively. The archives detail that this was usually the work of "mountain tribes" racialized as Black and Igorot.

Conclusions and future work

This project has given me the opportunity to think with scholars I deeply respect to build out Black geographies in the Philippines. This project also gave me the opportunity to conduct archival work and experiment with methods that have led me to new questions and put me on a path to pursue this work further. Engaging with diverse literatures to parse through connections and bring critical perspectives to anti-Black images and histories through the established tools of Black studies allowed my mind to continue to trace strong themes and connections that will continue to resonate with me far after this project is final.

Especially interesting and haunting were the remnants and lost-leads followed while working through the archive. Often, due to constraints in time or technology, and the newness of my skills while spending hours scanning microfilm or working through the Ayer collections, I found connections to broader themes resonant with turns toward understanding the Philippines in deeper relation to US political moments of the time. For example, I want to build this out for the next iteration of this draft because there are really interesting ways White southern culture emerges in the archive, but this connection is not talked about. The KKK's relationship to Pacific Blackness is evidenced through their siting in Guam following confederate defeat in the American Civil war. The KKK's foundation as an organization meant to defend Whiteness through inflicting anti-Black racial terror is a thread that helps us understand white supremacy as it reads the arrival of Philippine immigrants into California and the American west. Anti-Filipino raids, cross burnings, allow us to

think through logics of white supremacy and tactics of intimidation and terror that were refined in the American South and put into practice in California and Washington.

Aside from following up on other leads, throughout this project offered an interesting look at the overall spatial and geographic component to projects concentrated in the Philippines. From the locations of sawmills and plantations, to further thinking about the geographic component to racialized imaginaries of place, to further thinking through how to organize the literature reviews that circulate and recirculate scientific racism. The availability of data on this time period in the Philippines is immense. As explored in chapter three, it is possible to think about how to use this data as a map. Moving forward using techniques in digital humanities and GIS, I would like to revisit sites like sawmills and sugar plantations with new analytical perspectives made possible through geospatial analysis and storytelling. Through data visualizations, techniques in mapping, and centering Indigenous perspectives perhaps these techniques could offer perspectives that may contribute to ongoing movements for justice and land in the Philippines.

The text above from Slavery and Peonage is an example of how many of the stories of enslavement are told, through lists. Through these lists, sometimes the reader can learn the names of those who were enslaved and get a gloss at some of the circumstances surrounding their enslavement. I add this text to foreground the capacity to treat the pages as a kind of map, one that often implicates those that are involved in owning and trading enslaved people, as well as locations and places where lands Indigenous Agta, Aita, and other peoples are. While I think the capacity for critical fabulation is limited within the structure of this text, the capacity to understand and trace lines of subjugation as well as even make political and social claims to land and social awareness today are not. Approaching

this text through the tools offered via digital humanities and GIS may be a method of critical fabulation that has yet to be explored.

Lastly, I aspire to dedicate much of my future work to understanding the wake of enslavement and forms of unfreedom in the Philippines. After working through *Slavery and Peonage* and seeing how enslavement is attended to and considered in the colonial archive, I believe future work must consider following those threads. Speaking with those familiar with the history, digging further into US held archives and those held abroad, and lastly further considering how the afterlives of enslavement in the Philippines and other forms of unfreedom continue to structure lives there. Doing so I would hope to bring attention to the dynamics of these events, and work toward justice opportunities and initiatives for those affected. Further, I would wish to see how larger dynamics in the 19th and 20th century Pacific, for example Blackbirding and confederate exodus affected the Philippines' Indigenous peoples.

Moving forward, as this project draws and heavily is informed by colonial archives, it reproduces heavy and violent forms of knowing. As there are limitations to imagining fabulaiton in this study, I hope that future work can focus more on hope and solidarity. Building upon Quito Swan's method of radical diasporic analysis, future projects will look at archival moments of coming together and possibility. I hope to ask questions about how people relate to Black culture and Blackness in the present, and what opportunities for self and community knowledge and assertion this has. Doing so I hope to continue to build with Swan's methodology and analysis stemming from radical solidarity between the Philippines and the broader Afro diaspora.

Through tracing how anti-Black racialization occurred throughout history in the Philippines and with a particular focus on the US Occupation following the Philippine-American war, I revisited archival sources and analyzes to understand the primacy of anti-Blackness (Bledsoe) that underpin multiple transformations in the Philippines during the turn of the 20th century. In drawing from Black studies and thinking with expansive scholarship that centers Black geographies, I pinpoint the ways that Indigenous dark-skinned peoples in the Philippines have been affected by multiple and enduring moments of anti-Black racial subjugation. Reading the archive specifically with the tools of Black studies has examined and spoken to gaps that exist in racial analyses of *mestizaje,* throughlines of inclusion and exclusion in the Philippines' national imaginary from its onset, and attended to the differential ways racialization mobilized specific forms of labor relations to subjugated labor and the forest.

Further, I trace the racial imaginaries present in circulating periodicals, political cartoons, and plays that use anti-Black caricatures as arguments to undermine Philippine sovereignty in line with related US based tactics to debase the Kingdom of Hawaii's monarchy. Thinking especially with work in Black geographies of the Pacific region more broadly, I hope that this piece can contribute further to burgeoning and rich scholarship that theorizes Black geographies beyond the US and Canada. Through understanding anti-Blackness' distinct formations emerging in multiple locales, my hope is that scholars can better attend to the enduring repercussions of racialized subjection and work toward its simultaneous undoing.

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