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Series Editors
Regna Darnell
Stephen O. Murray

Anthropology Goes to the Fair



The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition



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7. The Philippine Reservation

*And then there is the Philippine Exposition
and all those curious peoples whom zealous scientists
have gone in search of to the far corners of the earth
and brought to St. Louis as "Anthropologicals" and labeled
interesting.*

Mrs. Charles Lusk, visitor

The Philippine Reservation's display of diverse peoples and its rich program of activities drew enormous crowds, far more than the Indian School. Francis said at the official dedication on June 18 that ninety-nine out of a hundred fairgoers had visited the reservation in the previous six weeks. The impressive visitor rate was not surprising, considering that the United States' role in the Philippines was a bitterly debated topic in 1904. The Philippine Islands had been under Spanish rule since the sixteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century a Philippine nationalist movement, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, was well underway and an armed revolt had begun in 1896. When the United States initiated the war against Spain in 1898, ostensibly over issues relating to Cuba and Porto Rico, the Philippines quickly became the principal target of U.S. imperialism. After the Battle of Manila Bay in May 1898, the United States armed Aguinaldo's rebels. They captured Luzon and declared a Philippine Republic.

The Treaty of Paris in December 1898 formally ended hostilities between Spain and the United States but also provided for America to buy the Philippine Islands for twenty million dollars. Aguinaldo and his nationalists expected the United States to recognize their self-proclaimed republican government, but U.S. imperialists had other plans. The Philippines gave the United States a colony extremely rich in natural resources that could be extracted for huge profits. President William McKinley proclaimed a policy of "benevolent assimilation"; the Filipinos were to be civilized by processes similar to those used with American Indians, that is, by forced acculturation. The Islands were

proclaimed as an independent territory under U.S. rule. Feeling betrayed, Aguinaldo led a revolt against the United States, which quickly degenerated into costly and bloody guerilla warfare. He was finally captured in 1901, although sporadic "insurrections" continued for some time. Opinion over U.S. rule was deeply divided along political party lines, generally with Democrats arguing for independence and Republicans feeling that independence must wait until the Filipinos were "properly civilized."¹

To showcase American benevolence and solidify public opinion in favor of expansionism, President Teddy Roosevelt and Congress created a Philippine Commission to introduce Americans to the country's newest possession at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Territorial governor William Howard Taft gave it his full support and encouraged Filipino participation because it would have "a very great influence in completing pacification" and help Filipinos "improve their condition." According to LPE publicists, the fair would benefit Filipinos through Americanization. Their long sojourn in St. Louis would put them in such close contact with Americans that they would appreciate and emulate American customs. At the same time, the American public would become familiar with the Philippines' "various and incongruous" tribal populations who differed in race, language, and religion and represented stages of social progress from the lowest types of head-hunting savagery to the best products of Christian civilization. The State and Insular Departments felt that the polyglot assemblage of Igorots, Negritos, Visayans, and Moros—representing heathens, Christians, and Muslims—demonstrated the need for a common language and American schools to erase tribal antagonisms and transform them into a harmonious and vigorous nation. The Philippine Reservation was designed to deliver the same political message as the Department of Anthropology and the Indian School, the evolutionary array of indigenous groups and the advancement of humanity toward twentieth-century American civilization. It was the self-proclaimed success of the government as benevolent guardian of Native peoples in its care.²

The Philippine exhibit was a gigantic, expensive undertaking and the LPE's best-funded display (called an "exposition within an exposition"). It cost approximately one and a half million dollars (thirty million in contemporary dollars), housed about twelve hundred and fifty individuals, and displayed over seventy-five thousand objects in almost all exhibition categories.³ Assem-

bling these materials and people from islands populated by a hundred different tribes speaking disparate languages and dialects was difficult but necessary since cultural diversity was a central theme of the exhibit, unlike that designed by McGee. In addition to displaying the evolutionary "place" of various Native groups, the exhibits focused on culture history—how different groups had come to the islands, what they were like in 1904, and what their future would be under American benevolent rule. The message was also conveyed that American colonialism was superior to Spanish colonialism. To ensure it would work, there had been a trial exposition in Manila in late 1903. For many participants, the LPE was a two-year undertaking.

Visitors to the forty-seven-acre Philippine Reservation were first given a propaganda lesson. "Those who visit the Philippine exhibit must stop to consider that four hundred years ago the inhabitants were a most primitive people, separated into many small tribes, before they can really appreciate the meaning and the value of the picture set before them." Exhibits proclaimed the moral degeneracy of the Spanish colonial system, which profited only governors and made no attempt to educate or morally uplift people. Then visitors were told how things were different now, for the Filipinos were "going to a different school with most beneficial results. . . . There has been palpable, visible advancement, and the time is coming when the purchase of the Philippine Islands will seem as wise to our descendants as does the Louisiana Purchase seem to us who live today." Paradoxically, this message was countered by the Department of War's display of weapons captured "during the insurrection against U.S. occupation," many of which Native allies had used between 1898 and 1901 against insurgents. This message contained no suggestion of the divide-and-conquer tactics, exacerbating traditional ethnically based hostilities, used by the U.S. Army in suppressing the insurgents, nor any indication of the number of people who died during the rebellion.⁴

A Small City on Display

The Philippine Reservation was placed on a wooded, rolling uplands area of Forest Park, just beyond the Palace of Agriculture. A green moss-covered wall with antique Spanish guns mounted on the parapets separated it from the rest of the exposition, physically, visually, and symbolically. Visitors entered the area over the Bridge of Spain and walked into a Walled City, where they im-

mediately encountered the War Department's armament exhibit and a replica of Manila's ramparts. A museum housed ethnographic and historical weapons placed in an evolutionary arrangement, to underscore the Islands' military primitiveness and carry a subliminal message about the futility of continued rebellion. In the center of the walled city's plaza was a tall column honoring Fernando de Magellan, the Spanish explorer who "discovered" the islands, mirroring the statues of Lewis and Clark at the LPE's main entrance.

Departing the Walled City via bamboo bridges, visitors could choose from three theme areas: (1) Indigenous Peoples, (2) Spanish Influence, or (3) the American Present. Manila Plaza in the center of one area was surrounded by five Spanish-style structures, including an Education Building that contained exhibits lauding the American occupation.⁵ Other large exhibit buildings devoted to agriculture, forestry, photography, and mining contained some seventy-five thousand artifacts chosen to appeal to American men. As in the main LPE exhibits, Native peoples served as the preindustrial "before." Mountains of raw materials were shown being turned into products of Native manufacture. Native tools were interpreted as useful but unrefined, conveying the message that the Philippines needed American expertise to develop prosperous market economies. Messages for cultural items were the same. The Manila Building, designed to illustrate an urban upper-class dwelling, illustrated how Native art could be transformed to decorate modern homes.

The Ethnology Building was a low, cloistered edifice resembling a convent with a thatched, bamboo-roof tree house in the central courtyard. A family of five Samal Moros from Managayne occupied the house, closed to visitors. The museum's interior displays included "an exhaustive collection of materials made by pagan, Muslim, and Christian peoples of the archipelago," and an evolutionary display of weapons. A third exhibit taxonomically equated material culture with tribal social organization, while a fourth focused on regional cultural diversity by utilizing a new display technique. Each unit told the story of a single culture to help visitors interpret the customs, lifestyles, and material cultures of the real stars of the Philippine Reservation, the more than eleven hundred Natives who were on display. As expected of an ethnological enterprise, the museum emphasized exotic "true savages"—Igorots and Negritos, but the wing devoted to Igorot culture contained a mixed message. Savage cultures were technologically simple, one main label stated, yet "here

and there something has impelled this group of savages to develop to a high degree an industrial activity which elsewhere in the Archipelago may yet be in its crudest development." While an Igorot may be essentially naked, another label asserted, "[h]e wears a pocket-hat, with a circular straw crown, which he fastens at the back of his head." The implied message was that Igorots were capable of progressing culturally, unlike the Negritos, who were described as a puzzling race with "extremely low intellect," incapable of learning. They were, however, interesting because they were an evolutionary missing link, one that would eventually become extinct. A label near the door instructed people to go see them in their village, located across the bridge. It might be their one and only chance.⁶

As in the Department of Anthropology, the Native peoples fascinated visitors more than did the objects. Christian Visayans, Islamic Moros, and "pagan" Igorots and Negritos were housed in six encampments collectively called the Reservation, a name that was popularly used for the entire Philippine Exhibit. Other Filipinos served in military and police battalions—the Philippine Scouts and Philippine Constabulary. To McGee, the Filipinos filled in the holes in his evolutionary scheme. There were small and tall races who mirrored the Native peoples on the other side of Arrowhead Lake. McGee told the *New York Times* that the Reservation's central theme was "to all intents and purposes ethnological in character," that is, it showed where people were on the road to civilization. Ironically, one criterion for Filipino self-rule was how well the "civilized" Filipinos took care of indigenous populations and prepared them for assimilation. Like the Indian Service, the Philippine Commission and Insular Department had a lot at stake in St. Louis, and an anthropologist was ready to help convey the message while simultaneously transmitting basic ethnological information.⁷

The Philippine Ethnology Division

Albert Jenks (1869–1953), a biologist turned ethnologist, designed and supervised the Philippine Ethnology Division's static and living displays.⁸ Interested in their economic conditions, he had briefly been a BAE researcher before heading the Ethnological Survey (or Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes) of the Philippines Commission. From 1900 to 1903 he conducted ethnological research with the Bontoc Igorots and classified Native peoples for the Phil-

ippines' first census, essentially reiterating Spanish social terminology by dividing the population into two supergroups, "civilized" (i.e., Christian) and "wild" (i.e., non-Christian, including the Muslim Moros). Jenks used this same reductionist scheme to organize tribal peoples at the fair.

Jenks began working on the exposition in early 1903. He supervised the selection of non-Christian Natives, including Igorots from the Bontoc, Abra, and Suyoc regions. Several individuals who had worked for him as servants or anthropological consultants came as demonstrators. To locate others, Jenks relied on the help of colonial officials and missionaries. For example, in November 1903, Dr. Saleeby, an American-educated Syrian physician, located a Samal Moro group. It took both men several months and all their diplomatic skills to convince the local sultan to undertake the year-long journey. The sultan's main worry was that his people's contact with Christians would defile them. Jenks agreed that the sultan could control the extent and type of contact with infidels (Afbale 1995; M. Jenks 1951, 164; A. Jenks 1905).

In addition to securing artifacts for the various exhibits, Jenks arranged transportation for people, artifacts, and traditional building materials to Manila and from there to St. Louis. The Igorots were the first groups to leave Manila. They sailed on the USS *Shawmist* to Tacoma, Washington, landing in March, and continued by rail in an unheated train, escorted by the Philippine Scouts. Jenks had hoped to accompany them, but had to remain in Manila to take care of paperwork and last-minute details. Seeing the demonstrators off, Maud Jenks wrote, "I found them much more comfortable than I had expected they would be. Antero [the Jenks' Filipino servant who served as interpreter] showed me his own particular place, and I told him goodbye until I would see him in America. Poor things—I hope they won't freeze to death" (M. Jenks 1951, 198).

A second Igorot group left soon thereafter, accompanied by a missionary, and arrived in late April without incident. Other groups encountered problems, including living in close quarters with their traditional enemies. In late February the Bagobo Moros and the Lanao Moros refused to stay in the same building for two days while waiting to board a ship. (One can only imagine what the boat journey was like.) After Filipino newspapers reported the need to separate them in exaggerated hyperbole that emphasized the Natives' exoticness, the Moro became quite notorious. As Mrs. Jenks remembered later,

They are as much a curiosity to people here in Manila, as they will be to Americans in St. Louis. The place is crowded with spectators all day. There have to be several policemen on guard to keep the Manila people out of the building. The Moros dislike them so much there is no telling what they would do if they had a chance. One day one of them attacked a Manila man with a spear—a beautiful illustration of the unity of the Filipino people. (M. Jenks 1951, 198–99)

Members of the Philippine Constabulary accompanied the groups to keep the Moros separated and also supposedly to protect other passengers.

The journey for most individuals was long and arduous. To begin, people from outlying areas had to walk two to three days from their villages just to reach a transportation point for Manila. For this reason, most were young, under thirty-five years of age; there were also more single individuals than in the other groups because Jenks did not insist on family groups. Once the people left Manila, they faced a month-long sea journey and a train ride of as much as a week from the West Coast to St. Louis. Several deaths from pneumonia were attributed to the rigorous journey, especially on the unheated trains. One Igorot man, Pagiye, was accused of killing a Suyoc man in a brawl in Hong Kong. He was detained there and never heard from again. Others became sick and were quarantined upon arriving in San Francisco. Some people were eventually allowed to continue; others were returned to Manila.

The Filipino Groups

Within the Reservation, the individual villages were located on the shores of Arrowhead Lake, arrayed in an evolutionary sequence designed by biologists Dean Worcester and Robert Bennett Bean. The sequence began with the “lowly and anthropoid-like” Negritos from the forests of Luzon, who had no fixed habitations, and then the more highly developed but still “primitive” head-hunting and spirit-worshipping Igorot groups. Next were the “more intelligent” but fanatical Bagobo and Lanao Moros, “fierce Mohammedan fighters who have caused so much trouble in the Mindanao country.” They were separated from the politically neutral Samal Moro, “unexcelled pirates and slave traders, treacherous and unreliable to the last degree,” and the “beautiful,” cultured and civilized Visayan, the “highest type” of tribal peoples who dressed like Euro-

peans and wore silk. The different groups were distinguished by their attire as well as their physical appearance. Reporters always commented on the general lack of clothing of the Igorots and Negritos and the modesty and colorful attire of the Moros and Visayans. The people themselves were probably comfortable, since a hot humid St. Louis summer was likely not too different from the Philippines. Winter months must have been difficult, and by November photographers depicted “naked” people sporting American-style shirts, overcoats, hats, and shoes, much to McGee’s and Jenks’s consternation since they both considered such behavior inauthentic. Each village contained typical houses, built of the proper materials brought from the Philippines, as well as boats, canoes, and light and heavy carts. Two Asian water buffalo (*carabao*) were even brought for the Visayan village in the attempt to simulate daily life.⁹

As with other living exhibits, the total number of Filipino Native participants fluctuated during the fair. There were at least 115 Igorots, 110 Moros, 80 Visayans, and 40 Negritos on June 12, the official census day. There were also four Manguins and two midgets (who performed acrobatic acts to appeal to American tastes for exotic curiosities).¹⁰ Some groups came later, a few individuals died, others were born, and several left early. Eighteen Visayans and all of the Bagobo Moros did not arrive until August 15—their ship delayed because of a fire. In August the number rose as one hundred Filipino male students, slated to be educated in the United States, arrived. They served as guides in the Ethnology Building, practiced English, and answered questions about politics, religions, and the peoples of their country. In mid-September they left to attend American universities.

Contrasting with the Native villages, Spanish-Filipino mestizo families occupied replicas of houses used by Spanish officials in Manila in the “American Present” section of the Reservation. These fifty highly educated, elite men and women (attorneys, judges, editors, writers, coffee planters, businessmen, and government officials) traveled at U.S. taxpayers’ expense to learn American ways. While the Native peoples were demonstrating and performing, this group toured the United States as foreign envoys with diplomatic status. President Roosevelt received them at the White House, where they argued for self-government. In St. Louis their main duty was to interact with Americans. Called honorary commissioners, they spent their time socializing with St. Louis’s elite.

The Philippine Constabulary and Scouts were paramilitary troops and police who had been enlisted by the American military to aid in suppressing the ongoing insurrection in the Islands. The Scouts had 12 American officers and 420 Filipino enlisted men, including a forty-five-piece band. The men had rigorously trained for several months. It was considered an honor to be chosen and many applicants were turned down. "Those men who showed even the slightest signs of poor discipline or being unsuited or unwilling to travel abroad" were discharged. On the exposition grounds they lived in seventy-five canvas tents with wooden floors and electric lights. Both groups' duties were to escort, guard, prevent intergroup strife, police, and help maintain the compounds. They also served as a fire department, general carpenters, and laborers for the entire exposition. The Scouts gave two drill performances daily. As soon as they arrived they began practicing, providing entertainment for large crowds even before the fair officially opened. They were described as "a fine looking body of men [who] have an excellent band." Their roles extended beyond policing and entertaining; they were housed next to the Igorots and Negritos so visitors could see the Philippines' social extremes. They illustrated the "result of American rule," suggesting the possibility of successful cultural advancement under U.S. colonial administration and the readiness for self-rule.¹¹

Daily Activities in the Villages and Special Events

The entire Philippine Reservation was officially dedicated on June 18 and all the villages opened at noon. While it cost nothing to enter the Reservation and view the museum displays, there was a twenty-five-cent admission for each village, with extra charges for special events and performances. To draw visitors, the *World's Fair Authentic Guide* enticed people with free "cold filtered drinking water" and lavatories. One could visit the United States' newest Native wards in comfort and safety. LPE officials also stressed that the Filipinos were eager to entertain their American guests. The Igorots apparently loved to perform dances. "As soon as one band of the Igorot community finishes the dance another band takes the ground. The first band squats on the ground and closely observes the movements of its successors." Fascinated visitors stood behind the squatting group.¹²

"Bright-looking and energetic young" Scouts went on dress parade daily at 5:30 p.m. They "carried themselves with an air of military pride and preci-

sion and commanded admiration for their soldierly qualities." On August 13, Philippine Day, the sixth anniversary of the American capture of Manila, they conducted a mock battle, like those held in the Wild West show and the Boer War concession. Some also participated in special athletic and dance competitions arranged by McGee. What the press focused on was their marching; "It was an impressive sight—this long line of Filipinos in blue, stretching down the green parade ground at sunset. It shows the real work accomplished in the Philippines—the bringing of law and order and discipline out of insurrection and ignorance—the lesson of good government" (Bennitt 1905, 475).¹³

Others commented on the Scouts' intelligence, fitness, and conduct. Generally their conduct was exemplary but there were negative incidents reported in the newspapers. The LPE police arrested several Scouts for carrying concealed weapons (knives), fistfights, or resisting arrest. A few contracted venereal diseases, indirect evidence of Saturday night extracurricular activities not recorded in final reports to the LPEC Board. There were also a half-dozen cases of drunkenness, but far less than those recorded for the American military or police forces stationed at the LPE. One notorious incident occurred when a Scout overheard a man from the Boer War concession disparage their drill performance and beat him senseless. The Scout was convicted of assault in St. Louis police court, but the mayor remitted the fine due to "extenuating" circumstances. The other major incident occurred when U.S. Army troops and Scouts had a fight in which one soldier was knifed to death and several others injured. No individual was charged, since the Scouts left the scene quickly. However, thereafter they were allowed out only on Sundays between noon and midnight and were otherwise confined to the grounds, like other indigenous peoples (Newell 1904, 5142).¹⁴

It was hoped that the Scouts would learn the value of American culture while in the United States. One means to accomplish this was formal American-style education. There was a separate school for the Scouts and Constabulary in which a daily one-hour class in conversational English, American history, and geography was given by Army Chaplain J. C. Granville. At first it included only noncommissioned officers, but soon was open to all troops. The curriculum also included visits to LPE exhibits and attendance at special lectures, activities that must have helped break up the monotony of the daily activities (Laurie 1994–95, 52).

Indigenous participants were also expected to learn from their experience. Like the children in the Indian School, Filipino children attended a model American school every morning under the direction of Miss Marie Pilar Zamora, a teacher from the Philippine Normal College. Zamora was Visayan and a Christian missionary. The students included men and women, not just young children. While the adult men were allowed to wear only their loincloths, the women had to don western blouses as well as their traditional hand-woven skirts. Children wore uniforms modeled on Indian Service attire. They sat at American desks and worked on a blackboard hung on bamboo poles in the school's single small classroom or the bamboo-and-palm ramada. Unlike the Indian School, there were no dormitories or workshops. Students came at set times during the day and then returned to their camps. Like the Indian School, the building had a viewing gallery for visitors, and all classes were taught in English. The school opened on July 19 with forty-one students, aged twelve to twenty; the official school census included twenty Visayan, thirteen Igorot, two Moro, and six Negrito students. Zamora lectured daily from 9:30 to 11:00 a.m., until the end of November. The Visayans were taught by themselves because it was assumed they were naturally more advanced, being Christians. The Moros, Igorots, and Negritos attended a beginner's class. (The Negrito children often refused to attend, disliking the school uniforms.) All "non-Christians" were taught English using American patriotic songs and nursery rhymes. The star pupil was Antero, a fifteen-year-old Igorot. Zamora told Jenks that the Igorot children were the most intelligent, reinforcing Jenks's predictions of their assimilative potential.¹⁵ Potential for Americanization was a dominant theme in the school, seen as a sign of readiness for self-rule. Placards stressed how seven hundred American educators were teaching English to three thousand Filipino teachers to produce a lingua franca to facilitate modernization. Wall displays emphasized industrial, agricultural, and nautical trades. The school drew national attention when President Theodore Roosevelt visited at the end of November. Zamora had the Igorot students sing a chorus of "My Country 'Tis of Thee." The president was reported as commenting on how quickly the Igorots had advanced after being exposed to civilization. "It is wonderful. Such advancement and in so short a time!"¹⁶

School and life in the compounds were kept distinct in the name of ethnographic authenticity. When children were in their villages they wore traditional

attire, which assumed the flavor of stage costumes. Children were expected to play traditional games, not baseball. Sometimes American boys and children from the Pike concessions joined them in games of marbles. The Samal Moro children particularly liked American games as well as improvised water sports. Jenks and McGee soon gave up trying to keep the "American contamination" at bay. Like the peoples living in the Anthropology Villages, Filipino people did not blindly follow the anthropologists' agendas.

Native dress was considered important because the Filipinos were among the most photographed people at the LPE. This was not always a welcome event and a placard at each compound's entrance informed fairgoers that photographers took snapshots at their own risk; the LPEC was not responsible for damaged cameras.¹⁷ Due to the number of photographs, however, it appears that the Igorots were not camera shy, but there are no records of how many of the proud Moros, Visayans, or Negritos smashed cameras. Several times the Scouts "rescued" cameras, especially when tourists wanted to take photos for free. The people simply wanted to be paid.

Another common activity was greeting dignitaries who visited the Reservation. Giving welcoming speeches to every trade and professional association became a prominent duty of each group's leader. It was hoped that these visitors would buy lots of souvenirs. And they did, but not quite enough. During November there was "a sacrifice sale of beautiful fiber cloths, mantillas, laces and embroideries" made by Visayan women (Bennett 1905, 475). The extremely popular Igorot groups had nothing left over; they went home with only American manufactured items.

The Popular But Controversial Igorots

The Igorot village was the first camp to officially open. LPE personnel called three distinct groups of Cordillera people "Igorots," the Bontocs, Suyocs (Cuyocs), and Tinguians. The much-photographed Bontocs performed in the May 1 opening-day festivities and drew large crowds as they built their straw-covered houses during April and May. Truman Hunt and his two assistants—Julio Balinag (interpreter) and Alvin M. Pettit (an American miner married to a Suyoc woman)—supervised the three groups. Hunt also ran a soft drink concession near the village (Afable 1997, 19; 2000).¹⁸

Delayed by inclement weather, the Igorots' multi-acre village was not officially completed until May 19. It was surrounded by a bamboo stockade

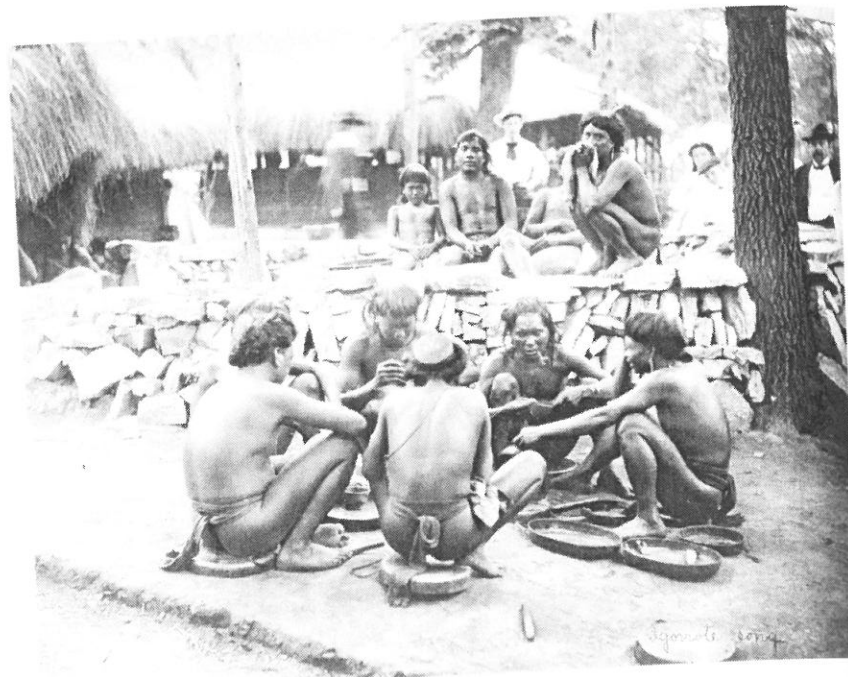


Fig. 7.1. Bontoc Igorot men sitting on their drums, eating dog meat, with visitors watching in background. LPEC photographer. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 3245-4975.

topped with human skull trophies brought from the Philippines. Hunt obtained bovine skulls in St. Louis to relieve the monotony of the "Igorrote decorative scheme." In the compound center was a small stone enclosure, a justice court to which offenders were sent. Settling disputes was a common occurrence and each Igorot group followed its own customs.¹⁹

Within the main enclosure, each group had an area separated by a fence and marked to indicate that they were separate peoples. For example, for the Bontocs the symbol was a row of cattle skulls placed on a shelf in front of their huts and a telephone pole. Chief Antonio insisted that he have a telephone placed in his hut as a sign of his status. In the center of the Bontoc village was a shrine and stone fireplace where morning prayers were said and the site of their infamous dog feasts (more on that below). The compound was the most visited site on the fairgrounds (fig. 7.1), much to the annoyance of other



Fig. 7.2. "As the Lady Managers wanted to have them" — Pierre Chouteau. Bontoc Igorot men dancing in Western attire during the controversy over "nakedness." Photograph by Jessie Tarbox Beals. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, no. LPE1304.2, WF 1016.

Filipinos who complained that the Bontocs "hogged the limelight" (Afbale 1997, 20).²⁰

The Igorots were mountain peoples from northern Luzon, who were considered the Philippines' true pagans. They were greatly anticipated because the Department of Exploitation had made it well-known that they were naked dog eaters, symbolic markers of their "low" evolutionary grade. The Bontocs were publicized as a most primitive and warlike group, headhunters with "copper-colored skin, high cheek bones, flat noses, thick lips and long, straight, black hair" that hung over their shoulders. There were numerous newspaper accounts of their hourly dance performances and physical appearance, but few about their other cultural accomplishments. "The Igorot wears no clothes," wrote Alfred Newell, a popular journalist. This statement is probably the single most common assertion used to describe them, and was often overgeneral-

ized to other Native groups and used as a symbol of general primitiveness. It referred to the fact that the Bontoc men undressed to honor special visitors in official receiving lines, the exact opposite of middle-class American dictates. Many visitors, including the Exposition Board of Lady Managers, complained of the practice (fig. 7.2). It is not recorded what other Native participants thought of the Igorot clothing style.²¹

Bontoc men wore brightly colored G-strings, small loincloths, coats, and small hats, rather than the pants that had been issued to them, while they worked or performed. The lack of attire to cover male genitals, and the gaze of innocent American children and apparently easily offended women, led to extensive discussions during the spring and soon erupted into controversy. According to one historian, "The most ambitious and advanced of the Igorot community are not above fascinations of the dance, nor can they resist the life long habit to appear without clothing."²²

Discontent about male nakedness finally erupted into threats of boycotts of the Philippine Reservation. Taft feared political ramifications for the Democratic Party (which was staking its reputation on the Philippine question) and perceived a threat in what he interpreted as the press's glorification of nakedness. The popular Igorots looked too uncivilized; visitors would generalize from them to all other Filipinos. He sent directives to Jenks requesting that the Igorots (and the Negritos) be made to wear brightly colored short trunks instead of loincloths.²³ Unlike Jenks, Taft did not care about "authenticity" or teaching Americans about cultural diversity.

Jenks, with McGee's support, argued that loincloths were necessary to ensure scientific validity. Starr got into the controversy by lecturing on clothing, stating there was nothing wrong with Igorot clothing. It was the "innate immodesty of our best citizens which resulted in the demand that the natives at the fair be adorned with trousers. . . . It was not false modesty but immodesty that inspired the attempt to clothe these wards of the nation." It was also perilous in summer, he insisted. "To force them to wear clothing would be cruel—dangerous because they are not used to it and cruel because it is so hot now." While Starr was serious, most reporters poked fun at him, at anthropologists, and the controversy. "Their native attire is good! *Exempla gratia*—a gee string and a broad grin." At the conclusion of the controversy, the *St. Louis*

Post-Dispatch announced, "Igorotes Not to Wear Breeches." Taft had backed down and visitors would see authentic Native attire for men.²⁴

Visitors considered the Suyoc Igorots less picturesque. Boyongasan led the group of seven women, four young boys, and fifteen adult men. The Suyocs were excellent metal workers, and little was written about them besides their artistic abilities and industry. Rather than dance continuously, they demonstrated cooking methods using copper vessels and wove. "Hour after hour [the women] sit in front of their hand looms, [and] weave the gay colored yarn into cloth, ignoring the hundreds of curious American eyes and the frank American tongues." At the end of the exposition, the LPEC awarded Boyongasan a third-class medal. Similarly, the more modestly attired Tinguian Igorots, eighteen individuals from Abra, received little mention by the press or in LPEC accounts. "They show a rude architectural skill in the construction of their bamboo and nipa huts. These have small balconies in front on which the women sit and weave."²⁵ They gave rice planting and gardening demonstrations and were considered to have a peaceful nature. They spurned the Bontocs' dog-meat-eating rituals and considered themselves a superior people.

All three groups gave hourly dance demonstrations to gong music and artistic demonstrations. Bontoc men did a "realistic pantomime in the use of the shield and spear, advancing, retreating, poisoning and thrusting." It was several weeks before they permitted visitors to examine their musical instruments. Thereafter, "men visitors were invited to join the dance which they frequently did, borrowing the tom-toms while the owners sat watching and laughing at their attempts to execute the peculiar Igorrote gyrations. . . . If the dancer was successful, he was rewarded by cries of 'good boy, good boy' from the Igorotes, who found great enjoyment in watching the dance."²⁶

There are many references to the Igorots' courtesy, but there were also limits. Leaders often had to keep crowds at bay. In April, one had to stand guard to keep intruders outside the new fence and not interfere with the workmen. "The chief brandished a huge war club and strode up and down in front of the enclosure with all the dignity he could command. Either the club or the dignity was enough and afterwards the visitors kept a respectful distance."²⁷

The Igorots were often compared to American Indians, especially in their dance styles. Groups and their cultural distinctions were simplified to facilitate racial comparisons with evolutionary implications, sometimes to Jenks's con-

sternation but usually not McGee's. Like the American Indians, the Igorots had to earn money from the sale of their art and photographs and tips following demonstrations. Commentators noted that understanding the value of money was evidence of their rapid cultural progress since coming to America. "A visitor stopped at a bamboo hut and offered an Igorot child a penny. The little one threw it on the ground. The visitor offered a five-cent piece, and the child accepted it." People also gave them gifts, clothing, hand mirrors, suitcases, and cigars. "When they point to their mouths it is to express willingness to accept the American filler of peace and good will."²⁸

Reporters mentioned how incensed the Igorots became when they learned that their enemies, the Visayans, were at the fair. They were especially angry at the Visayans' special treatment, and the fact that Scouts were sent to control them, that is, to keep them from moving at will around the fairgrounds. Fair officials constrained Igorot life by confining them to the Reservation and letting them go to other parts of Forest Park or outside the fairgrounds only in supervised groups with a translator. The Scouts, Constabulary, and Visayans were not so confined. As Christians, they received invitations to visit St. Louis families or go sightseeing. According to historian Clayton Laurie, the Igorots retaliated when they discovered the discriminatory policies "by loudly beating their drums during Scout drill exhibitions, preventing the Scouts from hearing voice commands." Scout leaders threatened to leave "if the Igorots were not disciplined and brought under control." Since the Scouts did not leave, some compromise must have been reached.²⁹

As they did with the American Indians, the press created celebrities. The most famous Igorot was Balonglong (Antero), the star pupil of the model school. Antero knew English since he was Jenks's houseboy and ethnographic consultant and served as the Bontocs' interpreter. Mrs. Jenks found him exceptionally bright, a remarkable individual who wanted adventure. "Antero always stands straight and carries himself gracefully, so that he commands respect. He has a way of getting along with the Igorot, and I never saw one of them question his little authoritative way. When he is with the Igorot alone, he is just one of them but when he is with us he is the boss." Antero often gave impromptu vocal concerts of American tunes. He met President Roosevelt and, according to Jenks, had a good time in St. Louis. Jenks took him to Wisconsin to meet his parents at the close of the exposition (M. Jenks 1951, 123, 139, 197).³⁰

Anthropologist Patricia Afable found Bontoc descendants who described their ancestors' trip to America as "exhilarating adventures from which people returned with some American goods, money, a bit of American English, and a fairly limited, often amusing view of American life" (Afable 1997, 20–21). Women brought back blouses, skirts, and bloomers, while the men collected coats, trousers, and hats. American material culture, if not ideas, traveled back to the Islands. Evidently the idea that Native peoples would become enamored of American democracy was not born out.

The Bontoc Igorot Dog Feasts

The curious fairgoers came to regard all the Igorot groups as fascinating because the Bontoc ate dog meat. Reporters frequently commented on the "savage" culinary preferences that repelled middle-class Americans. While the people were asked to be as "native" as possible—to perform their daily activities according to a daily routine—eating dogs went over an invisible line of propriety and acceptability for many visitors. It was too exotic, too primitive, too sickening, and too inhumane. For others it came to symbolize the contrast being reinforced in every corner of the exposition. Savage dog feasts clearly illustrated how far Americans had come from humanity's heathen beginnings. A postcard depicting Bontoc men slaughtering a dog was a sought-after souvenir, symbolizing the dichotomy between primitiveness and civilization. Poems reflecting their authors' prejudices and humor were written about it:

*You must see the Igorotte
From his Filipino bog,
Dressed in style that we call naughty,
Being in a mental fog,
Who asserts in manner haughty
He shall, must, and will have dog.*³¹

The Igorot Dog Feast was originally not intended to be performed several times a week, but was a one-time event to celebrate their safe arrival and dedicate their shrine. As one appalled visitor described the event, "They first bind the dog to a stick. Then its throat is cut while the tribesmen mumble something. It is then skinned and roasted." Missouri governor Hunt was tear-

fully upset, stating that the feast would not have occurred if he had known about it. He called it

a sad spectacle which the United States never witnessed before. I could not bear it; neither could any other of our Caucasian party, and we retired, leaving the little brown boys alone in their bamboo stockade. There they tom-tommed and danced the true savage dance and cut the throats of the six dogs, which had been several days fattening. The crowd of spectators came so near breaking down the frail stockade that we had to call off the dance.³²

With this type of newspaper coverage and visitor reaction, the Dog Feast quickly became one of the biggest draws on the Philippine Reservation. One headline read, "Dog Gone—Happy Are Igorrotes. Old Time Feasts in Luzon Repeated, with Canine Steak as Piece de Resistance. Biggest Crowds for a Year." To attract larger crowds, nine stray dogs were rounded up the following Sunday. The Department of Exploitation tried to both deflate and capitalize on the notoriety by describing dogs as the Bontocs' "normal food." Some reporters were sarcastic, finding humor in the controversy while others were matter-of-fact. Historian Virgilio Pilapil has written that the city provided twenty dogs a month so that the Igorots could stage the performance. Paducah, Kentucky, also sent forty strays when reporters speculated that St. Louis had insufficient mutts. People living near the fairgrounds feared for their dogs and tales that missing pets were eaten surfaced quickly and lived on after the exposition. Visitor Dorothy Birk later wrote, "Either the quality or the quantity didn't quite satisfy the dog-eaters, [so] when your pet didn't come back quickly, you could be pretty sure that it had landed in the soup kettle."³³ The Pawnees and Wichitas were said to have departed when their dogs disappeared. They blamed the Filipinos.

Controversies over where the dogs would be obtained and how they would be killed had surfaced before the fair began and continued unabated until December. Jenks, fair officials, and city bureaucrats decided that the dogs used would be strays from the city pound. Members of the St. Louis Humane Society were appalled. As one reporter told readers, "Just when the wild men from Luzon are about to lay hands upon the un-ransomed pack of dogs at the city pound, the Humane Society rushes in, gathers the dogs to its breast, and forbids another feast." John Finnel found a 1903 city ordinance that forbade

eating dogs within the city limits. The Humane Society condemned the "contemplated localization of the Igorotte custom of tying a dog to a stake, beating him to death with clubs, and then baking him in a long pan, with young onions laid on his ribs" (Afable 1995, 16).

While Jenks kept a low profile, McGee publicly condemned the Humane Society, citing cultural relativism: "Those who like dog meat should eat it." This pronouncement did little to stem the controversy and the Igorot compound became known as "Dogtown." A *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* cartoon showed a small black man with abundant hair, earrings, wide lips, large feet, clothed in a white skirt and holding a club, being confronted by a Humane Society member in checkered pants, shoes, and high hat, who shielded a dog. Both stand in front of a meat market where a sloppy butcher, covered in blood, holds a meat cleaver (fig. 7.3). According to one reporter, the Igorots' "barbaric minds can suggest nothing more humane than to tie the poor dog to a stake, hit him in the face four or five times with a gnarled bole of a banyan tree, and then skin him for baking." But what about American slaughter houses?

What meat do these citizens feed upon that they have become so humane? How dies the poor little calf in the slaughter houses of St. Louis? We shudder to think how butchers put a rope around the dear little [calf's] neck, pass the rope through a ring on the floor, and pull the poor, bleating little calf down on his knees. Of course, this isn't anything like so horrible as tying a dog to a stake for slaughter; but it isn't nice either.

But he undermined his argument by claiming the difference between a sledge hammer and a war club is that "one is a savage implement and the other a product of the force of civilization. It would be a great mistake to suppose that they are in any wise analogous from a humanitarian point of view."³⁴

As Afable has pointed out, why the LPEC exploited the Dog Feast is puzzling, given the emphasis on authenticity. "It can only be explained by its role in sensationalizing the strange and exotic nature of the people who performed it. . . . Jenks describes dog-eating briefly as something that happens occasionally in the villages he had studied and only for ceremonial purposes" (Afable 1997, 21). The LPE Igorot village became completely identified with the spectacle of dog slaughter, producing a durable and damaging stereotype that lasts to this day.



IS IT BEEF TRUST, SPEAKING THROUGH
HUMANE SOCIETY, THAT WOULD ROB
IRROGOTE OF HIS CHERISHED DOG MEAT?

Fig. 7.3. Cartoon by Chopin for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 6, 1904. WJ McGee Papers, box 32, newspaper scrapbook, Library of Congress.

There are no extant records that Jenks, McGee, or any other anthropologist, protested the sensationalizing of the rite. It may have been that publicity, no matter what its repercussions, was simply too good for gate receipts. It is unclear how much dog meat the Igorots actually ate. Participants "got so sick of dog meat, especially because of the high fat content of American dogs, that they would sometimes bury it at the edge of the festival grounds." One anthropologist thinks that the Bontocs knew that they were having one over on the fairgoers, making the spectacle as gory as possible to elicit looks of horror.³⁵

The Samal, Lake Lanao, and Bagobo Moro Encampments

The Samal Moros and Lake Lanao Moros (hereditary enemies) had two encampments on the northern arm of Arrowhead Lake, west of the Bridge of Spain. According to official fair histories, the tribes were "so hostile to each other that an armed guard was at first maintained between the two villages." A sign on the path between their villages read, "Persons photographing the Moros do so at their own peril."³⁶ There are few extant photographs.

While both groups were said to be descendants of Malaysians, proud and aggressive, they were considered the most civilized of the non-Christian demonstrators. According to LPE publicists, the Lake Lanao people were in rebellion against the United States, and government officials hoped they would learn to respect Western authority by visiting the exposition. The hope was in vain. The people seldom left their village and were uninterested in visiting other parts of the LPE. Fair officials considered them unfriendly and exclusive. "It is characteristic of them to manifest aversion to being touched by the hand of a Christian. They avoid the shaking of hands." Photographers complained that they would never smile. When they did appear, they wore tight-fitting, colorful clothes "fashioned of the flimsiest of silk and draped about them without regard to fit." The men produced hammered brass boxes, musical instruments, and knives with inlaid handles. The women wove colorful blankets on back-strap looms. All items were for sale, and sales were apparently brisk.³⁷

The thirty-eight Lake Lanao Moros were Muslims from the mountainous interior of Mindanao. Their neatly arranged village of thatched bamboo houses replicated the household of the sultan of Sulu, complete with retainers, sentinels, and bodyguards. There were apparently four headmen or "sultans," two lesser heads of households (*datta*), an ayatollah, thirteen women, and six children. The religious leader, Rajah Muda Sumbayangui, was the highest-ranking man and Sultan Demasanky acted as a servant in his household. Each man flew his private flag in front of his house and had a large placard beside the front door with his name, village in the archipelago, and the number of Moros he ruled. These men refused to perform for the amusement of visitors and as a result fair organizers considered them a disappointment. "The trouble was too many sultans and dattos, too few hombres. . . . These high officials remained secluded, and wholly unwilling to perform in accordance with the



Fig. 7.4. Colony of Samal Moros, from the Island of Mindanao, Philippine Reservation. Photograph by Jessie Tarbox Beals. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, no. 20684.

wishes of the showmen. The result was that the gate fees to the Lanao Village were small."³⁸

If the Lake Lanao Moros were perceived as imperious, the Samal Moros (fig. 7.4) were seen as intelligent pirates and pearl fishermen, "long the terror of the Philippine coasts, but now friendly and loyal to American authorities." Government officials considered them the most intelligent and advanced of the Mindanao tribes but on account of their "fanatical Islamic faith," difficult to assimilate. Rajah Muda Mand led the Samals although he did not attend the fair; his brother and prime minister, Datto Facundi, served as his representative. Facundi was described as a stately, bronze-hued person of dignity who was very courteous to all visitors, touching his turban as they departed. "Like all the Samal Moros, he has become a staunch ally of the United States."³⁹ Facundi emphasized his position, status, and authority. His large house had a private porch and young girls beat tonal brass drums to announce his entrances and exits.

The Samal Moro village, the Philippines' Venice, was sited on the lakeshore and contained forty people. Gay red flags fluttered overhead and dugouts and outriggers with different colored sails bobbed on rope moorings. Bamboo and

rattan houses with nipa-covered roofs were built over the water on stilts driven into the mud; a bamboo bridge connected each with the lakeshore. The Samals were noted for their superb music and facility with percussion instruments. The women sang and drummed while the men performed a variety of dances, most notably the Moro-Moro, billed as the "frenzied Mohammedan spear dance." On special days, brightly colored lanterns illuminated the village and the men held water carnivals. Unlike the reclusive Lanaos, the Samals marched in parades, dressed in bright silks with colorful sashes.

The visitors enjoyed these sights; gate receipts were high. The most noted Samal activity was diving for coins visitors threw in the lake. The divers were selective; "nothing less than a nickel will tempt these thrifty sea gypsies." Children were successful; "the smaller the Moro the greater the income [for] the Exposition visitor finds it more difficult to resist the expectant eyes of the urchins than of the full grown pearl divers." Children generally earned three dollars to four dollars a day. Most divers were boys, but one small girl, "Little Anise," was quite successful. The Samals had brought a ton of pearl shells, which they used to illustrate pearl fishing. The shells were then polished and sold.⁴⁰

The Samals conducted daily boat races and gave water sport demonstrations. In warm weather children spent most of their time swimming and playing, sliding down wooden plank slides and water shoots constructed to resemble the slides at the Pike's "Shooting the Chutes" concession. "They usually capsized following the descent," according to an observer, "but such result in no way detracted from the new sport."⁴¹

One reason to bring the Moros was the hope that they would see the superiority of American life and stop rebelling. The Lake Lanaos' standoffishness led one policy commentator to conclude: "The Moros are lending themselves less readily to the ways of the American. It is believed in many quarters that the assimilation of the Igorot men, the headhunters, will not be difficult, but the assimilation of the Moros as a race will be impossible." Another reason for this assessment was that both Samal and Lake Lanao Moros were perceived to be inveterate gamblers. They spent most of their spare time playing Monte, a game of chance they had learned from the Spanish. Apparently several fortunes were won and lost, evidenced by the holes in their house supports which were used as banks. "The larger the number of holes, the stronger the evidence of impecuniousness."⁴²

There was one other Moro group but little is recorded about them. The Bagobo Moros were from a remote region on the western coast of Mindanao whom Jenks saw as distinct morally because they wore more clothing than other groups. The press still considered them savages who were slave holders and practiced human sacrifice. Jenks categorized them as primitive and only nominally Muslim, practitioners of a cult rather than a true religion, to keep the preconceived categories intact and neat.⁴³

The Bagobos did not arrive until July, but then quickly built a nipa-hut village. The twenty-three men and seven women were regarded with admiration by all visitors because they were handsome, graceful, and picturesquely attired. They wore colorful kemp attire (knee pants and jackets for men and skirts and jackets for women) heavily decorated in geometric patterns with mollusk shell beads. Bulon, a nineteen-year-old with hair down to his hips and a colorful head covering, was often compared to the Sioux. The press commented on the large knife he used in mock combat.⁴⁴ Visitors watched for hours as the men produced shell beads and the women sewed them on clothing; they were considered the best bead workers at the exposition. Since the Bagobos did not gamble and tolerated visitors, reporters decided they were primed to accept American cultural leadership, if they would only stop fighting.

The children quickly learned English and enjoyed conversing with visitors. The adults were friendly, laughing readily and heartily, talking with fairgoers and visiting other groups. But reporters regarded them with suspicion. They "are said to be fiercer even than the other Moros, practicing human sacrifices as a cult rather than as a religion." There was, of course, no evidence of such a practice during the exposition.⁴⁵

The Negrito Village

The Negrito village on the Reservation's eastern edge housed about thirty individuals said to be the Philippines' real aboriginal inhabitants and an ethnological puzzle. Their difference was reflected in language, religion, tribal customs, and physical characteristics, especially their bushy hair, short stature, and very black skin. They were a "distinctive race," in the terminology of the day, "true savages" who used "primitive" weapons (e.g. poisoned arrows) and were said to have "primate-like" tree-climbing ability. The press mentioned their shyness and eating habits, which were considered indications of a rela-

tive lack of intelligence. An equally important indication of backwardness was how they inappropriately combined Western and traditional garb: "The full dress costume of the Negrito is a dirty cotton rag tied loosely around his loins. The chief of the village wears a plug hat." The fact that they ate roots, grubs, and snails was considered evidence that they were a "missing link." According to William Curtis,

*the Negritos are very interesting. The lowest grade of human creatures under the jurisdiction of the President of the United States, they are more debased in morals, more feeble of intellect than the Digger Indians of California, and the intelligence of the children particularly offers encouragement to those who would lift them out of their degradation.*⁴⁶

Most commentators insisted that the Negritos were headed for extinction by 1950 because there were fewer than ten thousand of them. But they also felt that there was hope because they were extremely clever and skillful. Some reporters even contended that they were the Filipino group most ready to adapt to civilized ways. "You may see a dwarfish Negrito woman, sitting in the doorway of her bamboo hut sewing with an American needle, a pair of American scissors at her side." They were entrepreneurial. "They wander about the village shooting sparrows or practicing at marks. [One] little fellow [age 7] . . . can knock a nickel unerringly at twenty-five paces. Without a smile he picks up the coin that he has won by his prowess, and awaits the next chance."⁴⁷

There were approximately thirty-three people, led by El Captain who wore a silk hat, and on special occasions, a shirt, collar, and cravat. All the Negritos were said to be very cordial and amiable, and the children were praised as exceptionally quick learners. "Most of them have learned to say 'Thank you.'" They were also very useful to fair officials. Their skills were put to practical use in June when sparrows infested the exposition gardens; the boys were hired as guards who "rarely missed a bird" (Newell 1904, 5137-38).

The Negritos apparently had an elaborate demonstration and performance schedule. Hourly they presented festival dances, songs, and special reenactments. At 9:00 a.m. they staged a social ritual, a flute duet entitled "Bansai," and a wedding ceremony. At 10:00 a.m. they performed the Huso dance, reenacted a wild boar hunt by driving an animal into a net, and held a mock public assembly to elect a chief. Next the women cooked. In the afternoon,



Fig. 7.5. Stereocard of the Visayan Village on Arrowhead Lake, Philippine Reservation. Photograph by C. H. Graves. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, CPH3C11774, USZ62-11774.

they executed a Kutagag dance with bolos and spears, lit a fire using bamboo sticks, and smoked bees from the tops of tall trees. Then they planted rice to musical accompaniment, showed how rice was cleaned, and demonstrated hunting techniques. They completed each day with a reenactment of a commemoration for the dead. Every Saturday they made tattoos—the signs by which they showed “their record of lives taken” on their “transparent copper-brown skins.”⁴⁸ Gate receipts were good.

The Visayan Village

The Visayan village with its ornate bamboo dwellings was located on the southern arm of Arrowhead Lake (fig. 7.5). The Visayans numbered ninety-eight individuals, selected to symbolize Christian Natives. “Visayan” was ac-

tually an ethnolinguistic designation used to refer to any Roman Catholics. Those in St. Louis were probably Cebuano cultivators and fisherman from the densely populated mountains in the Bisaya Island group. They were characterized as serene, even-tempered, industrious, and polite people who wore modest, white cotton clothing. They lived in fifteen houses around a theater and a Catholic Church surrounded by a bamboo fence. Scattered around the compound were agricultural implements, carts, and two water buffalos.

One of the village’s main attractions was a fifteen-member orchestra that played two concerts a day, specializing in light Spanish airs, interspersed with lively performances by a troupe of singers and dancers. Each performance ended with “The Star Spangled Banner,” which the Visayans sang in English, while two small children ran onstage and waved the American and exposition flags. “The performance invariably ‘brings down the house’ with American enthusiasm.” Actors presented a repertoire of skits hourly from 2:00 p.m. until closing. A special attraction was two Visayan midgets, boxer Juan de la Cruz and his sister Mirtina, aged twenty-nine and thirty-one, respectively. They were well-educated residents of Panay and spoke three dialects, Spanish, and some English.⁴⁹

Popular as these productions were, what attracted many visitors was the Visayans’ productivity. “The Visayans sit in the open, lower story of their houses carrying on their industries. . . . If an American visitor asks a question the answer is given readily and courteously but the eyes are seldom raised from their work. In the evenings the young fellows bring out the guitars. The girls sing. The Visayan are home people.” One reporter was very taken with the women and tried to make their attire understandable to his female readers, describing it as traditional yet modern. On the opening day,

*Feminine Visayans had on their party dresses and every coiffure was in the latest American style, which has been the Visayan style since Adam—I mean since Eve. . . . Visayan female loveliness is something like the Japanese, petite and winsome, and there are some pretty girls in the Visayan village. . . . The young ladies spoke no English and the visitors spoke no Spanish but not withstanding this trifling drawback, the conversation never flagged on either side. It was greatly pieced out with smiles. The Filipino young women made an unmistakable hit with their American visitors.*⁵⁰

These were the encounters McGee had wanted, where one half of the world met and appreciated the other, turning stereotypes into cultural understanding.

The crowds kept coming to buy and watch the fabrics being produced. The Visayans were experts in weaving, woodcarving, and fiber braiding. Skilled families had been chosen to ensure that all art forms would be demonstrated. The women wove, "sitting on the ground with feet braced, slowly and laboriously turning out the jusi [*sic*] cloth an inch or two at a sitting." Several men and women combed long strands of pineapple fiber, while others produced mats, manila hats, and canes. In addition, a house on stilts was constructed. As with other Native participants, life progressed for the Visayans during the fair. Three babies were born and there was at least one wedding in the Catholic Chapel that was not open to visitors, but was recorded by a fair historian as an exotic event. "In true Visayan custom the bride fainted at just the proper moment at the conclusion of the ceremony, fell into her husband's arms and was carried away to the new home, the guests applauding."⁵¹

Trying to See That One Last Tribe

The Philippine Reservation attracted millions of visitors curious about the U.S. government's new wards and anxious to see the changes wrought by six years of colonial administration. Gate receipts ranged from three thousand to five thousand dollars daily, an astonishing figure given that people paid twenty-five or fifty cents apiece. The Reservation was successful, described repeatedly as the "most remarkable display of people ever shown at an exposition," much to Jenks's and McGee's satisfaction. More people visited the Filipinos than they did the Pike, the industrial pavilions, or the LPEC Anthropology Department. Many people concluded it showed them "the condition of the savage tribes; the most advanced civilization; what the United States has accomplished during its rule of the archipelago; and the nature of the Philippine problem in all its phases."⁵² It was certainly how the colonized half of the world lived, at least as envisioned by evolutionary ethnologists. Jenks had done his job well and McGee was pleased with how it complemented his exhibits.

But not everyone was pleased. There was some disappointment when people finally encountered one "other tribe" from the Philippines, the ethnologists. In mid-May the *St. Louis Republic* ran the following story.

She was fashionably dressed and had gone to the Philippine reservation to see all the wild and weird people. She met Capt. George S. Clark, the purchasing agent of the Philippine exposition, and impressed him into service as lexicographer and guide. He, gallant man, nothing loath, proceeded to tell her all that he knew, and some things he had not before suspected himself of knowing.

"What different tribes are represented here now?" the woman asked.

"Oh, there are the Igorrotes, the Moros, the Negritos, and . . ."

"Yes, I have seen all of them and how interesting they are! But, don't you know, I haven't seen the Ethnologists yet. I have heard so much about them that I am real eager to see them. Where are they?"

At that moment Albert Ernest Jenks, chief of the ethnological survey, came into sight.

"There's one now," exclaimed Clark. "That's the chief."

The woman was visibly disappointed, for Prof. Jenks is quite a good-looking white man, who wears eyeglasses and clothes and is, as he seems, quite incapable of doing anything very shocking.

"Is he a real Ethnologist?" asked the woman, doubtfully.

"As real as they make 'em," said Capt. Clark.

"He looks tame."

"Yes, but you should see him with his war paint on, beating the tom-tom."

"Are ethnologists a numerous tribe?"

"I should say so. The woods are full of them."

"How interesting," she answered as she walked away.⁵³

Maybe McGee, strolling and lecturing in the Anthropology Villages across Arrowhead Lake, would have been more to her liking.