DISCOVERING AUSTRALASIA

Essays on Philippine-Australian Interactions

edited by

Reynaldo C. Ileto & Rodney Sullivan

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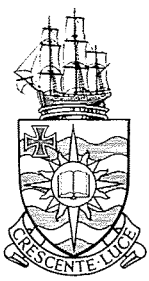

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FOREWORD

Philippine-Australian relations today are anchored on a broad range of interests that underlie the increasing cooperation between the two countries in the bilateral, regional and international contexts. The bilateral relationship encompasses political and defence cooperation, trade and investment, development collaboration and cultural exchanges. In 1974, Australia became the first country to establish a formal dialogue with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which the Philippines is a member. Likewise, the Philippines and Australia are active members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

The Philippines and Australia cooperate closely on important regional and international issues including environmental concerns, the Cambodian peace process, the Indochinese refugee problem, and the control of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. In international economic fora, the Philippines and Australia espouse common positions as members of the Cairns Group of Agricultural Traders, particularly in the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations.

However, the vigour of Philippine-Australian relations has yet to be matched by a more robust interest in Philippine Studies in Australia. This situation is attributed to a number of factors, including the ironic fact that the very harmony characterising Philippine-Australian bilateral relations has resulted in lesser interest by the media and the public, as compared to the attention focused intensely on the difficulties faced by some other of Australia's bilateral relationships in the region.

With this awareness on our part, we especially welcome this book, *Discovering Australasia: Essays on Philippine-Australian Interactions*, edited by Dr Reynaldo Ileto and Dr Rodney Sullivan of James Cook University of North Queensland. The book provides historical perspective and depth on the steady development of Philippine-Australian bilateral relations, including significant contemporary issues which still need to be addressed fully. For while it was only fairly recently that Australia officially identified and asserted itself as an Asia-Pacific country, the book attests to the early engagements between Australia and the Philippines far longer than is widely known.

The bonds between the Philippines and Australia transcend mere geographical considerations. Significantly, the two countries share common democratic ideals and traditions, linked by cultural ties as neighbouring Asia-Pacific countries. As this book affirms, the commonality of interests and goals between the Philippines and Australia as well as the region as a whole constitute the vision and foundation of a successful partnership.

Before us today is the challenge to inspire and generate greater interest in Philippine-Australian Studies as we witness the healthy growth of our bilateral relationship at all levels. It is a challenge which necessitates reciprocal efforts from both the Philippines and Australia to mutually achieve the goals of joint cooperation. In acknowledging the value of this book as a major step towards this direction, I convey my sincere appreciation and congratulations to all those involved in this most worthy endeavour.

Canberra, 29 October 1992

Rora Navarro-Tolentino
Philippine Ambassador to Australia

PREFACE

I am honoured to have been invited by Reynaldo Ileto and Rodney Sullivan to provide a preface to their keenly awaited book on Philippine/Australian relations. As the second largest ASEAN country in population terms and second most close to Australia, the largest English speaking country in the region (including Australia), the largest Christian country east of the Bosphorus, a bigger market for Australian manufactured exports than either China, India or France and a major source of Australian immigration in recent times, the Philippines deserves much closer attention by all sectors in Australia. Likewise it is clearly in both countries' interests for the Philippines to take a closer interest in Australia. I commend the editors for having compiled this extremely interesting set of papers which provide a valuable basis for further developing the relationship.

Since arriving here on posting in 1989 I have never ceased to ponder why the relationship between two countries in such close proximity and with so many common bonds has been so under-developed. In all of this I must confess to having been inspired considerably by Rodney Sullivan's excellent paper "What Might a History of Australian-Philippine Relations Be?" which he delivered at the University of the Northern Territory in October 1990 to see how our Embassy might lend its support to the dedicated efforts of Rodney and Reynaldo and their associates in Australia to unravel some of the previously unwritten history of the relationship.

As the scholarly contributions in this book demonstrate so forcefully the history of this relationship, more than most, has been one of "what if's". One of the early "what if's" occurred as far back as 1606 when Torres, the intrepid Spanish explorer en route to Manila, charted his way through the narrow stretch of water dividing Australia from Papua New Guinea which now bears his name. His records were considered so politically sensitive that they were consigned to the depths of Manila's archives until they were unearthed some 150 years later by the invading British. Coincidentally this was just before Captain Cook "discovered" the strait himself - seemingly without the advantage of the old Spanish charts.

Since then there have been repeated occasions when with a slight change of direction the relationship between our two countries could have been a good deal different than it is today. For one, Aguinaldo's appointment of a representative in Australia, albeit based in Thursday

Island, was the first such official Asian presence in Australia and could have been the harbinger of closer relations.

Again who can postulate what might have happened if General MacArthur had not prevailed and excluded at the 11th hour the substantial Australian military contingent committed to the Leyte landing - and had them diverted to Borneo, leaving their support vessels off Leyte.

But that is history and what the contributions in this book do is to provide a long overdue basis for reviewing the relationship and setting it on a course for the future - at a time where there are welcome signs of a growing maturity in Australian perceptions of and interests in the Asia/Pacific area and especially in South East Asia and similar signs in the other direction. The successful Philippine Studies Conference at the Australian National University earlier this year not only brought together the widening band of Philippinists around the world but it also brought home to Australians, academic and others, the importance of the multiplicity of topics it covered for longer term Australian interests in this dynamic region.

It would be remiss in a commentary such as this not to register the increasingly significant role being played in this relationship by the growing body of Australians of Philippine origin. In recent years their contribution to the bonds between our two countries has been remarkable. It has provided not only the advantages of cross-cultural development so crucial to Australia's future but also a valuable system of networks through which commercial links between our two countries are proliferating.

I commend this publication not only to the growing band of academics in each country dedicated to studying the other but to the wider audience of all those in the Philippines and Australia who are committed to closer and more productive relations generally within the region -whether they be in commerce, public service, the media or the wider public.

Manila, 30 October 1992

Mack Williams
Australian Ambassador to the Philippines

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The proposal to compile this book was first put forward during the 4th International Philippine Studies Conference in early July 1992. Being favourably received, it would in the normal course have been canvassed among Australian and Australian-based Philippinists during the remaining months of 1992. If all had progressed without a hitch, the editors would have been looking to issue invitations to the chosen contributors in the New Year: perhaps as early as Australia Day (26 January) 1993. We found ourselves committed to a very different timetable by taking up the exciting offer of John Milne to arrange the launching of the published book in Manila on that very day.

In consequence contributors were confronted with a deadline both tight and immoveable, one that coincided closely with the peak teaching demands of the academic calendar by which most of them are bound. Having met the deadline with admirable fidelity, some had to respond to editorial queries and comments that may sometimes have seemed peremptory. We hope that they have made allowances for the pressures upon the Editors - one in Japan, one in Townsville, both tied to the inexorable demands of the academic year - and have realised that the point at which the contributors' labours ceased was that at which those of the Editors - both of them contributors as well - really began. All, we hope, will share with us a sense of satisfaction in joint endeavour and worthwhile achievement.

We are profoundly grateful to all contributors for their co-operation and forbearance; to the Ambassadors of the Philippines in Canberra, and of Australia in Manila, for their warm encouragement and for their eloquent and informed introductory messages in this book: to the in-house-editor Brian Dalton; to our Head of Department, Kett Kennedy for his leadership; to the printer who cheerfully accepted a short turnaround period which includes what would usually be a seasonal shutdown; and especially to the Departmental Office staff whose unruffled efficiency was never seen to better advantage or under greater pressure. We also wish to record our appreciation for assistance received from the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, from James Griffin, Gary Highland, Viviana Keegan, John Milne and Hank Nelson.

R.C.I., Kyoto : 30 November 1992 : R.J.S., Townsville

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Sources: 1, *Pugh's Almanac*; 2-4, the Zarcal family; 5, Ray Mitchell; 6&7, Pacita Alexander; 8-10, Lory & Joyce Gamboa; 12-15, *The Age*, Melbourne.

INTRODUCTION

Reynaldo Ileto & Rodney Sullivan

We began investigating the history of Philippine-Australian interactions in the late 1980s. One of our tasks was to convince first ourselves, then some of our more sceptical colleagues, that Filipinos and the Philippines did have a place in Australian history, that we were engaged neither on a fruitless quest nor on an attempt to manufacture or inflate a strand of our past merely to serve present needs. We are now able to report that Filipinos and the Philippines are an important if hitherto neglected part of Australia's past. At the same time Australians and Australia have a place in Philippine history: the interactions go both ways. In the late nineteenth century Charles Robinson, perhaps the first Australian-Filipino, settled in Manila and married locally. In his turbulent scrapes with authority he resembles some at least of his Filipino counterparts in Northern Australia like Maximo Gomez and Sibio. We have yet to encounter an Australian of that era who achieved in the Philippines the solid business success of Heriberto Zarcal in northern Australia. Australia was important to General Emilio Aguinaldo in the 1890s and in Filipino plans for a new order in the Asian-Pacific region after World War Two. While those plans were frustrated we are in no doubt that the future will bring the Philippines and Australia much closer together.

It is not clear when Australian-Philippine interactions begin. When Torres sailed through the Straits which now bear his name in 1606 he proceeded to Manila where the account of his voyage was suppressed, apparently to keep knowledge of the Straits' existence from Spain's imperial rivals in the Pacific. His voyage did not become public knowledge until the British occupied Manila and discovered Torres' account in "an official pigeon hole" where it had lain for more than 150 years.[1] There is the possibility too that sea nomads from what is now the Philippines touched Australian soil before or after European settlement in the manner of the Macassans whose story Campbell

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[1] John Douglas, *Past and Present of Thursday Island and Torres Strait*, Outridge Printing Co., Brisbane, 1900, p.6.

Macknight has so well told.[2] There are reports of Dutch sailors taking Australian Aborigines to Manila in Spanish times.[3] The earliest Australian account of the Philippines that we have been able to locate is F. Campbell's *A Diary of the Grumblings of an Invalid on a Cruise from Sydney to Manila in Search of the Rosy Goddess* written in 1854.[4]

The more we can illuminate the Philippine-Australian strand of our two peoples' pasts the more we will know of our common heritage, the more we will know of each other, and the more we will know of ourselves. Knowledge of Australia's Philippine heritage will challenge the dominant paradigm in Australia's international relations: the tense juxtaposition of history, understood as a European, often specifically British heritage, and Asian-Pacific geography.[5]

This contradiction between Australian history and geography was always more apparent then real. The Eurocentric Australian history deemed alien in the Asia-Pacific was narrowly exclusive of important groups. In the eighteenth century the overwhelming majority of people on the Australian continent and its off-shore islands were black - Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. As Henry Reynolds has pointed out there was never, and could never be, a White Australia north of the Tropic of Capricorn[6] - indeed in some regions of Northern Australia to this day caucasians are the minority. Asian immigrants including Filipinos have long been part of Northern Australia. There are a not inconsiderable number of families in Northern Australia today who count Filipinos among their forbears. These have now been joined by a new wave of Filipino immigrants whose character and, in large

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2 Charles Campbell Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan trepangers in Northern Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton Vic., 1976.

3 Peter Ross, "Spaniards in Australia", *The Australian Encyclopedia*, Vol.7, 5th edn, Australian Geographic Society, Terrey Hills, 1988, p.2686.

4 F. Campbell, *A Diary of the Grumblings of an Invalid on a cruise from Sydney to Manila in Search of the Rosy Goddess* Empire General Steam Printing Office, Sydney, 1855.

5 According to an influential text on Australia's international relations: "... the major patterns in Australian foreign policy have been determined by a broadly-held perception of geo-political vulnerability and a deeply entrenched feeling of being a dependent part of an English-speaking or Western community and by the interaction between these two basic conditions of national life". Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985, p.26.

6 *Race Relations in North Queensland*, ed. Henry Reynolds, James Cook University, Townsville, 1978: Introduction.

measure, positive experience have not always been well represented by the Australian media. In challenging some myths about recent migration to Australia from the Philippines Richard T. Jackson has shown that since 1961 at every Australian census - taken at five year intervals - the number of Filipinos enumerated in Australia has doubled. It is likely that by now the number of Australian residents born in the Philippines has risen to 75 000.

The incorporation of Filipinos and the Philippines into Australian history will show that, contrary to some reports, migration to Australia from the Philippines is not a new or even post-World War Two phenomenon. Northern Australia was one of the destinations of the post-1872 Filipino diaspora and Filipinos helped pioneer the pearl shell and other maritime industries. By the turn of the century there were substantial Filipino communities dotted around Northern Australia with particular concentrations at the pearlshelling centres of Broome in Western Australia, Darwin in the Northern Territory and Thursday Island off Northern Queensland. While their absolute numbers appear modest they were comparatively large in the sparsely populated North. Moreover the Filipinos were distinguished from other Asian settlers - at least on Thursday Island - by the presence of their families, their desire to integrate into the local community, their acceptance by most European community leaders, and the frequency with which they sought to take out citizenship. Prominent among the Filipinos on Thursday Island was Heriberto Zarcal, who was both emissary of Philippine nationalism and successful Australian businessman.

Zarcal is the only prominent Filipino in Australian history before Lory Gamboa enters the scene in the 1940s some half century later. With his craft and business skills, relative wealth, political connections, indeed his "big man" status on Thursday Island Zarcal stands apart from his more anonymous compatriots in Northern Australia. He represented his era, a sign, perhaps unintelligible to Australians of his day, of enlightenment ideas and national assertion in Asia, a sign of the future. That the government of General Emilio Aguinaldo located its Australian representative in far Northern Queensland should occasion no surprise. This was then one of the most Asian, and Filipino, regions of Australia. For similar reasons in 1896 Townsville became host to the first and, at the time, only Japanese Consulate in Australia. Further, in the 1890s both Thursday Island and Townsville were major ports of call on the Torres Strait route linking Australia and Asia. The late nineteenth and early twentieth

century Filipino communities in Northern Australia await the detailed historical research necessary before they can join and widen the stream of both Australian and Philippine history. In the latter case a ready framework for incorporation is the increasing attention being paid to the contribution of overseas workers and expatriates, both past and present.

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 offered no prospect of rendering Northern Australia White. It is clear too that at least some Filipinos continued to arrive in Australia. Anne Tapp's research into Filipino boxers in Australia in the inter-war period has shown that sport provided a nexus between Australia and the Philippines during decades when, conventional wisdom would have it, there was little traffic between the two, with trade the possible exception. Indeed boxing links a number of subjects in this book. Heriberto Zarcal's adopted nephew Manuel, who lived for a time in Australia, was an amateur boxer and his sons were renowned for their ability in the Manila ring. Both Lory Gamboa, and his fellow countryman and best man Rush Milling, found ready employment in Australia for the boxing skills they had developed in the Philippines.

While the recent upturn in Philippine-Australian trade is to be welcomed it should not obscure the long history of economic exchange[7] between the two countries. Indeed nineteenth century Australians were in the main drawn to the Philippines to open up markets and service trade. The importing of Australian horses into the Philippines was a topical issue when the Englishman John Bowring was there in the late 1850s and even then the suitability of the Australian product for the Asian market was under serious question.[8] Cattle were shipped to the Philippines from Port Darwin in the early 1890s but according to the *Northern Territory Times* the trade was stifled by a

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[7] Australian contributions to the Philippine economy spanning more than a century are considerable and await detailed research. For example Alfred W. McCoy has sketched the effects of the 1980s introduction into the Philippines of the Queensland system of sugar production. Alfred W. McCoy, "Rural Philippines: Technological Change in the Sugar Industry" in R.J. May and Francisco Nemenzo (eds) *The Philippines After Marcos*, Croom Helm, London, 1985, pp.175-93.

[8] John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, Filipiniana Book Guild Inc., Manila, 1863, p.12.

Spanish tariff of thirty shillings on imported cattle.[9] There were energetic and reciprocal efforts to establish direct trade links in 1894-5, though their effectiveness was limited by a fossilised Spanish bureaucracy and revolutionary chaos after 1896.

Australian access to the Philippine market improved after American occupation of the country in 1898. By December of that year several shipments of cattle had been sent to Manila from Sydney[10] and soon after a Manila-based American businessman had called into Darwin "to gather some information as to the prospect of opening a live cattle trade between the Territory and the Philippines".[11]

Trade between Australia and the Philippines thrived in the early years of this century and provides a case-study of successful Australian-Asian trade. It also suggests that some recent calls for Australians to put aside old habits and acquire Asian-trade skills lack historical perspective. Queensland and New South Wales had trade commissioners operating in Asia in the first decade of the twentieth century. Thus Queensland Trade Commissioner Frederic Jones was in Manila in October 1905 promising that "Australian goods would soon be ... on the Philippine market in much greater quantity than in the past" and that Australia "could hold the meat trade against all-corners and ... would soon place manufactured goods in the Philippines".[12] This was not all idle boasting. In 1907 Australia was the fifth largest exporter to the Philippines after the United States, Britain, China and Spain, having advanced from its status of eighth largest exporter in 1905. It dominated the fresh meat trade, and sold large quantities of vegetables, fruit and flour. The *Manila Times* attributed Australia's impressive trade performance in the archipelago to its exceptional marketing skill.

> Why, it may be asked, is Australia forging thus rapidly ahead as compared with other countries. The answer which naturally suggests itself, and which we believe contains the chief reason, is that Australia has shown interest in the Philippines field through trade commissioners who have visited the islands and studied their trade needs at first hand. With the exception of China, which recently sent

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9 *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 4 November 1899. It is possible too that currency fluctuations interrupted the trade. See Ross Duncan, *The Northern Territory Pastoral Industry*, Melbourne, 1967, p. 93.

10 *Ibid.*, 16 December 1898.

11 *Ibid.*, 27 January 1899.

12 *Manila Times*, 26 October 1905.

> a trade commissioner here, we know of no other country other than Australia which has adopted this means of ascertaining what trade opportunities the Philippines present, and studying the situation for the national benefit.[13]

Paul Battersby has taken this further and shown how as early as 1905 Frederic Jones was urging Queenslanders and Australians to pursue an independent trade policy in Asia and in the Philippines in particular. He recognised that such a policy challenged the powerful temptation, to which most Australians succumbed then and perhaps some few still do, to view Australia as an outpost or even instrument of Anglo-American civilisation in the Asia-Pacific region. Having worked for Queensland in Asian markets Jones concluded in 1905 that when it came to Asian trade Britain and the United States were far more likely to be Australia's rivals than her allies.

It is ironic that just as Australian-Philippine trade flourished in the early twentieth century the interactions between the two countries were sharply curtailed. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was in part an attempt by the newly federated Commonwealth of Australia to interdict on a national level the drift of Asians, including Filipinos, to its ports. At the same time the Philippines found itself embraced within an exclusive bilateral relationship with the United States. One can assume that many of the Filipinos who would, in the normal course of events, have come to Northern Australia headed instead to the United States, a pattern which persisted to recent times. When Filipino leaders tried to break out of the exclusivity of the American clasp in the late 1940s they looked to Australia for preliminary diversification only to discover the unwelcome mat of White Australia still in place.

Too often perhaps Australians, despite in some cases first hand experience, have drawn their images of the Philippines from British or American configurations of the "East". Battersby has provided two examples from the 1920s, a Burns Philp and Company publication designed to lure tourists to the Philippines and Thomas J. McMahon's travelogue, *The Orient I Found.* The image of the Philippines and of Filipinos in both sources is largely of American manufacture.

Working from a feminist perspective Elizabeth Holt has investigated the process by which Manila Americans in the first

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[13] *Ibid.*, 10 December 1907.

decade of this century construed a certain image of the Filipina out of dramatic real-life materials: a failed marriage, an illicit love affair, a murder, a trial and attendant scandal. What is disconcerting is the durability of this image over time and space and its relevance to some present day attempts by the Australian media to package for public consumption Filipinas unfortunate enough, or unconventional enough, to attract the reproving attention of editors, journalists, photographers and cartoonists.

T. Inglis Moore an Australian who taught at the University of the Philippines in the late 1920s developed an appreciation of the Philippines and of Filipinos which he brought back with him to a long and distinguished academic and public career in Australia. His novel *The Half Way Sun*[14] was the first by an Australian to have a Philippine setting. It is fitting that his daughter Pacita Alexander and James Cook University academic Elizabeth Perkins are now ready to publish portions of their research into his life and work. Their investigations already show that Inglis Moore was in important ways a pioneer of the Philippine-Australian bilateral relationship and of Australian attempts to interpret for themselves the Philippines in its own terms. If Zarcal represents the face of late nineteenth century Philippine nationalism in Australia Inglis Moore is clearly an Australian representative in the Philippines of the subsequent era of early twentieth century "tutelage", even if his enduring sympathies and friendships were with his Filipino students.

Another Australian pioneer whose connection with the Philippines dates from the inter-war years was the Redemptorist priest Father Leo English. Born in Melbourne, Victoria, in 1907 Leo English worked as a clerk in the Victorian railways before profession as a Redemptorist in 1930. He was ordained at Ballarat in 1935 and in the following year at twenty-nine years of age was posted to the Philippines where he helped found an Australian Redemptorist community in Lipa in the province of Batangas. Father English is still in the Philippines living quietly in Manila in the Baclaran House of the Redemptorists. Interned at Los Banos by the Japanese authorities during World War Two he began his twenty-year work on an important *English-Tagalog Dictionary*[15] which was eventually published through combined efforts

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[14] T. Inglis Moore, *The Half Way Sun*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1935.

[15] Leo James English, *English-Tagalog Dictionary*, Department of Education, Republic of the Philippines, Manila, 1965.

of Australians and Filipinos in 1965. Father English returned briefly to Australia after World War Two internment but found that his real home was the Philippines. Having lived there for so many years, come to know and love its people and languages, Father English is one Australian, content, when it is God's will, to bequeath his body to Philippine soil.

The religious connection between Australia and the Philippines is a substantial one even down to recent times as the Philippine career of Father Brian Gore who cared for the plight of Negros sugar workers makes plain.[16] The connection is at least as old as this century for Redemptorists from Australia began work on Opon on the island of Mactan off Cebu in 1906. Their congregation is now indigenous to the Philippines and has produced at least one Filipino Bishop and its own leaders, some of whom have studied and worked with the Redemptorist Fathers in Australia.[17] There are doubtlessly many other religious linkages between the Philippines and Australia awaiting the attention of historians in both countries.

The history of Philippine-Australian relations since World War Two is to some extent an account of missed opportunities. In matters of defence and strategy this is borne out by the work of Queenie David-Balaba. She has shown some parallelism in Australian and Philippine defence policies since 1945 and points to excellent prospects for much closer defence cooperation despite a series of missed opportunities. Perhaps the great missed opportunity for the full development of the Philippine-Australian bilateral relationship came immediately after World War Two in the late 1940s. Had the opportunity for regional partnership offered to Australia in the late 1940s by Elpidio Quirino and other Philippine leaders been accepted, it is possible Australians today would have been much more securely inside an Asian-Pacific political community rather than tentative outsiders endlessly debating whether or not they constitute part of Asia, or whether their attempts at integration might be subject to veto by this or that Asian state. That Australians baulked at Quirino's offer was due in no small measure to their intellectual and emotional unreadiness for participation as an independent player in Asian-Pacific politics. The

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[16] Alfred W. McCoy, *Priests on Trial*, Ringwood, Victoria, 1984.

[17] Fr. M. Branagan, C Ss. R. Interviewed by Rodney Sullivan at Townsville, 18 September 1992. See also S. J. Boland, *The Redemptorists in Luzon*, The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Melbourne, 1982.

Gamboa case commemorates this failure. It is noteworthy that it was elite decision-makers who failed; the Australian people and influential sections of its press emerged with credit, an outcome which happily registered in Manila.[18]

It is our good fortune that almost a half century after the Gamboa case Philippine-Australia ties are again quickening, bolstered by the recent growth in size of Australia's Filipino community. The Philippines and Filipinos now as in the late 1940s, perhaps too as in the 1890s, offer Australians a bridge from what Raul Pertierra describes as an "excessive displaced Europeanness" to a truer sense of their spatial, and increasingly, cultural location in the Asia-Pacific region. To some extent post colonial Filipinos are on a similar mission, having also to negotiate their own, perhaps less severe, "sense of displaced Europeanness". One senses already that Australian historiography is undergoing a northwards tilt, as has occurred with trade and defence policies in recent times. Similarly welcome is the expansion of Philippine studies in Australia and increased contacts between Filipino and Australian academics outlined by Mark Turner, though history cautions against complacency on this or any other aspect of the bilateral relationship.

Australia's place in Philippine historiography must surely expand given the growing significance of countries other than Spain and the United States in the rewriting of postcolonial, post-US bases Philippine history. At the same time Australian history must incorporate more fully its Asian, and Filipino past. Philippine-Australian relations do have historical depth. Australians have been in the Philippines and Filipinos part of Australian society for well over a century. Thursday Island might be more relevant to Australia's future than Sydney Cove as history and geography converge in a twenty-first century Australasia.

This book is no more than a beginning, an attempt to open up the Philippine-Australian connection for the research attention it so assuredly deserves. If it succeeds in demonstrating that Australian-Philippine relations constitute a worthwhile field for future scholarly endeavour by both Filipinos and Australians we will be content.

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[18] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 1950.

II
PHILIPPINE-AUSTRALIAN INTERACTIONS
The Late Nineteenth Century

Reynaldo C. Ileto

Australia's proximity to the Philippines on the map leads us to wonder sometimes why there has to be such a void separating the two nations and peoples. Historically, of course, it is clear that the lines were drawn by Spain and Britain. The Philippines was defined by the claims of the Spanish church and crown; Australia was a collection of colonies attached to the British crown. Filipinos looked to Manila and thence to Madrid as their centres; Queenslanders looked to Brisbane and thence to London. Policies like Australia's Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 further deepened the void between the two. Historically, however, it is also clear that individuals have a way of stumbling across lines and upsetting boundaries. In the second half of the nineteenth century some Australians made Manila their home; they had drifted in as sailors, businessmen, tourists and entertainers. There weren't many of them; after all, in 1899 Manila and its suburbs had only 300 white foreigners other than Spanish in a population of 300,000.[1] Far more Filipinos, hundreds of them in fact, went in the other direction to work as pearl divers and seamen in the northern parts of Australia. This essay is an exploration into the nature and background of such "drifts" of people, and of the personalities of the few who managed to enter the historical record.[2]

Australians in the Philippines

The earliest significant records on Australian connections with the Philippines date from the mid-nineteenth century, a period

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1 These are Dean Worcester's estimates made in 1899. In 1896 the population of the Province of Manila (the Walled City and the 28 municipalities) reached 340,000, of which only .15% were non-Spanish foreigners. See Gregorio Zaide, *Manila during the Revolutionary Period*, Manila: National Historical Commission, 1973, pp. 8-9.

2 I am deeply indebted to my colleague Rod Sullivan for the initial conceptualisation of this topic and for his archival spadework on the activities of Filipinos in northern Australia. The present essay owes much to Sullivan's lecture, "What might a history of Australian-Philippine relations be?", presented to the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Territory University, on 19 October 1990.

characterised by the Spanish colony's opening up to world commerce and foreign investment. In a big way, Australia was an importer of Philippine sugar, coffee, abaca-fiber rope, cigars and hats. By 1847 it was the second largest market for Philippine coffee and the primary destination for Philippine sugar.[3] The reverse flow of trade, however, was less impressive owing to Spanish protectionist measures. In the 1850s, foreign vessels bringing inward cargo to Manila had to pay heavier port charges than if they were coming without it, and such goods attracted a large differential duty. So even though the import trade of Manila was almost entirely in the hands of British merchants, for competitive reasons imports from England or Australia were normally transhipped from Hongkong on Spanish vessels, which were neither plentiful nor reliable.[4] Despite the resulting imbalances, the Philippines was inextricably linked to Australia via Hongkong. From the British vessels calling on Manila's port disembarked the first sojourners from Australia.

Sometime in mid-1852 the *Victor* arrived in Manila with "an English woman, native of Sydney" as passenger. The vessel was sold at the port of Manila, and after the Master owner and crew had left, the woman presented herself to the British consul, J.W. Farren, claiming to be in a state of destitution. Having received some temporary relief from charity funds, the woman was able to establish herself in Manila for a while. Then an earthquake hit the city, levelling the house in which she was staying and casting her into dire straits once more. The consul thereupon ordered her to be provided for at the expense of the Queen's government until passage to Australia could be arranged.

A crisis ensued when arrangements were being made for her to board a British ship, the *Ann Lockerby,* bound for Sydney. The Captain complained to the consulate that "the woman's conduct with English sailors had been very depraved and that he felt great repugnance at taking her." There was nowhere on board where she could be placed without morally endangering the captain, crew and passengers. After Farren had indefatigably appealed to his patriotism and pity for "a woman and countrywoman under such circumstances," the Captain finally agreed to find some spot for her on board "where she would not

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[3] See Paul Battersby, Chapter III in this volume.

[4] Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines*, Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967, p.142-45. On the importation of Australian horses see John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, London, 1859, p.12.

be exposed to the inclemency of the weather." However, as the woman was being brought to the ship by the Port Captain, she was again refused admittance. The port authorities then withheld the vessel's clearance until the matter was resolved.[5]

So it turns out that the first Australian revealed to us by the Spanish records was an illegal entrant - a nameless and unwelcome woman. The qualifications for Philippine residence, as far as Farren knew, were "pecuniary resources, scientific or useful attainments which are guarantees of one's utility to the country and respectable means of livelihood".[6] This Sydney woman, he pointed out, was definitely not the sort of person the governor-general would allow to stay. And true enough, the latter decreed that she was to be transported without any more delay to Sydney aboard the *Ann Lockerby,* "without permission ever to return to these islands."[7] Adding to her "degraded" status was the fact that she lived in the dwelling of an "indian," unlike most other Australian arrivals who lodged in Spanish-European establishments or the Hotel Oriente.[8] Nevertheless, this plucky Australian appeared to be holding her own until a massive earthquake struck. We can guess that she was earning a living as an entertainer and prostitute in the numerous sailors' boarding houses and bars in the district called the "Murallon" (ie., *Muelle de la Industria*) just outside the Walled City. Such must have been her reputation for the Captain of the *Ann Lockerby* to have stubbornly barred her from boarding his ship.

The British consul was usually responsible for retrieving drunken sailors from local jails and putting them back aboard ship. The sailors' fines were paid through some sort of arrangement between the British community, sea captains and the local police.[9] No wonder sex and

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5 J.W. Farren, Consul of England, to the Governor General, Manila, 12 October 1852, in "Oficio del Consul de Ynglaterra. . .," *Consulados Estados* RCI-14, Philippine National Archives (henceforth, PNA). I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Rose Mendoza in the National Archives.

6 J.W. Farren, British Consul, to Spanish Governor-General, Manila, 14 February 1855, *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles, etc., 1861-98* RCI-15, PNA. This was said in connection with a petition by John Cummerford.

7 Decision (in Spanish) appended to Consul J.W. Farren's letter, 12 October 1852, *Consulados Estados* RCI-14, PNA.

8 Farren to Governor-General, 11 October 1852. *Indio* ("Indian") was a term rather derisively applied by the Spaniards to the native population.

9 See Morton Netzorg's annotations to MacMicking, p.36.

drink engaged in by sailors were considered by the authorities and shipping interests to be "more perilous than advantageous" to the industry, to cite consul Farren. For precisely this reason Farren, three years later, refused to endorse the residency application of another sojourner from Australia, a sailor named James Cummerford temporarily residing in the premises of a liquor shop. The consul figured out that Cummerford was being groomed as an agent for drawing the crews of British and U.S. vessels to a certain boarding and drinking house owned by his European landlord and sponsor.[10]

Charles William Andrews was a different sort of visitor, for whom Manila offered certain pleasures in life. "A gentlemen of very respectable family in England," he had gone to Australia at the suggestion of the Undersecretary of State for the Colonies - a mate of his - with a view to obtaining a government position. However, a change of ministry and "the overflow of emigration" foiled his expectations, casting him into the boring role of editor of a government journal. That was until a performer - presumably a musician - from Manila named Lou Ben Alle came to Australia on a concert tour and invited Andrews to accompany him back to the Philippines "to assist him in his pursuits." What he did in Mr Ben Alle's company is a bit of a mystery since "from a consideration of his family [he] assumed the name of Cooke while in these relations." When such "relations" were terminated Andrews resumed his former name and "proposed to dedicate himself to portrait painting" until he should return to England. The Spanish government allowed him to stay an initial eighteen months under the guarantee of a prominent European resident, Don José Bosch.[11]

A prostitute, sailor-barman, and genteel portrait painter do not add up to a very significant "Australian" presence in Manila of the 1850s. Nevertheless, there are resonances with the present, specially if we think of the Australians who quite visibly inhabit the bars and clubs of Ermita today. Hopefully, more archival discoveries will broaden this rather skewed picture somewhat and reveal the likes of other Australians resident in the Philippines. There is every reason to

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[10] James Cummerford to Governor-General (in Spanish), 6 February 1855, *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles, etc. 1861-98* RCI-15, PNA. Irish-born Cummerford's request for permission to stay for two years was denied; see decision appended to above, dated 27 March.

[11] J.W. Farren to Governor-General, Manila, 20 August 1855, *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles, 1850-1860* RCI-8, PNA.

believe that Australians came in the 1860s and 1870s.[12] For commercial and shipping links continued through the century, with the Philippines increasingly becoming a net importer of Australian materials. Steamships were crucial to Spanish commercial and naval interests from the 1860s, and coal from Australia henceforth topped the imports list. In 1885, for example, Australian coal fuelled the naval cutters patrolling the critical coastline of Mindanao and the merchant vessels which plied the Rio Grande ("Great River") at the heart of Muslim Maguindanao territory.[13] A closer examination of the coal trade might reveal some personalities associated with it. Tourism, as well, in the 1870s and thereafter apparently brought Australians to Philippine shores.[14]

There is one explanation for the paucity of data concerning the pre-1890's decades: the indirect nature of the Australia-Philippine trade links. As late as February 1891 the Spanish consul in Sydney was complaining to Manila of the "roundabout way" in which annual shipments of a "very large quantity of cigars" from the Philippines reached Australia, increasing the costs of transit. "I am particularly anxious," he wrote, "to see a direct trade develop between the Philippine Islands and Australia, instead of via Hong Kong."[15] To this end, he informed Manila that Mssrs. Burns Philp and Co. of Sydney were sending a fast steamer from Newcastle *direct* to Manila laden with coal and a trial shipment of ten head of cattle. Moreover, Burns Philp and Co. were to follow this up, in a month's time, with a direct shipment of cattle from Queensland.[16]

This desire for intensified and more direct trade links was shared by the wider Australian business community. In early 1895

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[12] The Spanish Records Section of the PNA contains many still-unopened bundles of documents. Most of the holdings are, in any case, still uncatalogued, and there is every chance that more bundles of residency applications lie buried somewhere. On the other hand, floods, earthquakes and acts of war have taken their toll on the documents.

[13] Luis Valledor, Contaduria General de Hacienda de Filipinas, to Governor-General, 18 December 1885, *Vapores 1884, 1875-96* RCI-12, PNA.

[14] See Paul Battersby , Chapter III in this volume.

[15] W.V.D. Heyde, Spanish Consul, to Sr. Intendente General de Hacienda in Manila (in Spanish), Sydney, 3 February 1891, *Consulados Estados* 9, PNA.

[16] *Ibid.* The consul was seeking help from the chief Spanish administrator of finance so that the Australian shipment would pass through customs without delay. There were many complaints of corruption and inefficiency at the Manila customs house.

Melbournian E. Jerome Dyer was dispatched to Manila "on behalf of merchants, producers and manufacturers, with a view of developing trade between those Islands and this Colony." No less than the Victorian premier himself wrote Dyer's letter of introduction. Dyer was to bring with him "a representative assortment of products" of Victoria as a present to the Spanish governor general.[17] Dyer arrived in March 1895, and promptly applied for registration as a resident alien - evidence of the serious nature of his project.[18] It may be that these initiatives were connected with the Philippine Regional Exposition inaugurated by Governor-General Ramon Blanco on 23 January. The Exposition attracted a huge number of foreigners. An Australian visitor would have been delighted to find that "interesting catalogues of the purpose of the exhibition and its exhibits were issued in both Spanish and English."[19] It is significant that one of the directors of the Exposition, the German entrepreneur and Manila resident, Don Max Tornow, was sent to Melbourne "with the same objectives as Don E. Jerome Dyer and in the spirit of just reciprocity."[20]

The climate of enhanced trade relations between Australia and the Philippines in the 1890s probably explains the upsurge in Australian applications for Philippine residency before the chaotic years that followed the Katipunan rebellion of 1896. Francis Read applied in February 1890, his guarantors being the foreign merchants Warner Blodgett and Company.[21] Edward John Dumaresq, a miner by trade, applied for registration in May 1895.[22] Sydney-born James Alexander

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17 Premier of Victoria to the Spanish Governor-General, 15 November 1894, in "Expediente promovido por el Presidente del Consejo de Ministros del Gobierno de la Victoria Australia. . ." (num.59), 1895, *Consulados Estados* 6, PNA.

18 E. Jerome Dyer to Governor General (in Spanish), March 1895, *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles*, PNA. Dyer identified himself as a native of Melbourne, 29 years of age, and a Roman Catholic.

19 Joseph Earl Stevens, *Yesterdays in the Philippines*, 1900, pp. 182-83.

20 Governor-General to Emilio de Perera (in Spanish), Manila, 23 April 1985, in "Expediente promovido por este Gobierno General al Sor. Consul General de España en Sidney (Australia) . . .," *Consulados Estados* 6, PNA. Tornow was a principal owner of the Casa German y Compaña.

21 Don Francisco Read to Governor-General (in Spanish), *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles, 1889-1892*, PNA. Read actually signed himself "Francisco" rather than "Francis," indicating a degree of accommodation to Spanish.

22 Edward John Dumaresq, to Governor-General (in Spanish), *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles*, PNA. Dumar was a Roman Catholic.

Thomson, appointed Director in Chief of the cable station at Cape Bolinao, with his family sought alien registration in January 1896.[23] David Edward McConnell, also of Sydney, presented his application papers in April 1895.[24] Like most of the other Australian applicants above, McConnell was a Roman Catholic. He listed himself as "married" without registering his wife, which suggests that he may have married locally. Unfortunately, at the present stage of our research not much else can be said about McConnell and the others. However, there is one Australian whose colourful and controversial career in the Philippines can be traced over a period of at least seventeen years: Charles Willdrige Robinson.

It was in 1880 that Australian-born Robinson, 26 years of age, first registered at the British Consulate.[25] It was also in that year, just two days after Christmas, that the *Guardia Civil Veterana* (the constabulary force stationed in Manila) hauled him off to jail for drunkenness and misdemeanour. Robinson lived in the Binondo commercial district outside the Walled City. The police and the local judge got to know him pretty well, for nearly every year he was brought to court for some offence or other. In mid-1881 he caused another commotion and wounded an Austrian with a knife. In November 1882 he was detained for being "in a complete state of intoxication"; a month later an American accused him of trampling over and damaging some property. Several times he caused a big commotion at the Sala Ari Inn and had to be detained by the Binondo judge. Once he was brought to court for refusing to pay for use of a hire-carriage. In September 1891 he was knifed by a fellow British

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[23] James Alexander Thomson to Governor-General (in Spanish), Manila, 27 January 1896, *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles, 1896-98*, PNA. Thomson is rather unique among the early Australian residents in that he was a Protestant. His wife, Adela, hailed from Nelson, New Zealand.

[24] David Saward McConnell to Governor-General (in Spanish), Manila, 26 April 1895, *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles*, PNA.

[25] William Stigand, British Consul, to El Sr. Marques de Peña Plata, Governor General of the Philippine Islands (in Spanish), Manila, 3 January 1895, *Consulados Estados*, PNA. All papers pertaining to Robinson are in an uncatalogued bundle provisionally labelled "RCI-10." Henceforth, this shall be referred to as the "Robinson file, PNA."

subject. To top it all, he managed to deceive the scribes in the local police office into thinking that he was a North American subject![26]

Robinson had good reason to try to cover up his identity in the mid-1880s. There was an underside to his activities as stevedore and diver operating off the Binondo wharf. In October 1885 the British Consul received from the Captain of the Port of Manila a damning report on Robinson's "very turbulent career." He was accused of committing irregularities, fraud, and grave offences of a "piratical nature." Once, having gained possession of an unlicensed schooner, the *Breeze*, Robinson secured permission from the Port Captain to embark on a brief pleasure trip. However, he remained at sea for six weeks without permit or licence, during which time he cruised around the islands of Paragua (Palawan) and Calamianes, the old haunts of the Balanguingui slave raiders. He even allegedly pillaged a shipwrecked vessel west of Paragua. The Port Captain further accused him of having armed his Filipino deckhands with revolvers, and of having secretly removed a deported native woman from Puerto Princesa, Paragua's main settlement.[27]

Whether Robinson was caught and punished for the abovementioned offences we do not know; from 1886 to 1890 the Spanish records are silent about him. After that period, however, we learn of his involvement in a series of violent disputes with members of the expatriate community which nearly led to his expulsion from the colony. In 1891 he reportedly "committed a brutal and unprovoked assault" on a Captain Landry of the vessel *Mary A. Troop*. Landry retaliated by publishing a complaint against Robinson in the Manila newspaper *El Comercio*. Apparently, Landry's "unguarded act" breached some Spanish law - presumably concerning libel - which Robinson was quick to exploit. He secured a Warrant of Arrest from the Judge of Binondo, and had Landry, then in Iloilo, sent up to Manila as a prisoner. The affair proved to be doubly messy since the *Mary A. Troop*, consigned by Mssrs. Smith Bell and Co. and fully laden

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[26] "Past cases in this district involving the North American Don Carlos Robinson" (in Spanish), Seccion de la Guardia Civil Veterana, Manila, 13 January 1895, Robinson file, PNA.

[27] Stigand to Governor-General, 3 January 1895, Robinson file, PNA.

with sugar, had to sit idle at Iloilo port while the "immense confusion and delay" was sorted out.[28]

Captain Landry was not the only person of such stature to be confronted by Robinson. In July 1894 Robinson committed "a barbarous attack" on the person of the Captain of an English merchant ship - an act which prompted the Consul to notify the British supreme commander in Hongkong that it would be "undignified" to press Robinson's services in the ships of the Royal Fleet. The advice was well taken and thus Robinson lost part of his clientele.[29]

We get a closer glimpse of Robinson's aggressive ways in a complaint by Clement Perriam of the general store *Botica Inglesa.* After Robinson had given an order for something he wanted, says Perriam, "without any provocation whatever he began to use the most vile and insulting language towards me, calling me such names as a bloody nincompoop, a son of a bitch." Perriam attempted to escape upstairs but there, in the presence of the manager, was "cowardly and violently" assaulted by Robinson who kept threatening "to squeeze the life out of me."[30]

Perriam's formal complaint had, in fact, been solicited by the British consul, William Stigand, who had had a brush with Robinson and was determined to have him deported by the governor-general. The incident involving Stigand took place on 6 October 1894 while the consul was exercising one of his functions as judge of a naval court of inquiry. In a celebrated case involving the collision in Manila Bay of a British and an American ship, Stigand exonerated the British captain from all blame. He had just announced his verdict when Robinson, "evidently to some extent under the influence of alcohol" rose to make some observations. When prevented from doing so, "he then became extremely insolent and began shouting in a very excited manner, telling me that the whole proceedings of the Court were grossly informal." In fact, Robinson went on to say that "all the Naval Courts which had been held since [Stigand] came to Manila were unjust and illegal." Told in turn that he was not sober and that his conduct was

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[28] Alex Gollan, British Consul, to Governor-General, Manila, 31 July 1891; Robinson file, PNA.

[29] Stigand to Governor-General, Manila, 3 January 1895; Robinson file, PNA.

[30] Affidavit of Clement Lloyd Perriam, Manila, 9 October 1894; Robinson file, PNA.

disgraceful, Robinson "then became still more violent and kept shouting at me while using the most vile and opprobious language."[31]

"Great indignation is roused amongst the British Residents here, Merchants and others," wrote Stigand to the governor-general,

> . . .his conduct and mode of living have been of a disorderly and violent nature which, combined with his big size and muscular strength, and with his drinking habits, have made him not just a dishonour to the British community but also an object of terror for some of its members.[32]

Pointing to the ample proof in police files of Robinson's "ruffian-like character," Stigand called for the Australian's "immediate expulsion, which will result in moral and material benefits for commerce and for the people of Manila and a great relief for the police and the local authorities."[33]

Back in the British consul's home country, such a "disorderly," "violent," and "ruffian-like" character, of Irish Catholic background, who feared neither captains nor consuls, would have been put on the next convict ship bound for Australia. Indeed, the governor-general seemed to concur with Stigand that, for the "true protection" of the harassed British subjects, Robinson ought to be "eliminated" from the Islands.[34] Yet, over two years later, he was still around; his 1896 application for renewal of his residence permit was endorsed by a more sympathetic consul. In July 1897, while the Katipunan rebellion was still smouldering in the environs of Manila, prompting many Chinese and Europeans to relocate to Hongkong, Robinson decided to stay.[35] A menace he may have been to his fellow expatriates, but what the official records omit are the nameless others - Filipinos for the most part? - who must have helped him to weather the crisis.

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[31] Stigand to Governor-General, Manila, 10 October 1894; Affidavit of Joseph Hogg, Agent and Surveyor for the Bureau Veritas Society, Manila, 10 October 1894; both in Robinson file, PNA.

[32] Stigand to Governor-General, 3 January 1895; Robinson file, PNA.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.* The British consul appears to have known the Marquis de Peña Plata personally and was taking him up on a suggestion made privately concerning Robinson's case.

[35] Robinson's 1896 and 1897 application papers are found in *Radicacion de Extrangeros - Ingles, 1896-98*, PNA.

What was it, really, that made Robinson so despicable in the eyes of his fellow British subjects? Was it simply because, under the influence of alcohol, he could not control himself verbally and physically? We get a fleeting glimpse of his side of the story in a letter of apology, which Stigand rejected:

> I was acting under the irritation of you having called me a blackguard. Since I have been working in Manila, struggling to make headway, there have always been many people too ready to cry me down, and I am on that score worn down to a very sensitive point, and thinking by your calling me such a name that you had come to believe me to be what my maligners would wish to make out, it touched me to the quick and I lost my temper, insulting you then most unjustly.[36]

Reading between the lines, it is clear that Robinson was an "Aussie battler" of sorts. Of Irish working class migrant or even, possibly, convict background, he had left Australia as a young seaman, discovered opportunities in the Philippines, and was determined to "make a go of it" in Manila's prime commercial district. And it appears that he was succeeding: in his 1897 residence application letter his name is preceded by the respectable title *Don*; he is a *comerciante* (merchant) by profession, and he has a residential address in Binondo, once described by Bowring as "the most important and most opulent pueblo of the Philippines."[37] But on the way up, he must have earned the resentment of his compatriots. Calling him a blackguard or scoundrel was one way in which his "betters" would have tried to put him in his place, and that really drew his ire.

What strikes us about Robinson's clashes with captains, merchants, and consuls is that he seemed to be upholding, albeit crudely, a sense of egalitarianism and fair-dealing which Australians tend to identify in themselves as a way of differentiating themselves from the British. The naval court affair is instructive in this regard. Robinson appears to have detected some bias or illegality in Stigand's decision, but when

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[36] Robinson to Stigand, Manila, 9 October 1894 (copy); Robinson file, PNA. In his desire to regain the good graces of the consul, Robinson rather weakly asserted that he had "merely wished to ask who would pay my expenses for the two days I was called upon to attend the court."

[37] *A Visit*, p.26. Binondo, he continues, "is the real commercial capital: two-thirds of the houses are substantially built of stone, brick and tiles. . ." Binondo was also the site of large factories manufacturing the famed "Manila cigars."

he asserted his right to speak he was told that the court was closed. When he blurted out his accusations nonetheless, he was called a drunken blackguard. That started the whole commotion. Robinson, a mere stevedore, would not be silenced by the consul and other red-faced gentlemen in the courtroom.

The merchant Perriam's complaint also suppresses something: it sounds farfetched that "entirely without provocation" did Robinson call him "a bloody nincompoop, a son of a bitch." And would a stevedore, however intoxicated, strike a ship's captain for no reason at all? The problem was not so much the vile language or the violence, but that British codes of civility, hierarchy, and authority were being transgressed. Among the reasons Stigand wanted him expelled was in order to "preserve the authority of the British Consulate," no less.[38]

The available archival records construct the person Charles Robinson through the prisms of police records, European complaints, alien registration procedures, and consular investigations. One crucial dimension is absent: Robinson as viewed by Filipinos. In the European records there is the insinuation that Robinson was a source of trouble precisely because of his relations with the "locals." When he went out to sea in his unlicensed vessel, not only was his crew made up of natives, but he trusted them enough to arm them with revolvers. Robinson's act of liberating a native woman deported to the penal colony of Puerto Princesa is even more intriguing. Was this a commissioned job, or did he feel strongly about the unjust and arbitrary Spanish judiciary system? Was this the person he eventually wed? Unfortunately, the records are silent about such details.

For the most part Robinson lived and worked in the Binondo community, where he had struck roots. Through the commotions he regularly caused, by the 1890s he would have been well acquainted with the local *Guardia Civil* detachment and, more importantly, the district judge or *juez de la primera instancia*, who in the last decades of Spanish rule would have been a native Filipino or, this being Binondo, a Chinese mestizo. Robinson's dispute with Captain Landry in mid-1891 reveals just how crucial local knowledge and connections were. Robinson knew the intricacies of Spanish law, while Landry had blundered by not seeking British consul Alex Gollan's advice initially. The latter was furious that Robinson, clearly the aggressor, "had been granted facilities by the legal Authorities of Manila for unjustly

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[38] Stigand to Governor-General, 10 October 1894; Robinson file, PNA.

detaining the said Captain."[39] Gollan felt there was something underhanded about the manner in which the arrest warrant was issued by the Judge of Binondo. But of course Robinson must have made a deal with him; that is why the warrant was even delivered into Robinson's own hands for execution "as if he were an officer of the Court."[40] Gollan, furthermore, protested at the way the warrant was enforced by the Captain of the Port of Iloilo who sent an armed force on board the *Mary A. Troop*, arrested the Captain, and sent him up to Manila as a prisoner without the intervention of any judicial authority in Iloilo - did Robinson's influence extend to the Port Captains as well?

The British consul complained that the steps taken by Robinson to have Captain Landry apprehended by the law, were in fact breaches of Spanish law. True enough, but this didn't seem to matter to Robinson. He had learned from experience that in the Spanish Philippines personal connections and a thorough knowledge of the legal and bureaucratic system could determine how the law was applied. "The jurisprudence was so voluminous, the laws so many," wrote Cayetano Arellano of the Spanish system, "it might be said that the literature ... was the burden of a hundred camels."[41] Manila in the late-nineteenth century harboured a virtual army of petty lawyers and clerks, mostly Filipinos, which could be tapped to tame the system. We can guess how Robinson managed to survive the attempt in 1894 to have him expelled from the colony.

On the whole, Robinson's story, however disjointed and lopsided in favour of his enemies, suggests that the Philippines had become his "home" in the full sense of the word. Thus, until the archives should dispute this later on, Charles W. Robinson deserves to be heralded as "the first Australian-Filipino."

Filipinos in Australia

Identifying "the first Filipino-Australian" is not as much of a problem. Heriberto Zarcal is fleetingly mentioned in Philippine history textbooks as the 1898 Revolutionary government's "diplomatic agent"

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[39] Gollan to Governor-General, 31 July 1891; Robinson file, PNA.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] "Historical Resume," in *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, Washington 1901, Appendix J; quoted in Morton Netzorg's annotations to MacMicking, p. 117.

in Australia.[42] At the turn of the century many Australians would have come across the name "H. Zarcal," but in a very different context. In the 1899 edition of *Pugh's Almanac*, which was a compendium of current information about Queensland, is an advertisement for a Thursday Island business: "H. Zarcal Jeweller and Pearl Merchant, Wholesale and Retail, Licensed Dealer and Provision Merchant." The skills on offer included: "Lapidary and Optician, Goldsmith, Watchmaker, and Pearl Cleaner."

More impressive even than the range of skills and claims advertised was the accompanying photograph of Zarcal's premises which, with its airy two storeys and its cast-iron fringed upper verandah, was not untypical of a successful turn of the century Northern Australian hotel. But where the sign *Royal Hotel* or *Commonwealth Hotel* should be, there is the Latin inscription *Noli Me Tangere* ("Touch me Not").[43] These are the words Christ used to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection, and they constitute the title of José Rizal's 1887 novel.[44] Apart from its renowned literary merits, *Noli Me Tangere* was also a political document which had a shattering effect on the Philippine society of its day because it vividly communicated the corruption of the Spanish colonial regime, and a sense of the Filipinos as a national community.[45] For this Rizal paid the price of his life on 30 December 1896. Few, if any, Australian readers of *Pugh's Almanac* would have realised this, but *Noli Me Tangere*, displayed in large script on his business premises, signified Zarcal's empathy with the martyred Rizal and all that he stood for.

Why, of all places, should tiny Thursday Island have been the home of nineteenth century Australia's most prominent Filipino? To begin with, it occupied a distinct place in the maritime routes of that time. As Max Tornow noted in 1898, passengers from Manila to Australia had "first to cross to Hongkong and then take passage from

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42 See Gregorio F. Zaide, *The Pageant of Philippine History*, vol. 2, Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1979, p. 308; Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic*, Quezon City, 1960, p. 312.

43 *Pugh's Almanac*, Brisbane: Theophalus P. Pugh, 1899, p. 108.

44 José Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, trans. León Ma Guerrero, London: Longman, 1961.

45 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983, p. 32.

there ... to the first touching place - Thursday Island, or Port Darwin."[46] Thursday Island was at the northern tip of a sparsely settled continent whose "centre of gravity" - in terms of population,

dominant culture, and institutional models - lay in its southeast quadrant. Vastly different from the South, it nurtured a tranquil, multicultural community at the turn of the century. In 1897 the Queensland Commission of Inquiry, its bias against the Japanese notwithstanding, commented with uncharacteristic lyricism on the

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[46] Max L. Tornow, "A sketch of the economic condition of the Philippines", in *A Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain*, Accompanying Papers, US Senate, 55th Congress, Doc.62, pt.2, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899, p.615. British ships avoided Manila on the voyage from Hongkong to Australia because corruption was rife at the Manila customs station, causing expensive delays; *ibid.*

striking ethnic diversity of Thursday Island's population and the low incidence of violence and crime:

> There is scarcely a corner of the earth that does not contribute its quota to the ethnological mosaic. Specimens of nearly all the European and Asiatic nationalities are in evidence... Amid all this racial diversity there is a well-maintained average of orderliness. Serious crimes of violence are rare.[47]

Understandably the multiracial North was less receptive to calls for a "White Australia" policy emanating from the Southeast. In a harsh, tropical environment which most Europeans found inhospitable, where would labour be drawn from? Thus there was pressure from employers in pearling and tropical agriculture to allow the immigration of cheap labour from the Asia-Pacific region. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, as the *Torres Straits Times* saw it, would mean ruin for the community's mainstay, the pearling industry.[48] But it was more than just a question of labour. For many whites in the North, the experience of living in a racially-mixed environment would have made nonsense of the fears being whipped up by "White Australia" enthusiasts. This might help explain why the Editor of the *Cooktown Independent* felt it necessary in 1888 to chide the local community for being insufficiently anti-Chinese.[49]

Writing in 1902 John Douglas, Government Resident on Thursday Island, anticipated present-day concerns when he observed that "this question of Asia and Australia is one of the great questions of the present and of the future for Australia." From his experience in the Torres Straits Douglas knew that Northern Australia was not and could never be an exclusively European domain; it was set on a demographically different course from Southern Australia. Douglas advocated a "white Australia" but defined it in *institutional* rather than racial terms. He maintained that Thursday Island, where Europeans constituted but one in three of the population, was nonetheless still "White Australia" because. . .

> we have the same all-pervading British law, applicable to Asian and Australian alike, the same English language, and the same forms of

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47 "Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire into the General Working of the Laws Regulating the Pearl-Shell and Bêche-De-Mer Fisheries in the Colony". (Hamilton Report) *QVP* Vol. 2, 1897, p. xxx.

48 *Torres Straits Times*, 22 June 1901.

49 *Cooktown Independent*, 9 June 1888.

> social intercourse which prevail in Southern Australia; our churches and schools are an exact counterpart on a small scale of what they are in Melbourne or in Brisbane.[50]

Heriberto Zarcal would not have disputed Douglas's views.[51] What Filipinos moving up the socio-economic scale found particularly odious about Spanish rule was that, at some point, race *did* matter and worked to block their progress. Spanish institutions in the friar-dominated colony were not what they were in liberalised Spain. Spanish law was not applicable to indio and Spaniard alike. As we shall see, Filipinos who moved or escaped to the British crown colonies of Hongkong and Singapore found the socio-political environments there quite liberating, with good prospects as well for economic gain. Quite likely, Thursday Island in the nineteenth century offered similar attractions.

Then, as now, skilled Filipino seamen and workers could be found wherever they were needed and welcome. For example, a Filipino crewmember of the Confederate raider *Alabama* which visited Cape Town, south Africa, in 1863 decided to settle there and was so successful that other Filipino seamen joined him to form a colony. Filipinos were usually the steersmen or quartermasters on American ships in the Pacific and had early colonies in New Orleans, Philadelphia and Boston.[52] It is not surprising then, that soon after pearling began at Somerset on the tip of Cape York in 1869, Filipinos were working there as "swimming divers" and, later, as dress divers.[53] They were recruited in Singapore and brought to Northern Australia by the steamers which plied the Singapore-Brisbane route.[54]

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[50] John Douglas, "Asia and Australia", *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. 52, July-December, 1902, p. 51.

[51] He may even have been a friend of the Douglas family. One of the witnesses to his will was a certain H.A.C. Douglas, Auctioneer, Thursday Island; "Last Will and Testament of H. Zarcal," 30 August 1905, copy in Zarcal Family Papers.

[52] M. Netzorg, annotations to MacMicking, pp. 31-2, note 4.

[53] "Report by his Honour Judge Dashwood, Government Resident, Palmerston on the Pearl-Shelling Industry", [Dashwood Report] *CPP*, Vol. 2, 1901-2, p. 9; J.P.S. Bach, "The Pearlshelling Industry and the 'White Australia' policy", *HSANZ* 10, 38, 1962, pp. 203-4. The diving dress with mechanised air pump allowed them to work farther from shore in deeper water.

[54] Douglas, "Asia and Australasia", pp.47-8.

Over the years their numbers grew steadily. By 1896 there were 212 Filipinos employed fishing for pearls and bêche-de-mer.[55] In March of that year there were 119 Filipinos, including six women and 58 children, resident on Thursday Island, which had displaced Somerset as the pearling centre of the Torres Straits.[56] Inexplicably, in 1901 the number had dropped to 83. However the total Filipino population in the Torres Straits at this time would have been much higher since a good proportion resided on boats. According to a 1901 survey, of the 265 Filipinos engaged in the Torres Straits pearling industry, 12 were employers or boat owners, 28 were boat masters, 51 were divers, and 174 were crewmen. All in all, they outnumbered European participants by more than two to one. The Filipinos, in turn, were outnumbered by the Japanese, 552 of whom worked in the industry at this time.[57]

There is evidence of Filipinos working in other areas of northern Australia. In the northwest, around Broome, some 320 Filipinos worked in the pearling industry in 1901.[58] In 1911, there were 60 Filipinos still resident in Darwin (when the European population was only 374). There were an additional 21 Darwin residents of mixed race with one parent from the Philippines.[59] These figures, of course, reflect only what was known to employers and colonial officials; in such a huge expanse of territory there would have been population movements that evaded documentation. What is clear is that the Filipino communities in sparsely settled North Australia late last century and early in this one were substantial in a comparative sense.

What sorts of people were the early Filipino residents of Australia? One major text on race relations in colonial Queensland has but two passing references to Filipinos, one of them a brief mention of

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55 Hamilton Report, p. xxx.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

57 Dashwood Report, Appendix o, p. 26.

58 "Report by M.S. Warton, Esquire Resident Magistrate and Sub-Collector of Customs, Broome, on the Pearl-Shelling Industry in North-West Australia" *CPP*, Vol. 2, 1902, Schedule E, p. 14. As late as 1927 the industry in this region employed 22 Filipinos; H. Colebatch (ed.) *A Story of a Hundred Years: Western Australia 1928-1929*, Perth: Fred Wm. Simpson, Government Printer, 1929 p. 170.

59 "Census Figures for Darwin" AA CRS A1, 1911/16191. In 1915, in the Northern Territory as a whole the Filipino community numbered over 80; "Report of the Administrator for the Years 1915-16 and 1916-17", *CPP*, 1917-18-19, Vol. VI, (54), p. 40. I am indebted to my colleague Russell McGregor for these Northern Territory figures.

"Manilamen" in knifing incidents on Thursday Island.[60] Criminality was, in fact, one of the very few avenues leading Filipinos into the historical record. There was for example the widely reported case of Maximo Gomez who was found guilty of the murder of William Clarke on Possession Island in the Torres Straits on Christmas Eve, 1879.[61] Or the equally tragic case of a Filipino called Sibio (Eusebio) who spent many years as a diver in the Torres Straits making sufficient money to go back to the Philippines and set himself up in business. The venture was unsuccessful. In 1899 he returned to the Torres Straits where a failed marriage added to his stress and he suffered a breakdown. In what was typically described as a case of "running amuck," he attacked a countryman with a tomahawk and then violently resisted police.[62]

The vast majority of Filipinos in the Torres Straits were law-abiding citizens valued for their skills, industry, and their readiness to settle in the local community. The Filipinos, wrote John Douglas, were probably "the most skilful of all divers."[63] Herbert Bowden, pearl fleet proprietor, auctioneer and commission agent on Thursday Island, testified in 1902 that Filipinos were "excellent seamen."[64] They were "reckoned the most venturesome and fearless and most reliable," according to the *Queenslander* in mid-1897, and consequently their earnings were considerable.[65] By the late 1880s a considerable number of Filipinos had bought their own pearling luggers. They were assets to the community, as Bowden wrote in December 1889: "... they are good residents, circulate their money on the Island, and materially assist in

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60 R. Evans, K. Saunders, and K. Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Co., 1975, pp.355, 357.

61 *Brisbane Courier*, 21 June 1880. I am indebted to my colleague Dr Paul Turnbull for supplying me with details of the Gomez case.

62 Although no one was killed the incident was presented as though the phenomenon of going berserk was unknown among Europeans: "Manila Man Runs Amuck!, A Tomahawk and a Corkscrew, Three Police and Manila Man Wounded"; *Torres Straits Pilot*, 27 January 1900.

63 Report of J.W. Douglas, "Asiatic Aliens in Torres Straits", 13 July 1895, *QSA*, PRE/102 letter 8767 of 1895.

64 *Dashwood Report*, p. 53. However, he preferred Japanese because they were "fatalists, and will dive in deep water and take all sorts of risk."

65 *Queenslander*, 26 June 1897.

keeping up the present state of prosperity now enjoyed by all who are engaged in the Pearlshelling Industry."[66]

Percival Outridge, who had worked in the Northern pearling industry for some ten years, told the 1897 Queensland Commission of Inquiry into the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer industries that the "manilla men. . .make excellent divers and excellent citizens. They marry and settle down here."[67] Douglas observed that the Filipinos on Thursday Island were generally married and had families, and were regarded as "amongst the most settled of our Asiatic population." In fact, these married and settled "Manilamen" showed great eagerness to become naturalised citizens.[68] Such willingness and ability to integrate into the local community was a feature that distinguished Filipinos from other Asian settlers, specially the Japanese. Being for the most part Catholics helped. In 1895 Douglas described how some of the naturalised Filipinos had "married wives selected for them by the Roman Catholic Fraternity, from their own country."[69] Zarcal, for one, became happily married to Esther Emma Beach, from a Manila family of Irish-Spanish extraction.

It should be noted that for Filipinos in the late-nineteenth century, taking out British-Australian citizenship meant merely transferring affiliation from one European empire to another. The Philippines was not yet a nation-state that demanded the unswerving loyalties of its citizens. The term "Filipino," in fact, still technically applied to Spaniards in the Philippines; the people from whose ranks came the "Manilamen" were still demanding recognition as "Filipinos" in their own homeland. It is not, therefore, surprising that there was a great demand for naturalisation amongst the settled Filipinos in northern Australia. As we shall see in the case of Zarcal, British citizenship promised some protection against racial discrimination, and smoother transit between various points of the vast empire. It did not necessarily mean cutting off ties with one's place of birth and the kinsfolk left behind.

For the majority of Filipinos, going to sea and working overseas offered an opportunity to accumulate some savings which would be remitted to, or invested in, the Philippines. Eusebio, the

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66 *QSA*, ColA72 In-letter 622/1890.

67 *Hamilton Report*, p. 19

68 *Ibid.*, p.2.

69 Report of J.W. Douglas, 13 July 1895.

abovementioned diver-turned-"amuck," tried to set himself up in business with his savings, but failed. Two Filipinos working in Australia were lucky enough to win in a lottery, and straight back home they went with their prize. Candido Iban and Francisco del Castillo, however, did something unusual which earned them an honoured place in Philippine history. Upon returning to Manila in 1894 or 1895, they joined the radical Katipunan secret society and donated 400 pesos of their 1000 pesos Australian lottery prize for the purchase of a printing press. This was used to put out the Katipunan's journal *Kalayaan*, the first issue of which appeared in March 1896. They then returned to their home island of Capiz "to spread the doctrines of the Katipunan".[70] In March 1897 Candido Iban and his brother Benito were executed by the Spanish authorities and are remembered as two of the "Nineteen Martyrs of Capiz".[71]

With Iban and del Castillo we return full circle to Heriberto Zarcal. Zarcal's career exhibits just about all of the features of the early "Filipino-Australian" phenomenon that we have identified thus far: successful involvement in the pearling industry, integration into the local community, naturalisation, and continued links with events in the homeland, particularly the nationalist movement. Fortunately, enough records are available for us to reconstruct in some detail his career from 1892.

Heriberto's father, Juan de Dios Zarcal, was a tailor from Candaba, Pampanga, who married Leonora Trinidad of Santa Cruz, Manila, where they settled. Santa Cruz was a district of prosperous merchants and mechanics, many of whom were Chinese mestizos. The Zarcals themselves are said to have been of Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese and Malay stock.[72] Heriberto, the third child in the family, developed the skills of an *alojero* (jeweller). His older brother Prudencio and younger

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[70] T.A. Agoncillo and M.C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, 4th ed., Quezon City: R.P. Garcia, 1973, p. 183.

[71] E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, Vol. 1, Quezon City: Filipinana Publications, 1955, p. 229.

[72] Zarcal Family interview, Manila, 18 Dec. 1990. The main source of oral information was a grand-niece of Heriberto, Magdalena Rivera vda. de Soriano. I owe an inner debt to Dr. Isagani Medina of the Department of History, University of the Philippines, for locating Mr. Vic Zarcal Torres, a journalist and history buff, who then introduced us to the elders of the Zarcal clan. I am deeply grateful for their generosity in sharing old photographs and correspondence relating to Heriberto and his nephew Manuel.

brother Wenceslao were *plateros* (silversmiths) by trade.[73] The artisan environment of Santa Cruz and the Zarcal family's involvement in jewellery crafting help to explain how Heriberto became drawn to the pearling industry in northern Australia. No wonder his Thursday Island establishment could boast of offering the "Highest Price for Pearls, Mother-of-Pearl shell, Tortoise Shell and Bêche de Mer." His stock of diamonds, pearls, opals and other gems was claimed to be "the largest in Australia" and his shop could set them "to any design and with the most artistic workmanship."[74]

Zarcal: the young nationalist

Zarcal arrived on Thursday Island in May 1892.[75] The circumstances of his leaving Manila are not revealed to us. There is a lacuna of information about him from 1892 until 1897, when he surfaces as a big man, indeed. He is mentioned as one of only five men on the Island licensed to deal in pearls.[76] Moreover, he had just acquired his own fleet of pearling vessels.[77] And around this time he was establishing himself, as well, in the capital cities of Brisbane

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73 "Genealogia de la familia Zarcal," ms., nd., Zarcal Family papers.

74 *Pugh's Almanac*, 1899, p.108. Zarcal is said to have exploited the fact that Australians were not conscious of the true value of pearl shells; Zarcal family interview.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

76 *Torres Straits Pilot*, 19 June 1897.

77 *Ibid.*, 25 September 1897.

and Melbourne.[78] He was assisted by a nephew and adopted son, Manuel Anastacio, who served as treasurer of the pearling business and apparently did some schooling in Melbourne.[79] By January 1898 Zarcal would be expanding his pearling operations to the Northern Territory.[80]

In May 1897, Zarcal became a naturalised British subject, taking the Oath of Allegiance before the Supreme Court of Queensland in Brisbane.[81] From the heated discussions that took place in the pages of the local newspaper during the months following Zarcal's naturalisation, we get some idea of the scale of his success in business after five years of residence on Thursday Island, and why becoming a British subject was a natural recourse for him.

A European Thursday Islander, calling himself "Torres Straits for the Whites," wrote to the Editor of the *Torres Straits Pilot* complaining about Zarcal as "a naturalised Manilla man ... reported to be importing several luggers and a schooner to work on the pearling grounds". The success of Zarcal and other Asians was deemed "to exceed reasonable limits." The angry writer summed up his frustration with the question "Shall we suffer the men who ought to be our servants to become our masters?"[82]

The abovementioned letter attracted a response from James Clark, one of the most successful European pearlers in Northern Australia and a leading campaigner against the acquisition of pearling licences by Japanese.[83] Clark had earlier protested to the 1897 Queensland Commission of Inquiry that, Queensland being a British colony, "the profits should belong to the white men instead of the Japanese." Clearly, he was in favour of Japanese labour in the pearling industry

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78 *Torres Straits Pilot*, 16 April 1898. The Pilot was actually citing a write-up in a late March 1898 issue of the Hongkong journal *Overland China Mail.*

79 Zarcal Family interview. The family's claim that Manuel was educated in Melbourne is plausible since his uncle owned an establishment in that city. Manuel eventually returned to Manila to become a highly-successful lawyer. The family of Manuel Anastacio Zarcal is featured in Salvador Avendanio, "The Zarcals: boxing's brain and brawn clan," *Sports Weekly Magazine*, Manila. The copy provided me by the family is, unfortunately, undated.

80 *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 27 January 1899.

81 *QSA*, SCJ/CF27.

82 *Torres Straits Pilot*, 18 September 1897.

83 See Patricia Mercer, "Clark, James (1857-1993)" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 8: 1891-1939, Melbourne University Press, 1981, pp.9-10.

but objected to them becoming boat-owners and therefore competitors: "By all means, pay them a fair wage for their labour, but let them remain labourers and not owners".[84] In responding to "Torres Straits for the Whites" Clark widened his anti-Japanese campaign to include Zarcal. He was particularly incensed by Zarcal's newly-won citizenship, which enabled him to operate a pearling fleet regardless of prohibitions on aliens. Clark appeared to regard "whiteness" as a pre-requisite of citizenship, and the naturalisation process as an unwelcome source of Asian competitors:

> Naturalisation is a farce, and all naturalisation papers of Asiatics should be cancelled. Take Mr Zarcal's case for example. He gets naturalised here, but will anyone take him for an Englishman in Manilla, where anyway his Australian naturalisation does not give him the protection of a Britisher? Therefore he is a Manillaman in Manilla and an Australian here. If Mr Zarcal wishes to carry on his business of pearl buyer and sheller let him go back to his own country; he can get both pearls and shell there; we want ours for our own people.[85]

To this tirade Clark added a jibe concerning the origin of Zarcal's newly acquired fleet: "he shows his sympathy for the whites by getting his boats from Hong Kong."[86]

Clark's attack did not pass unchallenged. Robert Cremer, who spoke for European labour on Thursday Island, accused him of hypocrisy since he happily employed Asian labour while campaigning to exclude Asians from boat-ownership.[87] Clark's credibility suffered further when it emerged that he had sponsored Zarcal in his application for citizenship. Moreover Zarcal had rebuffed an overture from Clark to join "a combination of pearl buyers" in the interests of price maintenance.[88]

Zarcal survived the racist diatribe. By 1897 he was too well established to be displaced from a major role in the Torres Straits pearling industry. Besides, he had roots in the community. He was married to a white woman, and had close ties with the Catholic

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[84] *Hamilton Report*, p. 32.

[85] *Torres Straits Pilot*, 25 September 1897.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Torres Straits Pilot*, 9 October 1897.

[88] *Ibid*, 30 October 1897.

missionaries on the Island.[89] In any case, he had the foresight to adopt British citizenship before restrictive legislation against non-whites in the pearling industry set in. A sharp increase in Japanese participation in the Torres Straits industry in 1896, and their rapid ascent from diving to boat ownership, was interpreted as "the threatened submergence of whites by Japanese."[90] Since Japan could not be singled out for differentially harsh treatment, the Act regulating the pearl shell and bêche-de-mer industries was amended in 1898 "to confine the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer industry of the colony to British owners. . ."[91]

Adopting British citizenship was a wise move in more ways than one. Clearly, it provided protection against the spectre of a "White Australia." But, also, it would have facilitated Zarcal's travel to and business dealings in British Hongkong, and provided some personal security for a task he had embarked upon by 1897: to materially support the Philippine revolutionary forces. While Zarcal was in Hongkong that year to look after the construction of his pearling vessels, he was in close contact with the Central Junta of the Philippine Revolutionary Government based there. Around October, under instructions from Hongkong, he organised an Australian Committee in support of the nationalist cause.[92]

Zarcal's involvement in the revolution should be viewed in the context of a Filipino diaspora after 1872. The execution, in February of that year, of three Filipino priests for alleged complicity in a mutiny of native troops was accompanied by deportations of Filipinos suspected of involvement in the affair. In the years that followed more Filipinos were deported for student activities, while many others left the repressive atmosphere of Manila to seek higher education in Europe. These Filipinos eventually grouped together to organise a reform movement based in Hongkong, Singapore, London, Paris, Barcelona, Madrid, and other cities.

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89 He was very close to the missionary Rev. Father Ferdinand Hartzer; Esther E. Zarcal to Manuel Zarcal, Thursday Island, 9 January 1920, Zarcal Family Papers.

90 *Hamilton report*, pp. xxx, xxxv.

91 *QPD*, Vol. lxxx, 1898, p. 1620.

92 Mariano Ponce to D.M. Español, D.M. Reyes and D.F. Consunji (in Spanish), Hongkong, 22 October 1897, in Mariano Ponce, *Cartas Sobre la Revolución*, Manila, 1936, pp.57-8.

Manila itself became the centre of a movement calling itself *La Propaganda*. On 1 March 1888, Manila witnessed a massive demonstration of reformists who marched through the streets to the residence of the civil governor of Manila Province, José Centeno, a Spaniard of liberal and anti-friar sentiments. Centeno was handed a petition addressed to the governor-general titled "Long Live Spain! Long Live the Queen! Long Live the Army! Away with the Friars!" It demanded the expulsion of all friars and the secularisation of all parishes. In the wake of the demonstration, many prominent Filipinos in Manila and its suburbs were arrested and jailed. Among them was Doroteo José, the *gobernadorcillo* ("petty governor," mayor) of Santa Cruz, Zarcal's home district. Although the detainees were released owing to lack of evidence, they suffered persistent harassment afterwards. Many fled the country.[93]

For most of those who left the Philippines, British Hongkong was the favoured destination. Since the 1870s Hongkong had been a haven for exiles. For example, the reformists Antonio Maria Regidor and Joaquin Pardo de Tavera escaped from the Marianas and found their way to Hongkong, eventually moving on to Europe. José Maria Basa, a Manila reformist businessman exiled to Guam, escaped to Hongkong, where he was joined by his family. Persecutions in the 1890s of freemasons and suspected members of the reformist movement *La Liga Filipina* further swelled the ranks of the Filipino expatriate community in Hongkong. This made inevitable its crucial supportive role in the 1896 revolution and thereafter. In December 1896 the Hongkong Filipinos organised a Revolutionary Committee in support of the cause. Basa, now a successful Hongkong businessman, became the first president of the Committee in deference to his age, seniority, and security of residence.[94] It is tempting to speculate that Zarcal, also a businessman and supporter of the reformist cause, with strong Hongkong connections, was led to Thursday Island by similar circumstances. In any case, he would become Basa's counterpart in the British colony of Queensland.

Hongkong was the logical choice as the centre of nationalist activities abroad. It was close to the Philippines. Even by slow steamer, it took at most two and a half days for a heavily-laden ship to

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[93] See Zaide, *Manila during the Revolutionary Period*, pp. 33-42.

[94] Esteban A. de Ocampo, *First Filipino Diplomat*, Manila: National Historical Institute, 1970, p.70.

make the journey. Hongkong became the conduit for the Revolutionary government's communications with the rest of the world. Its political climate was, furthermore, congenial. According to Galicano Apacible, who chaired the Hongkong Committee and Junta from 1899 to 1903, political refugees from many countries residing in the colony were protected by the same English laws and "English spirit of equity." We can appreciate the value of Zarcal's British passport in the light of Apacible's glowing observations:

> In our conflicts with some agents of the American secret service the British Government helped and protected us promptly, its official declaring that so long as we complied with the laws of the colony and did not violate the avowed neutrality of England in that conflict (ie., the Spanish-American War), we could rest assured that we would receive protection of the British Government.[95]

The Revolutionary Committee was able to send to the revolutionists food, clothing and medicine donated by Filipino residents in the colony. What the revolutionists needed above all, however, were war materials. Hongkong was the place to contact other foreign agents and close deals for the purchase of guns and ammunition. In late 1897 the Central Junta, successor to the Revolutionary Committee, was successful in smuggling arms into the Philippines with the help of the American consul.[96]

Hongkong was the nerve-centre of a worldwide network of support Committees which, by late 1897, included one in Australia. In October 1897 Mariano Ponce, a veteran Hongkong exile who would become Aguinaldo's emissary to Japan, wrote to a group of Filipinos in Australia reminding them that "the same causes" had led them to emigrate all over the world. Physical distance, however, was "not enough to separate our hearts, united by common sympathies." Now was the time "to collect all our energies, to convert them into one common force." Alluding to the victories of the Spanish forces and General Aguinaldo's consequent retreat to the hills of Biak-na-bato, Ponce emphasised that "the setbacks of the fatherland oblige all Filipinos with dignity to become part of this movement." Ponce sought to mobilise the sizeable Filipino community in Australia, to link it with others into "one common force." Thus he announced that a branch

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[95] Encarnación Alzona, *Galicano Apacible: Profile of a Filipino Patriot*, Manila, 1971, pp. 62-3.

[96] Alzona, *ibid.*; De Ocampo, pp. 71-2.

Committee of the Hongkong Central Junta was being organised there under the leadership of Zarcal.[97]

Meanwhile, events were moving quickly in the Philippines. In early December 1897 formal hostilities between Spanish and Filipino forces ended with the signing of the "Pact of Biak na bato." Aguinaldo and other top military commanders then went into exile in Hongkong bringing with them some 200,000 American dollars given by Spain. This they intended to spend on guns and preparations for a resumption of the struggle. Zarcal, a frequent visitor to Hongkong, must have been among the many expatriate nationalists who consulted with Aguinaldo. An issue of the Hongkong journal *Overland China Mail* which appeared in late March 1898, reported that Zarcal had commissioned the construction of three pearling schooners and named them the *Aguinaldo*, the *Llanera*, and the *Natividad* - in honour of three Filipino generals who had won victories against Spanish forces.[98] This must have been a well-publicised event because the Spanish governor-general in the Philippines, Fernando Primo de Rivera, took offence at the names of Zarcal's boats and protested to Aguinaldo that they be changed to honour Iberian pioneers of Spanish settlement in the Philippines: Magallanes, Legaspi and Salcedo.[99]

Zarcal's new boats may have been intended for more than just pearling and propaganda service. After the U.S. Navy's destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila bay in May 1898, Aguinaldo quickly returned to the Philippines to liberate the provinces from Spanish rule. On 12 June he was able to proclaim Philippine independence and, on the 23rd, to establish a Revolutionary government. Despite a vague alliance with the U.S., however, the revolutionists still lacked the physical resources with which to completely overcome Spanish resistance. Urgent requests for help were sent to Filipinos overseas.

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97 Ponce to D.M. Español, etc., 22 October 1897.

98 Mariano Llanera accompanied Aguinaldo to his Hong Kong exile. Mamerto Natividad was killed in action in November 1897. It is tempting to speculate that some of the funds paid by the Spanish government to Aguinaldo and his fellow exiles, may have been used to finance the boat-building.

99 Magallanes was Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese who sailed for the Spanish court and in 1521 "discovered" the Philippines for Spain. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi led an expedition to the Philippines in 1564-5 and proclaimed Spanish sovereignty there. Juan de Salcedo, Legaspi's grandson, played a leading part in the Spanish conquest of Luzon, 1571-1572. The report in the *Overland China Mail* was reprinted in the *Torres Straits Pilot*, 16 April 1898.

On 7 July, Aguinaldo wrote to two Filipinos of substance whom he personally knew - Pedro Roxas in Paris and Zarcal somewhere in Australia - asking for "some modern cannon and rifles with their corresponding ammunition, in quantities which your resources will allow."[100] He assured them that this assistance would constitute a legal debt which the government would repay through an internal loan that was being floated, with occupied friar lands as guarantee. What is intriguing about Aguinaldo's request is that Zarcal or Roxas were to mount an expedition to land the supplies on the coast of Batangas.[101] Was Zarcal expected to use his new boats for this? A month later, a rather disappointed Aguinaldo instructed his chief envoy, Felipe Agoncillo, to tell Roxas and Zarcal "that if they can't help with weapons I asked in my initial letter to them, they could at least send ammunition for Mauser and Remington rifles, if they have a heart (*kun sila'y may loób*)."[102] No evidence has been unearthed thus far indicating that Zarcal even tried to smuggle arms or ammunition to the Philippines. In any case, by early 1899 such shipments would have become "almost impossible, on account of the strict vigilance of American agents at Hongkong and Chinese and Philippine ports."[103]

Aguinaldo's letter of 9 July also contained an invitation for Roxas and Zarcal to act as representatives or "correspondents" of the revolutionary government in their respective countries. The two must have acquiesced, for on 10 August, Aguinaldo established the Revolutionary Committee which included representatives in Paris (Pedro Roxas and Juan Luna), London (Antonio Regidor and Sixto Lopez), the U.S.A. (Felipe Agoncillo), Japan (Mariano Ponce and Faustino Lichauco), and Australia (Heriberto Zarcal). This was an elite group of men of education and means.[104] Their task was to "take care of Propaganda activities outside the country," to engage in "diplomatic

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100 Emilio Aguinaldo, "Letter sent to Sres Zarcal and Roxas" (in Spanish), Bakood, 9 July 1898, *Philippine Insurgent Records* (henceforth, PIR), Box FA-2 "Correspondencia," pp.6-7, Philippine National Library (henceforth, PNL)

101 *Ibid.*

102 Emilio Aguinaldo to Felipe Agoncillo (in Tagalog), Bakood, 7 August 1898, in PIR Box FA-2 tagalog, PNL. The Mausers and Remingtons had been captured from Spanish *Guardia Civil* and Infantry units.

103 Alzona, p. 66.

104 Between 1910 and 1916 Faustino Lichauco, dubbed the "Cattle King of Manila," did business in live cattle with the Western Australian pastoral firm of Conner, Doherty and Durack; see Mary Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, London, 1983.

negotiations with foreign governments," and to "prepare and contract all kinds of necessary expeditions for the maintenance of the Revolution."[105]

What transpired in the months and years after the establishment of the fledgling Filipino government is a tragic story of Asian nationalist aspirations floundering in a hostile, imperialist, world order. Foreign recognition was nowhere to be gained; the highly educated and articulate Agoncillo, for example, was consistently rebuffed in Washington. On 10 December 1898 Spanish and American commissioners signed the Treaty of Paris handing over the Philippines to the U.S. - ignoring the Filipinos both as a belligerent (they bore the brunt of the fighting) and as an ally of the U.S. against Spain.[106] As soon as the treaty was ratified two months later, hostilities between Filipino and American troops broke out. The Philippine-American war was to last until May 1902.

Bearing in mind the difficulties faced by his compatriots elsewhere, how did Zarcal fare in Australia? In October 1898 the nationalist legislator Maximo Paterno sent him a bundle of newspapers and other documents presumably to assist him in propagating the cause.[107] But the phrase *Noli Me Tangere* displayed on his business establishment, and the revolutionary connotations of his ships' names, are the only visible evidence of his efforts.[108] Such symbolic acts may not even have been taken seriously. The *Torres Strait Pilot* scoffed at the implications of the naming of his boats, observing that "doubtless Mr Zarcal will be amused at the naive insinuation that he is in active sympathy with the insurgents."[109] Zarcal would have had to be extremely discreet in championing the Filipino side in the war with the United States. The predominant sentiment in Australia was that a Philippines run by brown natives would either be chaotic or, if successful, threatening to a sparsely-populated Australia; in either case, Philippine independence

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105 Emilio Aguinaldo, Establishment of "El Comite Revolucionario," (document in Spanish), Bakood, 10 August 1898, PIR FA-2 "Correspondencia," pp.20-22, PNL. See also J.R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, Vol. 3, Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971, p. 197.

106 See De Ocampo, p.92.

107 Invoice no. 14 in *Marina* 1898-99, B-105, PNA.

108 A metropolitan newspaper apparently contained an advertisement in support of the Philippine revolutionary government, but this has not been confirmed.

109 *Torres Straits Pilot*, 16 April 1898.

would bring instability to a region dominated by European powers.[110] There was thus no hesitation in Australian acquiescence to a U.S. takeover of the islands.[111] We have only one piece of evidence concerning Australian involvement in the Filipino side of the conflict. In February 1899, an American army surgeon with the expeditionary force in southern Luzon made the following observation:

> In practically every convento we found the card of a Dr Burke from Australia who was selling arms and ammunition. He kept just ahead of us, but as the pace was rather rapid, I do not believe that he had time to consummate such business.[112]

While surely he must have contributed generously to the revolutionary coffers, Zarcal appears to have thoroughly failed to gather Australian support for, or at least recognition of, Philippine independence. But, after all, did not Ponce emphasise in his letter to Australia back in 1897 that there was a need to propagate the cause, "but we are not obliged to do more than what is in our power to accomplish"?[113] We might point out that there is no evidence, either, that Zarcal campaigned *against* the cause. Owing to concerns about their personal fortunes, and the attractions of the American system (compared to Spain's), nearly half of the members of the Filipino Central Committee - successor to the Hongkong Junta - had by the end of 1898 turned around to support U.S. annexation. The veteran José Maria Basa was among them. Pedro Roxas, while still contributing financially to the revolutionary government, told the Americans in Washington that Filipinos did not deserve independence, but could manage with an autonomy *like that of Australia*.[114] These sentiments did not come from Zarcal. Significantly, as late as May 1900 Aguinaldo - then leading a desperate guerrilla resistance - would be assured that Australia was one place where there continued to be a correspondent.[115]

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[110] These views were culled from reports in the Sydney *Bulletin* and the *Brisbane Courier*. Unfortunately, the detailed citations have been lost.

[111] For "Banjo" Paterson's pro-American sentiments during the war, see Paul Battersby's chapter in this volume, p.57.

[112] Wilfrid Turnbull, "Reminiscences of an Army Surgeon in Cuba and the Philippines", *Bulletin of the American Historical Association 2*, April 1974, p.42.

[113] *Ibid.*

[114] De Ocampo, p. 96. My italics.

[115] Isidoro de Santos to Emilio Aguinaldo, Hongkong, 1 May 1900, PIR SD516.6, PNL.

The more we think about it, that *Noli Me Tangere*- - "Touch me Not" - so boldly displayed at the very heart of Zarcal's business operations, could not have pointed solely to the Philippines. In Rizal's novel it clearly meant "we want Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality." Filipinos had "awakened" and were asserting themselves against a Spanish regime dominated by conservative and even racist friar elements. But to Zarcal the struggle for recognition as equals was one to be waged as well in Australia. "Oriental nations are awakening, their peoples are swarming out from their shores like ants whose nests have been trampled upon," declared Senator Staniforth Smith during the debates on the Immigration Restriction Bill.[116] Such awakening could only mean danger for a white Australia. The stakes were high, as Charles Pearson, an Oxford historian and former education minister of Victoria, put it as far back as 1894:

> We know that coloured and white labour cannot exist side by side... and we know that if national existence is sacrificed to the working of a few mines and sugar plantations, it is not the Englishman in Australia alone, but the whole civilised world, that will be the losers... We are guarding the last part of the world, in which the higher races can live and increase freely, for the higher civilisation. We are denying the yellow race nothing but what it can find in the home of its birth, or in countries like the Indian Archipelago, where the white man can never live except as an exotic.[117]

Pearson would have had some detractors in North Australia, where multiracialism as pointed out earlier was a stark reality. Nonetheless, as the *Brisbane Courier* pointed out in August 1901, "the people of Queensland have been as strongly in favour of the exclusion of alien races as the people in the Southern States. . ." And the danger to a "White Australia" came not from transient labourers like the Kanakas, but "from Asiatic races, which have *permanently settled* in the large cities of the South as well as in the country districts throughout Australia."[118]

Up in distant and tiny Thursday Island, backed by Queensland citizenship, Zarcal was fairly secure from such acrimony. But by 1902 protectionist measures were being taken to bar non-white aliens from owning pearling vessels and to prevent the issuers of divers' licences to

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[116] *Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates*, Session 1901-2, vol.6, p. 7245.

[117] *National Life and Character: A Forecast*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1894, p.17.

[118] *Brisbane Courier*, 13 August 1901. My italics.

non-whites.[119] Such moves were aimed primarily at the Japanese, who had come to dominate the industry. However, Zarcal's expansion to other areas would still have been hindered. In January 1898 he temporarily expanded his operations to the Northern Territory, securing licences from the Government Resident in Port Darwin over the protests of European boat-owners who alleged that his Queensland naturalisation had no validity in South Australia - that he was in effect a British subject in Queensland but an alien in the Northern Territory. Perhaps these protests did have an effect, for by January 1899 Zarcal's fleet had departed from Northern Territory waters.[120]

Zarcal had problems, as well, with ethnic conflicts - however sporadic - on Thursday Island. The January 1901 riot would have been particularly traumatic. In a pitched battle between some 50 Filipinos and 100 Pacific Islanders Zarcal's establishment, where the Filipinos had taken refuge, was assaulted, with the Islanders

> bombarding [the shop] with lumps of rock and in less than a couple of minutes wrecking the whole of the handsome windows and doing great damage to the stock inside. Afterwards Mr Zarcal's shop inside was seen to be strewn with broken glass, jewellery, clocks, etc and he sustains considerable loss.[121]

The violent confrontation was part of "the historic conflict between the South Sea Islanders and the Manila men," but Bishop White was at pains to emphasise that such incidents were but a solitary aberration in Thursday Island's history of racial harmony.[122] The riot certainly didn't deter Zarcal from rebuilding and even expanding his business. He added to his property, buying more houses and land on

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119 Dashwood Report, Appendixes C and D, p. 1004.

120 *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 27 January 1899. Two Thursday Island luggers that continued to fish off Port Darwin - the Daisy and the Electra-- were alleged to be "notoriously owned by a Japanese syndicate" although permitted to work on the basis that they were Zarcal's property; *ibid.*

121 *Torres Strait Pilot*, 19 January 1901.

122 White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia*, p.39.

the Island.[123] He also expanded his fleet which at its peak numbered over 20 boats.[124]

The real turning point in Zarcal's fortunes came on 30 April 1905 when a massive fire destroyed fourteen buildings on Thursday Island's main commercial block. Zarcal's "fine two-storied" building still sporting the inscription *Noli Me Tangere* was the main casualty. The "lovely home" of the Zarcals with all its furniture went up in flames as well. That night the fire victims - men, women, and children--reportedly slept out in the street clutching the precious little belongings they had left. Zarcal was said to have lost everything "but the clothes he stood up in."[125]

The insurance pay-out on the burnt-out property was barely enough to get the Zarcals back on their feet again. Zarcal had to put the bulk of his pearling fleet on the market - sixteen luggers and six cutters priced at some £4,700.[126] Most of these boats bore names associated with Philippine history, nationalism, the revolution, and Zarcal's own past; names like *Santa Cruz* (Zarcal's birthplace), *Kavite* (the heartland of the revolution) *Sikatuna* and *Lacandola* (pre-Spanish chiefs), *Magdalo* (Aguinaldo's Katipunan name), *Kalayaan* (Liberty), *Kapayapaan* (Peace), *Justicia* (Justice), *Esperanza* (Hope), *Filipino*, and *Esther* (Mrs. Zarcal). Taken together they appear to be emblems of Zarcal's memories, hopes and attachments. Gone they were with the sale of the fleet. Gone, too, was *Noli Me Tangere*, conspicuously missing in a photograph of his new building.

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123 In 1903 he bought six cottages and four blocks of land on Thursday Island for some £400; *Torres Straits Pilot*, 24 January, 29 August 1903. At the time of his death in 1916 he also owned a 200,000 acre rubber plantation; Memorandum (in Spanish) attached to Heriberto Zarcal's will, Zarcal Family Papers.

124 *Mackay Report*, p.15. Zarcal also employed Japanese divers and prosecuted those whom he detected stealing pearls; *Torres Straits Pilot*, 26 September 1903.

125 "Thursday Island's Record Fire," *Queenslander*, 20 May 1905. I am grateful to my colleague Ms Elizabeth Holt for her transcription of this account.

126 *Torres Straits Times*, 29 July, 30 September 1905. There was another reason why the sale would have made sense. By 1905 the yield of pearlshell in the Torres Straits was down to 527 tons, well under half the peak 1897 figure of 1,223 tons; Mackay report, p. xlix.

After 1905 Zarcal maintained only a handful of boats for pearling.[127] In semi-retirement, he concentrated on his Thursday Island business as pearl-buyer and jeweller, augmenting his local stock of pearls with purchases from Port Darwin and the Dutch East Indies.[128] Characteristically, perhaps, the final episode in his life was an extended journey to Europe begun in 1914. Mr. and Mrs. Zarcal are 'said to have paid homage to their monarch, the Queen of England, presenting her with a huge pearl. Prevented from returning home by the outbreak of the Great War, the Zarcals waited it out in Europe, finally renting a flat in Paris in early 1916. There, on 9 February 1917, Zarcal succumbed to a stomach ulcer. At his deathbed were his wife Esther and "an old friend from Thursday Island," the Rev. Father Ferdinand Hartzer.[129]

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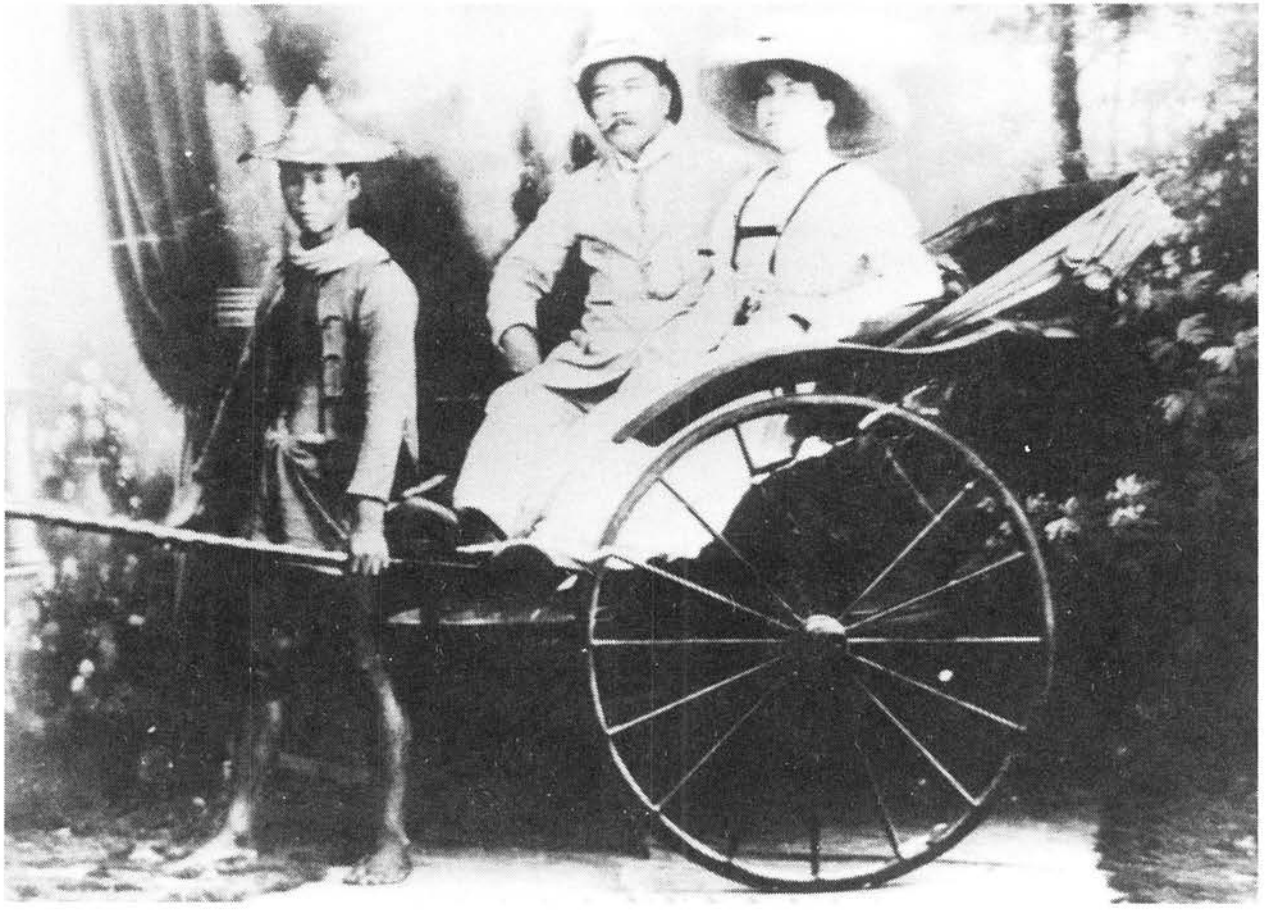
[127] At his death he still owned "boats for obtaining mother of pearl, black conch, tortoise shell and black pez (?)"; Memorandum attached to Heriberto Zarcal's will, Zarcal Family Papers.

[128] *Mackay Report*, p. 154.

[129] Manuel Zarcal to Esther E. Zarcal, Manila, 3 November 1915; Esther E. Zarcal to Manuel Zarcal, Thursday Island, 9 January 1920; both in Zarcal Family Papers. The information about the gift of a huge pearl to the Queen is from the Zarcal Family interview. Esther Zarcal did not remarry. She eventually moved to Sydney where she died in 1951.



The cosmopolitan businessman
Heriberto Zarcal and his wife Esther at Saipan I

With Heriberto Zarcal died an era of Philippine-Australian interactions. Owing to the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act, no longer would Filipinos, for a couple of decades at least, be able to filter into Australia's frontier regions in order to work or settle there. It was the relative openness of late nineteenth century Australia that had enabled Zarcal to bring the world of Rizal, Aguinaldo, and the Philippine revolution right into her doorstep. But it was a move ahead of its time, that entertained no hope of success; fear of Asian assertion was already in place at that time. Quite appropriately, by the end of 1905 all visible reminders of Philippine nationalism had disappeared from Thursday Island. Zarcal himself was to die and be buried in France, the country whose history had inspired the Filipino revolutionists.

While the Filipino presence in Australia declined precipitously after 1901, turn-of-the-century events augured well for an increased Australian presence in the Philippines. A very small group of Australians who went to the Philippines soon after the Americans landed in 1898 were described by "Banjo" Paterson as among the "poor whites of every degree and of all nations, all taking up the white man's burden and the. . . [Filipino's] property as fast as they can get it." Paterson visited Manila in October 1901 as a correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Here is his description of Manila's frenetic commercial world: "Money is being made here wholesale, and one well-known Australian, who landed here two years ago, and had to pawn his watch to avoid being turned away as a pauper, is now making a big fortune."[130] Already, even before the Philippine-American war had ended, another Charles W. Robinson was in the making.[131]

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[130] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1901.

[131] In 1906 there were 250 Australians in Manila besides others in regions including Mindanao; *Manila Times*, 21 May 1906; 6 March 1907.

III
INFLUENTIAL CIRCLES
The Philippines In Australian Trade and Tourism, 1840 to 1926

Paul Battersby

> I have always been in love with Manilla[sic] and am still. It is part and parcel of my imagination, of that idyllic history of the Spanish Conquistadors... They did their work in a fine gallant spirit, daring much and oft-times going down into the deep with unaccomplished purpose; but still they were faithful souls, lighted up with the gleam of adventurous hope. On their work we have entered; and what they in their art of daring, saw but dimly through the veil of their imperfect knowledge we have lived to see face to face.[1]

Recent public debate concerning Australian foreign policy has focused sharply upon Asia.[2] Of prime concern has been Australia's place, role and future in this region,[3] indeed whether or not Australia is really or can ever be a part of it.[4] The more atavistic have suggested Australia keep its cultural distance from an anti-democratic and corrupt, perhaps despotic, Asia.[5] Although the present debate is more pointed, given the high level of Australia's Asian trade, it is a continuation of a discussion of Australia's interests in the region which dates back over 150 years. Commercial and intellectual elites in Australia were, in the nineteenth century, only too well aware of their "proximity"[6] to Asia and the financial benefits which might flow from closer relations with what were admittedly European colonies. The Philippines loomed large in the concerns of these elites, increasingly so as steamships improved access to the region bringing Asia temporally

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1 *Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1874.

2 P. Keating, 'Australia and Asia: knowing who we are', *Backgrounder*, Volume 3, No 7, 24 April 1992, pp. 1-3, 15-16.

3 Wang Gungwu, 'Australia's Identity In Asia', *Australian Business Monthly*, October 1992, pp. 90-93.

4 G. Clark, 'Neighbours, but can we be friends?', *Australian*, 12 July 1991, p. 11.

5 J. Hyde, 'How much we owe to Britain', *Weekend Australian*, 7-8 March 1992, p. 24.

6 R. Garnaut, *Australia and the Northeast Asian Ascendancy*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1989, p. 2.

closer to Australia's northern shores. Trade with Manila played an important part in the developing economies of New South Wales and Queensland. Of equal importance was the exchange of people[7] and ideas between Australia and the Philippines which gave this relationship a "multidimensional"[8] aspect. The Philippines, like other Western colonies in Asia, became a playground for Australian travellers, both businessmen and tourists, whose impressions of the tropical environment and Filipinos reflected the influence of fashionable attitudes to nature and race. Reciprocal exchanges did much to sharpen Australian perceptions of the archipelago as a distinct location, although still popularly conceived of as part of a larger whole. Their extent suggest that Australia has a strong historical, as well as geographical, claim to being an integral part of Asia.

Proximity played a crucial role in the dramatic increase in exports from the Philippines to Australia in the mid-nineteenth century. Successful revolutions in Spanish America had deprived Manila merchants of essential captive markets, forcing a restructuring of both the composition and pattern of Philippine trade.[9] Dependence upon the transhipment of Chinese produce to the new world, the mainstay of the galleon trade, came to an end.[10] Tropical industries such as sugar, tobacco and coffee cultivation were encouraged by British and Chinese capitalists who dominated commerce in the archipelago after the collapse of the Philippine economy in 1820.[11] The decades which followed witnessed a search for new markets as both Spanish

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7 This paper does not cover the activities of Filipino employees in the north Australian pearling industry which formed an important part of this exchange. For an initial discussion see R. Sullivan, *What Might A History Of Australian-Philippine Relations Be?*, The Annual Lecture to the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Territory, Darwin, Thursday 19 October 1990, pp. 3-17.

8 Australia's Regional Security, Ministerial Statement By the Hon Gareth Evans QC, Minister fo Foreign Affairs and Trade, December, 1989, in G. Fry, *Australia's Regional Security*, Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, 1991, pp.193-208, 216.

9 B.F. Legarda y Fernandez, Foreign Trade Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the 19th Century Philippines, PhD Diss., Harvard University, 1955, p.180.

10 *Ibid*, pp.188-189.

11 D.J. Steinberg (ed.) *In Search Of Southeast Asia*, second edition, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1989, pp.163-165. The weakness of the Philippine economy was exposed with the suspension of payments for Manila goods following the Mexican Revolution of 1820.

administrators and the mercantile community sought to transform the colony into a paying concern.[12] In particular markets were targeted in the Pacific and Asia. By the 1840s between one quarter and one third of all Philippine exports were being shipped yearly to north America.[13] However, another much nearer market had been identified in the growing European populations of the Australian colonies.

Australia had by far the largest concentrations of Europeans in the Asia/Pacific region. In 1841 116,998 persons, mostly of British or Irish birth or descent, lived in New South Wales.[14] This figure increased to 187,243 in 1851[15] when the total white population of Australia stood at 437,665.[16] Indicating a strong taste for sweetened beverages a significant import trade in coffee and sugar from the Philippines had developed by the 1840s. In 1847 Australia was the second largest market for Philippine coffee and the primary destination for Philippine sugar.[17] In 1857 Australia was the primary market for both commodities, receiving 46.17 per cent of Philippine coffee exports and 22.71 per cent of Philippine exports overall.[18] New South Wales alone imported produce valued at £463,151 sterling from Manila during this year.[19] Trade figures in sterling prior to 1857 are difficult to establish[20] although it is known that in 1850 Australia received Philippine goods

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12 Legarda, Foreign Trade, pp.188-189.

13 *Ibid,* p.236.

14 R. Ward, *The Australian Legend*, second edition, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1988, p.112.

15 *Ibid.*

16 C.M.H. Clark, *A Short History Of Australia*, second edition, Penguin Books Australia, Ringwood, 1986, pp.118-119.

17 Legarda, Foreign Trade, pp.231-232. In this year Australia imported 28.17 per cent of coffee exports from the Philippines. Overall Australia received 16.79 per cent of the Philippine export trade.

18 *Ibid.*

19 'Statistics Of New South Wales From 1848 to 1857' *New South Wales Parliament Legislative Council Journals*, 2nd Parliament, 1st Session, Volume 3, 1858, Government Printer, Sydney, 1858. p.427.

20 Legarda denominates export values in Mexican dollars. In the absence of accurate exchange rate figures for this period conversion into pounds sterling has not been attempted.

totalling £195,156 sterling which included sugar, coffee, rope, cigars and hats.[21]

A significant quantity of these exports was carried to Australia aboard vessels belonging to the merchant fleet of Sydney-based entrepreneur Robert Towns whose maritime trading interests spanned the Asia-Pacific from the 1830s until his death in 1873.[22] Frank Broeze has recorded that in 1845 Towns was responsible for the shipment of 258 tons of sugar into Sydney from Manila, where he had strong business connections.[23] Despite the interest of entrepreneurs like Towns the reciprocal trade flow from Australia was marginal, suggesting a lack of complementarity in Australia's export profile; on an annual basis exports rarely exceeded 0.5 per cent of the total Philippine import market.[24] A major obstacle to increasing this market share was the punitive tariff regime imposed by the Cortes[25] to protect Spanish commercial interests in Manila.[26] It is possible that exports were sent to Manila by way of Singapore and then transhipped to Spanish vessels, although the value of this hidden trade may never be known. Commodity trading was not however the only form of interchange taking place between Australia and the Philippines.

Readers of the *Brisbane Courier* on 27 June 1874 had their minds focused, if temporarily, upon Manila and the Philippine Islands. An article which revealed a surprising depth of knowledge about Spanish colonial history was presented by a writer who, for unspecified reasons, kept his identity a secret. It was one of a series of articles about Asia contributed to the *Courier* by the enigmatic DB,[27] which appeared weekly between 16 May and 26 September 1874. They were written to encourage Australians to travel aboard steamships of the

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21 J. Bach, *A Maritime History Of Australia*, Thomas Nelson, West Melbourne, 1976, p.63.

22 F. Broeze, 'Australia, Asia And The Pacific: The Maritime World Of Robert Towns 1843-1873.' *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol.24, no.95, October, 1990, pp.222-226.

23 *Ibid.*, p.226.

24 Legarda, Foreign Trade, p.239. pp.336-347. Spanish tariff policies, although liberalised towards the end of the century, can be seen as another obstacle to Australian exports to the Philippines.

25 The Spanish Parliament in Madrid.

26 *Ibid*, pp.336-347. Despite trade liberalisation measures in the 1860s and 70s Philippine merchants still received generous protection.

27 Or DD as he signed himself from 15 August onwards.

Eastern & Australian Mail Steam Navigation Company which had begun operating a monthly mail service to Singapore and Hong Kong through the Torres Straits in January of that year.[28] Based upon the writer's travel experiences and extensive knowledge of European colonial affairs in the East and Southeast Asia, these cultural imports provided detailed image maps[29] of important places[30] beyond Australia's northern shores. DB transported his readers through Java, Singapore, Manila, Hong Kong and China uniting disparate encounters with Asia within the structure of a single voyage. The date of his visit to Manila is not clear although it appears to have followed directly a journey through Java and Singapore in 1866.[31] Significantly, Manila is included even though it was not a scheduled port of call for E & A steamers. The Philippines was thus identified not only as an excitingly different place to visit but also as an integral part of Australia's immediate geographical region.

DB was an advocate of Western imperialism, romantically portraying European conquests in Asia as the realisation of the West's historical destiny.[32] He identified closely with the aims and achievements of British, and to a lesser extent Dutch and Spanish, colonial rule, proudly recounting the British seizure of Manila in 1762.

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28 *Brisbane Courier*, 8 August 1874.

29 P.L. Pearce, *The Ulysses Factor: Evaluating Visitors In Tourist Settings*, Springer-Verlag, New York, 1988, pp.161-175. An image map is a construction of a geographical location to which is attached spatial and cultural data. Along with the coordinates of a location image maps provide historical and social information which highlight 'places' and objects of interest.

30 D. McCannell, *The Tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*, Shocken Books, New York, 1976, pp.39-56. Through the creation and dissemination of image maps places become marked off as interesting and worth visiting, provided of course that positive images are transmitted.

31 *Brisbane Courier*, 16 May 1874. The writer does not appear to have travelled with the E & A service. It is likely that he ventured to Java aboard a steamer belonging to Bright Brothers and Company which made an unsuccessful attempt to start a mail steamer service between Brisbane and Batavia in 1866. DB sailed to Manila from Singapore aboard the China-bound HMS *Furious* which he claimed was going to take part in "the war". This makes it difficult to date his sojourn in Manila as there were no wars occurring in China in 1866. The Taiping Rebellion had ended in 1865, see P.A. Kuhn, 'The Taiping Rebellion' in D. Twitchett, J.K. Fairbank, *The Cambridge History Of China: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, Volume 10, Part 1, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1978, p.264.

32 See the epigraph to this chapter.

Yet as a resident of Australia for twenty-three years[33] his perspective, although reflecting an English background, was that of an Australian gazing north across a narrow expanse of sea to the "East". DB mapped, not unselfconsciously, Australia's geographical and a cultural boundaries in relation to Asia,

> but a far wider space than the Arafura sea separates us and them. Here we are with our European ideas, pushing upstarts of yesterday, brimful of democracy... Planting our civilisation, as we call it, on these southern confines of Asia, we are now inquisitively beginning to peer across those straits which separate us from Aristocratic[sic] and despotic Asia with its placid grandeur, its subjective majesty.[34]

Strikingly Australia is located geographically as part of Asia. Yet implicit is the fear of an antithetical, monolithic alien culture with which the values and ideals of Australian society were sharply contrasted.

His evaluation of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines was more than reflexive adoration. In keeping with Western theories of environmental determinism[35] the tropical climate was acknowledged as the reason for "Manillamen" being so "docile", providing as it did both edible and exportable commodities in "abundance".[36] He adopted however a sympathetic attitude towards the indigenous lowland peoples of Luzon, whom he categorised as "Malays". Quoting directly from the writings of Jean De La Perouse, who visited Manila in 1787 on a round-the-world voyage of exploration, DB presented an image of these "natives" as hospitable and kind.[37] Perouse had argued that their supposed vices[38] were more the result of Spanish administration than

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33 *Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1874. D.B. records 1851 as the year in which he migrated to Australia.

34 *Ibid.*, 23 May 1874.

35 V.R. Savage, *Western Impressions of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia*, Singapore University Press, Singapore, 1984, pp.109-112. Such theories had been embedded in the Western imagination since the era of Classical Greece.

36 *Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1874.

37 J.F. De La Perouse, *A Voyage Around The World Performed In The Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 By The Boussole And Astralobe*, N, Israel, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 508. The full quote used by DB reads, I have visited their towns, and have found them benevolent, hospitable, and communicative; and though the Spaniards speak of and treat them with contempt, I have observed, that the vices of which they accuse them are to be imputed to the government they have established among them.

38 Neither La Perouse or DB made any mention of what these vices might be.

any inherent failing, an opinion with which DB seemingly concurred. Regardless of the deficiencies of Spanish government in Manila the writer observed that it was Spanish military power which had "pacified" the "piratical Sooloo[sic] Sultans" of the Sulu Archipelago. Spain was thus, from the writer's perspective, an essential restraining influence upon despotism in the Philippine Islands which he noted lay across the main shipping route from Australia to China.

For DB the Philippine archipelago was "Paradise". Coming, as he did, from a dry, flat, and for the most part, arid country DB found tropical scenery a visually stimulating contrast. He could only marvel at the islands of the archipelago which appeared in "multitudinous profusion". Possessing a romantic sensitivity towards nature he conveyed his impressions of the Manila landscape through the language of poetry:

> Manila lay before us, radiant just as Singapore is with red tiles, but radiant also with rosy morn, and with the wealth of verdure and of eternal summer...

DB was captivated by Laguna de Bay which he portrayed as a pre-industrial paradise where people lived in idyllic simplicity:

> I have said nothing of the beautiful Lago de Bai, with its inlets, and islets, its mountains, its forests, and its water - the best water in the world as old Commodore Anson says in his voyages. Happy people, they can grow rice for next to nothing; they have bread-fruit and bananas also for next to nothing; they have fish in abundance...[39]

The Philippines was not merely a playground for the visual senses. Suggesting the consummation of his own sexual fantasies DB hinted, tactfully cognisant of the moral sensibilities of his respectable Brisbane audience, at the "promise" of sensual pleasure awaiting the adventurous Westerner in Manila who wished to be "captivated for life by... dazzling signoritas who smoke cigarettes...".[40] Manila and its surrounds were presented as an "exotic locale",[41] innocuously beautiful

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[39] *Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1874. Anson commanded a British naval expedition against the Spanish in the Pacific, in the course of which he captured the "Acapulco galleon" near Manila. He later served with distinction as First Lord of the Admiralty, but is remembered mainly for the voyage of circumnavigation (1740-44) incidental to his expedition against the Spanish.

[40] *Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1874.

[41] E. Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1991, p.118.

for the casual traveller, yet offering the chance of gratification to a sexually repressed bourgeois male.[42]

The Philippines declined in importance as a source of tropical goods for Australia during the 1860s and 70s.[43] By 1867 Philippine exports to New South Wales had fallen to £157,277 sterling, 83 per cent of this being realised on the sale of sugar.[44] Thirteen years later exports totalled a mere £735 sterling,[45] realised solely from the sale of Manila cigars.[46] Australian merchants were finding alternative, and much nearer, sources of supply. Sugar imports from Java appear to have eaten into Manila's share of the NSW market by 1867.[47] Another more decisive factor in this decline was the emergence of the Queensland sugar industry which began exporting to other Australian colonies in 1874 and which by 1880 was experiencing a boom in sugar production.[48] Ironically as imports dwindled Australian exports to Manila increased. Steamships, an unmistakable feature of the Asia-Pacific maritime milieu from the 1860s,[49] required coal to power their marine engines. In 1874 NSW exported 15,432 tons of coal to Manila, its tenth largest market for this commodity.[50] By 1896 coal export

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42 *Ibid*, p.190. According to Said sexual license was a common motif in Orientalist writing about the 'East'. It was a place where a man could escape encumbering social regulations concerning sex and sexuality.

43 Legarda, Foreign Trade, p.232. Legarda does not offer any explanation for this which suggests that factors were extrinsic to the Philippines.

44 'Statistical Register Of New South Wales, 1867.' *New South Wales Parliament Legislative Council Journal*, 5th Parliament, 5th Session, Volume 16, 1868-69, p.1020.

45 'Statistical Register Of New South Wales for 1880.' *New South Wales Parliamentary Legislative Council Journal*, 10th Parliament, 2nd Session, 1881, Volume 32, Part 2, p.70.

46 *Ibid.*, p.98.

47 'Statistical Register Of New South Wales, 1867.', p.1020. By 1867 imports from Java had risen to 135,914 pounds sterling from 32,268 pounds sterling in 1857.

48 R. Fitzgerald, *A History Of Queensland: From The Dreaming To 1915*, University Of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982, pp.180-183.

49 Steinberg, *In Search Of Southeast Asia*, p.214.

50 'Statistical Register For 1874.' *New South Wales Parliament Legislative Assembly Votes And Proceedings*, 1875-76, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session, Volume 3, 1876. p.287.

volumes to Manila had quadrupled[51] indicating both the importance of steamshipping to Philippine inter-island trade and a more significant Australian role in the Philippine economy than reciprocal trade percentages for the late-nineteenth century suggest.

Low trade levels delayed the establishment of a direct mail steamer service connecting Australian ports to Manila. E & ASS steamers had ceased running to Batavia and Singapore in the mid-1880s when the company redirected its monthly service to Hong Kong through the Macassar Straits and the Sulu Archipelago.[52] E & A vessels skirted Zamboanga, on the island of Mindanao, heading from there into the South China Sea without calling at Manila.[53] Thus the growing number of Australian overseas tourists venturing into Asia in the late-nineteenth century were denied the chance of holidaying in the "island paradise" so temptingly portrayed by DB.[54] Passengers bound for southern China or Japan on business or for recreation were able however to catch a transient glimpse of the Philippine Islands from the deck of their steamer. Bessie Favenc, sailing aboard the SS *Menmuir* to China shortly before the Spanish-American war of 1898, commented upon the picturesque beauty of Zamboanga:

> Along the shore of the largest of the islands the steamer keeps close to the land, and all the details of the picture are plainly visible. Zamboanga, one of the chief towns, is a gem of beauty. A semi-circle of mountains forms the background, and the same rich tropical vegetation forms the foreground of the scene.[55]

This was a sight which would have greeted many an Australian traveller to the Far East.

Australians had to wait until 1899 for direct steamer access to the Philippines. The American seizure of Manila in 1898 dramatically

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51 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1898. Coal exports to Manila reached 62,782 tons in 1896.

52 *Ibid.*, 26 September 1883. E & A steamers did operate a through booking service for cargoes to Manila; these would have been transhipped in Hong Kong. It is possible that E & A ships called into Manila on the homeward journey to Australia.

53 The precise route taken is not clear. Although it seems likely that E & A steamers sailed through the Mindoro Straits to Hong Kong, ships captains may well have chosen different paths through the Calmain Group.

54 Steamships were the most popular means of tourist travel in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

55 *Queenslander*, 13 October 1900.

altered the pattern of relations between Australia and what was now an outpost of American military power. American soldiers appear to have had a taste for Australian meat. In the same year Queensland's export trade with the islands leapt from zero to £40,313 sterling,[56] the bulk of this being realised from sales of frozen beef.[57] Steamers with refrigerated cargo space were now essential to Australian-Philippine trade. Thirteen months after Admiral Dewey's humiliation of the Spanish Philippine fleet E & A steamers began calling in at Manila Bay[58] followed closely by ships of the China Navigation Company[59] and the Nippon Yusan Kaisha[60] which had been plying between Australia and China as early as 1883[61] and 1896 respectively. By 1900 Queensland exports totalled £106,014 sterling, the principal commodity again being frozen beef.[62] As a consequence of these increased commercial contacts Australians were given the opportunity to take a much closer look at the Philippines.

Andrew "Banjo" Paterson, stepping ashore from the China Navigation Company steamer *Changsha* in 1901, found Manila a less tranquil place than that encountered by DB 33 years before. Writing in the *Sydney Morning Herald* , he reported:

> There is an indescribable hurry, bustle and fuss... it was like Belmore Market, Sydney, on a Saturday night. The restaurants are all full, the shops are all busy, the cigar stalls and soft drink shops crowded. Money is being made here wholesale.[63]

Manila he considered economically backward, disdainfully reporting that bullock carts were the main form of heavy transport and steamers were still coaled by hand. Yet disclosing a taste for the picturesque he appreciated the splendour of Spanish architecture in the "old walled city" investing it with an aura of sanctity:

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56 *Statistics Of The Colony Of Queensland For The Year 1898*, p.50.

57 *Ibid.*, p.177. 1898 sales of frozen beef amounted to £38,307 sterling.

58 *Brisbane Courier*, 20 June 1899.

59 *Ibid.*, 28 June 1899.

60 *Ibid.*, 13 July 1899.

61 D. Gregory, *Australian Steamships Past and Present*, The Richards Press, London, 1928, p.227. The China Navigation Company also operated a through booking service to Manila. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 1883.

62 *Statistics Of The Colony Of Queensland For The Year 1900*, p.179.

63 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1901.

> Once ashore we found a marvellous town. The roadways are very narrow and the old Spanish buildings with broad courtyards and overhanging windows looked as though they should never have been disturbed by any bustle or noise...

But Paterson transmitted to his Australian readers an account of life in the Philippines that was not romanticised.

Gone were the "docile" inhabitants of DB's tropical idyll. Contemptuous remarks about Filipinos, whom Paterson described as "little brown men, for the most part with poor physique", reveal the direct influence of the virulent social Darwinism which so infected Australian nationalism in the late-nineteenth century.[64] His sympathies lay with "Uncle Sam" still at this time engaged in the brutal suppression of Filipino nationalists trying to resist the American invasion of their homeland.[65] Not without relish did Paterson relate an incident in which an American sentry shot two Filipinos, suspected of intent to commit arson, while they were running away. He lamented that the sentry "would have got some more" but for the intervention of "some Filipino woman" who obstructed the soldier's aim. Patterson himself was in no doubt that the Philippine-American War would result in the "survival of the fittest".[66] Yet his impressions of the Philippines under American occupation betrays a hint of irony as he inverts the sense of a famous Kipling phrase to portray an ignoble scramble for spoils:

> Besides the Filipinos there were Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, American soldiers and civilians, English, Australians, Spaniards, beach-combers and poor whites of every degree and of all nations taking up the white man's burden and the black man's property as fast as they can get it.[67]

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[64] H. McQueen, *A New Britannia: an argument concerning the social origins of Australian radicalism and nationalism*, 3rd edition, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986, p.52. See also, Fitzgerald, *A History Of Queensland*, p.210. Fitzgerald states clearly that this intellectual tradition was influential in Queensland from as early as 1865.

[65] R.J. Sullivan, *Exemplar Of Americanism: The Philippine Career Of Dean. C. Worcester*, Center For South And Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1991, pp.69-70.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 19 October 1901.

The first Australian mail steamer to make a scheduled stop in Manila was the E & A's SS *Guthrie* which departed Brisbane on 21 June 1899.[68] It had been transporting Australians north to Asia in the lap of luxury since 1886, sailing in conjunction with the *Airlie* the *Menmuir* and, after 1896, the *Australian*.[69] Steamships were by the 1890s displacing sailing ships from the world's trade routes.[70] The refinement of dual expansion marine engines, first used in the 1860s, allowed greater speed and fuel-efficiency, two major impediments to the supremacy of steam over sail.[71] Cargoes, and thus vital capital, could be transferred much more quickly between important trading centres, such as Sydney and Hong Kong. Moreover steamships, not being subject to the vagaries of winds, were able to run to timetables which could be and were synchronised within and between shipping lines and railway companies.[72] This latter fact proved to be an incentive to pleasure travellers, from the moneyed leisure class, who could now plan overseas trips with a measure of certainty.[73] Passengers were considered valuable cargo by the world's major steamshipping companies.[74] The E & A were no exception. Consequently every effort had been made to make passenger accommodation on board their steamers, particularly in the first-class, as attractive as possible.

At 2500 tons register[75] the *Guthrie*, in comparison to P & O steamers like the *India* at 8000 tons register[76], was no "travelling

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68 *Brisbane Courier*, 20 June 1899.

69 Gregory, *Australian Steamships*, p.215.

70 G. Blainey, *The Tyranny Of Distance*, second edition, Macmillan, London, 1988, p.277.

71 *Ibid.*, pp.265-267.

72 E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age Of Capital: 1848-1873*, Abacus, London, 1985, pp.69-75. See also A. Toffler, *The Third Wave*, Pan Books, London, 1981, pp.115-117.

73 *Ibid.*, p.240.

74 B. Greenhill, A. Gifford, *Travelling By Sea in the Nineteenth Century: Interior Design in Victorian Passenger Ships*, Adan & Charles Black, London, 1972, pp.54-55.

75 *Brisbane Courier*, 20 June 1899. Newspaper advertisements provided registered tonnages. No indication was given if these were gross or net. For a discussion of the calculations of ships tonnages see P. Kemp, *The Oxford Companion To Ships And The Sea*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1976, p.876.

76 *The Australian Handbook And Almanac And Shippers And Importers Directory For 1902*, Gordon & Gotch, Brisbane, 1902, p.xiv.

palace"[77]. It had accommodation for 36 first-class passengers and 24 in steerage[78], small numbers by the standards of the time[79]. The *Guthrie* could however boast a fashionable first-class saloon which incorporated both the comfort and the opulence of a bourgeois drawing-room. Oak and teak panelling adorned the walls.[80] First-class passengers could walk on carpet, recline in a "handsome sofa", swivel in the "latest" revolving chairs and be fanned by steam powered punkahs in a saloon which was considered "commodious and cool". In 1899 the *Guthrie* was joined by a new steamer the *Eastern*, which at 340 feet in length and 3600 tons register was a much larger and more luxurious liner. There were three classes as opposed to the two aboard the *Guthrie*. Accommodation was provided for 50 first-class passengers. In addition to a polished sycamore and walnut panelled saloon the *Eastern* possessed a music hall and a smoking room, all lined with the trimmings of bourgeois success.[81] Sailing north on a round trip to Asia was, for wealthy Australians at least, not an unpleasant experience.

Interest in Philippine commercial prospects was growing amongst influential circles in Australia. Colonel James Burns, co-partner in the Australian transnational company Burns Philp, saw major opportunities for Australian business in America's "taking up" of the Philippines.[82] Reflecting this interest Australia-wide, Australian exports to the archipelago, as a percentage of total export trade, increased from 0.34 per cent for 1897-1901 to 0.68 per cent in 1906.[83] From being a major exporter to Australia in the 1850s the Philippines had become by 1907 a major importer of Australian produce. In this year Australia was its second largest source of imports in the

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77 Greenhill and Gifford, *Travelling By Sea*, p.54.

78 *Straits Times*, 8 July 1884.

79 British India Steam Navigation steamers plying between Brisbane and London via Batavia could carry as many as 70 first-class passengers. Ships like the *Great Britain* could carry up to 650.

80 *Straits Times*, 8 July 1884.

81 *Brisbane Courier*, 24 July 1899.

82 *Ibid.*, 12 January 1899.

83 G.H. Knibbs, *Official Yearbook Of Australia Containing Authoritative Statistics For The Period 1901-1907*, McCarron, Bird & Company, Melbourne, 1908, p.506. Technically Australia did not become a commonwealth until 1901. Pre-1901 statistics are for Australia as a whole.

Asia/Pacific, and its fifth largest in the world.[84] Underlying this upward trend was a concerted effort by state governments to improve their trading relations with Asia.[85] In 1903 the NSW Government appointed T. Suttor to represent its commercial interests in Asia.[86] The following year Queensland appointed Frederick Jones as its own commercial agent for the "East".[87] By 1906 Victoria had two commercial representatives operating in Asia while South Australia had one.[88] Manila was an important port of call for these agents as they travelled around the South China Sea selling Australian flour, butter, coal, jam, and preserved meats "door to door". On his first visit in 1904 Frederick Jones quickly made himself known within the elite circle of American government officials. His tactics involved obtaining dinner invitations from influential people. As he reported to F. Denham, the Queensland Home Secretary in April 1904, "I get more real information chatting after dinner of a night than I manage at the offices during the day".[89] Near to the end of his first Asian tour Jones proposed an Asian trade strategy for Queensland. He ranked the major Asian markets in their order of importance to the state, advising that Queensland business interests be encouraged to orient their exports firstly towards the Hong Kong market then Manila, Java, Singapore and the Straits Settlements.[90] Jones even went so far as to suggest in a confidential letter to the Queensland Premier in 1904 that the state set out to capture Asian markets by underselling its competitors.[91] By 1905 Jones was focusing his attention upon Southern China and Manila and at the same time berating both the Queensland and Commonwealth governments on the issue of trade policy. He was

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84 Sullivan, *What Might A History Of Australian-Philippine Relations Be ?*, p.18.

85 S. Rosewarne, 'Capital Accumulation In Australia And The Export Of Mining Capital Before World War 11', E.L. Wheelwright, K. Buckley (eds) *The Political Economy Of Australian Capitalism*, ANZ Book Company, Sydney, 1983, p.190.

86 F. Jones to Under Secretary Department of Agriculture, 3 January 1906, QSA AGS/N58.

87 'Agreement With Mr F. Jones, Government Commercial Agent In The East', *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*, Volume 1, 1904, pp.1325-1326.

88 F. Jones to Under Secretary Department of Agriculture, 3 January 1906. QSA AGS/N58.

89 F. Jones to F. Denham, 25 April 1904.

90 F. Jones to the Chief Secretary's Department, 10 October 1904. QSA. AGS/N57.

91 F. Jones to Queensland Premier, 5 July 1904, QSA AGS/N57.

scathing about Australia's failure to take full advantage of the economic opportunities presented by the American occupation of the Philippines. Echoing the sentiments of the United States Consul in Brisbane,[92] Jones pointed out that trade in this direction was but a fraction of its potential. He argued that Australia must pursue an independent trade policy in relation to Asia and the Philippines in particular:

> I never yet heard of Uncle Sam giving something for nothing... I cannot think of any solution but that Australia must be prepared to grant tariff concessions of privileges to the US in return for retaining the present open market for our chief lines. It comes to this, that Australia has to fight its own commercial battle in the Orient. We cannot constantly hope to rely upon British official help.

Jones resigned as Queensland's commercial agent in 1907 complaining bitterly that he was not being paid a fair salary in comparison to his interstate counterparts.[93] Although he was not replaced the impact of his endeavours to improve Australian exports to the Philippines register clearly in Queensland's trade figures from 1905 onwards.

Between 1904 and 1913 the Philippines accounted for approximately 0.70 per cent of the Australian Commonwealth's external trade.[94] Yet this figure obscures more substantial commercial relationships at state level. Queensland exports to the Philippines had nearly doubled from £96,153 sterling in 1904 to £170,748 sterling in 1905, in which year the State's balance of trade surplus with the archipelago stood at a healthy £163,623 sterling.[95] By 1913 the Philippines accounted for 1.81 per cent of Queensland's total two-way trade.[96] Indicating the success of the NSW commercial representative, by 1909 exports from that State had reached £207,464. In contrast to Queensland, where frozen meat was still predominant, the principal NSW exports were coal and flour although significant quantities of

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92 *North Queensland Herald*, 3 September 1905.

93 *Queenslander*, 30 December 1905.

94 Knibbs, *Commonwealth Yearbook For 1901-1919*, p.584.

95 'Statistics Of The State Of Queensland For 1910', *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*, Volume 1, Part 2, 1911, p.25B.

96 'Statistics Of The State Of Queensland For The Year 1922', *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*, p.16B

butter and meat were traded with Manila.[97] Trade levels were affected by World War I but exports were quick to recover. In 1918 NSW sent goods to the Philippines totalled £490,826 sterling three quarters of this being realised on the sale of flour.[98] Commonwealth exports in this direction for the financial year 1917-1918 were valued at £826,722 sterling or 1.02 per cent of Australia's total export trade. For 1919-1920 this increased to £1,061,463 sterling although falling in percentage terms to 0.71 per cent of total exports.[99] Despite declining again in the general depression which gripped the world-economy from 1920 until 1924, these trade figures suggest a strong interest in the Philippines amongst Australian commercial elites. It was an interest sustained by continued improvements in access from Australia in the early twentieth century.

The shipping pages of the *Sydney Morning Herald* or *Brisbane Courier* in the early 1900s reveal just how much Australia was integrated into a regional and global network of steam navigation companies. Passengers wishing to travel to Manila from Australia could do so direct or, if preferring a more circuitous route, by way of Singapore transferring to ships of the Nordeutscher Lloyd or Blue Funnel lines bound for the Philippines.[100] By 1907 NDL steamers were calling in at Manila en route from Sydney to Hong Kong, becoming the fourth major steamshipping line to link Australia with this destination.[101] Overseas travel was becoming easier for wealthy, time-affluent Australians. Thomas Cook and Son, the world's first transnational travel company, was well established in Australia by the 1890s.[102] Its services, available through an international chain of

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97 J.B. Trivett, *The Official Yearbook Of New South Wales: 1909-1910*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1911, p.114.

98 H.A. Smith, *The Official Yearbook Of New South Wales For 1918*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1920, p.573.

99 Knibbs, *Commonwealth Yearbook For 1901-1919*, p.589.

100 *Straits Times*, 2 January 1901.

101 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1907. The China Navigation Company ceased operating between Australia and China in 1912. Two of its vessels were added to the fleet of the Australian Orient Line which entered the China trade in the same year. The E & A were taken over by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company in 1919. For details see Gregory, *Australian Steamships*, p.216, 227.

102 P. Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1991. pp.213-214.

Thomas Cook offices and agencies,[103] included foreign currency exchange, travellers cheques and telegraphic transfers of money, earning the company the title "Bankers to the World".[104] Given the highly integrated nature of global communications networks, round-the-world tickets could be issued providing tourists with the means, obtained through a single transaction, to circumnavigate the globe by land and sea.[105] Besides Thomas Cook, these tickets were offered by all the major international steamshipping companies servicing Australia now engaged in fierce competition for tourist patronage.[106] Consequently Manila, while being a destination for travellers in itself, was also a stopping-off place for round-the-world tourists venturing to America and Europe by way of Hong Kong.

The Philippines had quickly developed as a tourist destination. Following the American occupation accommodation and transport facilities were improved.[107] By 1903 the *Manila Times* was advertising a number of high class hotels, including the city's very own Waldorf.[108] Electric trams were a feature of the Manila townscape by 1907.[109] Some tourist attractions were of course inherited, notably the old Spanish churches within the "Intramuros",[110] an attraction in itself, although Frederick Jones noted in 1904 that the walls of this city were

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103 *The Australian Handbook And Almanac And Shippers And Importers Directory For 1905*, Gordon and Gotch, Brisbane, 1902, p.iii. Thomas Cook and Sons do not appear to have had an office in Manila although it is possible that they had a nominated agent. Passengers wishing to visit the Philippines could however obtain travellers cheques in American dollars from offices in Australia or Japan en route.

104 Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, p.187.

105 *Australian Handbook For 1905*, pp.iii-xi. See also, Eastern and Australian Steam Company information pamphlett, QSA AGS/N58. Thomas Cook and Sons were a nominated booking agency for the E & ASN issuing "Round-the-World" tickets via Manila and Hong Kong. By 1916 Thomas Cook were promoting motoring holidays in the Philippines further suggesting the existence of a Cook's agency in the archipelago. See Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, p.80.

106 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 July 1908.

107 G.A. May, *Social Engineering In The Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913*, Greenwood Press, London, 1980, pp.142-148. May records that between 1907 and 1913 an extra 1000 miles of first-class road was laid excluding Manila and Moro Province.

108 *Manila Times*, 8 November 1903.

109 H.M. Wright, *A Handbook Of The Philippines*, A.C. McClurg & Co, Chicago, 1907, pp.264-265.

110 *Ibid.*, p.266. Wright describes the walled Spanish city by this name.

partly being destroyed to make way for new public buildings.[111] Beauty spots abounded outside Manila such as Los Banos on Laguna de Bay, accessible by steamboat along the Pasig River. Travellers with a taste for the sublime could visit Taal Lake, 12 miles overland from Calamba on Laguna de Bay, and view the "inspiring and marvellously unique" Taal Volcano. Round trips to Zamboanga and the Sulu Archipelago could be made by steamers belonging to the Philippine Government and the American Army.[112] Indeed tourism in the Philippines, as in other European colonies in Asia, was actively encouraged by the colonial state through subsidies designed to make the Islands an attractive 'place' to visit, the aim being to entice potential investors and business migrants.[113]

Under the sponsorship of Dean Worcester, Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior from 1900-1913,[114] and W. Cameron Forbes, also a member of the Philippine Commission and from 1909-1913 Governor-General of the Philippines.[115] tourist services were further upgraded. Worcester personally advocated the creation of an inland capital at Baguio, in northern Luzon, believing that the temperate climate there would assist the long-term adaptation of white Americans to the tropics. He was concerned that the tropical environment was detrimental to the health of Americans. Similar reasons lay behind the much earlier relocation of the administrative centre of the 'Dutch' East Indies from Batavia to Buitenzorg in the early nineteenth century.[116] Baguio was deemed ideal, providing a respite from the heat of summer in the lowlands and an opportunity to convalesce from tropical diseases like malaria, which Worcester noted were unknown in the area.[117] The railroad from Manila to Dagupan[118]

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111 F. Jones to F. Denham, 25 April 1904. QSA AGS/N57.

112 Wright, *Handbook of The Philippines*, pp.268,272,273.

113 S.A. Ness, 'Sacred Progress, Secular Pilgrimage: Philippine Tourism Development In The Early Twentieth Century', *Kabar Sabarang*, No.16, Spring 1991, p.56.

114 Sullivan, *Exemplar Of Americanism*, p.3.

115 R. Reed, 'Remarks on the Colonial Genesis of the Hill Station in Southeast Asia with Particular Reference to the Cities of Buitenzorg (Bogor) and Baguio', *Asian Profile*, Volume 4, No.6, December 1976, p.574.

116 *Ibid.*, pp.556-559.

117 Sullivan, *Exemplar Of Americanism*, pp.143-146.

was extended to within 24 miles of Baguio in 1907 and a state-run automobile service established to transport persons from the railhead to the resort town. Government buildings were constructed in 1909 and 1911. Forbes himself built a guest house and established the Baguio country club.[119] By the 1920s it had grown into a thriving tourist centre proclaimed "the Simla of Manila" in the Burns Philp travel brochure for 1920.[120]

Burns Philp appear to have been the principal travel company[121] to market the Philippines as a tourist destination in Australia.[122] Tropical nature was a saleable commodity and this reflected in their 'packaging' of the archipelago. It was portrayed as both playground and tropical paradise, directly appealing to romantic images of island Southeast Asia implanted in the Australian "National Imaginary"[123] through travelogues, tourist guidebooks and the first-hand experiences of Australian travellers and tourists spanning more than fifty years. The Philippines was to be reached from Australia by ships of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, for whom Burns Philp were agents, passing through the Torres Straits, the Moluccas and the Sulu Archipelago. Their 1920 brochure emphasised the picturesque beauty of the voyage, intending travellers being promised the sight of "beautiful islets and gardens of coral". Major attractions outside Manila were promoted. The more adventurous could canoe down Pagsanjan Gorge to view some impressive waterfalls. Travellers with a taste for the sublime could visit the volcanoes of southern Luzon and view the 7,900 foot Mount Mayon which, excitingly, was still active. On the island of Panay tourists could take a "picturesque drive" inland from the port of Ilolio

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118 P.W. Stanley, *A Nation In The Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1974, p.97. This railroad had been laid between 1887-1891.

119 Reed, 'Colonial Genesis of the Hill Station', pp.576-577.

120 *Picturesque Travel under the Auspices of Burns, Philp and Company Limited*, Burns, Philp and Company, Sydney, 1920, p.63. Simla was a popular hill station in northern India.

121 Burns Philp, while operating mainly as a merchant shipping line, did establish their own travel bureau. See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1922.

122 Although more space in their 1920 travel brochure was devoted to Java and Singapore, to which Burns Philp operated a regular steamer service, the Philippines received generous attention.

123 A. Hamilton, 'Fear and Desire: Aborigines, Asians and the National Imaginary', *Australian Cultural History*, No.9, 1990, pp.14-18.

making a circle of eight or nine miles, and passing by scenes of great beauty-river, sea and ranges, tropical trees and flowers, native huts and churches.[124]

Such images of "picturesqueness" were to a very great degree "interchangeable"[125] with other tourist destinations in the region. Volcanic mountains, and tropical foliage were major attractions for Westerners travelling in island Southeast Asia, and formed the "signature"[126] of the "East" in the Western imagination. However the Philippines was marked out by Burns Philp as a specific place with distinctive attributes and a separate history.

A sense of Philippine history was selectively instilled in prospective visitors who were reminded that the "Ancient City"[127] of Manila was once, temporarily, a British possession.[128] According to the Burns Philp brochure only one war took place at the turn of the century: that between the United States and Spain in 1898; no mention at all is given of the Philippine-American War, which broke out in February 1899. To have done so would have challenged the myth of American benevolence and been offensive to the authorities in Manila.[129] The United States was cast as a progressive colonial power improving transport facilities and hygiene and being credited with the transformation of Manila into a modern city. The Luneta formed the principal nightspot of this cosmopolitan metropolis,

> The Luneta, a broad promenade by the sea, is a brilliant spectacle at night. "All Manila" turns out there to see and be seen. It is lit with electric lights; the band plays at regular intervals and representatives of all nations may be found there.

Implying a taste for things American, Baguio, by this time the "fun park" of Benguet Province, was singled out for special praise:

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124 Picturesque travel, pp.63-64.

125 Hamilton, 'Fear and Desire', p.24.

126 *Ibid*, p.25.

127 *Picturesque Travel Under The Auspices Of Burns Philp And Company*, p.63.

128 *Ibid.*

129 Sullivan, *Exemplar Of Americanism*, pp.182-185, American colonial administrators, both serving and past, were extremely sensitive to this issue. The US fought a bloody war against the fledgling Philippine Republic, a fact which many Americans involved in the take-over of the Philippines were keen to suppress.

> Baguio, 160 miles north of Manila, is a delightful mountain resort, with comfortable hotels, club house, golf links etc, besides its natural attractions. It is almost entirely American in plan and construction. There is a large amphitheatre of an unusual kind, and other places of amusement.[130]

While Burns Philp can be defended for producing what was in effect a promotional brochure for tourists, their extract on the Philippines did nonetheless provide a justification of American imperialism. It is suggestive of the deep identification with the United States presence in Asia upon which Australian defence policy in the 1960s was built.[131]

Thomas J. McMahon F.R.G.S,[132] an Australian traveller to the East in 1923, presented a more explicit identification with America's Philippine role in his book *The Orient I Found*, published in 1926.[133] McMahon's contempt for Filipinos was palpable. Like Dean Worcester, who was considered an authority upon the "Filipino character",[134] he believed that Filipinos were unfit to govern their own affairs and that their political leaders were prone to corruption and profligacy.[135] Attitudes expressed about the character of Filipinos by McMahon suggest the strong influence of Worcester's Americanism,

> At present the Filipinoes[sic] are a long way off being capable of managing for themselves. They lack qualities that mark strength of character, and if left to their own devices, would, as they have done throughout their history, quickly fall into the mastership of some more active and vigorous race.[136]

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130 Picturesque Travel, p.63. Australians had been encouraged to identify with American imperialism in a similar way in 1898 when Australian newspapers ran accounts of the British occupation of Manila in 1762.

131 P.G. Edwards, 'Foreign Policies', in A. Curthoys, A.W. Martin, T. Rowse (eds) *Australians From 1939*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Broadway, 1987, pp.38-39.

132 Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

133 T.J. McMahon, *The Orient I Found*, Duckworth, London, 1926, pp.61-74. McMahon does not specify the dates of his journey. Occasional articles which formed the basis of this book began appearing in the *Queenslander* magazine during 1923.

134 Sullivan, *Exemplar Of Americanism*, p.86.

135 McMahon, *The Orient I Found*, p.64.

136 *Ibid.*, p.73.

According to McMahon Filipinos were historically "indolent and commercially inactive" always prey to 'superior races'. He implied that the United States presence was "natural" as well as "necessary". The title of his chapter on the archipelago, "The Philippine Islands: From a Bleak Fortress to a Modern City" affirms the progressiveness of the US as colonial power. McMahon firmly believed, having accepted the prevailing construction of Filipino history and character, that American rule was essential if the Philippines was to be "modernised".

Manila had changed greatly since "Banjo" Paterson's visit in 1901, and even more so since the visit of DB in 1866. Tropical tranquillity had been supplanted by "American hustle". In addition to electric trams, motor cars added to the congestion of the city streets which were "a solid mass of traffic". McMahon effectively captured the sights and sounds of this now thriving American metropolis in the tropics:

> The traffic of the Escolta is wonderfully animated. Pedestrians hurry along very narrow pathways, while the roadway is crowded, and the air is filled with thescreech of what seems like thousands of gramophones giving forth a higgledy-piggledy of tunes... Flashing motor cars and motor-lorries crush side by side with strange carts and wagons...

He noted the city had become a haven for tourists "who pour into Manila by the hundred with every overseas steamer";[137] many resided at the "palatial" Manila Hotel, the brainchild of Forbes, built in 1910.[138] Alive by day the Philippine capital was transformed into a dazzling playground at night,

> with its myriad electric lights, [Manila] becomes a gay fairyland. The Luneta is more crowded and popular than ever, and the hotels and numerous cabarets are in the full swing of pleasure.[139]

The influence of Spanish rule was indelible. McMahon appreciated the architectural wonders to be found in the old Spanish part of Manila. Of particular appeal were the Spanish churches stocked full with gold and silver ornaments. He was also impressed by the spectacle of church festivals which he recorded as occurring virtually every day. Clearly McMahon found enough to occupy his attention during his brief stop-over in Manila as no record is given of any trips

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[137] *Ibid.*, pp.61, 66-8.

[138] Ness, 'Sacred Progress', p.56.

[139] McMahon, *The Orient I Found*, p.69.

into the surrounding countryside. However his account of the Philippines, though brief, served the purpose with which his round tour of Asia had been planned.

Paralleling the aims of DB some fifty years before, McMahon's project was to stimulate an interest in Asia among Australians. He believed it essential for Australians to experience first-hand the changes wrought upon the "Orient" by economic change and nationalism. Echoing sentiments expressed by Frederick Jones in 1905, he urged Australians to recognize their vital interests in Asia, vaguely hinting that Australia may not forever be protected by Britain's imperial shield. Although Japan and China were his principal focus, the Philippines was considered an integral part of Australia's region. Manila was an attractive place to visit and, not insignificantly, the base for America's Pacific Fleet.[140] Like DB before him McMahon drew an imaginary boundary between an Australian "us" and an Asian "them", but his mission was to persuade Australians to seek accommodation with nascent "Oriental Nations".[141] The writings of McMahon and DB serve as examples of the outward looking perspectives of Australia's intellectual and commercial elites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which were more sophisticated than has been hitherto acknowledged.[142] Indeed Australia's relationship with the Philippines was "multidimensional" in form, involving trade, tourism, and the interaction of images and ideas. It indicates that Australia itself was firmly a part of its immediate geographical region; "enmeshed" in Asia's complex patterns of interaction; aware of Asia's diversity while still seeking to conceptualise its totality.

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[140] *Ibid.*, pp.11-16, 64, 70.

[141] *Ibid.*, p.12.

[142] N. Brown, 'Australian Intellectuals and the Image of Asia: 1920-1960.', *Australian Cultural History*, no.9, 1990, pp.80-81.

IV
GAUDENCIO CABANELA, 1900-1921
A research note from work in progress

Anne Tapp

In the early hours of 3 July 1921 a young Filipino died in St Vincent Hospital, Melbourne. Gaudencio Cabanela, at 20 the first of his race to win international fame as a boxer, had lapsed into a coma after a boxing match the previous day and died without regaining consciousness. His short life spanned the growth of boxing in the Philippines from an alien importation to a focus of intense patriotic fervour. On return to Manila the embalmed body was accorded the funeral rights of a national hero.

Boxing entered the Philippines in the cultural baggage of the occupying American troops. At first it held little appeal for Filipinos to whom it seemed more like combat than sport. Its status was ambiguous even with the occupying Power; in 1902 professional boxing was banned by the Philippine Commission (it was still illegal in most American States). But enforcement of the ban was lax and evasion easy. In the provinces boxing slowly gained a following among young Filipinos under military or ex-military tutelage. In Manila, spectators were overwhelmingly Americans and other foreigners, as were the main contestants. After the death of a Filipino in a bout with an American, mixed contests were banned in 1916 by the Manila Municipal Board, a Filipino-dominated body. In its efforts to bring professional boxing under tight control it had the backing of influential American Protestant groups which deplored its associations with gambling.

"Dencio" Cabanela had taken up boxing in 1915 while labouring in the American Subic Bay naval yards. After turning professional he won twenty-three out of twenty-four contests within twelve months; he came to Manila in 1917 under contract to the leading American promoters. His arrival transformed the boxing scene. For the first time there was in the public eye a Filipino manifestly capable of taking on all comers of his own weight; for the first time Filipinos began to preponderate in the crowds which packed the Olympic Club. After the ban on mixed contests was lifted in 1918, Dencio won both the bantam and featherweight titles in the "Orient Championship" (previously closed to Filipinos) together with three other fights in a nine-day Carnival and then went on to win the lightweight title as well shortly

after. By this time a complex interaction between boxing and Filipino nationalism was developing.

Inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States in March 1913 had initiated a programme of reform unprecedented in its range and vigour. One facet was the programme of "Filipinisation" undertaken by Governor General Francis B. Harrison. Passage in 1916 of the Jones Act held out the prospect of independence as soon as stable government was in place. Popular nationalist sentiment focussed upon the triumphs of Dencio Cabanela in the ring. Elite leaders of the independence movement feared that excitement engendered in the crowds that thronged the Olympic Club might spill over into demonstrations and riots, especially if there should be another Filipino death in the ring, providing ammunition for those Americans who argued that Filipinos were too immature politically for democratic self-government. They also resented the exploitation of young Filipinos in the ring for foreign gain. Some at least had never lost their initial distaste for an alien and barbaric ritual: in 1920 Quezon himself warned boxers that there was no future for "foreign sport" in an independent Philippines. A vigorous campaign began that year to give effect to the 1902 law against professional boxing. Support came from some Americans who feared that Filipino successes in the ring would impair white prestige, and from the anti-gambling lobby of the Protestant churches. With their business under threat, the Manila promoters accepted a lucrative offer for Dencio to box in Australia. Ironically, he and two other Filipino boxers were on board ship for Australia when boxing was fully legalised in February 1921.

A nexus had been established between boxing interests in Australia and in Manila during the First World War. With boxing at a low ebb in Australia, several Australian boxers had migrated temporarily to Manila[1] and the leading Manila promoter had brought in others under contract in 1918. Nor was the traffic all in one direction; at least one Filipino boxer, Dencio's friend and mentor Silvino Jamito, had gone to Australia under contract in 1919. By 1921 boxing in Australia was booming; under the monopolistic control of

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[1] The most famous Australian boxer of the day, Les Darcy, had gone instead to the USA where he died. Premature death in a foreign land undoubtedly contributed to the elevation of both boxers to the status of mythic heroes; but in sharp contrast to the Philippine reaction to Dencio's death, Australians blamed Americans for Darcy's fate.

John Wren's Australian Stadiums Ltd, a stream of well-known foreign boxers was attracting huge audiences in the Australian capitals.

Dencio's reputation had preceded him, reports of his prowess having appeared in sporting journals as early as 1919. His aggressive style, courage and cheerfulness made him a favourite with the crowds; his first bout with the Frenchman Criqui (a future world champion) attracted 8,000 spectators. In a match of legendary ferocity, Dencio was clearly ahead on points when, in the fourteenth round, he suddenly weakened and collapsed. Manila newspapers reported the result as a moral triumph for the Filipino "who won but lost". Dencio won his second fight by a knockout in the sixth round, to the indignation of a crowd which had heavily backed his opponent. The third ended like the first; matched against an opponent he had defeated in Manila the previous year Dencio collapsed in the seventeenth round. In his fourth and last fight, Dencio's opponent was saved by the bell in the tenth round, and kept on the defensive in the next two rounds. In the thirteenth, Dencio was afflicted with violent head pains; the referee stopped the fight and gave the verdict to his opponent.

Dencio's death within hours undoubtedly resulted from cerebral haemorrhage: massive bleeding, the result of fresh damage to bruises on the brain not yet healed from past bouts. Australian press coverage of his death was dominated by an evident desire to avoid any adverse reflection upon the sport of boxing, or anyone connected with it. This aim was abetted by the Coroner who, almost unbelievably, informed the press that death was due to natural causes, and that "nothing in the contest...could have in any way accelerated death". Hints in Manila papers that venereal disease had caused the pre-existing brain damage, despite emphatic medical evidence to the contrary given at the inquest in Melbourne, entered into Australian accounts, and have been repeated in at least two recent Australian books. Despite an unseemly wrangle with the Australian promoters over the cost of returning the body to Manila, no hostility towards Australia appears in the massive Philippines coverage. The mutually profitable connection between the Australian and Philippines boxing syndicates continued uninterrupted.

Funeral rites in Manila were on the grandest scale. Attended by the widow and young son, the embalmed body lay in state for five days while thousands from every social class filed past. It was claimed that the funeral drew even larger crowds than had attended that of national revolutionary leader Marcelo H. Del Pilar in 1920. The

nationalist press extolled Dencio's career as evidence of the strength of their race, and by implication its fitness for independence. The funeral panegyric proclaimed that from "the mystical realm of eternity" Dencio's "tranquil spirit" would "illumine the path" up which his fellow Filipinos "must come in God's appointed time": a rather ambiguous reference which proved prophetic. Only three months later publication of the Woods-Forbes Report heralded the reversal of Harrison's policy, and an end to Filipino hopes for early independence.

V
TOM INGLIS MOORE

Pacita Alexander & Elizabeth Perkins

Sixty years ago, Tom Inglis Moore, academic, critic and writer, spent nearly three years at the University of the Philippines. It is interesting to see how this Australian, who was the first academic to teach a full-year University course in his native Australian literature, through his scholarship and personal contacts, helped to develop Australian-Philippine relations.

In September 1928 Tom Inglis Moore and his wife Peace arrived in Manila. Moore was about to take up a position as Associate Professor of English at the University of the Philippines. It was a circuitous chain of circumstances that led this tall twenty-seven-year old Australian, whose Australian accent was by now overlaid with the combination of an Oxford drawl and a mid-western American twang, to Manila, a city with which he soon fell in love. Moore had been lecturing in English at Iowa University in the United States. On the recommendation of the English Department there, he was offered the job in the Philippines.

Born in 1901 in Camden, New South Wales, Moore grew up with his six sisters and brothers on a farm. On graduating from the University of Sydney with first class honours in English, Philosophy and History, he won a travelling scholarship to Oxford, and lived there at Queen's College while reading Modern Greats: Politics, Philosophy and Economics. In 1926 he went to the United States to teach English at Phillips Academy, a prestigious private school in Andover, Massachusetts. Back in England in July 1927 he married Peace Little, a pharmacist from Sydney. They returned to the States, after a honeymoon in France, and spent a year in Iowa. Moore was twenty-seven, idealistic, enthusiastic and romantic. Peace was a tall, beautiful, woman, whose serenity coupled with her Christian name suggested to some a Quaker background. The Moores made a striking couple, and their arrival in Manila was recorded in the *Sunday Tribune* by a journalism student who reported that the youngest professor in the University of the Philippines, thanks to exposure to American democracy, was "congenial", and that "one can talk to Professor Moore for hours, and enjoy it". The apprentice journalist introduced the desired note of controversy by headlining Moore's

criticism of much of the American educational system: "Calls U.S. Education Superficial".[1]

The Moores settled into a flat at 1331 Calle Herran, where their landlady, Mrs Zalvidea, charmed them with her kindness and lowered their rent when they thought they would have to find cheaper accommodation. The Moores were especially grateful because they appreciated their lush garden of coconut palms, banana plants and ferns. Moore was immediately involved with his teaching at the university, and with helping the younger writers there.

Tom Inglis Moore, Manila 1928

He set the students an example by finding time to write himself, and in December 1928 won the first prize of 150 pesos in the University of the Philippines' dramatic contest with his three-act play, *Love's Revenge* or *The Woman Hater,* a romantic comedy about student life in Manila. In the following February, together with a play written by Dr Vidal Tan, the Head of the Mathematics Department, it was given a gala performance at the Manila Opera House with a cast of "experienced student actors".[2] The proceeds went to a fund for statues for the university campus. Moore was to write later, "As a professor I got to

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1 Pedro C. Rivera, "Calls U.S. Education Superficial", *Sunday Tribune*, 16 September 1928.

2 Unidentified Manila newspaper cutting, 15 February 1929.

know my students intimately by participating in their literary and dramatic activities".[3]

By January next year Moore had become the music critic for the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, and between 14 January and 8 February he wrote thirty-two reviews of the Carpi Italian Grand Opera. When the violinist Rafael Kubelik came, he covered his three concerts. At the same time, he was deeply involved in preparing three new courses for his students at the university.

In the April holidays of 1929, Moore took a journey north to Baguio to do some quiet writing, having sent his wife and his sister Dorothy, who was paying them a visit, to China. A performance of *Love's Revenge* was declared a hit in Baguio, and attracted a big crowd of the "families now spending their vacation in the pines city".[4] He wrote another play, no longer extant, titled *Behind the Scenes,* which the University of the Philippines Dramatic Club put on, apparently with less acclaim, as it was somewhat under-rehearsed. *Love's Revenge* is typical of English light romances of the time, but it is firmly situated in the environment of the Philippine students in Manila. Although the reviewer, Federico Mangahas, reported in the *Manila Tribune* that "there was nothing particularly Philippine about the play except the names of the characters",[5] it is quite at home in the collection *Philippine Plays* (1930) edited by Sol H. Gwekoh, and there is little to indicate that it was written by a foreigner. Moore was young and enthusiastic enough to identify with his young Philippine middle-class characters, and his openness allowed him to receive the impress of the mores of the new social environment. The program prepared for the Baguio performance in April 1929 described the play as "A Romantic Comedy of the Young Generation, picturing student life, and unfolding an ironic intrigue of love and jealousy. A warning for all Woman-haters". Mrs Jean Edades, who was on the faculty of English in Manila with Moore, wrote to him in 1957 to tell him she was including *Love's Revenge* in the new edition of her collection, *Short Plays of the Philippines.* In 1966 Moore was surprised to hear that *Love's Revenge*

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[3] Tom Inglis Moore. Application for lectureship in Pacific Studies at Canberra University College, 14 November 1944. T. Inglis Moore Papers, Australian National University, Canberra.

[4] Unidentified Manila newspaper cutting, April 1929.

[5] Federico Mangahas in *Manila Tribune*, 19 February 1929.

had been performed again at the Far Eastern University in Manila, over thirty years after it was written.

Moore began writing regularly a humorous page called "Halo-Halo", for the *Philippine Magazine*, which was edited by his friend, the Dutch-born American A.V.H. Hartendorp. He signed it "Mapagbiro", which means "Jester". This column continued for two years, and dealt largely with Philippine politics and political personalities. Moore resigned from the *Bulletin* as music critic, but was immediately offered the same job on the *Tribune*, which seemed to entail meeting visiting artists and going backstage. This extra income, and the stimulating life they were leading with many Philippine and immigrant friends, encouraged the Moores to stay on in Manila another year.

In 1930 Moore became a contributing editor of the *Philippine Social Science Review*, a monthly published by the University of the Philippines. The contents of Moore's articles here were rather different from his sometimes flippant "Halo Halo" pages. They covered diverse subjects, from "The British Labour Movement" to "The Philosophy of History", and although necessarily synoptic in their treatment, were well-researched and informative. Moore's prose was never tediously academic, even when the article dealt with academic material, but in less academic contexts it did not succumb to the slickness of popular journalism.

As visitors to the Philippines, the Moores had a cosmopolitan cast of friends, including Hartendorp, and his Filipino wife, and Sydney Tomholt, an Australian playwright and journalist whose wife was Russian born. There were also Spanish, German, American and English friends and, mainly through the university, many Filipino friends. Like most of their friends, they went up to the cooler climate of Baguio whenever possible, and on one relaxed social occasion at Luneta Hill, the Dramatic Club supplied entertainment, including the Bontoc wedding dance, and Moore was reported to have given an exhibition of the kangaro (sic) dance.[6]

In June 1929 the Moores made an epic trip to climb Mount Pulog, the highest mountain on the Island of Luzon. Setting out from Baguio, they stayed overnight at Ambuclao, then went on with mountain ponies and a guide and two cargadores with the provisions. They were caught in a tropical downpour, and the horses often stumbled on the precipitous path. The lightning lit up the precariousness of the trail.

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[6] Unidentified Manila newspaper cutting.

Then they looked down and saw a magnificent sight - a valley lit by fireflies. Later, in the middle of the 1939-45 War, Moore used this experience as a "talisman" in his poem "The Benguet Miracles":

Riding an invisible pony in the black night
Through the Benguet mountains, blind on the viewless trail,
I was pierced, in a lightning gash, by a fabulous sight -
Death's rim at my side, and the dragon coiled at the core
Of the abyss, a Grendel flickering in molten mail....

In the dark of our days, travelling on the edge of woe,
I can now dispense with the sun, for I hold in my mind
The molten river, the fireflies dancing, and know
I shall live by the inward lustre of wonders flashed
From solacing beauty, immune to fears of the blind.[7]

Moore wrote a number of poems in the Philippines which remain unpublished. Although mostly romantic in the earlier twentieth-century vein and, as Moore admitted once, occasionally "Rupertian" in the style of Rupert Brooke,[8] these poems are well executed, and they reveal something of the profound impact the Philippines made on his Australian sympathies.

Soon after this Moore became involved in the case of José Garcia Villa, a student at the university who was expelled for publishing an "obscene" (according to some), "passionate" (according to Moore) poem in a Manila daily paper. Under the heading "Sense and Sensibility" Moore took up the cudgels for José (who had incidentally written critically of Moore's play *Love's Revenge*). Moore protested that the university was making a martyr out of José, and repressing free speech and the expression of emotion: "Originality and independence of opinion and the critical mind are exactly the things we want to encourage, not suppress".

José Garcia Villa was a member of the University of the Philippines Writers' Club, as was Amador Daguio, who wrote poetry and short stories. Salvador Lopez, another member, was a philosophical poet and essayist. Moore was their adviser, and also helped edit the Club's magazine, *The Literary Apprentice*. Even after Moore had left the Philippines in 1931, the journal published a long

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[7] T. Inglis Moore, "The Benguet Miracles", *Bayonet and Grass*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1957, p.44.

[8] Tom Inglis Moore to Peace Moore, 31 October 1930.

article by him called "Credo". During their correspondence years later, Amador Daguio wrote to Moore thanking him for a letter, saying "It brought me back those years of friendship at the U.P., when life to me was beauty in the gleam".[9] Moore foretold some of his students' successes in an article on "Filipino Literature in English", published in the *Philippine Magazine* in January 1931. The members of the U.P. Club acknowledged that they would be "in lasting obligation" to him for his "generous recognition".[10]

Possibly inspired by his talented students, Moore decided to write a historical novel. This was the true story of Kalatong, "the Achilles of Barlig and Ifugao", part of which was told to him by Professor H. Otley Beyer, the professor of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines. During 1930 Moore began research by travelling to Bontoc, Barlig and Kambulo in the remote interior of Luzon. He wrote much of the story staying at Banaue, where he could see the spectacular rice terraces from his window, and the scenes of Kalatong's exploits. He had some problems, as he had to depend on translations of conversations with the old Bontocs and Ifugaos by local school teachers who were not Ifugao or Bontoc, but Ilocano. He also admitted he was finding it difficult to imagine himself into the minds of his characters, but this was his aim. He wanted to live among the people for a year, and talk to them in their own language, but this proved impossible to arrange, though he did learn a smattering of Ifugao. An account of this novel, *The Half Way Sun* (1935), is the subject of another essay in this book.

By September Moore and his wife had decided to return to Australia, and not renew his contract, as his father was ill. Peace left first, in October 1930, tearfully farewelled by her Philippine students to whom she had been teaching English. Moore finished at the University of the Philippines on 15 October, intending to go up "into the wilds" and write for a month before leaving.[11]

Before that, however, a storm broke in the press, after his address delivered at the convocation at the University of the Philippines on 30 September. "Ninety Per Cent of U.P. Students Cheat, Prof. Moore says in Farewell Speech" screamed the headlines. The injudicious words about cheating appeared in a long speech on Philippine independence

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[9] Amador Daguio to Tom Inglis Moore, 7 May 1936.

[10] *The Literary Apprentice*, vol.4, 1930-31.

[11] Tom Inglis Moore to Dorothy Moore, 26 September 1930.

in which he quoted President Quezon's "Better a government run like Hell by Filipinos than a government run like Heaven by Americans". The reference to the students occurred in a passage in which he praised Philippine students of literature for their "natural love of rhetoric, drama and poetry".[12]

Understandably, the Philippine students reacted strongly, and the matter was taken up in Parliament, in the lower house, where the university authorities were urged to act against the "foreign" professor. Some of the professors did admit that there was too much temptation put before students, such as overcrowding in examinations. The *Graphic News Supplement* described Moore as "somewhat of a literary luminary", an Oxonian, with an Englishman's strange sense of humour.[13] Moore was requested by President Palma to supply proof of the charges. Moore's letter to President Palma explained that he felt his remarks were taken out of context, and eventually he was exonerated of any charges of misrepresentation. An article in the *Independent* with the sub-heading "U.P. English Professor Says He Wants Filipinos To Be Free" concluded: "During his two years' stay in the government university, he has gained a host of friends, not only in the faculty but also among the students".[14]

Moore returned to Sydney in 1931. It was seven years since he had left Australia, and the country he returned to was in the grip of the depression. He became one of the unemployed, and apart from some journalism and tutoring, did not have a steady job till 1933 when he became Sub-Warden at his old college St. Paul's, at Sydney University. In 1934 he was appointed to the staff of the *Sydney Morning Herald* as leader writer, and put in charge of the Current Literature section, where he wrote book reviews.

In 1931 his novel of the head-hunters, then called "Kalatong", was serialised in the *Philippine Magazine*. In 1935 "Kalatong", now called *The Half Way Sun: a tale of the Philippine Islands*, was published by the Sydney publishing house, Angus and Robertson. Apart from any merits as a novel, it is important historically; as H.M. Green noted in his *History of Australian Literature*, it "blazes a track that may become a road: it was the first Australian novel to be set in an Eastern (sic)

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12 *The Philippines Herald*, 4 October 1930.

13 *Graphic News Supplement*, undated clipping.

14 "Moore Blames Unfair Publicity", *Independent*, Manila, 18 October 1930.

country and written from the point of view of its inhabitants".[15] (The title is an Ifugao image for a strength that can no more be restrained than the sun from attaining its zenith.) *The Half Way Sun* attracted enthusiastic reviews in Australia, and was recommended reading by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney for its depiction of the culture of the vanishing head-hunting tribes. The novel has many strengths, apart from its interesting narrative of Kalatong's life, and it should keep its niche in the history of Australian literature.

From 1934 till the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 Moore's job as a leader writer at the *Sydney Morning Herald* involved him in research on the Asian and Pacific areas, including the Philippines. In an article for the *Herald* on 19 March 1935, on Japanese and American policy towards the Philippines, he pointed out the dilemma of the United States, which had promised independence to the Philippines, while strategically not wanting to leave the safe harbour of Manila. He enlisted in the Australian Infantry Forces on the outbreak of war, and served in combat zones as an Army Education Officer. On 8 February 1945, during the week the Japanese burnt Manila, Moore gave a talk on the Australian Broadcasting on "Manila - A City of the Centuries". He lovingly recalled the city, known since the sixteenth century as the "Pearl of the Orient Seas", now twice devastated, first in 1941, and again in 1945.

After the war "Major" Moore was appointed as a lecturer in the pioneer course of Pacific Studies at the Canberra University College in 1945, immediately after his discharge as Deputy Assistant Director from the Army Education Service. His course was for diplomatic cadets who were with the Department of External Affairs (now Foreign Affairs). When applying for the position he emphasised his knowledge of Pacific countries, particularly the Philippines, and also research work undertaken when he was leader writer at the *Sydney Morning Herald* while covering the Sino-Japanese war. The course for the diplomatic cadets was a full-time one for two years. His lecture notes on "The Philippines" for the course, Pacific Studies I, included up-to-date assessments of the new Republic proclaimed after the war. The course continued, with minor hiccups, till the end of 1953.

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[15] H.M. Green, *A History of Australian Literature*. Rev. and ed. Dorothy Green. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1984, p.1226.

He contributed articles and reviews on such Philippine issues as "The Hukbahalaps in the Philippines" and "Manuel Roxas, Philippine Leader," to the *Australian Outlook*, the journal of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. He was its associate editor from 1947 to 1962. In 1948 Moore was a member of a study group of the Australian Institute of International Affairs who undertook for the Institute of Pacific Relations a project on Trusteeship in the Pacific. He contributed Chapter V, "Trusteeship in Colonial Territories: The Philippines," to a book edited by A.H. McDonald, *Trusteeship in the Pacific,* published in 1949.

In 1950 he wrote an issue of the *Current Affairs Bulletin*, on "The Philippines". These "CABs" were published by the Commonwealth Office of Education every fortnight, and had a circulation of 50,000. They had begun as part of the Army Education Service, and continued as an Adult Education resource, which also had a large circulation in schools. Their aim was to provide background information on a single topic, illustrated where possible with maps, and with further reading provided. Moore's "CAB" fulfilled all these criteria, and even has a remarkable photo taken at Corregidor during the Japanese invasion, with three Presidents of the Philippines, Dr José Laurel, Manuel Quezon and Manuel Roxas, together with General Douglas MacArthur.

In 1949 the Gamboa case, when Philippine-born Sergeant Gamboa was refused the right to visit his Australian wife and children in Melbourne, had soured relations between the two countries. A leader in the *Sydney Morning Herald* had advocated acceptance of the Filipino invitation for an Australian Parliamentary delegation to visit Manila, in a conciliatory gesture to help remove the unfavourable impression left by Mr Calwell's interpretation of the White Australia policy.[16] On 28 April Moore wrote to the paper, endorsing the *Sydney Morning Herald* leader. He went on to say:

> At present few Australians realise that, as the Filipinos have pointed out, we owe them a genuine wartime debt of gratitude. For the "Filamerican" Army held up the Japanese southward advance to Australia for some five months by its resistance on Bataan and Corregidor. This check to Japan gave us a valuable breathing space.

On his return from a lecture tour of Japan made under the auspices of the Army Education Service, Moore visited the Philippines in 1948 to undertake research for his course. His visit was reported

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[16] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 April 1949.

widely in the press, the *Manila Times* introducing its article with a welcoming remark: "An old-timer of the intellectual community of the Philippines has come back to see old friends in Manila. It is his first visit "home" since 1931". It concluded: "*Times* staff members who knew Major Moore when he was "Professor Tom Inglis Moore" in the days when he dabbled in literature scarcely recognised their slender, black-haired, intense friend of old in the husky, gray-haired officer in the uniform of the Australian forces. Once identification was established, however, all was well".[17] Moore wrote later

> I was surprised to find that I was still remembered and almost as a myth, associated with what was a very fertile period of writing in Filipino English. One newspaper welcomed me back and saluted me as the father of Filipino literature in English. They didn't say who the mother was![18]

Later, in 1951, he was invited back to lecture at the University of the Philippines, but it proved impossible to arrange this visit.

In 1950 a former student, Mr Villaluz, who became a zoologist in the Bureau of Fisheries, Manila, met a young Australian scientist, Wolfe Fairbridge, at an International Fisheries Conference held at Cronulla, New South Wales. Fairbridge, who was also a budding poet, wrote to Moore, "The other night Villaluz spoke of you in such glowing terms, saying that your lectures in English had 'influenced the course of modern Philippines literature', that I thought I must let you know".[19] Mrs Jean Edades, who reprinted his play in her 1957 collection of Philippine plays, also remembered Moore as an inspiring lecturer, whose literary presence was in no way impeded by his personal presence:

> I shall always remember you as the superbly handsome young intellectual who opened up vistas of glorious intangibles to our gifted but island-bound young literati. Lucky were those young writers who gathered around your desk till late every afternoon.[20]

Moore received another tribute to his time spent with the U.P. Writers' Club when in 1957 he was sent an article in 1957 from the Philippine Embassy in Sydney, by Dr. Adeudato Agbayani, who, together with his wife, had been Moore's students in Manila. Moore wrote in reply:

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17 *Manila Times*, 24 February 1948.

18 Tom Inglis Moore. Tape in Australian National Library, 31 March 1967.

19 Wolfe Fairbridge to Tom Inglis Moore, 24 April 1950.

20 Jean Edades to Tom Inglis Moore, 5 July 1957.

> Thank you very much for sending me the *Sunday Times* magazine, with the history of the U.P. Writers' Club. Needless to say we were very interested in the article, and especially pleased to find a mention of my name and some critical advice given some twenty-three years ago. This is certainly a case of casting one's bread upon the waters and having it return after many days! I remember spending much time and labour as adviser to the Club, but I enjoyed it because the writers were so keen and so many of them showed literary ability.[21]

They certainly did. José Garcia Villa, the too-passionate poet, is now one of the Philippine poets with an international reputation. Federico Mangahas also became a well-known author. Salvador Lopez, who distinguished himself as a scholar, became President of the University of the Philippines, after having served as a diplomat and Secretary of the Philippines Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When he came to Australia in 1970, he was quoted as saying:

> Tom Inglis Moore taught me all I know about English. He is very highly regarded for what he did to develop a love for English literature in the Philippines. Much Filipino writing in English came under his influence.[22]

In 1953 the Department of External Affairs unexpectedly abolished the course for diplomatic cadets, and the next year Moore set up at the Canberra University College the first full-time course in Australian literature taught at any university. It became a degree course in 1955, and in 1959 he was made Associate Professor of Australian Literature.

Although Moore's professional connection with the Philippines ceased when the Pacific Affairs course ended, he continued to have personal contacts with Philippine friends. Former students turned up as members of the Philippine diplomatic staff - for instance, Judge Roberto Regala was appointed as Ambassador of the Philippines in Canberra, and the Agbayanis were Philippine representatives in Sydney. The Moores were invited to the Philippine diplomatic functions in Canberra and celebrated regularly the Philippine Independence Days at receptions on 4 July.

In 1958 Moore was one of the editors for the Canberra Fellowship of Australian Writers of an anthology, called *Span: an adventure in Asian and Australian writing*. Among the contributors were José Garcia Villa, Nick Joaquin and Alejandro R. Roces.

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21 Tom Inglis Moore to Dr Adeudato Agbayani, 2 October 1957.

22 "Open to our influence", *Canberra Times*, 7 May 1970.

Mrs Agbayani, Tom and Peace Inglis Moore
Philippine Independence Day, Canberra 1956

Until his death in 1978 Moore's connections with the Philippines were maintained by his participation in conferences on Asia/Australian relations, and by writing reviews on books on the Philippines. Moore was always committed to serving the interests of Philippine literature, and he maintained an Australian awareness of the Philippines through his writing for forty years. As Dr Elizabeth Perkins has written, "A complete and perhaps idealistic commitment to people and literature was the great strength of Moore's work. In many ways he was a pioneer of Australian involvement in Philippine studies".[23]

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[23] Pacita Alexander and Elizabeth Perkins. "Tom Inglis Moore", *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review*, vol.10, no.1, July 1986, p.56.

VI
A PHILIPPINE HERO
The Half Way Sun by Tom Inglis Moore

Elizabeth Perkins

Tom Inglis Moore's *The Half Way Sun, A Tale of the Philippine Islands* was the first novel written by an Australian and set in the Philippines. When the story was first published under the title "Kalatong" in 1931 as a serial in the *Philippine Magazine,* each instalment was eagerly read, not only in Manila, but also, as one of Moore's former students reported, by readers in Kalinga and Bontoc.[1] In 1935 *The Half Way Sun* was published in Sydney by Angus and Robinson, who distributed it throughout Australia, and in New Zealand and South Africa. The many enthusiastic reviews from each of these countries suggest that the novel introduced its readers to an exotic society and an alien heroic head-hunting tradition with which they nevertheless identified, apparently with no difficulty and much pleasure. It is interesting to examine the novel and its genesis to try to account for its appeal to so many diverse readers, and to comment on the significance of the novel as a contribution to the interchange of Philippine-Australian culture.

The story of Kalatong was told to Tom Inglis Moore while he was Associate Professor of English at the University of the Philippines by the American anthropologist, Dr H. Otley Beyer. Beyer had then spent over twenty-five years working in the provincial districts of the Philippines, including central Luzon, and had established the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines: his grave now lies in the Ifugao town of Banaue. The clean lines and wise simplicity of Kalatong's story are perhaps partly due to the fact that it was preserved and recorded by young men who obviously differed from the Philippine hero in many ways, but whose own stories suggest that they shared his zest for life, his sense of personal worth, and his feeling of communal responsibility.

Kalatong was a mature man in 1905 when Beyer, at the age of twenty-two, was sent to Ifugao as a supervising teacher and as secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Jeff Gallman, Constabulary Captain

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[1] Amador Daguio to Tom Inglis Moore, 12 December 1932.

of Ifugao. Gallman himself was remarkably young for the position and responsibilities he held, but he was by all available evidence a fearless, just and astute leader who spoke fluent Ifugao and several other languages of the region.[2] Gallman rescued Kalatong from the gaol where he was dying, unjustly incarcerated by enemies who had exploited the former governor's ignorance of the regional languages. Moore was twenty-eight when Beyer told him the part of Kalatong's story that he knew at first hand; that is, from the time of Kalatong's imprisonment until his death many years later while carrying out a dangerous peace-keeping mission for Gallman.[3] Drawing on all available published authorities, including an excellent early work, Dr A.E. Jenks' *The Bontoc Igorot* (1905), and persuading American and Philippine specialists to criticise and check his manuscript in all its stages, Moore created in fictional form Kalatong's life from early manhood to death. He spent any time he had free from his teaching travelling in the Bontoc and Ifugao regions. He delayed his return to Australia in early 1931 by some months so that he could finish writing the manuscript at Barlig, Kambulo and Banaue, and take it to Beyer in Manila for a final scrutiny.

Moore knew he had a good story, but he wanted to write it as accurately as possible and he was aware that he had perhaps set himself an impossible task in attempting to find his way into another culture, and one which existed a generation before the society that he could at least observe around him. The first half of Kalatong's story belongs to a time just before the arrival of the Americans and the changes they effected in Bontoc and Ifugao society. Moore wrote to his

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2 American authorities, Dean C Worcester (1914) and R F Barton (1930) who knew Gallman personally, obviously see Gallman's work from an American perspective, but their accounts are supported by the Ifugao historian, Mariano A Dumia. Citing Gallman's dedication, courage and physical prowess, Dumia writes: "When disagreement arose, the people would say, *'Na nga mong man hi Gallman,'* meaning 'It's up to Gallman.' ... This phrase was so popular that even recently, people would still quote it." *The Ifugao World,* Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979.

3 It is not known what Gallman thought of Moore's narrative of a story that was partly his own. Hartendorp, the editor of the *Philippine Magazine* wrote to Moore: "I located Galman (sic) in an old soldier's home some months ago, and put him on the complimentary list, sending also all the back numbers containing instalments of the story. I have not yet had a reply from him." A.V.H. Hartendorp to Tom Inglis Moore, 10 February 1932.

sister Dorothy (Doff) in Australia of the difficulties he had in his research trips to Bontoc, Barlig, Kambulo and Banue:

> I got some information but found it difficult getting it, since I had to depend on the translations of the conversations the old Bontocs and Ifugaos made by the local schoolteachers who were Ilocanos and knew little either of English or the Bontoc and Ifugao dialects. Still I got something. But there is no doubt that for what I want, the only thing is to live among the people for a year, get to know them, earn their friendship and confidence, and talk to them in their own language.[4]

He added that it was very difficult trying to imagine what his characters would do and say, because their minds were so different from anything Australians were accustomed to. His respect for that difference, apparent from his first comments about the projected novel, are what gives the narrative of *The Half Way Sun* its special quality of simple dignity. "The kind of book I want to write should be written from the *inside*," he told his sister, "and I don't know the life, customs, religion and thought of the Ifugao from the inside."[5]

At this point, Moore received encouragement from the work of another young man, the American ethnologist Oliver La Farge, whose Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *Laughing Boy* (1929), Moore had just bought in Manila. La Farge was born in 1901, the same year as Moore, and *Laughing Boy*, published when he was twenty-eight, was based on material he had gained while writing a Master's thesis about the life of the Navajo people of New Mexico. In the same letter in which Moore criticised his own inability to understand Kalatong's story "from the inside," he told Doff that La Farge:

> was doing the same stunt as myself, writing a literary novel of a native people. I liked the book very much, and could see where La Farge had done what I wanted to do but hadn't succeeded in doing because I couldn't get inside enough.

Moore's use of the word "stunt" does not imply some trick or sleight of hand which might create a spurious verisimilitude: in a young man's jargon of that time it was a recognition of the difficulty of the task. La Farge and Moore were not trying to appropriate the lives of their characters, but to present the characters' stories so that readers could find in the narrative an important meaning. This was not necessarily the meaning that the story of Kalatong and his people might have for

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4 Tom Inglis Moore to Dorothy Moore, 26 June 1930.

5 *Ibid.*

the Bontocs and Ifugaos, or that the story of Laughing Boy and Slim Girl might have for the Navajos, but the meaning that these peoples' lives had for the young writers.[6] The Prefaces written by La Farge and Moore show that they valued these stories because they could respond to the special qualities they found in the people of these societies. In his 1962 Preface La Farge wrote of himself as a young man:

> Among [the Navajo Indians] he had seen something that moved him greatly and this was his way of recording it. As the young can do, he had made personal friendships, experienced genuine moments of contact among the Navajos, despite the barriers of language and culture. . . [7]

Moore's Preface reveals the young man's respect for the spiritual life of his hero as much as his admiration for the "epic simplicity and strength, the heroic element" in the lives of the mountain people to whom the Earth World is "steeped in magic and mystery, where the light floating clouds are the wavy locks of Bugan, the goddess of beauty; where the very rice is alive. . ."[8]

Moore and La Farge could not avoid looking with Europeanised eyes, but their telling of the stories shows that they found in them much that they recognised as valuable, and indeed beautiful, because it was different from their own Europeanised cultures.

Kalatong's story begins in his Bontoc village, Barlig, where he takes the head of a Spanish commandante who was leading a punitive expedition against the Barligs. In taking his first head, an essential qualification for manhood, Kalatong also wounds and makes an enemy of Pedro Puchilin, the son of the Spanish commandante and an Ifugao woman. Pedro, a character based on a real man, is the least convincingly drawn figure in the novel, although the process by which

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[6] Moore's material hope for the novel was that it would take him into the life of a writer rather than a teacher. Tom Inglis Moore to Dorothy Moore, 26 June 1930. *The Half Way Sun*, however, was Moore's only novel, and after 1945 most of his energies went into University teaching. At what was later the Australian National University he committed himself to the teaching of Australian Literature at a time when many Professors of English doubted a sufficiently reputable body of Australian writing existed. Although the distinction has recently been claimed for other academics, Moore was in fact, in 1955, the first person to teach a full-year degree course in Australian Literature at any university.

[7] Oliver La Farge, *Laughing Boy,* New York: Buccaneer Books, 1976. n.p. Orig. pub. 1929.

[8] T. Inglis Moore.*The Half Way Sun.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1935. n.p. Page numbers for quotations from *The Half Way Sun* refer to this edition.

he dominates the Ifugao and Bontoc people after the Americans come, and takes his revenge on Kalatong, is psychologically credible. Aided by Ifugao chiefs jealous of the ascendancy of Kalatong, "a poor Barlig stranger, who had become a rich Kambulo chief" (219), Pedro has Kalatong arrested on a spurious charge of sexually assaulting Dinoan, the wife of one of the chiefs. Unable to defend himself in his own language before the American administrator, Lieutenant Giles, and dependent on his enemy as an interpreter, Kalatong is thrown into gaol . Here Pedro keeps him barely alive in irons, and tortures him.

Lieutenant Gallman was displeased by the over-crowded gaol when he came to Benaue, and examined the records which Pedro deliberately kept incomplete because he had been using the gaol to incarcerate his enemies and as a blackmail threat against others. Kalatong, surviving only by strength of will, is brought before Gallman to have his case reviewed. The chapter ends simply and dramatically:

> The lieutenant looked up. "Ah, here is an entry about his arrest and conviction - just a line to two. But it says the prisoner pleaded innocent." He turned to Kalatong: "Do you still claim to be innocent of the charge against you?" His chains jingled and the guards grasped their rifles as Kalatong started back a step in amazement. He stared at the lieutenant as if he could not believe what he had heard. Then a great hope burst upon him, like a light, and he turned his deep, burning eyes on the interpreter. "Come on!" said Gallman impatiently. "Don't you understand me?" Kalatong's eyes flashed as the flame of hope leapt up higher, clear and strong. For the American had spoken to him in Ifugao! (206-207)

Kalatong's innocence is not easily established. He had many jealous enemies, and men who disliked the conspirators were bound to support them through fear or family ties, and Pedro would not easily give up his supremacy. The narrative maintains the suspense by an entirely credible representation of the intricate forces of fear, loyalty, honesty and self-interest at work in the community. Only after imprisoning Pedro, to release his hold on the people, is Gallman able to establish Kalatong's innocence. The lieutenant then questions Kalatong about his part in inciting the people of Kambulo to rebel against his predecessor, Lieutenant Giles:

> Kalatong threw back his head and looked the American in the eye. "It is true. *Apo* Giles was an enemy. He came with guns to force us to break our customs, to give up to him the heads of our foes. Why should he do that? It is not just. We are a free people. So I fought those who would make us slaves! "The warriors murmured in surprise

> at his audacity. But Gallman only grunted, "Umph!" Yet Kalatong felt that secretly he was not ill pleased at the reply. "You speak well, Kalatong. But can your spears and war-knives fight the guns of the constabulary?" Kalatong bowed his head. "Thus you see it is useless to fight against the Melikano. But which is better for the Ifugao, the Melikano law with peace and safety, or the head-hunting with trouble and sorrow?" Kalatong saw the headless body of Agku again. He heard once more the wailing of his wife for their son. Slowly he answered: "Peace, *Apo,* peace, and the law."(231)

Kalatong becomes a *presidente* and faces a series of different challenges in which his new responsibility to the laws of peace must overcome his old loyalty to the Bontoc and Ifugao laws of revenge. His first challenge is to make peace between Barlig, his birth-place, and Kambulo, when two Barlig warriors behead Dinoan and her little daughter. Urging the warriors of Kambulo to trust in Gallman's justice to avenge the deaths, he learns that Governor Kleinz of Bontoc is sending his constabulary to protect Barlig against the anticipated Kambulo war-party. Kalatong finds himself mediating not only between the Barligs and the Kambulos, but between the two Americans, each protective of the people under his custody. Kalatong's desperate bid to prevent war between his old home and Kambulo takes him alone into Barlig to speak to the chiefs and warriors:

> As he began to speak, Kalatong forgot all his weariness. He only knew that on his words now depended the fate of the two villages, and perhaps of the two tribes. He knew his listeners were drunk with the intoxication of the head- feats, excited, instant to kill if provoked. At any second a rash or angry hand might draw back to send the hurtling spear through his body. He had his gun, and that alone gave him some measure of protection, for the warriors were afraid of this strange thunderous weapon, so swift and deadly. But the war frenzy could easily overcome this fear. He was one warrior against hundreds. Carefully, then, he chose the words of life or death. (245)

In the narrative of Kalatong's achievements as *presidente* his physical courage and endurance are balanced against his diplomacy and statesmanlike rhetoric. The factual truth of this part of Kalatong's story is rendered totally convincing because Moore's earlier fictional narrative has shown his protagonist discovering and exercising his natural gifts, and patiently honing them in the successes and vicissitudes of his life, while more painfully acquiring those other skills, like diplomacy and tolerance, which had not come to him

naturally. The sense of truth is strengthened also because the spiritual life of the Bontocs and Ifugaos is present convincingly throughout the story, not only in the narrative of allegorical stories of the gods which are sometimes used to break a tension among a group, or mark a period of relaxation, but also in the meditations of Kalatong and his wife Intannap. Songs and prayers used in religious ritual are introduced appropriately and emphasise the spiritual awareness of the Bontocs and the Ifugaos.[9] The sense of awe remains even when Kalatong is forced to doubt the powers of his gods and half succumbs to the scepticism of the American's belief: "He said it was not the will of the gods that mattered, but a man's own will, his strength, and his bravery. Perhaps that is a kind of religion," Kalatong tells his wife. But Intannap's conservative instinct tells her that a man like Kalatong cannot live without the resources of a spiritual world. Before Kalatong is ambushed on his dangerous mission for Gallman by the treachery of his old enemy Pedro, and beheaded as he bathes in a stream, he feels at peace with his own gods:

> His skin tingled with the pleasant shock and embrace of the water. Refreshed and invigorated, he began to feel joyous for the first time since he had offered to carry the message to Mayaoyao. He began to feel confident that he could accomplish his errand. Amalgo shone down on him brightly, rising into the mid-heavens to become the Half Way Sun, the inspirer of bravery. Then, as he bent over and washed, the spear of Eppalahan went through his back. He fell forward in the water. . . .(311-312)

Amalgo and the gods of peace have not forsaken Kalatong: his death and beheading were foretold early in the story when he killed a rival in a fight over a girl, and the girl, Aparas, cursed him, wishing that he would become a *pinteng*, the spirit of one who has been beheaded. Kalatong's life had run its true and natural course when he died in the stream: his youthful rashness, arrogance, impatience and ambition long before transformed into courage, strength, honour and wisdom. The nobility of Moore's Kalatong rests not only on these

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[9] Moore carefully checked these. In a letter to his wife he quoted in Ifugao: "Mugangalâna hi wigan ki Kabûnian pa-nalpoliwan-na dôla-na'd Kabûnian ... " and explained that it was "part of a headhunting ritual that Beyer went through with me this afternoon. I wanted him to translate it properly, so I could put it into verse, and use it in Kalatong. But he said he didn't know it all, and it would take a lot of time to get the accurate translation as it is archaic Ifugao used only in religious ritual. " Tom Inglis Moore to Peace Moore, 7 November 1930.

virtues, but also on his deep sense of belonging to and drawing from the spirit of the natural world. His ability to reflect on his life and his society, and to perceive where change might be best, depends on his ability to reflect on his gods and their place in the spiritual world which transcends them. These, and thoughts of the loyalty of his wife and kinsfolk, are the things that keep him alive in the long, tortured months in gaol where he feels "like a chicken in a night-basket" (226).

The end of the novel is the summation of Kalatong's life. Across the mountains of his homeland, the voice of another man echoes Kalatong's own shout long ago as he took his first head, his own triumphant head-hunting call of "Vengeance for Him Who Has Gone Before":

> The body of Kalatong fell into the river, and for one moment the water swirled red over the rocks. Domingo held up the head. "Vengeance for Him Who Has Gone Before!" he cried triumphantly. "*Agi-yu-whoo*!!" The shout rang across the valley, till the echoes, rolling back from the terraced mountains, ebbed into the silence. (212)

The silence is a resonant, speaking silence that communicated with many readers who may have known nothing of the famous rice terraces of Banaue, or even where the island of Luzon lay in the archipelago of the Philippines. The response of the *Sydney Morning Herald* reviewer expressed what many others were to feel:

> Fearless, honourable, and loyal to the death to those who have earned his loyalty, Kalatong is a genuinely noble as well as picturesque figure, and his final fate stirs our emotions with the sense of irreparable loss. This, we feel, was a man.[10]

This reviewer (as did many others) said that *The Half Way Sun* successfully struck "a new and distinctive note in Australian Literature." This new note is heard not only in the epic nature of the story and the simplicity and dignity of the narrative style, but in the achievement of the novel in making an Australian reader exclaim at the end of three hundred pages about the life of a warrior from a then virtually unknown people, "This, we feel, was a man."

An Australian reader today understands very well what was meant when Mary Gilmore, an older writer and a champion of Aboriginal and women's rights, wrote to Moore after reading *The Half Way Sun*:

> I have an aching wish that someone would have done for the natives of Australia what you have done for the Philippines ... writing as it

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[10] "Kalatong the Brave", *Sydney Morning Herald* , 12 April 1935.

> were from brain to brain, in the equalities of intellect and capacity ...[11]

The reviewer in the Brisbane *Sunday Mail* , at the end of a thousand word synopsis of *The Half Way Sun*, also believed that Moore's novel was "the kind that we should be reading written about our own blacks."[12] It is no longer necessary for others to write for the Aboriginal people, who are now telling their own stories, and it was not necessary for Moore to write for the Bontocs and Ifugaos, or for La Farge to write for the Navajos. As was suggested earlier, and as the reviewers perceived, the intention of *The Half Way Sun* was to recreate an heroic figure who would speak for his people. Although most reviewers mentioned the exotic and "primitive" nature of Kalatong's society, their subsequent comments, however brief, tended to show that in the end they had found the people of *The Half Way Sun* different but comprehensible, and obviously not so "primitive" that the reviewers could not identify with them in the most important matters of a human life.

Two eminent literary men who gave readers' reports to the publishers praised Moore for his ability to "think himself into the mind of Kalatong, and into the atmosphere of his life and the life of his people; and because "the character of Kalatong is developed very well, so that in the end one finds himself interested in him as an individual."[13] R.G. Howarth, then a lecturer in the English Department at the University of Sydney, wrote that "we are taught to respect this man as his people respected him. . . .We follow Kalatong's inner development as we are led on swiftly through the incidents of his life."[14] A New Zealand reviewer praised the novel because it:

> brought a tribal hero, a national hero, to life in a story of valour and loyalty which quickens the blood and gives one a finer conception of what constitutes manhood when man is closer to nature. Here is a man, leader of his fellow tribesman (sic), facing strong enemies and new conditions, trying to meet the inevitable in a way that would save his people and falling finally under the hand of those who,

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[11] Mary Gilmore to Tom Inglis Moore, 5 May 1935, *Letters of Mary Gilmore*, selected and edited by W.H. Wilde and T. Inglis Moore, Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1980: 112.

[12] "Filipino Hero in a Fine Australian Novel", Sunday Mail, 28 April, 1935.

[13] H.M. Green, literary historian, quoted in a letter from Angus and Robertson to Moore, 24 June 1935; Vance Palmer, writer and critic, to Angus and Robertson, 10 March 1935.

[14] "The Half Way Sun" *The Union Recorder*. University of Sydney, 15 August 1935.

> unenlightened, would welcome disaster before survival. Kalatong is a mighty character and Moore has depicted him clearly. [15]

The reviewer in the *Sydney Mail* also found Kalatong "indeed a fine character," whose career is absorbing "from the time he takes his first 'head' till he is treacherously murdered at the hands of an enemy many years later; "the reviewer added, "Intannap, his wife, is another appealing figure, whose love for and pride in, her husband are shown in her every action."[16] In Melbourne, *The Herald* praised Moore because:

> He never makes the mistake of looking at his hero through white eyes or of judging him by standards other than his own. The result is that we come to believe in Kalatong as a human being, different only from ourselves as the result of tradition and environment, . . . [17]

Reviewer after reviewer referred to the power of the novel in which "a picture of the people rises clear in the mind," and which could rouse the reader's sympathy and understanding, and reflect "the culture of a most remarkable people."[18] A letter from a reader unknown to Moore, who placed the novel beside "Henry Handel Richardson's Trilogy," and who wrote that "The development of the hero's mind is the most interesting study in psychology I have ever found in a novel," suggests that the responses of reviewers were shared by the general public. [19]

Moore's narrative style is not the focus of interest here, although the success of *The Half Way Sun* in communicating with so many readers would have been impossible in a book written with less narrative tact and strength. It is the use made of the carefully researched detail of the lives of the Bontocs and Ifugaos that gives the story the realities on which the lives of Kalatong and his friends and enemies are reconstructed. The comparative failure of Pedro Puchilin

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15 "The Real Filipino", *Southland Times*, (Invercargill), 25 August 1935.

16 "A Tale of the Philippines", *Sydney Mail*, 1 June 1935.

17 "The Half Way Sun", *The Herald* (Melbourne), 23 May 1935.

18 *Mercury* (Hobart), 31 August 1935; *Newcastle Morning Herald,* 26 April 1935.

19 Bertha Crowther to Tom Inglis Moore, 14 March 1936. *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* by Henry Handel Richardson (Ethel Florence Richardson), published in three parts in 1917, 1925 and 1929, won international recognition and is regarded as an Australian classic. Sydney Tomholt, a friend of Moore in Manila, reported that "[Hartendorp] an outstanding literary critic of the Far East, declared *The Half Way Sun* to be the greatest literary event in the Philippines since the appearance of Rizal's Noli Me Tangere." Sydney Tomholt, typescript review, 1935. No published copy has been found.

to come alive is largely because, although his motives and actions are recorded convincingly, he is never shown going about the small businesses of his life.

On the other hand, the daily life of Barlig and Kambulo described in the first part of the novel is realised in details that have a role in forwarding the narrative as well as providing the social and cultural frame of the story. Details that an ethnologist would record as data are restored to life in Moore's recreation. The war-party and its aftermath when the captured heads were celebrated, Kalatong's first head-hunter tattoo, the customs that govern relationships between the sexes, the work in the fields and in the huts, and the inter-village trade by which Intannap persuades her suitor to earn her bridal price, are part of a living picture. The narrative carefully distinguishes between the mores of the Bontoc village of Barlig and those of the Ifugao village of Kambulo where Kalatong wooed and then lived with Intannap. Typical of Moore's use of authentic detail is the way in which the narrative transforms Kalatong's grave breach of Ifugao decorum, in referring to eggs in the presence of a brother and sister, into a significant turning point in his relationship with Intannap and his understanding of his own intolerance and thoughtlessness.

In one detail at least, Moore seems to have borrowed from La Farge's *Laughing Boy,* and no evidence is readily available that the image was also part of Bontoc or Ifugao culture. *Laughing Boy* is the story of the relationship between a young Navajo artist who works in silver and turquoise, and a Navajo girl taken from her people and educated in a convent, but left to survive as best she could by selling herself to men. Although the marriage is against the law, since their clans are related, Slim Girl sets out to win Laughing Boy, for she sees him as part of her plan to find her way back to her people and be admitted into their society.Before they enter "the marriage trail," however, Slim Girl comes to love Laughing Boy, although she fears losing to him her hard-won mastery over herself. Isolated from his family, the marriage trail with Slim Girl is not easy for Laughing Boy, although the narrative splendidly evokes the concept of beauty in which his marriage unfolds and which is central to Navajo spiritual life. There is only the merest similarity between the relationship of Laughing Boy and Slim Girl and the relationship of Kalatong and Intannap to suggest that La Farge's novel may have given Moore some ideas for handling his own narrative at this point, but the use of the phrase "the marriage trail" in *The Half Way Sun* is apparently

borrowed from Navajo imagery and seems foreign to the Philippine setting.

The reviewers obviously saw *The Half Way Sun* as a *Bildungsroman* charting the growth and development of a young warrior into a man of material substance amassed through canny trading. After his wealth and its accompanying power aroused an envy that betrayed him into enemy hands and the long prison ordeal, the story show his maturing into a new kind of leader, a *presidente* implementing the better part of American law. This provided a known narrative pattern to which Australian readers could relate.

But it is only one of the ways in which the novel communicates across cultures. Kalatong's story is not so much the paradigm of the male-centred European *Bildungsroman,* the story of the development of young man's character through the education given by life. Rather it is a story *about* cultures. When the novel appeared as a serial in the *Philippine Magazine* it was subtitled "A Novel of Bontok and Ifugao", because it was important to distinguish between the two neighbouring but significantly differing cultures. In *The Half Way Sun* the protagonist grows to heroic stature as he fulfils the obligations of his own Bontoc culture, and learns to live in and through the culture of the Ifugao, whose gentler, more thoughtful disposition is very different from his own bold, frank and outspoken habit of mind. Moreover, in his acceptance of the American law when he perceives the better wisdom of its prohibition against head-hunting, and its dispositions for settling serious differences and breaches of social law, he learns to take the best from an alien culture.

If readers in 1935 were not perhaps conscious that Kalatong's story imaged the acquisition and sharing of cultural values, this dimension of the narrative did make itself felt below the surface, and in doing so created some subtle and invisible, but not unimportant, links between the Philippines and Australia.

VII
'IT HAD TO HAPPEN': THE GAMBOAS AND AUSTRALIAN-PHILIPPINE INTERACTIONS*

Rodney Sullivan

Lorenzo (Lory) Gamboa was a Filipino from Pangasinan serving in the American Army when Japanese forces attacked the Philippines in December 1941. Today he lives with his Australian wife Joyce in contented retirement at Coombabah on Queensland's Gold Coast some seventy kilometres from Brisbane the state capital. Living near them are their children and grandchildren. The Gamboas' retirement activities centre on their family including practical assistance during busy periods at the Gold Coast restaurant of their daughter and son-in-law. Behind the tranquillity and normalcy of the Gamboa household lies the extraordinary and the historical.

They married on 9 October 1943 in St John's Church of England at West Brunswick in Melbourne. The best man was Rush Milling, a notable Filipino welter-weight boxer who fought in Brisbane in the mid-1940s; Joyce's bridesmaid was Madge Smith, a neighbour and friend from childhood days.[1] The marriage was one of only six between Filipino soldiers and Australian women during World War Two.[2]

Nothing in Joyce Cain's background seems extraordinary. Her father, who had won the Military Medal in World War One, was a Victorian railwayman who believed that "the Labor Party was for the working man".[3] Her mother, like Joyce a war bride, was English. In March 1942 Joyce, then working in a Melbourne biscuit factory, met Lory by chance on a Melbourne train. A conversation was struck up and Joyce asked the young Asian home to meet her family.[4]

Joyce had no consciousness of embarking on an extraordinary venture. It is true that her mother, a generation earlier, had married a

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented to The Fourth International Philippine Studies Conference. The author gratefully acknowledges the research assistance of Anne Tapp.

1 Joyce and Lorenzo Gamboa. Interviewed by Rodney Sullivan at Coombabah, 11 July 1992.

2 Arthur Calwell in *CPD*, vol. H of R 202, 19 May 1949, p. 72.

3 Joyce Gamboa. Interviewed by Rodney Sullivan at Coombabah, 11 July 1992. (Hereafter, JG 11 July 1992).

4 Joyce and Lorenzo Gamboa. Interviewed by Rodney Sullivan at Coombabah, 6 January, 1992. (Hereafter J&LG 6 January 1992).

soldier from a distant land, but both parents were European, and citizens of the British Empire. That her husband was Filipino did not strike Joyce as particularly relevant to their future. Her father's aggressive egalitarianism was as dismissive of racial as it was of social distinctions. He warmed to Gamboa's humour and sporting ability, raising the matter of race only once when he told his future son-in-law "... in this house we don't look at a man's complexion - we look at the man. We like you".[5] Lory found similar acceptance from the rest of Joyce's family, her friends, her fellow-workers at Brockhoff's Biscuit Factory, particularly its personnel officer John Young, later a prominent Australian businessman.[6] She was conscious of the glances the unusual couple attracted, particularly in the early days of their courtship but detected no hostility: "When I first went out with him people would look at us but that was a natural instinct".[7]

Before her marriage Joyce Cain knew of the White Australia Policy, the usual term for the Australian Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, designed to restrict entry of non-Europeans to Australia using the device of a dictation test. Arthur Calwell, who became Australia's first Immigration Minister in July 1945, dismissed the phrase as "journalese" and a "very misleading term"; in 1949 he proclaimed "that our policy is not, and never has been, directed at the total exclusion of non-Europeans; nor is it based on any assumption of racial superiority". Yet when he described the goals of his Ministry he referred to the need for "the preservation of the homogeneous character of our population" and for "the avoidance of the friction which inevitably follows an influx of peoples having different standards of living, traditions, culture and national characteristics".[8]

But for Joyce Cain in a society at war in 1943 White Australia was an obsolete concept, invoked neither by her family nor by her friends when she began keeping company with a Filipino. Still a sensitive teenager she detected no public censure. Moreover it seemed to her that the war had loosened the social constraints of an older Australia. Australian cities had become suddenly more cosmopolitan with the influx of tens of thousands of American troops - some of them

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5 *People*, 16 January 1952.

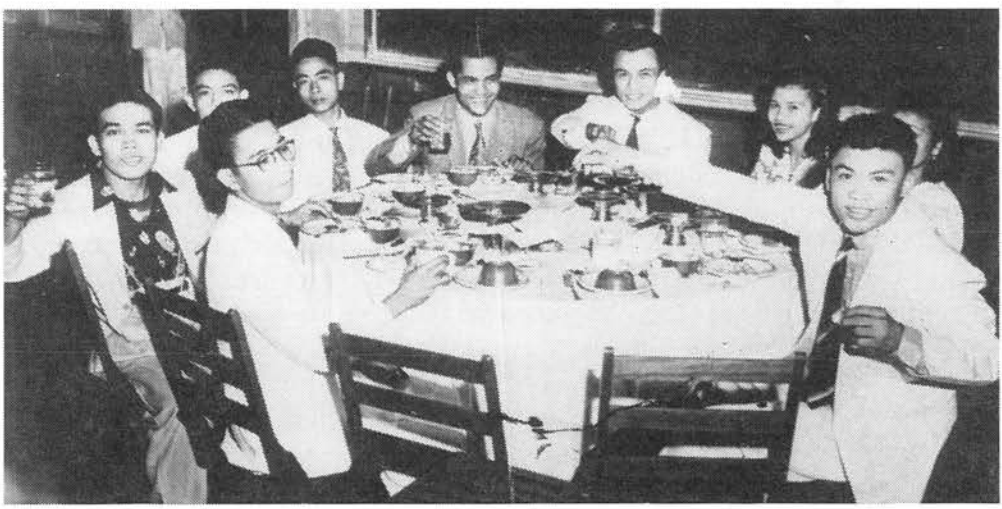
6 JG 11 July 1992.

7 Joyce Gamboa. Interviewed by Rodney Sullivan at Coombabah, 6 January 1992. (Hereafter, JG 6 January 1992).

8 Calwell in *CPD*, vol.202 H of R, 9 June 1949, p.808.

black - and according to Calwell's worried estimate thousands of Asian war refugees.[9] Joyce had noticed in Melbourne that "a lot of [Australian] women were marrying negroes and men of all colours". The war, the threat of invasion, the absence of many Australian men from their households and communities, and the mobilisation of women for the war effort disrupted Australian conservatism. "It was wartime. People were saying, 'Grab what you can while you can'" In her own case she felt that Lory Gamboa, though a Filipino, was also an American serviceman and therefore a beneficiary of Australian gratitude to the United States military which, particularly after the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942, was widely believed to have saved Australia from the threat of Japanese invasion. "Lory was in the American army and fighting for Australia".[10]

Similarly war had provided Lorenzo Gamboa with risks and opportunities. Born in 1917 in the Pangasinan town of Mangaldan he left home at sixteen to work in a coal mine. Two years later he was labouring during the day, attending college at night to study electrical engineering and undergoing military training twice a year under the provisions of the Philippine Commonwealth's National Defence Act, 1935. He was athletic and took up boxing. In 1940 he won the



The National University boxing team; Lory Gamboa is at the extreme left.

9 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March 1949.

10 JG 6 January 1992.

National University's boxing title for non-students which entitled him to a scholarship; lacking the education required for university entrance he returned to night classes to complete his secondary schooling. The increasing likelihood of a major war in the Asia-Pacific region brought Gamboa into the American army in the Philippines in 1941. He narrowly escaped death by bombing when the Japanese military assault on the Philippines began on 8 December. Hospitalised after suffering a hernia loading stores, on the last day of 1941 he was carried on a stretcher on board the *Mactan*, an inter-island steamer hastily converted into a hospital ship. Surviving a bombing attack on Manila harbour the *Mactan* made its way to the Celebes and then Northern Australia arriving in Darwin on 13 January 1942.[11]

Gamboa was part of a larger Philippine exodus to Australia after the collapse of resistance to Japanese invasion. More notable Filipinos who fled to the southern continent included the President of the Philippines Manuel Quezon, his wife, and General Carlos Romulo, "the last man off Bataan".[12] Accompanying them was the commander of Philippine and American forces General Douglas MacArthur, ordered to Australia by the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Australia and the Philippines were Second World War allies. This offered a promising basis for post-war friendship and co-operation, particularly after the Philippines achieved independence in July 1946. The Philippines President Manuel Roxas spoke to an Australian radio audience on the eve of independence referring to "the associations of the recent war when Australia became for us the base of our hope and our salvation". He nominated Australia "as one neighbour whom we especially wish to cultivate".[13] In a reciprocal message the Australian Prime Minister J. B. Chifley noted that Australians and Filipinos had "stood side by side" when tested "in the furnace of war". He looked to the maintenance of the "friendships forged in war" and to joint

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11 Lorenzo Gamboa. Interviewed by Rodney Sullivan at Coombabah, 6 January 1992; *People*, 16 January 1952. (Hereafter LG 6 January 1992).

12 Carlos P. Romulo, *I Walked With Heroes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1961, p. 224.

13 Manuel Roxas, "Broadcast by the President of the Republic of the Philippines, President Manuel Roxas, 3rd July 1946, on the eve of the inauguration of Philippine independence", *Current Notes on International Affairs* 17, 8, August 1946, p. 436.

participation by Australia and the Philippines in an "effort to achieve a better world".[14]

The notion of a close relationship between Australia and the Philippines with its origins in the Second World War persisted for some time. In some cases it was expressed as a debt of gratitude. In 1949 the federal parliamentarian and former New South Wales premier J. T. (Jack) Lang pointed out that "Australia has a very real reason to remember the defence of Bataan and Corregidor". In a proposition perhaps more important for its sentiment and perception than its historical accuracy he argued that the "resistance by the Philippines gave Australia vital breathing space, and enabled the American Feet to be moved south into position for the Battle of the Coral Sea". When the first Australian Minister to the Republic of the Philippines, Rear-Admiral G. D. Moore, presented his credentials to President Quirino in July 1950 he promised that "Australians will long remember the heroism of Bataan and Corregidor and the part played at that time by the men and women of the Philippines".[15] The theme of a permanent linkage forged in war also entered Quirino's reply: "As in the days of Port Darwin, Bataan and Corregidor, so shall it be in the years to come".[16]

There were other signs in the late 1940s that the Philippines and Australia would move towards greater interconnectedness in pursuit of their major international objectives: political, security and economic. Both had to find new places and roles in the world: the Philippines after the close of its long colonial history, Australia in the aftermath of a war which revealed its vulnerability as an isolated, sparsely-populated, British outpost in the Asia-Pacific region. Moreover the Philippines specifically looked to Australia for regional partnership on the eve of its independence in 1946. The chief promoter of closer association was Elpidio Quirino, then Vice-President, who had in his charge both the Finance and Foreign Affairs Ministries. Quirino's

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14 J. B. Chifley, "Message from the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. J B Chifley, to the President of the Philippines, on the occasion of the inauguration of Philippine independence, 4th July, 1946," *ibid.*, 17, 7, July 1946, p. 439.

15 G. D. Moore, "Philippines: Address by the Australian Minister to the Republic of the Philippines, Rear-Admiral G D Moore when presenting his credentials to the President on 20th July, 1950" *Current Notes on International Affairs* 21, 7, July 1950, p. 484.

16 Elpidio Quirino, "Philippines: Reply to the Australian Minister by President Quirino, of the Philippines, 20th July, 1950," *ibid.*, p. 485.

objective was to lessen the Philippines' dependence on the United States and Australia appeared to him a suitable regional partner for preliminary diversification. In mid-1946 he was planning to use a fleet of forty-nine ships obtained by the Philippines from the United States Navy as the basis for a state shipping line which would pave the way for the diversification of his country's economic and political relations. Denis Warner, a pioneer Asia-based Australian journalist who won Quirino's confidence, has preserved from the Australian side some record of Quirino's 1946 vision of the Philippines' international future and Australia's place in it. "Australia was figuring largely in the Quirino plans".[17]

In the late 1940s the Philippines defined its international relations mission to include leadership in the formation of an Asian Bloc, "an organisation that would bind the free nations of Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific ... to promote their mutual interests through political, economic, and cultural co-operation".[18] The Philippines believed it had a historical mandate for such a mission because it had "the oldest and most aggressive nationalist movement in Asia and it was the first colony in Asia to achieve independence in the post-war period."[19] Elpidio Quirino saw Dr José Rizal as one of the "first major prophets" of an Asian Bloc, and both his presidential predecessors - Osmeña and Roxas - "were keenly aware of our special responsibility in this regard immediately before and after recognition of Philippine independence".[20] Philippine attempts to form an Asian Bloc reached their zenith in May 1950 when President Quirino hosted the Baguio Conference to accelerate "the process of establishing a Union, predicated upon the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the countries bordering the Pacific" so that the region might more effectively attain its goals of development, security and stability. Quirino's blueprint called for a non-military organisation parallel to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation as a

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17 Denis Warner, "The Philippines: Infant Republic" in Robert J. Gilmore and Denis Warner (eds) *Near North: Australia and a Thousand Million Neighbours* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1948, p. 250.

18 Elpidio Quirino, "Blueprint of the Baguio Conference of 1950", *Souvenir Philippine Baguio Conference of 1950*, Philippines Department of Foreign Affairs, Manila, 1950, p.2.

19 *Ibid*, pp.2-3.

20 *Ibid*, p.3.

"safeguard for Asia".[21] He unhesitatingly numbered Australia a potential member of the Bloc and Australia was represented at the Baguio Conference along with Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines.[22] What is striking from the perspective of the 1990s is both the extent of Australia's participation in attempts to develop an Asian coalition in world politics more than forty years ago, and the readiness of Asian leaders to count Australia a welcome but unremarkable actor in regional politics.

There were signs in Australia in the late 1940s of a readiness to participate in Asian affairs that are reminiscent of the present day. Partly responsible was H.V. Evatt who held the portfolio of External Affairs from 1941 until the defeat of the Australian Labor Party in December 1949. Evatt, who served as President of the United Nations General Assembly in 1948-9, was a liberal internationalist who supported Indonesian nationalists in their struggle for independence, a stance which differed sharply from that of Britain.[23]

Australia's international and independent image in the late 1940s helps to explain Quirino's choice of Australia as a regional partner. It is also an important part of the explanation for Australia's attendance at the New Delhi Asian Conference on Indonesia in January 1949 and at the Baguio Conference in the following May. Australia was the only "white" state to participate fully in both conferences.[24] The convenor of the New Delhi Conference, Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, excluded Britain and the United States because their attendance

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21 *Ibid*, p.4. Britain, Belguim, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United States signed the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in April 1949. It was a response to a perceived military and ideological threat from the Soviet Union. NATO was a military pact with its own forces and command.

22 *Ibid*, p.17.

23 Francis Stuart used the phrase "liberal internationalist" of Evatt in his *Towards Coming-of-Age: A Foreign Service Odyssey*; Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University, Brisbane, 1989, p.145. The principles underlying Evatt's approach to Australian foreign policy were set out in a major statement on foreign affairs which he made to the House of Representatives on 9 February 1949. See *Current Notes on International Affairs* 20, 2, February 1949, pp. 257-274. On Australian differences with Britain over Indonesia see *Courier Mail*, 14 January, 1949.

24 New Zealand attended the New Delhi gathering with observer status.

would have changed "a regional conference into a world conference".[25] Nehru made a sharp distinction between Australia and Britain pointing to Australia's "geographical location", its "independent policy on" and "special interest in Indonesia", and the absence in Australia of the "colonial tendencies" still to be found in Britain; "Australians approach the Asian problems in a much more frank" and cooperative way. "They are not held back by sub-conscious prejudices".[26]

Australia's participation in the Conferences was an attempt to assert itself as an independent, constructive player in Asian politics. The symbolism of the occasion was not lost on conservative Australians or its more traditional international partners, particularly after the Philippines delegate General Carlos Romulo announced on the eve of the first conference his country's objective of an Asian Bloc, describing the New Delhi deliberation as "an official effort to weld the people and governments of Asia together".[27]

Australia's independent anti-Dutch stance on Indonesia had already raised fears in Britain of a less compliant Australia participating in "an Oriental 'Monroe Doctrine' dedicated to a policy of Asia for the Asiatics".[28] Australians who feared changes and independence also expressed misgivings. A major metropolitan newspaper warned that "an Australian government would be unwise to thrust itself into the turmoil of Asia's politics, even by invitation, without maintaining close consultation with Britain and the United States".[29] The leader of the Liberal Party Opposition R. G. Menzies insisted that Australia's future remained within the British Empire, dismissing Evatt's foreign policy initiatives as "widely-scattered busy-body activities". What was needed was "more attention to Empire co-operation - economic, political and military".[30]

Australia's opportunities in the post-war Asia of Quirino and Nehru were not effectively pursued. To some extent they were cut off by the Cold War. While the Asian Conference was underway in New Delhi in January 1949 the Soviet Union was blockading Berlin, and

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25 *Courier Mail*, 24 January 1949.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Courier Mail*, 13 January 1949

28 The London correspondent of the *New York Times* cited in *Ibid.*, 5 January 1949.

29 *Ibid.*, 6 January 1949.

30 *Ibid.*, 16 February 1949.

negotiations were nearing completion for the formation of NATO;[31] Mao Zedong on 1 October proclaimed the People's Republic of China and the Korean War began in June 1950. Winning office in December 1949 after an electoral campaign in which the threat of global communism was a dominant theme, the Liberal government of Menzies made that threat a cornerstone of its foreign policy.[32]

Menzies and his first two External Affairs' Ministers, Percy Spender and Richard Casey, turned away from Asian-Pacific participation other than as an American ally and donor of regional aid. Certainly Australia participated in the Baguio Conference after Menzies came to office but this was the swansong of the previous administration's attempt to integrate Australia into the new politics of its region. Indeed in negotiating the 1951 security pact with the United States and New Zealand (ANZUS) Casey, and to a lesser extent Spender, actively resisted American attempts to include the Philippines; they believed that the inclusion of Asian states would cause the pact to mutate into a larger, alien and toothless creature. According to Casey,

> If the Philippines had been in "our" pact, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to resist the inclusion of other countries, who would not have added any strength to the team. All the participants had to be able and willing to play the game, otherwise the Pact was likely to become just words".[33]

Filipino leaders condemned ANZUS as an offensively exclusive "Caucasian" security policy for the Pacific.[34]

But even before Labor lost office at the end of 1949 it was clear that Australia's bid for participation in Asian international relations was severely handicapped by allusions to race in national policy statements. A similarly tainted national self-image was loudly promoted by some Australians; projected abroad, it alienated the political elites of post-war Asia. The source of much of the trouble was Australian immigration policy and its administration by Calwell. From

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31 The treaty was signed in Washington on 4 April 1949.

32 See for example *Courier Mail*, 25 January 1949.

33 T.B. Miller (ed), *Australian Foreign Minister. The Diaries of R.G. Casey, 1951-60*, Collins, St. James' Place, London, 1972, p.35. See also P.C. Spender, *Exercises in Diplomacy: The ANZUS Treaty and the Colombo Plan*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1969. Especially pp.57-8, 128-9, 167-8.

34 Leon Ma. Guerrero, "The Philippines and Australia: Diplomacy of Isolation", *Sunday Times Magazine* (Manila) VIII, 70., 26 OCtober 1952, p.5.

an Asian perspective shared by some Australians the liberal internationalism of Evatt was undermined and even displaced by a powerful Immigration Department under Calwell's aggressive leadership. To the extent that Australian foreign policy was about winning friends, building linkages and projecting a favourable image in its region much of Evatt's good work was undone by dramatic deportations of non-Europeans from Australia.

Lorenzo Gamboa was one Asian who found himself unwelcome in Calwell's Australia. After his arrival in Australia Lory re-joined the American army in July 1942 and in October was posted to Port Moresby where he served as an orderly for General MacArthur. As the Japanese air force became more active over Papua New Guinea Lory returned with MacArthur to headquarters in Brisbane. Some eleven months after his marriage he moved northwards once again with American forces. He was on Leyte in the Philippines when his first child Raymond was born in Melbourne on 18 November 1944; in March 1945 he was back in Pangasinan. When he reached his home town his mother asked "Who are you?" On his reply, "I am Lorenzo your son," she fainted. His mother, now widowed, had then to assimilate the knowledge that she had an Australian daughter-in-law and grandson.[35] From the Philippines Gamboa moved on with the American army to Japan, arriving in Yokohama soon after the Emperor's 15 August announcement that the Japanese would lay down their arms rather than defend their home islands to the death. In November 1945 he took his discharge from the American army in Australia to be re-united with his wife and have first sight of his son. With the aid of his father-in-law he found a job on the Victorian railways. When his presence in Australia came to the attention of the Immigration Department he was classified as a war-time evacuee and given three months to leave the country.[36]

Gamboa went to the United States and on 26 July 1946 became a naturalised American citizen in the belief that it would guarantee him entry to Australia. In the meantime he secured his livelihood by rejoining the American army and was again posted to Tokyo missing also the birth of his second child, Julie, born in Melbourne on 25

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35 LG 6 January 1992.

36 L&JG 6 January 1992; Calwell in *CPD*, vol. H of R 202, 19 May 1949, p. 78; M. Gatbonton, "White Policy Victims Say 'It's Sad Mr H'", *Ethnic Brisbane*, 8, 5, September 1988, p. 1.

January 1947. Due for discharge in August 1949 he applied on 25 October 1948 for permission to enter Australia . While seeking permanent admission, he asked that, if ruled ineligible, he be granted entry "merely for a limited period to see his wife and children prior to making definite plans for their future".[37] The request was referred by the Australian Mission in Tokyo to the Department of Immigration which under the heading of "Corporal Gamboa - Filipino" advised that "... approval has not been granted for Gamboa to enter the Commonwealth for permanent or temporary residence".[38] He was rejected because he was non-European, because as his wife made plain, he desired to live permanently in Australia, and because an exception made in his case could be a precedent for other Asian war refugees married to Australians.[39]

The Gamboas were determined to fight the decision. They were heartened by the defeat in the High Court in March 1949 of an Immigration Department attempt to deport Annie O'Keefe, an Ambonese who fled to Australia with her eight children in September 1942, was widowed and in 1947 remarried an Australian. For Calwell the High Court rebuff simply indicated "weaknesses" in the Immigration Act. The *Sydney Morning Herald* focused sympathetically on the two women proclaiming "Mrs O'Keefe Plans a Party; Mrs Gamboa Will Fight To Finish".[40]

The ban exacted a heavy personal toll from its victims, especially Joyce Gamboa. When her husband left Australia under duress in 1946 but optimistic of eventual return, she was pregnant and had an eighteen months old son. A careful financial manager, she invested in a house and land in a small town outside Melbourne. She suffered a breakdown in 1948 and her anger welled up at the injustice of the next year's ban on Lory's return: "I have had three years of loneliness and despair. I am becoming bitter about our fight with the Immigration Department. My husband and I own three acres of land and a house at

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37 Eckersley to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 25 October 1948, AI838/2, 1453/334, AA

38 Heyes to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 15 December 1948, *ibid.*

39 Department of External Affairs to Australian Mission, Tokyo, 25 March 1949, *ibid.*

40 Calwell in *CPD* vol. H of R 202, 9 June 1949, p. 806; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 March 1949.

Mount Evylyn and have planned to settle down there after the war".[41] In an appeal from Tokyo Lory Gamboa focused on the discrepancy between the Australian government's attitude to him in war and peace. "During the war, when I was ready to give my life for your country, there was no question of race, colour, or creed involved". He also noted that the issue was not raised "when he married an Australian girl in Australia".[42]

Lory and Joyce Gamboa were fighters for their personal happiness and for a fairer, more open Australian society. Joyce rejected Calwell's offer of fares for herself and her children to the United States where Lory's American citizenship entitled them to live. Believing that they "stood for a principle"[43] they began a skilful and to a large extent extra-parliamentary campaign to have the ban lifted. The Liberal Opposition's position on immigration was sympathetic to the Gamboas but harboured some inconsistencies. Its leader Menzies attacked Calwell's administrative inflexibility and "its singularly unpleasant process of victimisation" but supported the confinement "of migration to those of European blood or descent".[44]

The Australian press mounted a vigorous campaign to have the banned Filipino admitted to the country. It began with a chance meeting between Gamboa and the Tokyo-based Denis Warner who broke the story. Much of the campaign was directed at Calwell with a Melbourne *Sunday Herald* comment being typical: "On the face of it, the refusal of a temporary permit to this United States citizen is so irrational and inhumane that Mr Calwell must be supposed to have some compelling undisclosed reason for his veto".[45] Cartoonists found the truculent Minister a ready subject especially when he proclaimed himself a sentimentalist at heart.[46] Calwell attributed malign intent to the Australian press claiming it was "determined to fan bitterness and ... deliberately poison the news services so as to create difficulties for

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41 *Manila Times*, 21 March 1949. I am grateful to Ms Gloria Christie who generously made available her compilation of *Manila Times* references to the Gamboa case.

42 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1949.

43 Gatbonton, "White Policy Victims".

44 Menzies in *CPD* vol.202 H of R, 16 June 1949, pp. 1134, 1140.

45 *Sunday Herald*, 27 March 1949.

46 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 March 1949.

the Australian government".[47] Keith Waller, Australian Consul-General in Manila from April 1948 till June 1950, reported at the time that "an issue which was of very minor importance has been enlarged into a major question by the press."[48] In his memoirs written half a century later he acknowledged the effectiveness of the press campaign and attributed it to Denis Warner and more particularly the Australian newspaper proprietor Keith Murdoch.[49]

The reasons for Australian press support for the Gamboas merit further investigation. It was not an isolated occurrence as Annie O'Keefe and other Asians whom Calwell sought to deport were also portrayed sympathetically in both major metropolitan dailies and popular weekly magazines like *People*.[50] It is possible that Calwell was trapped in the past while the press reflected the trend of public opinion. Certainly there was none of the strident racism and Orientalism which permeated the *Bulletin* in Sydney or the *Worker* in Brisbane a half-century earlier.[51] Lory Gamboa was represented as an individual Asian - soldier, boxer and family man - far removed from the "yellow peril" which induced the paranoia of turn-of-the-century popular journalists and remained potent for some representatives of old Australia including Arthur Calwell. Throughout her ordeal Joyce Gamboa maintained her faith in the essential fairness of the Australian people and of the eventual triumph of her cause. Indeed there are grounds for sharing this faith in the basic tolerance of the Australian people and lamenting the bigotry of some senior politicians and public servants. The popular press defied conventional wisdom and spoke for enlightenment and ultimately national self-interest rather than the dark prejudices sometimes alleged to lie close to the

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47 Calwell in *CPD* vol.202 H of R, 19 May 1949, p.76.

48 Waller to Department of External Affairs, 11 April 1949, AI838/2, 1453/334, AA.

49 Keith Waller, *A Diplomatic Life: Some Memories*, Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, Division of Asian and International Studies, Griffith University, Brisbane, 1990, p.21.

50 On the O'Keefe case see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 March 1949 and *People*, 14 March 1949.

51 Historians may have been too ready to assume that these journals pandered to a level of racism already widespread. The possibility that they were exhorting readers to a fervour of conviction they knew to be far from universal, merits investigation. For evidence to this effect from a region often regarded as especially racist, see C. May's important study, *Topsawyers: the Chinese in Cairns, 1870-1920*, James Cook University, Townsville, 1984.

hearts of ordinary men and women. Hank Nelson, historian of Australia in the Pacific, has crystallised these paradoxes in his own inimitable style:

> ... our governments and public servants were less generous, less able to give leadership, than the press and the public. One would expect that the popular press would be articulating prejudice, and that the government would be bending with the outcry, and that some public servants, concerned with humane administration, would be trying to stiffen the resolve of the government. In fact it was the bloody opposite - in the Gamboa case and several others. Scratch an Australian of 1950, and you reveal not racial prejudice but compassion. Struth![52]

In February 1950 Joyce Gamboa was vindicated by repeal of the ban on Lory and a number of other Asian victims of Calwell's zeal by his Liberal successor as Immigration Minister Harold Holt. The Gamboas take and deserve some credit for the immigration law reforms of the 1960s and 1970s which removed both explicit and implicit racial criteria, and for Australia's contemporary ideology of multiculturalism. Reflecting on their successful struggle Joyce Gamboa can say: "It had to happen. If not to Lory then to someone else. I believe Asians can get in now because of what we did. We took a stand for what we believe in".[53] In the process a Melbourne biscuit factory worker acquired a political education and skills; she also acquired a good measure of political cynicism and a poor regard for Arthur Calwell and the Labor Party.[54]

Some influential Australians had difficulty in appreciating how offensive Filipinos found the messages of racial discrimination and exclusion transmitted by the Gamboa case. Calwell claimed that it attracted "very little real interest ... in the Philippines";[55] the Australian Consul-General in Manila, Keith Waller, dismissed it as "a trivial case" despite being subjected to "assassination threats, anonymous letters, telephone calls, all these things ..." from angered Filipinos.[56] There was dismissiveness too in the memoirs of an

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52 Hank Nelson, personal communication to author, 20 July 1992.

53 Gatbonton, "White Policy Victims".

54 JG 11 July 1992.

55 Calwell in *CPD*, vol. H or R 202, 19 May 1949, p.78.

56 Waller, *Diplomatic Life*, p. 22.

Essenden Airport, December 1951
Raymond (7), Lory, Joyce & Julie Gamboa (4).

Australian ambassador to the Philippines of the late 1960s who wrote of "occasional Philippine tantrums about the White Australia Policy".[57]

The Gamboa case rudely interrupted President Quirino's dream of a regional partnership with Australia. He fruitlessly sought a public

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57 Stuart, *Towards Coming-Of-Age*, p.207.

assurance - even if misleading - that the ban on Gamboa was unconnected with race. He made clear the enormity of the offence and its consequences: "We, the people of the Philippines, have been deeply humiliated". His vision of a regional partnership with Australia clouded with the discovery "that our neighbour, to whom we looked for friendship, should exclude us because of our colour".[58]

There were immediate reprisals. Airflight between Australia and Japan required a Manila stopover, offering a tempting opportunity for pressure. There was a well publicised grounding of an Australian airforce courier plane at Manila airport where unusually zealous officials "exercised a strict inspection of passengers and crew members and their baggage". The Philippines Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs withdrew his Australian Consul's authority to issue visas to Australian travellers to or through the Philippines.[59] The noted writer, Hal Porter, was subject to a six hour visa application interview at the Sydney Consulate where he was repeatedly asked "What do you think of the Gamboa situation? Do you think the White Australia Policy is right?"[60] In the Philippines House of Representatives Hermenegildo Atienza introduced the Reciprocity Immigration Bill designed to ban Australians from entering the Philippines and thereby "provide an opportunity for the Philippines to assert her dignity in the concert of free nations".[61] Although the Bill was never enacted, its progress through both Houses of the Philippines parliament alarmed Australian residents in the Philippines and allowed Filipino parliamentarians to give full vent to their anger and disgust.[62]

It was from the Gamboa case that Filipinos learned of White Australia. In the interregnum between the end of the war and the 1949 ban on Gamboa the Filipino elite generally, as well as President Quirino, appear to have been extremely well-disposed to Australia with little if any knowledge of its discriminatory immigration policy. After his visit to the Philippines in mid-1946 Denis Warner wrote that "Most Filipinos have never heard of the White Australia policy, and think of Australia with gratitude as the country from which came the liberation

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58 *Courier Mail*, 22 April 1949.

59 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1949.

60 Hal Porter, *The Paper Chase*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1966, pp. 248-251. I am grateful to Hank Nelson for drawing this incident to my attention.

61 *Manila Times*, 29 March 1949.

62 *Ibid.*

forces".[63] After the case became a public issue in March 1949 President Quirino observed that his previous knowledge of Australian immigration policy was sketchy and that he had thought it designed merely to prevent "undesirable mass migration". Senator Camilo Osias, Chairman of the Philippines Senate Foreign Relations Committee said in April 1949 that "he had not even heard of the White Australia policy until a month ago".[64] Then suddenly all Filipinos from Manila to the most distant hinterlands knew of Gamboa and the White Australia Policy; in some cases these two items constituted their only knowledge of Australia. As late as 1957 the Australian Ambassador to the Philippines, Keith Shann, reported on the persistence of Philippine memories of Gamboa especially outside Manila. He recorded his distress "at the number of occasions on which ... [Gamboa's] name was raised during my recent trip to the South". He was left in no doubt that any Australian complacency about the Gamboa legacy was unwarranted:

> We should, I think, revise our earlier optimistic assessments that hostility to us on racial grounds has become unimportant. It remains, I fear, a considerable factor outside Manila and could be expected to be uncomfortable if similar cases were to arise in the future.[65]

Shann's prediction was accurate; further maladroit decisions by Australian immigration officials excluding Filipinos - such as Aurelio Locsin[66] in early 1966 - kept alive memories of Gamboa and White Australia at a time when Australian society was becoming one of the most open and multicultural in its region. Francis Stuart who filled the ambassadorial post late in 1966 found the Gamboa affair entrenched in "Philippine folklore".[67]

The Gamboa case demonstrated the inadequacies and even dangers of a "White Australia" mentality and policies. It stimulated the still unfinished exercise of cognitive remapping necessary for

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63 Warner, "Philippines, Infant Republic", p. 250.

64 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 April 1949.

65 Shann to Acting Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 8 November 1957, AI838/2, 1453/334, AI.

66 Aurelio Locsin was a Filipino bank official whose application for permanent residence in Australia was rejected by the Department of Immigration. For a Filipino reaction, see Maximo V. Soliven, "More Bungling Bared in Aurelio Locsin Case", *Manila Times*, 11 March 1966.

67 Stuart, *Coming of Age*, p. 214.

Australians to delineate their changing global position and role as the belovedly familiar red of Empire shrank and strange flags of decolonised Asian states unfurled. It showed too that the Australian people outdid their leaders in readiness for participation in a largely Asian sub-system of global politics, at least on the important measure of empathy and tolerance for Asians in their midst. Filipinos too found some questions in the Gamboa controversy. What call on the nation had a wronged Filipino who had forfeited national citizenship as well as residence? What of their own immigration policy and racial attitudes? Was it true as President Quirino had said: that Australia and the Philippines were "bound together" not only by geography but also by "cultural ties which have their common origin from the West".[68]

The Gamboa case showed that both Australians and Filipinos lacked a sure sense of spatial and cultural location, with Australia by far the worst affected. As a perceptive Filipino observer noted in 1952, "The fact of the matter is that Australia is actually what we largely imagine ourselves to be, an isolated outpost of the west in Asia".[69]

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[68] Quirino, "Reply to the Australian Minister", p. 485.

[69] Guerrero, "Diplomacy of Isolation," p. 5.

VIII
THE PRESENCE OF THE PAST
Inez Davis and Junie Morosi

Elizabeth Holt

At about 1:30 on the morning of Thursday, 13 June 1907, an American Chester A. Davis shot and killed another American, Charles L. Pitman, at Pitman's office in the Empire Livery stables in Manila. Davis, a fireman at the Tondo fire station, had behaved erratically from the time he arrived at work on the evening before the murder. About 7.40 pm he obtained permission to leave work to go and get some medicine, returning at 8.05. Fifteen minutes later he left again, but this time without permission. No one at the fire station later admitted to seeing him return. Some time between 4 and 5 am on the 13th, the police arrested him at the fire station for the murder of Pitman. Davis' wife, Inez, was arrested at 3 am at her house, where a gun was found.

It emerged during his trial, that the first time Davis left the fire station was not to obtain medicine, but to look for his wife whom he believed to be seeing another man. When he left the second time, he went and waited for her near their house. When Inez returned, he forced her to tell him where she had been. Using the same calesin (rig) Inez had returned home in, both of them journeyed to the Empire Livery stables. After shooting Pitman, Davis, taking Inez with him, fled the scene of the crime, again in the same calesin, to return to their home, but by a roundabout route. He then returned to his work-place, and apparently went to sleep there. Davis declared himself "not guilty" when arraigned on 18 June.

The incident and the trial, which commenced on 26 June, was reported by the two largest American newspapers in Manila at that time - the *Manila Times*, a paper reportedly 'read more than any other Philippine publication',[1] and the *Cablenews*. Compared to the coverage the *Cablenews* gave the murder (its first report of it appeared the next day, 14 June, on page 6), the headlines on the 13th in the *Manila Times*, an afternoon paper, immediately caught the attention of the reader: 'Manila's Case of Dementia Americana' all in black upper case letters. The headlines on this and following days, were also eye-

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[1] Letter to the Editor, *Manila Times*, 2 July 1907, p.6.

catchers: 'Woman admits guilty relations'; 'Davis has not yet owned up to crime'; 'Davis will fight for his life'; 'Davis sentenced to life'.[2] The initial accounts of the murder and trial were spread over two pages. A photograph of Davis and his defence counsel, and a group photograph which included Inez Davis, were included in the first report of the incident. The next day the paper printed a closeup of Inez. Thereafter, the same photograph of Inez was reproduced on the first day of the trial, and that of Davis when he was sentenced.

For a week after the murder, the *Manila Times* put into print what interested and excited, yet frightened people; what they talked about; and what they wanted to know. The incident was even important enough to warrant editorial comment. Indeed, the reporters and the public became fascinated by the murder for a number of reasons. This crime was, as the paper's headlines declared, 'Manila's case of Dementia Americana'. The event had similarities to another notorious murder and trial that had taken place in the United States a few weeks earlier - the Thaw case, from which the paper took its headlines.[3] Secondly, as the *Cablenews* stated, 'this was the first time on record since the American occupation, that one white man has deliberately murdered another'.[4] Finally, the chief characters were not only of different races and gender, but were married to each other.

The aura of excitement and apprehension which surrounded the event was enhanced by uncertainty about the final outcome of Davis' act. Speculation was apparently rife in Manila about Davis' sentence, with most people, according to the *Manila Times*, expecting a sentence of from 14 to 20 years. But if he was convicted of murder in the first degree he would be executed. In an editorial, the *Manila Times* 'raised the questions which had received considerable discussion since the tragedy': was Davis justified in killing Pitman? Should he receive the 'extreme penalty of the law' or should he 'be shown clemency?' Two days later the paper again discussed the penalties Davis could receive,

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2 *Manila Times*, 13 June 1907, p.1; 14 June 1907, p.1; 29 June 1907, p.1.

3 The Thaw case was the 'celebrated' New York murder trial of Harry K. Thaw who had murdered the well-known architect Stanford White in June 1906. The trial took place early in 1907 and closed in April with a hung jury. It was widely reported throughout the 'civilised' world, including in the *Manila Times*. Thaw murdered his wife's supposed lover and pleaded temporary insanity - "Dementia Americana" - through jealously and revenge for marital wrongs.

4 *Cablenews*, 14 June 1907, p.6.

now that he had been charged with assassination.[5]

The trial closed on Friday, 28 June, and the judge passed sentence the next day. Although the *Manila Times* printed only excerpts from the Judge's summing up, the *Cablenews* printed all of it. Davis received a prison sentence for the term of his natural life.[6]

The principal attraction, however, was Inez Davis. The *Manila Times* always described what she wore; her questioning by the police; and her interview with the paper's reporter. Her supposed love life became public knowledge; her actions during the testimony of the other witnesses were related in detail. After some debate about whether Inez would give evidence, it was decided that she could. When her time came, the court room was cleared of spectators, but the press was permitted to remain, thus making sure that what happened in the closed courtroom became available for all to read. The *Manila Times* reported that the 'merciless examination of the witness [Inez] by Prosecuting Attorney George laid bare a lurid panorama of Manila low life, a story reeking with human filth that would have given a Zola a welcome theme for a "realistic" novel.'[7]

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On the front page of the Melbourne paper the *Age* on 2 December 1974, a photo caught the eye of the reader. It was a photo of Junie Morosi[8] with a caption above which read 'The new Treasurer's Office will be well co-ordinated'. [p.121] Three days later, and again on its front page, the *Age* printed a photograph of Junie Morosi with Senator Lionel Murphy, then the Government Leader in the Senate and the Attorney-General of Australia - one of the male protagonists in what became called the "Junie Morosi affair" and already under attack from the federal opposition. Just below it is a smaller photograph of Morosi with Dr Jim Cairns, then Deputy Prime Minister and Federal Treasurer designate, and her new boss. The article itself also reports on the fact that Junie Morosi's husband, David Ditchburn, had just

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5 *Manila Times*, 13 June 1907, p.6; 15 June 1907, p.4; 17 June 1907, p.1,8.

6 *Manila Times*, 29 June 1907, p.1. *Cablenews*, 30 June 1907, p.1,9.

7 *Manila Times*, 27 June 1907, p.1,6; 13 June 1907, p.1,6; 14 June 1907, p.1,5.

8 In the earliest newspaper accounts the christian name appeared as 'Juni', but this was quickly and uniformly replaced by 'Junie'; the latter is used throughout this paper, except in direct quotations.

The new Treasurer's office will be well co-ordinated

This is Juni Morosi who is expected to be appointed office co-ordinator to the Deputy Prime Minister (Dr. Cairns) at a salary of about $14,000.

Miss Morosi has no public service experience. She has been working for the former Minister for Immigration (Mr. Grassby) in his new position as Government Adviser on Community Relations.

Previously she was employed in public relations and the travel industry.

Miss Morosi, who is married, probably will be employed as a Ministerial Officer, grade 3.

Dr. Cairns takes up his new post as Federal Treasurer this month.

been appointed by Senator Murphy to the Film Review Board. Below is another article which mentions Murphy's attempt to 'get Miss Morosi a cheap government flat'.

On this same day, 5 December, the *Sydney Morning Herald* told its readers that a 'Political storm' had developed on 'Cairns's staff'. The problem, according to the Opposition in the House of Representatives, was that Senator Murphy had 'tried to use ministerial influence to get favoured treatment for Miss Juni Morosi in the allocation of a flat in Canberra' - a person already 'involved with a company being investigated by the NSW [New South Wales] Commissioner for Corporate Affairs'. Murphy was accused of pressurising a junior minister 'into granting Government accommodation at a very cheap rental to an employee whose high salary' precluded her from government assistance in her search for accommodation. Morosi was moving from the staff of Mr Al Grassby, the former immigration minister and now special consultant to the Government on community affairs, to that of Dr Cairns. According to Grassby, although Morosi had not officially left his staff, she had 'worked in Parliament House today' [4 December] giving 'advice to the Deputy Prime Minister in a number of matters' and asking about 'some position there.'

This was the build-up to the eye-catching headlines that greeted readers of the *Age* on the morning of 6 December: 'Morosi storm rocks Government'. Headlines in other Australian newspapers reflected those in the *Age*. The front page of the *Sydney Morning Herald* disclosed in thick black upper case letters that at '1 am: Morosi not taking job'. In smaller upper case letters the paper's readers were told that the 'Press [were] accused of spying' and that Mrs Gwen Cairns was 'sick of [the] filthy, rotten, stinking gossip' which associated her husband with Morosi. Furthermore, the Parliament 'session ended in uproar'. The *Australian* told its readers in large thick upper case black print that Morosi 'quits after day of attacks in Parliament'. Contrasting with the main headlines, but in large thin print above them and just below the paper's name, the paper disclosed that 'innuendo and vilification' were to blame. Indeed, there were '[w]ild scenes as Gov[ernmen]t gags House debate' on the issue.

Different country, different time, different players, different situation, but the way the Australian papers reported the "affair" is reminiscent of the *Manila Times* 67 years earlier. The Australian newspapers also put into print what excited, interested and intrigued the Australian public. The reporters and the public became fascinated with events as they unfolded at the national political level. And

although there is no doubt that Inez Davis was a Filipina, the Australian newspapers remained in some doubt about parentage of Morosi, who was apparently born in Shanghai, but who grew up in the Philippines from the age of 3. In December 1974 she was 41 years old, so did not have the youth of Davis who was about 16 at the time of the trial. But, interestingly, both had married for the first time at 15 years of age. Despite their different period of historical existence and geographical space, when both women are forced into the limelight it is as though I, as historian, had not only been freed from the linear structure of time but also the from linear succession in historical writing: Junie Morosi conflates into Inez Davis - or is it vice versa?

At the beginning of the twentieth century the complex power relations between the patriarchal, racial, sexual and photographic discourses constituted and colonised Davis as a textualised colonial subject for consumption by her American colonisers. Sixty-seven years later in Australia the same processes were still in force and produced, colonised and textualised Morosi as a subject for consumption by the Australian public. What is obvious but must be stated here because it is so often ignored, is that both Inez Davis and Junie Morosi were females - that is of a different gender from the dominant gender in both countries at the different times - men. What gave both situations their exciting dimension, however, is racial difference. Inez Davis belonged to the Filipino race while simultaneously being a woman. To make sure that Junie Morosi's links with Asia were exposed, a reporter for the *Age* referred to her as the 'gorgeous Eurasian grandmother'. Other newspapers wrote about her links with the Philippines.[9]

Inez Davis was photographed for representation in newspapers; [p.119] so was Junie Morosi. The *Manila Times*' attitude towards Davis was equivocal, continually representing her as woman/child - something that could not be done with the 41 year old Morosi.[10] In the photograph of Davis, however, any reference to her as a child disappears. There is no doubt that she was a woman (physically and sexually) - and a very glamorous one indeed. Davis was beautiful, and her beauty (sexuality) could become desirable for the buyer and spectator - the male. She looks at those surveying her, offering up her

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[9] See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 December 1974, p.2. *Age*, 6 December 1974, p.1,3. *Australian* 6 December 1974, p.2.

[10] *Manila Times*, 14 June 1907, p.1; 27 June 1907, p.1.

femininity to the spectators. There is little difference between this photographic representation of Davis and that of Morosi. In a photograph that appeared in the Melbourne *Age*, Morosi sits on a desk like an ornament - not behind it like a (male) worker. The palms of her hands rest on the desk so that she faces the spectators, looking out at them. Her blouse has a deep vee and her hair hangs loose. And to ensure that her sexuality is left in no doubt, the caption tells the readers that the 'new Treasurer's office will be well co-ordinated.'[11]

Through their respective photographs both Morosi and Davis, or at least the textualised Inez and Junie, became commodities to be purchased if one so willed. As Annette Kuhn writes, 'to posses a woman's sexuality is to possess the woman; to posses the image of a woman's sexuality is ... also in some way to possess, to maintain a degree of control over, woman in general'.[12] Although the photographs were not mass-produced in the true meaning of the term, it can be argued that they were, on both these occasions, "mass-produced" because every newspaper they appeared in was circulated amongst many thousands of people. And because the papers were purchased, so were the photographs of Davis and Morosi. Men, traditionally, have been the producers of the images of women, and in this instance were responsible for the photographs that appeared in the newspapers.

The circulation of the photographs which sexualised Davis and Morosi, however, also contain a warning about sexualised women. In the photograph of Morosi mentioned above, her pose suggests her sexual availability, but contained within this excitement is danger - a danger represented photographically in the *Age* on 5 December. [p.125] At the left background of this photograph is an image of a modern sign of danger: the traditional international traffic sign "STOP" warning motorists of potential danger if they proceed. Standing just to the side of it is Morosi's male escort, who also happens to be one of her close friends, Senator Lionel Murphy.[13] Sixty-seven years earlier the warning to men about women's sexuality was contained in the description of Inez underneath her photograph. Apparently, the necklace around her neck was made 'of imitation amber'. This not only has the effect of insinuating that, perhaps, she too is a sham but it

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[11] *Age*, 2 December 1974 p.1.

[12] Annette Kuhn, *The Power of the Image. Essays on representation and sexuality* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp.10-12.

[13] *Age*, 5 December 1974, p.1.


STOP

also implies that what is represented in the photograph is nothing but an illusion.

The patriarchal construction of women's sexuality as exciting but dangerous arises from the fact that there is no concept of a female sexuality independent of men's. Or, to put it in Luce Irigaray's words, 'female sexuality has always been conceptualised on the basis of masculine parameters'.[14] Consequently, the patriarchal sexual discourse used Davis' admission to 'amours' with other American men before her marriage, and with one after, to portray **her** as an adulteress after her marriage, and as probable 'public property' before.[15] Morosi, on the other hand, 'vehemently denied' the 'sexual innuendoes' about her relationships with two senior ministers' of the Australian Government.[16] But because feminine power is constructed differently from masculine power, it is women who use their wiles and sexual charms to obtain what they want from a man, and in the process weaken him.

Moreover, as Moira Gatens explains, western cultural attitudes to 'women and corporeality are often negative and function conceptually as the underside' to those valued attributes usually associated with men: reason, the mind or soul. The mind is constructed 'in essence' as sexually neutral, while the passions of the body are ordinarily seen to account for the differences between minds. Naturally, bodies intrude less on superior minds. So women, unlike men, are understood to be less able to control the passions of their bodies, and this 'failure is often located in the *a priori* disorder or anarchy of the female body itself'.[17] It was not difficult, therefore, for the media to construct Davis and Morosi as exciting but dangerous women - representations of them made more electrifying through photographic displays of their racial difference from white males - those very people most excited by, but particularly fearful of, racial/sexual difference.

In the positioning of photographs on its front page on 6 December, the *Age* constructed a summary of the sexual innuendos that were rife

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[14] Luce Irigaray, "This sex which is not one" in *A Reader in Feminist Knowledge*, edited by Sneja Gunew (London: Routledge, 1991), p.204.

[15] *Manila Times*, 14 June 1907, p.1; 27 June 1907, p.1.

[16] *Ibid.*, 13 June 1907, p.1; 27 June 1907, p.1. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 1974, p.1.

[17] Moira Gatens, "Towards a feminist philosophy of the body"' in *Crossing Boundaries. Feminism and the Critique of Knowledges*. Edited by Barbara Caine, et al (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), p.60.

Senator Murphy and friends

The Attorney-General (Senator Murphy) and Miss Moroni (fourth from left) with unidentified guests at an Australian Federation of Travel Agents function at the Crest Hotel, Sydney, in November, 1971.

at the time, while simultaneously reproducing dominant middle class values about the family and morality. [p.127] The newspaper represented Murphy and Cairns as supposedly involved in a sexual encounter, as were Davis and Pitman almost seventy years earlier. It published an enlarged print of the top portion of its first photograph of Morosi in the centre of the front page. Juxtaposed with it at the top left of the photograph, but separated from it by a printed column, were two very small portraits of Murphy and Cairns. Underneath the Morosi photograph and separated from it by only three words identifying her, is one of her husband. This is less than half the size of the photograph of Morosi, but slightly more than double those of Murphy and Cairns.

The size and central positioning of the Morosi photograph alleges her sexual appetite and her sexual attraction but danger for white men. All the photographs of the males are smaller than that of Morosi. The size and position of her husband's photograph in relation to both the Morosi photograph and those of Murphy and Cairns, give his access to Morosi a legitimacy through marriage that neither Murphy nor Cairns can claim, a fact reinforced by the column that separates the politicians' photographs from that of Morosi. The position of the different photographic images construct, and are constructed by, patriarchal, sexual and racial discourses which represent women and their sexuality in terms of men's sexuality, but with the added excitement of racial difference in both these cases. Nothing similar was done with photographs of Inez Davis. Instead, the American media constructed a woman/child and continually oscillated between the two. On the one hand, she was constructed as a less threatening child - the bride who sucks her thumb - and on the other, a beautiful women who spread her "favours" around the American white male community.[18]

Both Inez Davis and Junie Morosi are, therefore, *femmes fatale*: exciting, but dangerous, because their bodily passions are out of control. As a consequence of their unbridled sexuality they are considered to be renegades. In other words, constructed as the very antithesis of the "good" white women, Davis and Morosi actively used their sexual charms to get what they wanted: Inez from her colonisers - men of a different race from herself, Morosi from two male ministers in the Labor Government. Indeed, both women carry within themselves the potential to bring "down to their level" all men who

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[18] *Manila Times*, 13 June 1907, p.1; 14 June 1907, p.1.

associate with them. To put it another way, as sexualised women they cannot control their bodily passions - they are bodies out of control - and this is what made both Davis and Morosi so dangerous to the men with whom they came in contact. In 1907 Manila this was made manifest at the trial of the murderer of Pitman.

In 1974 Australia the players are different but the momentum for sexualised women to destroy men had not lessened. The position and size of the photographs of the Australian politicians at the top of the page is a sign that not only draws attention to their tenuous position with relation to Morosi, but because of their small size problematises their future political careers, and through them that of the Australian Labor Government. Through the use of her sexuality, Junie Morosi has the power to rock governments, if not to bring them down. What is at stake is female power, which in masculine definition does not exist. Women, after all, are portrayed by men to be sexually passive, and therefore sexually powerless. Even more importantly, it was women who were not white who threatened white male definitions of what it is to be female.

In different times and different places discursive practices have specific functions. In Manila in 1907, the patriarchal sexual and racial discourses served the white American colonisers in a specific way. By utilising "timeless" ideas about gender and race the colonisers endeavoured to implant white American values in a Philippine environment. For example, the discourse of the eugenicists ensured that many white American colonists felt threatened by the actions of Filipinas such as Davis. Because eugenicists emphasised the importance of the family and motherhood as sites for the survival of the nation in terms of its racial and social purity, many of the American colonisers believed that the biological reproductive capabilities of those Filipinas participating in acts of inter-cultural marriages, or co-habitation, contained menacing political repercussions for the long term political and social power of the white colonisers. Giving birth to children with both Filipino and American heritage, who then blurred the racial, social and political boundaries between the colonised and coloniser, was perceived by some Americans as an act subversive of American colonial power in the Philippines.

In Australia in December 1974, the same patriarchal sexual and racial discourses served a conservative attempt to bring down an Australian Labor government that espoused left-wing ideas, including alternative family structures and an acceptance by the Australian public of Australia's role in Asia. The 'moral Right', for example,

believed that the Junie Morosi "affair" jeopardised the foundation of Australian society. Their notorious spokesman, the Reverend Fred Nile, spoke about 'attacks on family life', which 'deeply affect the quality of life'. He claimed that the Australian public and concerned parents wanted answers to questions about the 'names and qualifications' of civil marriage celebrants and members of the Film Censorship Board of Review. Morosi was a civil marriage celebrant, and her husband, David Ditchburn, was, as I mentioned earlier, a member of the Film Board whose appointment was 'particularly sensitive.'[19] Both, of course, were friends of Murphy. Just as the eugenicists understood Inez Davis as a threat, so the Australian 'moral Right' certainly had the same attitude in relation to the consequences to Australian society if people such as Morosi and her husband retained 'particularly sensitive' positions within the society.[20]

In his challenge to Morosi's fitness to be a civil marriage celebrant, and Ditchburn's qualification as a member of the Film Censorship board, Nile revealed Morosi and Ditchburn as sites of irony. The woman represented as a threat to the familial foundation of Australian society because of her "sexual relations" with government ministers, in her role as a marriage celebrant paradoxically participates in the legalisation of that family structure she is represented as endangering by her behaviour. And just as at the turn of the century the Philippines was the site of the dreams, fantasies and obsessions of many white Americans, in 1974, the man who lived out those dreams and fantasies about the sexualised Asian tropics/Filipinas through his marriage to an Eurasian woman was also in the position to censor films, presumably even pornographic films, which sexualised Asian women. As a result both these people are doubly dangerous, at least to the conservative members of Australian society.

When women transgress the boundaries prescribed by patriarchy, external patriarchal order perceives them as a threat. As if to give verisimilitude to all they wrote about Davis and Morosi, the two newspapers made sure their readers understood that both women transgressed the boundaries between private and public spaces, thereby endangering the masculine "order" with feminine "chaos". In an abbreviated biography of Davis, the *Manila Times* narrated her sexual transgressions, while also printing what it called the 'lurid

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[19] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 December 1974, p.2.

[20] *Ibid.*

panorama of Manila life' revealed through the prosecuting attorney's 'merciless examination' of Inez Davis. This left its readers in no doubt that her actions inevitably led to murder.[21]

The *Age* on 6 December printed a potted biography of Morosi which told of her "misdeeds": she was a 'bride at 15, supergirl at 41.'[22] As a woman who was sexually active and, therefore, not a "good" woman, she was represented as having difficulty in holding on to a husband: her first left her; her second died; and her third, apparently absent at the time the "affair" broke, took favours from her friends. Having to earn her living as a woman working in the public sphere, Morosi jeopardised masculine "order". Just as Inez Davis took over the role assigned to white American women as "caretakers" of their men and the next generation, so in the Australian context, the feminine "chaos" Morosi brought with her transgression was the subversion of private space: she lured Australian men away from their wives, thereby threatening the fabric of Australian social life. But ostensibly she did more than this.

With the assumed political connivance of Murphy, Morosi 'recruited' from the Philippines a Filipina widow, Mrs Luz Dungca, to work for Murphy as a nanny to his son. Mrs Dungca brought her two daughters with her, one of whom found work in Senator Murphy's parliamentary office, the other in a bank. What Morosi subverted was a long standing bipartisan immigration policy which was intended to 'prevent the build-up of a non-European servant class' for employment by people living in Australia.[23] The existence of such a "class" of people would leave many more Australian women free to "dislocate" the "order" of public space with its male-dominated work force simply by their presence in it.

Moreover, as the actions of Chester Davis in marrying Inez (and others like him) broke down the myth of the social entity of the American colonisers, so a non-European work force threatened a white Australia. And as if to confirm that Australia had already been "invaded" by a number of non-Europeans through the actions of Morosi and with Murphy's alleged assistance, the *Age* on 6 December printed a photograph next to the column about Morosi's construction as

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21 See footnote 7.

22 *Age*, 6 December 1974, p.17.

23 *Age*, 6 December 1974, p.17; 7 December 1974, p.5. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 December 1974, p.2.

THE AGE

Friday, December 6, 1974 250 Spencer St., Melbourne 6000421 (Classified 600611) 121st Year 34 Pages 9c*

Miss Morosi principal in companies with debts of $35,000

Morosi storm rocks Govt

Revoke her job: MPs and Hawke tell Cairns

Senator Murphy

Dr. Cairns

From JOHN JOST, our Chief Political Correspondent

CANBERRA. — The Juni Morosi controversy — the greatest political furore since the Gair affair in April — is threatening the future of the Attorney-General (Senator Murphy) and shaking the solidarity of the Whitlam Government.

The Government now knows that Miss Morosi and her husband, Mr. David Ditchburn, were principals in companies with debts of more than $35,000.

Senior Federal Ministers, several back-benchers and the president of the ACTU (Mr. Hawke) yesterday urged the Deputy Prime Minister (Dr. Cairns) to revoke Miss Morosi's $12,000-$13,000 appointment as his private secretary.

Last night, Dr. Cairns was refusing to take their advice on the ground that to suspend or dismiss her would be unjust and unfair.

In other moves proposed or made amid great tension yesterday:

- MISS MOROSI was found to have been involved in two crashed travel accommodation companies with debts of more than $35,000.
- GOVERNMENT back-benchers suggested that Senator Murphy should be ousted from the Federal Ministry because of his long-term association with Miss Morosi and her husband, Mr. David Ditchburn.
- THE Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) sent an urgent telegram to the NSW Premier (Sir Robert Askin) asking for full details of how Miss Morosi and her husband were implicated in companies under investigation by the NSW Commissioner for Corporate Affairs.
- SIR ROBERT ASKIN replied that there was "some substance in what you say" and promised an urgent report.

The appointment of Miss Morosi has created a personal crisis for the Prime Minister.

Mr. Whitlam — who quizzed Senator Murphy yesterday afternoon over his role — is being urged to order Dr. Cairns to dispense with Miss Morosi.

But Mr. Whitlam will not precipitate any move until he receives the report from the New South Wales Corporate Affairs Commission.

Dr. Cairns is understood to be adamant that he will not sack Miss Morosi until he is satisfied that she is unfit to hold the job of private secretary.

He is reported to have told those who saw him yesterday that to sack Miss Morosi without proper inquiries would be unjust and unfair.

The Morosi controversy broke when it was learned last weekend that Miss Morosi was to be appointed Dr. Cairns' private secretary at a salary of over $12,000 a year.

Then it was learned that Senator Murphy had asked the Minister for Capital Territories (Mr. Bryant) to allocate Miss Morosi a cheap Government flat in front of a six-year queue.

On Wednesday, it was discovered that Senator Murphy had appointed Mrs. Morosi's husband to the Films Board of Review, a job paying $1000 a year for some dozen meetings a year to hear appeals against decisions of the Film Censorship Board.

The parliamentary lobbies are buzzing with talk about the controversy yesterday.

Backbenchers are even demanding an investigation into how Senator Murphy had been able to acquire Asian domestic staff.

They were astounded by the news that Mrs. Murphy, a former model, held a job with Ethiopian Airlines which provided her with free air travel.

They wanted to know how it was that Miss Morosi had worked for Senator Murphy, the present Commissioner of Race Relations (Mr. Al Grassby) and then had been recommended to Dr. Cairns without her business activities first being examined.

Mrs. Murphy is a consultant for Ethiopian Airlines. She receives $1 a year plus free international travel.

Mr. David Ditchburn, Miss Morosi's husband, is the Australian manager for Ethiopian Airlines.

Continued — 17

Morosi firms have debts of $35,782

SYDNEY — Two companies operated by Miss Juni Morosi and her husband, Mr. David Ditchburn, have gone into liquidation with debts totalling more than $35,782.

The Corporate Affairs Commission of NSW confirmed yesterday that it was investigating the financial and corporate affairs of Miss Morosi and her husband.

The NSW Premier (Sir Robert Askin), has called for an urgent report on Corporate Affairs Commission investigations into companies in which Miss Morosi and her husband were involved.

Sir Robert called for the report from the NSW Attorney - General (Mr. McCaw) after getting a telegram yesterday afternoon from the Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam).

The companies which went into liquidation are Sydney-based Transportation Consultants International (Australasia) Pty. Ltd. and Perth-based Hotel Express International Pty. Ltd.

Transportation Consultants International was liquidated by Supreme Court order on February 28, 1972, with debts totalling $21,781.

The liabilities included preferential creditors totalling $2000 and unsecured creditors of $18,781. Sydney accountant Mr Roy Pegler was appointed liquidator.

TCI was incorporated on December 5, 1969. The name was changed to Taxitair Pty. Ltd. on February 2, 1972, but the certificate of liquidation was against TCI.

In its articles of association the company was described as being formed to carry on business as agents for domestic and international travel and transportation industry.

It had a capital of $100 and the directors were Miss Morosi; Mr. Ditchburn, who was also secretary, and a Filipino, Cecilio Hechanova, of Manila.

Miss Morosi and Mr. Ditchburn each held 48 shares. The remaining two shares were each held by Gregory Joseph Curran, of Glebe, and Gerald Sidney Wronker, of Point Piper, two Sydney suburbs.

Continued — 17

'I'll talk when I'm out of this mess'

From BEN HILLS

CANBERRA. — Juni Morosi, the gorgeous Eurasian grandmother who has sent the Federal Government into a political panic, put down the telephone and said: "I just want to be left to do my job."

While the Government faced a fusillade of questions in Parliament on the appointment, Miss Morosi was dodging reporters between the offices of Dr Cairns and Senator Murphy and the greystone blockhouse of the Federal Administration Building through a rose-garden across the road.

Miss Morosi still officially works from a first-floor office in the Admin building — the office of the Government's $26,000 a year special consultant on community relations, the former Immigration Minister, Mr Al Grassby.

Mr. Grassby pushed aside a pile of papers to defend her. She is a qualified and competent woman and she's done an extremely fine job here. To try to make her out a Mata Hari is utter bloody garbage."

Fine woman

Mr. Grassby said that he had known Miss Morosi — and her third husband, Australian representative [illegible] several years.

"She's a fine woman. She's brought up two grown kids while she was a widow and her mother and grandmother lived with them. I've met her husband; he's a quiet Englishman."

Mr. Grassby said that he appointed Miss Morosi to his staff in September — she has been working for the Attorney-General's Department. He said he did not know her salary.

What about the application for a low-cost flat? "I don't know anything about Government housing . . . she has been living in a back room at Mrs. Valenti's house." (Erna Valenti is Mr. Grassby's secretary and lives in the Canberra suburb of Lyons).

Miss Morosi has also stayed several times at Canberra's lush Lakeside Hotel ($27 a night without breakfast) and had a town-house in the Sydney suburb of Gladesville.

In the House of Representatives yesterday Miss Morosi — who was born in the Philippines and remembers seeing scores of people massacred in the streets of Manilla during the Japanese invasion — became a national figure.

Midnight talks

The Opposition ripped a series of questions into the Government over Miss Morosi's business background and security checking.

Dr Cairns — who discussed the affair with several senior Ministers at a midnight meeting in the Prime Minister's office — sat back with a sheaf of hand-written notes in his hands while the Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) defended the appointment.

He said it was "miserable and cowardly" to make general accusations. He said that in the years he had known Dr. Cairns "I have never had any insinuation put to me about the honorable gentleman's integrity, honesty, candor and propriety."

Miss Morosi, wearing a fawn cardigan and with her long black hair in a

Miss Juni Morosi.

Mr. David Ditchburn.

Postmen strike: no mail today

By NEIL MITCHELL, our Industrial Reporter

Victoria will be without mail deliveries until Monday

And deliveries throughout Australia between now and Christmas are threatened with serious disruption.

The country's 45,000 postal workers are threatening action over last Monday's Public Service pay decision, which gave them the smallest in a range of rises—$4.87 backdated to late November.

Postal workers in Victoria decided yesterday to strike until 1 p.m. today to protest against the decision.

Their action means no mail will be delivered today. Postmen will not return work until the normal starting time on Monday morning.

Other postal workers will resume this afternoon, but their action is expected to delay services by 24 hours.

International and local telegrams lodged in Victoria are also being disrupted by the union action, which involves members in clerical sections of the Post Office.

A PMG spokesman said last night that only emergency telegrams were being handled.

But telegrams will be transmitted within the State and overseas after 1 p.m. today.

Union leaders warned yesterday that continuing national action was likely to disrupt pre-Christmas mail.

The assistant Federal secretary of the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union (Mr Boyd Williams) said the dispute had been referred to the ACTU.

Senior officials of the union are believed to have spoken to the ACTU president (Mr Hawke) in Canberra late yesterday.

Mr. Williams said the union would talk with both Mr. Hawke and the Minister for Post and Telegraphs (Bishop) over the next few days.

He warned that if there was no satisfaction further industrial action would be taken. This could include overtime bans and rolling strikes.

"The workers are very angry men and if they do not get something soon there could be wildcat strikes. Spontaneous walkoffs are also likely."

Postal workers in Queensland have decided to stay on strike until Monday, and workers in other States have held 24-hour stoppages.

Sydney postal men are due to go work next Tuesday for 24 hours.

In CANBERRA, Senator Bishop said he hoped to talk with Mr Hawke today.

Lung cancer deaths down

By MICHAEL SMITH, our Medical Reporter

The death rate from lung cancer among Australians aged 55 to 65 is showing an encouraging decline.

The downturn, which has appeared in the past three years, represents the saving of about 100 lives last year.

The trend has been linked with a sharp fall in the tar content of Australian-made cigarettes over the past five years.

It also corresponds with surveys which show that more people in the same age groups are giving up smoking.

Although the total number of deaths from lung cancer is still climbing each year, the decline in the late middle-age group represents the first downturn of any kind.

The statistics were released yesterday by the director of the Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria (Dr. Nigel Gray).

Dr. Gray said he would like to see the trend continue before he made positive conclusions, but it appeared the anti-smoking drive and the lowering of tar content were having their effect.

"We didn't expect it so quickly, but it seems there is a clear correlation," he said.

Dr. Gray said the same trend had been noticed in Britain for a longer period and the total death rate there was now flattening out.

"I would expect the same thing to happen in Australia," he said.

He said he also hoped the downturn would spread to other age groups.

Dr. Gray said a survey this

Nixon offered two top aides $300,000

WASHINGTON, December 5 their legal fees "will be substan-

'supergirl', which itself was next to the story about the entry of Filipina workers into the country.[24] [p.132]

The photographic image shows Murphy flanked by a man and woman who are obviously not Australians of anglo-saxon descent. Both these people encroach on parts of Murphy's body and hide it. It is as if their bodies are taking over Murphy's and replacing it with something "other": non-anglo-saxon peoples. And because Murphy is the figurative representation of Australia, the photograph implies that before long these people will also take over Australia. Junie Morosi stands to the left of the woman on Murphy's left, but is distinctly separated from the Murphy group. Standing to Morosi's left is another man. Because he is obviously not a white Australian, a link is forged between him and the two standing with Murphy. Morosi's body intrudes on the body of the man closest to her.

The formation of two groups in the photograph separates Morosi from Murphy, thereby protecting the traditional patriarchally constituted male dominated family as the norm of Australian society, and the basis of its political life. It is a representation of Morosi that recalls the role portrayed by the textualised Inez Davis many years before. In this particular photograph and in the others mentioned above, the patriarchal sexual discourse constitutes Morosi, as it did Davis before her, as different from "good" white women. In the representations of themselves neither Morosi nor Davis escaped those patriarchal binary definitions which construct women as either/or: for my purposes the madonna/whore portrayal. The photograph, as did the newspaper reports of Inez, circulated an image of Morosi as a sign of social/political "disorder" in the Australian political arena - an image abetted by the conservative politicians' charges of corruption against the Labor Government.

The arrangement of the group in the *Age* photograph of 6 December signifies Morosi's racial difference from white Australians. Early this century it was through and against the representations produced of their Filipino "other" that the American colonisers culturally defined themselves. More than half a century later, this photograph visually displays this same process in action. It aligns Morosi with people who are not Australians, while simultaneously indicating her involvement with people represented in the photograph

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[24] *Age*, 6 December 1974, p.17. The photograph also appears in Junie Morosi, *Sex, Prejudice and Politics* (Camberwell, Vic.: Widescope, 1975), p.21.

as disruptive of the image of a white Australia and white Australian values. This image of disruption is strengthened by her female figure which is larger than that of the man closest to her and upon whom she encroaches. It reinforces her portrayal as a *femme fatale* - a "devourer of men"/a destroyer of the myth of a white Australia.

Even the caption, which apparently defuses its visual message by informing the viewer that Morosi and Murphy were at a travel function in Sydney, actually confirms the "story" the photograph tells by evoking, and thereby feeding, traditional white Australian's fears. First, there was white Australians' apprehension that "other races" coveted Australia because of the country's vast "uninhabited" land space. Second, there was the opinion that "other nations" avidly desired Australia's extensive undeveloped natural resources. Finally, there was the country's vulnerability because of its extensive unpatrolled coastline, which made the entry of illegal immigrants by air (and sea) a feasible proposition. In this specific instance the "other" was signified by the presence of Ethiopian Airline executives - that foreign airline of which David Ditchburn, Junie Morosi's husband, was the Australian agent/manager.[25] And so the link was made between Morosi, the possibility of the illegal entry of immigrants by air, the subversion of political policies from within the system, and the destruction of the myth of a white Australia.

The Morosi "affair" illustrates how alternative knowledges have the potential to endanger particular projects. In Morosi's case, when knowledge of the Philippine environment and of Filipinas willing to migrate and work in Australia is combined with a government minister who apparently approved the scheme, this apparently "jeopardised" the Australian bipartisan immigration policy. For Inez Davis, however, it was her **Filipina** biological reproductive ability which, when linked to an inter-cultural marriage, disrupted the implantation of American knowledges in a Philippine landscape. For Filipinas would be more inclined to pass on their Filipino historical and cultural knowledges to their Filipino/American children, rather than American. Because power is everywhere, so too is resistance to it. Hence the perceived danger: alternative knowledges need not only question authority, but can subvert it.

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[25] See the caption under the photograph reproduced in Morosi's book *Sex, Prejudice and Politics*, p.21.

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My exploration of that past happens from the recognised distance of the present and accepts Michel Foucault's problematising of the past as a 'succession of buried presents'.[26] I crossed time and space in my comparison of Inez Davis and Junie Morosi. Both function as signs in the newspapers' discourses. The latter utilise those patriarchal systems of representations in which both Davis and Morosi become sites for the production of definitions and meanings about women and society, while simultaneously reinforcing those same definitions. This, however, does not identify or tell us anything about those historical individuals named Inez Davis and Junie Morosi.

Patriarchal sexual and racial discourses of sixty-seven years ago still work today. They work through negotiating relations with other discursive and institutional practices which they constitute and which, in turn, constitute them. Consequently, it was possible for me to ignore the differences of time and space and conflate two textualised women thereby illustrating the persistence of those patriarchal representations of women which prove useful for political purposes.

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[26] Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism. History, Theory, Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p.230; see p.182 for her use of the phrase 'the presence of the past'. Foucault is quoted in Louise Adler, "Historiography in Britain: 'une historie en construction'" in *Yale French Studies*, 59 (1980): 245.

IX
RECENT MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA FROM THE PHILIPPINES

Richard T. Jackson

In terms of the numbers of people involved, few ties between Australia and the Philippines are as strong or as personalised as those generated by migration to Australia by Filipinos in the past two decades. In 1971, the Census recorded only 2500 persons resident in Australia who had been born in the Philippines;[1] by 1992, it is likely that this number is around 75,000.[2] Indeed, at every census since 1961 the number of Filipinos enumerated in Australia has at least doubled.

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1 Country-of-birth and ethnicity are not identical, but country-of-birth is probably a much better measure for the Philippines than for most other countries of Southeast Asia in terms of its inclusion of non-Filipinos. It does, however, exclude persons born in Australia of wholly Filipino parentage. This group, which by 1992 must number several thousands are by country-of-birth Australians. A son of Philippines-born parents, born and living in Australia, who goes to the Philippines to find a bride will appear in the statistical record as an Australian marrying a Filipina. For simplicity's sake "Philippines-born" in Australia are referred to in the chapter as "Filipinos".

2 As tabulations of the 1991 Census dealing with persons by country-of-birth are not available at the time of writing, numerical data here is largely restricted to that in the 1986 Census. Since 1986 the Philippines-born population in Australia has more than doubled and many of its broad characteristics will have shifted; this should be borne in mind in reading this chapter. The estimate of 75,000 Filipinos in Australia was arrived at as follows:

Mid-1986 population from Census 33,727

	plus settler arrivals	plus visa converters	minus settler departures
1986/87	6410	680	100
1987/88	10430	923	150
1988/89	9200	770	140
1989/90	6080	849	140
1990/91	6400	(? est. 800)	(? est. 140)
Total	38520	4022	670

This gives 75,599. Deducting 1,000 for mortality during the period gives the estimate of roughly 75,000.

For most of the decade 1981-1990 the Philippines was amongst the top five sources of annual migrant flow to Australia. Towards the end of that period incoming numbers fell back to between 6000 and 7000 annually so that it is likely that this recent rapid rate of growth will have slowed down a little.

Within Australia the growth of the Filipino community is, at first sight, unusual, for traditionally immigration to that country has been European and male-dominated; this recent migrant stream is neither. From a theoretical viewpoint also the movement is interesting as it seems to have had female migrants-for-marriage as its most important pioneers. In fact, as will be shown, organised migration of females to Australia for marriage is not a new phenomenon. Equally there is, it seems to me, a reasonable and logical explanation of the "oddity" of an immigration stream pioneered by females *within* existing migration theory.

In both the Philippines and Australia there is very considerable media (and other) concern that the migrants-for-marriage phenomenon is morally wrong or, at the least, is certainly open to abuse (usually attributed to the males involved). Cardinal Jaime Sin during the course of a visit to Sydney in 1989 expressed his own disapproval of the practice. The inaccurate (if more colourful) description of "Mail (occasionally Male) Order Brides" has a seeming fascination for newspaper editors. The facts appear to be that, firstly, the great majority of women involved in such migration met their husbands without the intervention of any commercial introduction agency; secondly, in any case such agencies appear to operate without open moral condemnation *within* Australia (and the Philippines) for Australian residents; thirdly, there is at least some evidence - which is by no means conclusive - that migrants-for-marriage from the Philippines have a more positive set of attitudes to their life in Australia than do Filipinas married to Filipinos resident in Australia and that most marriages have actually worked well; fourthly, that migration-for-marriage *has* involved many tragic cases in Australia and *is* subject to abuse by both male and female partners appears to be a reasonable conclusion; fifthly, whilst his evidence is not entirely convincing (because of the small size of his sampled population) Desmond Cahill has shown that Filipina migrants-for-marriage to Australia appear to have experienced fewer problems than their sisters

in Switzerland or Japan.[3] All this is not to suggest that migrants-for marriage to Australia do not have problems as individuals or as a group - they do - but it is to suggest that the issues are much more complex and, probably, by no means as totally problematic as publicly expressed wisdom on the matter seems to suppose.

The mention of Cahill's work leads to another general point which needs to be emphasised in the Australian context, but less so in the Philippines since almost every Filipino is aware of and many are directly affected by it: the stream of Filipino migrants to Australia represents only a tiny proportion of all emigrants from the Philippines. Probably 600,000 persons leave the Philippines each year either as migrant workers or, in smaller numbers, as permanent migrants. There are few countries which do not have some resident Filipinos and there are many where Filipino workers and migrants form a significant part of the labour force. The Filipino community in the USA alone must now be in the vicinity of 1.5 million whilst there are hundreds of thousands of Filipinos in Europe, the Middle East and in south and east Asia. Considering the hardships, and in some cases extraordinary ill-treatment, to which at least some of such migrants are subjected and the widespread publicity given to the worst cases of such sufferings in the Philippines, it has to be said that the size of the annual flow of workers and migrants from the Philippines is symptomatic of that country's own problems. Everyone it seems wants to employ Filipinos - except employers in the Philippines.

In this chapter, therefore, I hope first to place Filipino migration to Australia in the context of Filipino migration throughout the world, and in the light of what research suggests are the common strands in such migration. Only then will the characteristics (as far as they are known) of the Filipino community in Australia be described. Finally I will briefly review a few of the precedents for and of the theoretical and practical issues arising from the flow of Filipinos to Australia. In doing so I wish to emphasise the need to view such migration from a diverse range of viewpoints (rather than from that of, say, Canberra alone) and the need to understand the complex sets of interactions both between individuals and between such individuals and decision makers in governments.

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[3] *Intermarriages in International Contexts*, Scalabrini Migration Centre, Quezon City, 1990.

Emigration from the Philippines in General

Today 600,000 Filipinos, that is about one percent of their country's population, leave their homeland each year as migrants of one sort or another. In simplified terms approximately 70,000 of these set off with the apparent intention of being "permanent" settlers to such places as the USA, Canada or Australia. Approximately 400,000[4] each year proceed overseas as contract workers who it might be presumed can be regarded, in contrast with the first group, as "temporary" migrants. Thirdly an unknown number of Filipinos go overseas as informal or illegal[5] workers or migrants; the number is very likely to exceed 100,000. Large numbers of workers are recruited illegally especially for the world's sex industries; equally large numbers proceed overseas on tourist visas hoping to extend their stay once they have found work or a foreign spouse.

At first sight the distinction between "permanent" migrants and "temporary" overseas contract workers may appear to be a very clear cut one, but this is by no means so since contract workers often renew their contracts and, in some countries, may become eligible for permanent residence or citizenship. "Permanent" migrants may either return frequently to the Philippines or come back to live there after some years; I personally know of "permanent" migrants to the USA who have hardly ever left the Philippines. Rather than there being distinct differences between the different migrant streams there is a continuous international circulation of Filipinos even though, it is true, for the purposes of entering a foreign country in the first instance the individual migrant must find a way of fitting into a discrete category defined by the recipient country.

Such a circulation of people is greatly encouraged and its direction and intensity is greatly influenced by a feature whose importance should never be underestimated: the strength of Filipino family ties. It is quite uncommon for a migrant to move out of the Philippines independently of the presence of kin at the destination point or of advice or pressure from kin to go to a particular destination. Moreover, once overseas it is the norm for the migrant to retain very close ties with kin at home (by means of remittances or gifts) and in the

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[4] In 1991 this figure leapt to 600,000.

[5] By "informal" I mean migrants/workers who have moved overseas outside of the Philippines government's migrant/contract worker surveillance system but within the immigration rules of the receiving country. By "illegal" I mean movement outside both sets of rules.

destination country. It is generally estimated in the official financial accounts of the Philippines that something less than US$ 1 billion in migrant funds is remitted back to family members in the Philippines each year. Most Filipinos, however, do not trust either the postal or the banking system[6] and many prefer to remit funds back home either by means of trusted friends or agencies or take back their savings as a lump sum - the last practice having incited an increase in robberies of such returnees (or "*balikbayan*") very shortly after their arrival at the Ninoy Aquino International Airport. Consequently, it is certain that receipts from remittances are much higher than those officially recorded and they may be in the range of US$2 to 3 billion annually. Certainly, in 1985 six percent of all families in the Philippines were recorded as depending upon receipts from overseas for their main source of income.[7] The total receipts from overseas reported by the national household income and expenditure surveys in that year certainly exceeded US$2 billion. Thus, emigration from the Philippines for the most part should not normally be seen as a matter of independent individuals but of family strategy, and, far from diluting kin ties, so far emigration has tended to reinforce them not only through remittances but also because earlier migrants very frequently either sponsor relatives to join them or find jobs for them.

Moreover, within the recipient country, kin ties remain very strong. I have met families from the Philippines who had migrated to Winnipeg in Canada, to join a sister recruited as a nurse, travelling the whole length of the west coast of America to San Diego whose stopping places were almost all determined by the presence of a relative or ex-neighbour from home who was now resident in the US.

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[6] A doubt shared by others. For example, one can insure parcel post from the UK to most parts of the world except to three specified countries: Romania, Nigeria and the Philippines.

[7] This source of income includes pensions from overseas and foreign dividends as well as remittances and these separate types of income are not specifically identified in the published data.

Both the literature;[8] and personal observation convince me, at least, that in examining any aspect of Filipino migration one must, to adapt the old phrase, *cherchez la famille.*

Besides the types of migrant flow and the importance of kin ties, a third feature of Filipino emigration of fundamental significance is that females are overwhelmingly dominant in some types or destinations of such flows and that they make up a majority of all emigrants. Amongst the "permanent" migrants women are particularly prominent. Of migrants to the US since 1960 women have always constituted over 50%; almost every one of the two thousand annual permanent migrants to Japan are females - migrants-for-marriage[9] - and females are dominant in flows to Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Amongst formal contract workers, when such flows began to appear in the late 1960s, males at first predominated making up 80% of all recruits. However, during the 1980s the expansion of the market for domestic workers in Singapore and Hong Kong (which amounts to nearly 100,000 Filipinos) is almost entirely the preserve of females. In Europe, where official statistical sources appear to grossly underestimate Filipino numbers,[10] again the communities are markedly female and are often illegal or informal migrants. A recent press report[11] estimated that 80% of all Filipinos in Europe, who total half a million, are female and that in Britain, Germany and Spain alone there were close to 50,000 illegals. Indeed, of the unknown number of informal or illegal Filipino migrants worldwide it is clear that the overwhelming majority are females.

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8 For example, R.G. Abad, "The Utility of Microleval Approaches to Migration", in G.F. de Jong & R.W. Gardner (eds), *Migration Decision Making*, Pergamon, New York, 1981; M.M. Asis, *To the United States and into the Labour Force*, Papers of the East-West Population Institute #118, Honolulu 1981; F.F. Caces *et al*, "Shadow Households and Competing Auspices", *J. of Development Economic Economics*, 17(1) 1985, pp.5-25; B. Cariño, "The Philippines and Southeast Asia: Historical Roots and Contemporary Linkages", in J. Fawcett & B. Cariño, *Pacific Bridges*, Center For Migration Studies, New York; G.F. de Jong & R. Abad, "Family Reunification and Philippines Migration to the United States", *IMR* 20(30), 1986; M. Ramirez, *The Social and Cultural Presuppositions of Filipino Outmigration*, Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City, 1987.

9 Cahill, *op.cit.*

10 In Britain, for example, official estimates place Filipino numbers in the range of 20,000 to 30,000. NGO welfare agencies give estimates closer to 70,000.

11 *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 19 October 1992, p.13.

Whatever their immigration or occupational status overseas, however, the basic point is that it seems likely that 55% or more of all Filipino migrants are women. At first sight this may seem to be a rather astonishing statistic since many commentators on the Philippines have claimed that women there have experienced considerable constraints on their personal movement. For example, Lasker commented: "Their Spanish-Catholic traditions make it impossible for Filipino women, especially those of the better classes, to travel unless under the care of father or husband."[12]

But the facts have long since outstripped the *Maria Clara* image of the Filipina. Ever since the collection of reasonably accurate census records began, in 1903, in the Philippines, women have become increasingly mobile. They have, throughout this century, always shown a greater tendency than men to move into urban areas within the Philippines so that by 1980 there were 10 females for every 9 males in Manila. Men, by contrast, have always been predominant in the migrations to rural frontier zones (Mindanao, Cagayan Valley). But since these frontiers are now virtually filled in[13] and since female migration to urban areas continues unabated, since 1971 *within* the Philippines migrant streams have been dominated by females. So one may argue, quite strongly, that the dominance of women in international flows from the Philippines is not especially surprising and might be regarded as a continuation or an internationalisation of what is now a long established internal phenomenon.

In brief, amongst the many contextual issues which should be borne in mind when considering the nature of the links currently being forged between Australia and the Philippines by migrants from the latter, are the following:

(a) Filipino emigrants are to be found almost worldwide. Their numbers in Australia represent only a tiny fraction (perhaps 2% to 3%) of the accumulated emigrant total.

(b) Whilst there are a bewildering variety of migrant types exemplified in such movement it is most useful to regard these types as principally arising from the entry requirements of recipient countries. The migration of Filipinos as a whole is a circulatory system.

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12 B. Lasker, *Filipino Immigration*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1931, p.94.

13 R. Huke, "Mindanao ... Pioneer Frontier?" *Phil. Geog. J.* 7(2), 1963, pp.74-84.

(c) Kinship ties play an absolutely essential role in helping to determine the direction of emigrant flows not only between the homeland and the recipient country but within the latter.
(d) Females have dominated urbanward migration within the Philippines for over 50 years and now account for the majority of all overseas migrants particularly in the areas of "permanent" migrants and informal worker-migrants.

The Growth and Characteristics of Filipino Communities in Australia

(a) The effects of Australian immigration policy

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as illustrated elsewhere in this volume, a sizeable number of Filipinos were enumerated in Australian population counts. It is interesting to note, however, that Australia has generally tended to follow, consciously or not, the lead of the USA in many aspects of its immigration policy towards Asians. In the late nineteenth century that lead was to severely curb such migration. Effectively, the US prohibited most forms of Chinese immigration in 1882; Australia did so in 1888. Curbs on the Japanese followed. However, whilst US political interests in the Philippines prevented it from banning Filipino immigration, despite frequent calls for such bans, until 1934, Australia had no special ties with the Philippines (indeed US occupation tended to diminish previous links) whose inhabitants were, therefore, given no exemption from the strictures of the White Australia Policy. Thus whilst the Filipino community in the US continued to grow (if not exactly flourish), even after the establishment of Commonwealth status in the Philippines, its counterpart in Australia did not in any real sense exist.

In 1965 the US largely, it is said,[14] under pressure from its Southern European communities, liberalised its immigration entry rules. Almost instantaneously the annual flow of Filipinos to the US increased from far fewer than 5000 to over 20,000 and then, by 1980, to over 45,000. A similar liberalization of policy, lobbied for by similar European groups, occurred within Australia. At first the pace of change was slow; in 1966 the Federal Government announced that:

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[14] R. Birrell, *The Chains that Bind*, Bureau of Immigration Research, Canberra, 1990.

> applications for entry for people wishing to settle in Australia with their wives and children will be considered on the basis of their suitability as settlers, *their ability to integrate readily* and the possession of qualifications which are positively useful to Australia.[15]

One effect of this 1966 change was an increase in the number of arrivals from the Philippines. Between 1959 and 1966, 339 Filipinos settled in Australia; from the time of the announcement to June 1971, the number of arrivals rose to 915.[16] Many of these arrivals were of *mestizo*, or of Chinese, descent and the great bulk of them settled in Sydney or Melbourne forming the core of what are now large Filipino communities there.

Also during the 1960s specific groups of Filipino professionals were recruited to Australia. These included up to 300 nurses who were almost all female and who were frequently located (or located themselves after training) outside the metropolitan areas. These changes occurred under the auspices of conservative federal governments.

In 1973, very shortly after coming to power, the Australian Labour Party government's foreign policy statement included the view that:

> One of the crucial ways in which we must improve our global reputation is to apply an aspiration ... to remove methodically from Australia's laws and practices all racially discriminatory provisions ... As an island nation of predominantly European inhabitants situated on the edge of Asia, we cannot afford the stigma of racialism.[17]

This principle was quickly applied to a new immigration policy which provided for three categories of migrants:

- immediate family members sponsored by people already resident in Australia;
- other sponsored migrants including relatives and friends;
- unsponsored migrants, with or without relatives or friends in Australia, with the qualifications and work experience desirable to meet Australia's labour force and business needs.

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[15] Cited in F. Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration*, McGill University Press, Montreal 1989, stress added.

[16] R. Pertierra & D. Wall, "Filipinos", in J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*, Angus & Robertson, NSW, 1988, p.469.

[17] *Hansard*, 24 May 1973,

Family reunion thus began to play a major role in immigration and multiculturalism began to replace integration as a measure of success of migration policy. There have been many variations in this policy since 1973 including, most importantly for Filipinos, very much less latitude over which family members may be sponsored ("friends" are today virtually ineligible); but fundamentally migrants tend still to be either sponsored family members (who are subject to a skills test), or persons with special skills , or refugees.

(b) **Growth**

An outstanding feature of the Filipino community in Australia has been its extremely rapid growth:

Table 1
Filipinos in Australia

	Males	Females	Total	Average Growth Rate Per Year
1921	296	33	329	
1933	205	29	234	-2.8
1947	94	47	141	-3.6
1954	140	77	217	+6.3
1961	243	187	430	+10.3
1966	482	502	984	+18.0
1971	1186	1364	2550	+21.0
1976	2556	3405	5961	+18.5
1981	5393	10038	15431	+21.0
1986	10380	23347	33727	+16.9
1991	?	?	75000 est.	+17.3

If we take a purely Australian perspective it would seem that growth commenced at more or less the same time as its immigration

regulations were liberalised. Note, however, that the growth began *before* the Grassby era. If one takes a wider viewpoint, however, it is significant that the growth of the Filipino community in Australia coincided with a similar burst of growth in the USA, which had also liberalised its entry requirements in 1965-66, and, moreover, both these events also coincided with the beginnings of the export of labour from the Philippines in the form of overseas contract workers (OCWs) and the beginning of the end of the rural Philippines land frontier. Whilst Australians might be tempted to think that the growth of the Filipino community resulted from changes in Australia's internal policy, these coincidences suggest that we must also look at what was (and still is) going on within the Philippines if a full explanation is sought. In other words there is nothing particularly unusual in terms of Filipino migration as a whole about the timing of its growth in Australia; it is part of a general outflow of people from the Philippines from the mid-1960s onwards.

A second feature of Table 1 is the rapidity of the growth rate; since 1961 the annual average growth rate has been close to 19%. As Birrell has shown this is almost certainly due to the very high propensity of settled Filipino migrants to sponsor relatives from home. Indeed over 90% of Filipino migrants to Australia arrive under categories of entry which can be classed under the general heading of family reunion. However, this general rate of growth by means of family sponsorship has also been the case in the USA, and given the importance to the Filipino of family ties this should not be regarded as surprising. Two points which arise from Birrell's analysis are especially worth noting. Whilst Australia introduced restrictions on the sponsorship of siblings as migrants before Birrell's study was published, many Filipino leaders in Australia believe, rightly or wrongly, that it was his work which led to such restrictions. Secondly whilst Birrell showed that Filipinos had a high rate of successful sponsorship (he estimated it at 77 successful sponsorships per 1000 resident population per year[18], it is important to

[18] In the year 1st July 1987 to 30th June 1988 the following applications were received by Australian embassies around the world:

	Applications	Approved	Success Rate
Filipinos	18,350	10,075	54.9%
All others	342,329	121,174	35.4

(Source: Jackson and Revilleza-Flores 1989:17)

note that this is a *success* rate only achieved after interview by Australian officials and allocation of points based on qualifications amongst other things. Thus, a high success rate in part reflects the high quality of Filipino applicants amongst all applicants. This, combined with a high propensity to sponsor overall derived from the strength of kin ties, helps explain the rapidity of growth.

Finally, the changes just referred to in entry regulations do seem to have had an impact on the migrant flow to Australia[19] and it appears likely that the period of extremely rapid growth had ended by mid-1990 - until such time as other changes in regulations occur.

(c) Gender composition

It can be seen from Table 1 that ever since 1961 females have outnumbered males amongst the Filipino community in Australia. In the 1960s this was, it is believed, largely because of the recruitment of nurses. However, notwithstanding the fact, discussed earlier, of the numerical dominance of females in emigrant streams from the Philippines overall, from 1976 the phenomenon of female migrants-for-marriage played a major role in the growth of the Filipino community. Their significance can be judged by the relative growth of male and female numbers since 1976 and by the fact that at the 1986 Census for every 100 Filipino males in the age cohort 20-49 years, there were 335 females. It should again be pointed out that there is nothing unique to Australia in this regard. Almost all Filipino permanent migrants to Japan are female migrants-for-marriage and, along with female workers (legal or informal), such migrants make up significant proportions of the Filipino communities in Europe. Equally there are tens of thousands of Filipina migrants-for-marriage in the USA, although in that country it is difficult to disaggregate those who have married ethnic Filipinos from those married to non-Filipinos.

Whilst it is the author's strongly held personal opinion that the bulk of such migrants in Australia now lead happy lives it cannot be denied that problems have arisen as a result of this particular flow of migrants. More importantly academically as well as practically such flows raise significant issues. What are the forces behind such a flow of migrants, for example? Cahill's work examines such issues including demographic imbalance, economic prospects, and educational opportunities for women in the Philippines. It is the present author's

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[19] See note 2, above.

view that one must pay especially close attention to questions of the development of social networks *within* the Philippines to come to a satisfactory explanation. By this I mean:

(i) bar-girls and prostitutes, who form a small minority of such migrants, have little chance of re-establishing any sort of position of social importance in Philippines society; by their occupation they have become marginalised.

(ii) unmarried status, particularly for women, in the Philippines for all but the strong-willed and independently-minded, generally and severely reduces one's potential for developing networks based on kinship. 88% of all females married in 1987 in the Philippines were aged 29 years or less. (The average age of migrants-for-marriage on arrival in Australia up to 1986 was 31 years.)[20] Thus, it can be argued that the prospect for developing accepted social networks are dim for an unmarried woman approaching thirty years of age in the Philippines. Such persons see themselves as being marginalised by their marital status.

(iii) for both groups, therefore, migration-for-marriage can be seen not only as a means of escape from marginalisation within Filipino society but as a means of re-establishing one's status amongst one's kin by acting as a sponsor for further migrants, by sending remittances to pay for school fees or parental support, by taking on the general status of a "*balikbayan*" - not just an emigrant but one who returns with a higher economic as well as social status.

In short I believe that the micro-sociology of Philippines' society itself is probably more important in explaining migration-for-marriage than any other single factor.

Of more practical significance perhaps, is that the negative publicity associated with "Mail Order Brides" in Australia has reinforced the Filipino community's own prejudices. As a consequence, and in order to avoid stigmatisation as a "Mail Order Bride" newly arrived migrants are not wholly welcomed by the community as a whole. Indeed it is reasonable to say that there are really two basic Filipino communities in Australia: that composed of wholly Filipino families and that composed of Filipinas married to non-Filipinos.

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[20] R.T. Jackson & E. Revilleza-Flores, *No Filipinos in Manilla*, James Cook University, Townsville 1989, p.18.

(d) **Geographical distribution**

Table 2 shows the distribution of Filipinos by gender, and by state (metropolitan and non-metropolitan) in 1986 together with estimates of wholly Filipino households and mixed marriage households. This illustrates a most vital point about the community: whilst 77% of that part which is composed of wholly Filipino families is concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne, Filipinos in mixed marriage households are scattered all around Australia more or less in proportion to the population distribution as a whole but with small concentrations in mining towns where non-Filipino sex ratios are particularly skewed in favour of males.

The importance of this geographical distribution cannot be underestimated since it raises the following issues, amongst many others:

(i) is the social division amongst the Filipino community which was noted above matched by a geographic division?
(ii) how can the States provide services to a widely scattered population?
(iii) does geography assist in or constrain the development of local Filipino associations?
(iv) is greater stress put on marriages by marital geography?

However this is an historic distribution. Since 1986 the Filipino population has more than doubled and most of this growth is due not to migrants-for-marriage directly, since they have accounted for only between 20% and 25% of all new migrants since 1986, but to new migrants in wholly Filipino families sponsored largely (but by no means exclusively) by migrants-for-marriage. In the absence of the 1991 Census results we can only guess what effects this new, second-stage migrant stream might have had on the pattern as described for 1986. Have these post-1986 arrivals settled alongside their sponsors all across Australia, or have they gravitated after a period of adjustment to Australian conditions towards metropolitan centres where, in 1986, wholly Filipino households were concentrated?

Table 2
Distribution of the Philippines-born

	Philippines born			Distribution of Filipinos in		Percentage share of population in	
	Male	Female	Total	Wholly Filipino Households	Mixed Households	Wholly Filipino Households	Filipinos in Mixed Households
SYDNEY	5465	9086	14551	80%	20%	56.5%	23.3%
Remainder NSW	401	1646	2047	27%	73%	2.4%	10.2%
MELBOURNE	2139	4235	6274	68%	32%	20.3%	15.4%
Remainder Victoria	275	648	923	52%	48%	2.4%	3.5%
BRISBANE	461	1630	2091	44%	56%	4.6%	9.4%
Remainder Queensland	436	1992	2428	31%	69%	3.8%	13.7%
ADELAIDE	238	890	1128	}	}	}	}
Remainder S.Australia	55	329	384	} 39%	} 61%	} 2.9%	} 7.3%
PERTH	268	908	1176	42%	58%	2.2%	4.9%
Remainder W.Australia	160	672	832	27%	73%	1.1%	4.7%
Tasmania	64	286	350	20%	80%	0.3%	2.0%
Northern Territory	236	673	909	42%	58%	1.9%	4.3%
Canberra/ACT	182	352	534	66%	34%	1.6%	1.3%
AUSTRALIA	10380	23347	33727	62%	38%	100%	100%

Source: Jackson and Revilleza-Flores, *op.cit.*

(e) Other characteristics of wholly-Filipino and mixed households

Table 3 presents summary data derived from the study by Jackson and Revilleza-Flores, and contrasts the characteristics (as enumerated in the 1986 Census) and attitudes (as elicited by the two authors' survey of 122 wholly Filipino families and 214 mixed marriage households) of the two broad sections of the overall Filipino community, where this is possible.

In general this suggests that, at the time the data were gathered, Filipinos as a group had a divorce rate no higher than the (admittedly high) Australian average; that they were far more keen to take up Australian citizenship than other migrants (almost certainly, one reason for this is that sponsorship is easier for a citizen); that despite the facts that Filipinos were underrepresented in high status occupations and over-represented in low status occupations, and more of them than normal reported receipt of no income at all, those who did report an income received more than the national average.

In comparing wholly Filipino with mixed households some interesting, if at times marginal, differences occur. Wholly Filipino households are predominantly from Luzon, whilst many migrants-for-marriage are from other regions. Similarly, as might be expected, English is very much more in daily use in mixed than in Filipino households. Employment is far less common amongst wives in mixed households (possibly because non-metropolitan locations mean fewer job opportunities). Despite this (and these are possibly the two most interesting points in Table 3), contact with the Philippines by way of visits, remittances and sponsorship rates are higher amongst mixed households than amongst Filipino households; and on most matters of opinion (question (g) xvi) wives in mixed households exhibit more positive attitudes than their counterparts in wholly Filipino households.

It will be most interesting to see if these differences are continued in the results of the 1991 Census.

Table 3
Various characteristics of the Filipino population in Australia

(a) Divorced plus separated females as % females ever married (1986):	Age Cohort (years)		
	20-29	30-39	40-49
Australian Females	10.4	13.5	13.5
Philippines-born Females	7.2	7.2	8.3

(b) % overseas born who have adopted Australian citizenship after 5-9 years residence	Filipino		Other Overseas-born	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	88.8	89.4	53.0	52.1

	Filipino		All Australians	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
(c) % in managerial occupations (1986):	4.6	3.1	14.5	7.4
(d) % in labouring occupations (1986):	16.1	23.1	15.4	12.8
(e) % over 15 years reporting no income (1986):	13.7	32.3	5.9	16.1
(f) Mean income of persons over 15 years reporting any income (1986):	$17,900	$12,200	$16,600	$9,700

(g) Characteristics of wholly Filipino & mixed households (1988):	Wholly Filipino	Mixed
i Main language English	30%	91%
ii No Tagalog used	16%	58%
iii Wife's birthplace: Luzon	88%	46%
Visayas	9%	42%
Elsewhere	3%	12%
iv Age gap between husband & wife (years)	2	12
vi Percentage wives not employed	31%	57%
vii Length of residence in Australia: Males	6	-
Females	5.6 yrs	6.4 yrs
viii % wives with completed tertiary education	76%	62%
ix Age of wife on arrival	32.8 yrs	30.8 yrs
x % households reporting problems with Australian - economy	30%	26%
- society	57%	51%
xi Return trips to Philippines per year per Filipino	0.12	0.16
xii Annual remittances per household (A$)	537	610
xiii Would not recommend Filipinos to migrate to Australia	9%	11.3%
xiv % who have used welfare assistance since arrival	43%	11%
xv % who have used government counselling services since arrival	11%	2%
xvi Persons sponsored or being sponsored as % of sample Filipino size	29%	45%
Scored* responses to questions:		
I am financially better off in Australia.	+0.9	+1.1
I find it easy to make friends	+0.4	+0.8
I like the Australian way of life	+0.3	+0.7
I feel more secure in Australia	+0.8	+1.0
I intend to stay in Australia	-0.6	0.0
I have a job to suit my qualifications	-0.3	-0.4
I have experienced racial discrimination here	+0.5	-0.1
I hope my children will marry Filipinos	+0.6	-0.3
I am happy in Australia	+1.0	+1.1

* *Range of possible score is minus 2 to plus 2.*

PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE MIGRATION FLOWS

It is generally agreed in the migration literature that three factors govern the flow of migrants between any two points:

(i) the home country must allow its citizens to depart, and the recipient country must allow (some of) them to enter;
(ii) there must be some sort of differential, usually economic, between the host and home countries which makes it advantageous for the individual (or the individual acting as part of a group) to migrate;
(iii) migration is greatly facilitated if the individual has a network of trusted kin or friends to assist her/him in the process of movement.

The Philippines has, if anything, encouraged emigration in the past; such encouragement may not be given enthusiastically but the gross economic advantages of such flows have, to date, overcome the doubts created by mistreatment of its citizens or perceived loss of national pride.

Given what now seem to be its chronic economic problems it is unlikely that, in the foreseeable future, Australia will again desperately need large quantities of labour. However, Australia's political push towards Asia may well demand that its population needs to become more visibly cosmopolitan.

The "differential" between the Philippines and Australia at present is overwhelmingly economic. Many might argue that in many ways the Philippines is more lively, more dynamic, more interesting, more sociable, more fun than Australia. Unfortunately, however it is without doubt very much poorer than Australia. In many parts of Asia the economic gap with Australia has dramatically narrowed, or even closed, in the past two decades but this is not the case for the Philippines. In the sense that it might be a symptom of a general economic improvement in the life of the overall Filipino, a reduction in the flow of migrants to Australia and the rest of the world from the Philippines might be a very good thing indeed. But there are no immediate prospects of this occurring for the reason stated but rather because Australia's own entry policies are themselves dynamic. Given the nature of Filipino migration, almost no ethnic group in Australia is as hard hit by restrictions on the family reunion programme (though such a programme accompanied by "quality control" has not been to the Filipinos' disadvantage previously).

However, even if growth in the Philippines did narrow the economic differential with Australia, the fact is that now there is a flourishing and significant Filipino community in Australia which exhibits, as normal, very strong ties with its homeland whilst showing very strong commitment to its new country. That fact alone will ensure that, if Australia receives any migrants at all in future, many of them will be Filipinos. And in this respect one part of the Filipino community in Australia deserves a special vote of thanks: Filipina migrants-for-marriage, despite criticisms of them in both their homeland and Australia and despite leaping not only a large geographic gap but an equally large cultural divide in becoming a migrant, are amongst the very small minority of Australia's migrants who have been personally invited to their new country by Australians themselves.

X
PHILIPPINE-AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE RELATIONS
parallels, lost opportunities and future directions*

Queenie R. David-Balaba

In May 1992, Fidel Ramos stated that while, in the past, links with Washington had dominated Philippine affairs to the exclusion of all else, the Philippines now needed to look to its neighbours.[1] To forge a national identity and lead the Philippines away from its long reliance on the United States (US) was the new President's main challenge and the Philippines' foreign policy goal.[2]

As the Philippines looks towards its neighbours and thinks seriously about turning the rhetoric into a systematic and beneficial reality, as it undertakes yet another reassessment of its relationship with the US and readjusts itself to changes in the region's power configuration, little mention is made of Australia. Where does the relationship with Australia sit in the context of the Philippines' larger set of relationships?

This paper raises some propositions about the relationship in a future regional security system. It issues a challenge to policymakers in both countries to focus attention on bilateral relations. Now is the time to consider new concepts for regional security and take advantage of the unique opportunities for closer bilateral relations presented by the changing regional environment. It includes an historical overview of Philippine-Australian defence relations[3] from a regional security dimension, which identifies similarities and parallels in policies, and lost opportunities, and suggests future directions for closer relations.

The Philippines' relations with Australia developed and matured primarily in response to security concerns. Closer relations between the two were constrained by their dependent ties with the US and the

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the 2nd Filipino National Conference, Brisbane, 6-7 November 1992.

1 Melinda Liu, "A Thriller in Manila", *The Bulletin*, 10 May 1991, p.66.

2 Melinda Liu, "A Habit of Dependency", *ibid.*, p.69.

3 In this paper defence relations are interpreted broadly to include defence strategy, defence cooperation, military aid, assessment of defence forces, perceptions of threat and protection of vital interests, and preservation of balances of power.

global and regional implications of these ties. The Philippine-Australian bilateral defence relationship is analysed by looking at the impact of the larger power environment on the defence policies of these two smaller states. The paper analyses the ties between these states and a given system of relations among the large powers (linkage paradigm), thus focusing on the defence relationship from a regional and global perspective.

The 1940s, 50s and 60s

Apart from sporadic contacts through trade developed during the nineteenth century, there was little development in Philippine-Australian relations until close to the middle of the twentieth century. While the Philippines gave priority to links with the US and Australia to links with Britain, some efforts were made to cultivate the bilateral relationship. When formal links were established between the two countries in 1946, the Philippines specifically looked to Australia for regional partnership and closer relations. Australia was perceived as a viable regional partner in the Philippines' preliminary attempts to lessen dependence on the US.[4] No significant action followed, nor any perceptible shift away from the US.

The onset of the cold war and the obligations to the US accepted by both countries - one by military agreements, the other through the ANZUS treaty - meant that they were drawn into Cold War competition or as compliant supporters of US policy and actions in Asia.[5] While Australia recognised the importance of the Philippines as a focus of American interest in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia and the potential value of Manila for observing developments throughout the region,[6] relations with the Philippines were not a major

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4 Rodney Sullivan, "It Had to Happen": The Gamboas and Australian-Philippine Interactions", above, pp.98-116 Denis Warner, "The Philippines: Infant Republic" in Robert J. Gilmore and Denis Warner (eds), *Near North: Australia and a Thousand Million Neighbours*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1948, p.250.

5 The Military Bases Agreement (MBA), the Military Assistance Program (MAP), and the Mutual Defence Treaty (MDT). ANZUS dates from 1951. Sullivan notes that Australia lobbied to exclude the Philippines from ANZUS; above, p.000.

6 A manifestation of the 'bridge concept'. This saw the Philippines as uniquely fitted to understand both Western aims and aspirations and the mind of Asia: to interpret each to the other. See *Current Notes on International Affairs*, vol.28, no.10, October 1957, p.809.

concern of Australia, and vice-versa. For both countries, relations with the US were paramount.

The main security link between the Philippines and Australia was an indirect one; both were part of a series of treaties which the US signed in the region in 1951-52. Both countries' foreign policies, particularly defence and security policies, were dominated by that connection, which also constrained Philippine-Australian relations; the bilateral relationship was dictated largely by alignment with the US. Because of this and of the feeling of security derived from the US umbrella, neither country perceived a need to extend defence spending or cultivate closer bilateral relations.

Ironically, both pursued roughly parallel paths and had broadly similar interests. Both accepted the US definition of threat as communist insurgency in Southeast Asia; both conducted counter-insurgency operations in close co-operation with the US. Both acted as lieutenants in American operations such as Korea and Vietnam, and followed the US lead in foreign policy generally.[7] Successive Philippine and Australian governments accepted a strong US presence as essential to national interests. In return the US alliance was regarded as guaranteeing the Philippines' and Australia's own defence.

Both countries were ambivalent about their roles in Asian international politics: endeavouring on the one hand to identify more closely with Asia, on the other, uneasily conscious of looking towards America and Europe on important aspects of foreign policy, economics and cultural orientation. This orientation worked against both countries' security interests. Both expressed considerable apprehension about their security and until the 1970s were obsessively anti-communist. Their foreign policies were essentially preoccupied with establishing close relationships with friendly non-Asian powers committed to the long-term defence of their respective political, economic and military interests in Southeast Asia. Defence of these interests became virtually synonymous with their defence interests. Both were fearful of a resurgent Japan and ambivalent in their eagerness to share in fruits of Japan's economic miracle. Both were apprehensive about Japan's dominating their economies.

Despite these similarities and parallels of both countries' early foreign policies, there was surprisingly little contact either official or

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[7] Coral Bell, "Mr Fraser and Australian Foreign Policy", *World Today*, vol.35, October 1979, p.418.

private. The Philippines was unknown to most Australians. Safely bound into the American security chain which intervened between Australia and mainland Southeast Asia, Australians regarded the Philippines as a special responsibility of the US. Australia's relationship with the US was crucial; relations with the Philippines were simply a function of that primary relationship. By the same token, Australia was a virtual non-entity to most Filipinos and relations with Australia a minor consideration. Cultural visits by politicians, journalists and academics were the limit of contacts between the two countries. Relations with the US formed the basis of Philippine foreign policy; elite Filipinos were oriented towards the US.

Any moves for closer Philippine-Australian relations were constrained by relations with the US. Both countries' defence was closely aligned with that of the US and based on alliance diplomacy and forward defence. Both had limited foreign policy options, faced major constraints and had few possibilities for resolving security problems through military means or diplomatic pressure. With other ASEAN states, such as Indonesia, Australia could independently pursue a foreign policy without affecting US global security and defence strategy. In bilateral dealings with the Philippines Australia could only be a reactor, because of the US connection. Bilateral relations remained negligible because of the regional and the global power/alliance link of which the US was the main actor and instigator.

The White Australia policy was a further restriction. The contradictions between an immigration policy that excluded Asians and a defence policy that relied on Asian good will,[8] were particularly offensive to the Philippines. While the expediencies of defence took priority and national antagonisms did not prevent regional defence pacts, many Filipinos regarded Australian-Asian solidarity as a myth demonstrated by the administration of immigration policy. A loyal alliance could not be constructed out of nations so divided by racial animosities.[9] Although major changes occurred in Australia's immigration policy in 1966, sensitivity of Filipinos over past affronts was slow to disappear. Not until the late 1970s, with the increasing

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[8] Herbert I. London, "Foreign Affairs and the White Australia Policy", *Orbis*, vol.13, no.2, Summer 1969, p.561.

[9] A.C. Palfreeman, "Non-White Immigration to Australia", *Pacific Affairs*, vol.47, no.3, Fall 1974, p.347. Exclusion of Filipinos like Gamboa and Locsin caused widespread antagonism. The Philippine government threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Australia over the former.

influx of Filipino migrants was a notable Filipino presence was felt in Australia.

The Nixon Doctrine and the 1970s

The bilateral relationship took on a new dimension amidst political and economic changes in the region in the 1970s. The Nixon doctrine of 1969, the withdrawal of US land forces from Southeast Asia, and the American change from a forward defence strategy to a maritime strategy altered the overall strategic picture and transformed the regional environment from relative certitude to great uncertainty.[10] As states began adjusting to these new circumstances, the Sino-American rapprochement in 1971-2, the China-Japan Peace Treaty in 1972, the withdrawal of British forces east of Suez, the failure of American military operations in Indo-China, the emergence of Japan as a world economic power, the strengthening of ASEAN, and the declaration of Martial Law in the Philippines in 1972, all created havoc with both countries' policies, made new demands on their diplomatic agility and helped reshape bilateral relations.

Both countries looked beyond the US alliance and modified their policies. Of the two, the Philippines was in the better position to adjust to the changed situation. Both countries were left vulnerable, realising that the US security umbrella was not to be taken for granted,[11] but the maritime strategy maintained the US presence in the Philippines because of Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. ASEAN also provided the Philippines with a viable regional alternative but excluded Australia.

Uncertainty over the ANZUS treaty and US reliability in times of conflict, the growing power of ASEAN, strategic interest, limited defence capability, necessity and the realisation of being geographically part of the region, impelled Australia to cultivate closer bilateral relations with countries of the region whose location, polity and economy served Australia's interests. This meant a new emphasis on

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[10] The Nixon doctrine entailed a retraction of the American presence, reluctance to become embroiled in the region's quarrels, and encouragement of nations to shoulder greater responsibility for their own stability and security. See Ray Sunderland, *Australia's Emerging Regional Defence Strategy*, Working Paper No.80, A.N.U. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, 1985, p.7.

[11] M. Rajaretnam, "The Philippines: A Question of Earnest Intentions", *Southeast Asian Affairs* 1976, pp.258-9.

Australia's relations with the ASEAN states, particularly the Philippines.

The importance of the Philippines to Australia was based on its location in an area of substantial strategic, political and economic interest to Australia, its membership of ASEAN, its alliance with the US and its hosting military bases which were a significant part of overall Western security strategy.[12] They played a vital role in safeguarding Australia's strategic interests and Australia regarded continued American access to them as critical for regional equilibrium and for the cause of deterrence. Added emphasis came from Australia's limited defence capability and suggestions from some ASEAN sources that Australia's political security and economic contributions would no longer be regarded as "relevant" to the region.

The Nixon doctrine[13] implied additional commitment by Australia in defence spending and aid to non-communist countries in Southeast Asia. The Philippines assumed a favoured role for Australia; there resulted a greater awareness of what Australia could offer, whether as an immigration destination or as donor of foreign aid. The Philippines became a major recipient of Australian aid and a program of defence cooperation began[14] as Australia's "expressions of strategic interests". The Philippines was allocated funds on the same level as Thailand, which ranked second as a Southeast Asian recipient of Australian aid

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[12] Australia had links with US bases in the Philippines. San Miguel Communications Station, part of the spy network in the South Pacific, was linked to radio intercept stations at Shoal Bay (W.A.), Pearce (S.A.) and Cabariah (Q). Information was relayed to the Watsonian Army Barracks in Melbourne and thence to the US. This spy network helped US preparations for nuclear war by pinpointing USSR submarines in the region. Australian US bases in Pine Gap and Nurrungar were directly linked with US facilities and US "forward deployment" in the Philippines. For more details, see Robyn Lim, *Australian Relations with the Philippines During the Marcos Years: A Study in the Implications of the Nixon Doctrine*, Australia-Asia papers, no.42, CSAAR, Griffith University, June 1987, p.iii.

[13] For a full account of its significance in Australian-Philippine relation, see Robyn Lim, *op.cit.*

[14] The program involved training members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in Australia. See *AFAR*, vol.52, no.2, 1981, p.61.

after Indonesia.[15] As relations with the Philippines took on a new significance, closer bilateral ties appeared imminent.

While diversifying relations with socialist countries, emphasising regionalism and fostering closer ties with Asian neighbours, the Philippines also promoted closer relations with Australia: an attractive market for Philippine exports and an important source of vital imports, investment, credit and technology. A firm economic and cultural relationship with Australia would help balance economic relations with the US, Japan, the USSR and countries of the Third World.

The declaration of Martial Law in September 1972 exposed the fragility of the Philippine domestic situation. Australians did not know how to deal with its implications for Australia, for the region and for the global balance.

1974 and the Fall of Vietnam

The fall of Vietnam in 1975 and the consequent changes in the governments of Laos and Cambodia saw a radical shift in the strategic balance and brought new elements into the equation of power in Southeast Asia. As multipolarity replaced bipolarity, reflecting the loosening of Cold War links and the declining emphasis on military power,[16] the Philippines and Australia had greater freedom to pursue national interests free from ideological constraints in a climate of greatly enhanced global security.[17] Both countries re-adjusted their previous dependence on powerful partners; both undertook a more independent foreign policy involving regional arrangements as well as closer bilateral relations. But while security concerns became less acute, unpredictable inter-state relations produced renewed calls for military cooperation and coordination. Sino-US rapprochement in the

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[15] Australian aid took a number of forms: personnel training, both in Australian institutions and in the Philippines; food aid; and aid for specific developmental projects. Apart from government-to-government aid, substantial assistance was also channelled through regional groupings such as the ASEAN-Australian Economic Cooperation Program AAECP, the SEA Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO), and various United Nations agencies. See *Australian Foreign Affairs Record (AFAR)*, vol.52, no.2, February 1981, p.59.

[16] Hugh Collins, "Australian Foreign Policy in the Era of Detente", *Australian Outlook*, vol.29, no.2, August 1975, p.134.

[17] Phillip Darby, "Australia's Changing Perspective of the World", *World Today*, March 1973, p.120.

context of acute Sino-Soviet hostility directly affected Sino-Vietnamese ties; Southeast Asian states faced a new and complex competitive structure of linked global and regional relationships. At a time when the US seemed to be running from the region, traditional enemies seemed to grow inexorably more threatening.

From 1975, the development of the Soviet Pacific fleet with basing facilities at Cam Ranh Bay placed a new maritime emphasis on the whole balance of power. The centre of conflict moved offshore to the strategic waterways of Southeast Asia. That there could be a contest at all depended on continued US access to bases in the Philippines; as these gained significance, relations with Australia again became peripheral.

The deepening conflict between the USSR and the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) and their unabating struggle for political influence in the region added even more dangerous factors to a situation of great uncertainty and underlined the importance of continued access to the bases and of maintenance of a US countervailing presence.[18]

In this period of new challenges Philippine policymakers had to reassess the country's security. A policy of self-reliance and non-alliance defined by Marcos, involved a reassessment of security relations with the US, adjustment of relations with the socialist countries, particularly China, and collective strengthening of ASEAN for political cooperation within the region.[19] Promotion of closer relations with Australia became part of this process.[20] But this attempt to demonstrate independence and promote bilateral relations was in conflict with the realities of multipolarism and the balance of power in the region; development of foreign policy as a function of independence was muted. The Philippines had to accept an effective American presence and hope to avoid compromising its own territorial integrity and self-respect. Unrestricted use of the bases remained an integral part of the post-Indochina balance of forces, which would work only if

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[18] Bell, "Mr Fraser and Australian Foreign Policy", p.419.

[19] *Bulletin Today* (Philippines), 5 March 1975, p.5.

[20] Philippine-Australian relations during the early 1970s needs further research. Whitlam and Marcos pursued parallel yet radical foreign policies. The close relationship between Whitlam, Marcos and Alejandro Melchor, then the righthand man of Marcos, is worth further study.

America interacted with the Soviet Union, China and Japan, and other major powers represented in the region.[21]

Australia also perceived the security of Southeast Asia as dependent upon a continued US presence. It concentrated upon relations with the US, increasing its involvement in the American strategic communications network and urging a greater US role in the region. Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's position was based on support for the US as a global power, fear of Soviet expansionism and appreciation of China's role in Asia;[22] he saw Australia's interests as lying with China, not the Soviet Union.[23] This aroused suspicion among member states of ASEAN with misgivings over China's intentions in Southeast Asia. While Fraser postulated a Soviet threat, ASEAN states were wary of China and Japan, and questioned the US's ability to maintain its traditional hegemony in the region.

Australia attempted to strengthen the US alliance and US interest in Southeast Asia: to build confidence in the US alliance at a time when US credibility was in question, and to preserve the Western alliance at a time of increasing Soviet influence in the region.[24] This was a role which the US openly asked Australia to assume. It entailed providing military and economic aid to governments vital to Australia's defence and security in order to maintain the status quo: a heavier and more imaginative aid responsibility, technical assistance, facilitation of two-way trade with Southeast Asia, provision of arms and military advisers and so on.[25] Relations with the Philippines were developed with the objectives of assuring ASEAN states about the US presence, demonstrating the need for it and bolstering US credibility. Australia's interests required maintenance of American bases in the Philippines and seeing that Soviet power in the Pacific and Southeast Asia was balanced by the power of other major states or by appropriate regional

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21 "Policy Reflects Firm Intent to Open New Political Paths", *Asian Forum*, June 1976, p.21.

22 J.L.S. Girling, "Australia and Southeast Asia in the Global Balance: A Critique of the Fraser Doctrine", *Australian Outlook*, vol.31, no.1, April 1977, p.3.

23 Bell, "Mr Fraser and Australian Foreign Policy", pp.415-7. To Fraser, treating China as a makeweight to Russia was realistic since the Soviet Union's long "Global reach" was far more capable of posing a threat to Western interests than China could conceivably be.

24 Girling, *op. cit.*, p.9.

25 Henry S. Albinski, "Australian Foreign Policy: A Projection for the Seventies", *Australia's Neighbours*, July-August 1970.

arrangements. In addition, the Philippines occupied a vital strategic position athwart the Western Pacific sea lanes upon which Australia's security as a trading nation depended; Australia could not be indifferent to political and military developments inside the Philippines.

The Fraser government upgraded defence and political relations with Manila as part of a strategic policy which defined Australia's primary relationship with the US and the ASEAN states. Australia's military and "development" assistance to the Marcos regime were part and parcel of Australia's security policy, linked to Australia's concern over internal stability of the Philippines at a time when political and economic problems were being exacerbated by thriving insurgency and an ailing and increasingly unpopular Marcos. Accordingly, Australia in the mid 1970s, and amid great controversy, located its two largest bilateral aid projects in the Philippines[26] as part of a pacification/counter-insurgency program by the Philippine military, both in areas of widespread unrest and sometimes brutal military counter-insurgency operations. The Australian government thus appeared a close partner of Marcos lending credibility to the leader of a suppressed country.

1978 and the Second Indo-China War

Peace seemed within sight in the post-Vietnam era. As the Philippines adjusted its foreign policies to seek accommodation with Vietnam, a climate of hope was generated by Vietnam's peace offensive. The time was ripe to strengthen ties with other countries of the region including Australia. Once again the opportunity was lost. The balance of power in Southeast Asia shifted again in the second half of the 1970s. Conflict intensified in Southeast Asia and East Asia was polarised strategically following Vietnam's entry into Comecon, its Treaty of Friendship with the USSR, and its invasion of Cambodia which led to retalatory action by China. As a direct consequence of the Sino-Vietnamese conflict, the Soviet Union emerged as a military power with a strike capability and ability to operate all-year-round in Southeast Asian waters. Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, the fall of

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[26] In Zamboanga del Sur and Northern Samar. These projects exemplified the highest concentration of Australian aid in integrated area development. Both aimed to build infrastructure for underdeveloped rural areas in order to raise living standards.

the Shah of Iran, the Hostages Crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan together made the global political landscape more threatening and resulted in a shift in focus to the Asia-Pacific region.

As American trade gradually swung from Europe to Asia and US investment in the area multiplied, Western economic interests increasingly demanded freedom of access and transit, adding a new dimension to maritime strategy and focusing attention on the Southeast Asian sea lanes, and therefore on the friendship and stability of the littoral states.[27] The Philippines' key role in this complex inter-relation of security and political economy was based upon its stability and the US bases as American strategic outposts.

The Philippines' regional environment was dramatically transformed to one of uncertainty, instability and super power rivalry, overshadowing any perceptible shift towards closer relations with Australia. For both countries, maintaining stability between the super powers, and the ability of the US to withstand direct Soviet pressures, remained of critical importance.

In the post Vietnam War era, Australia as part of the Pacific rimland found the Soviet presence in Cam Ranh Bay disconcerting. As part of the Indian Ocean littoral, it felt even more exposed by heightened tensions in the Persian Gulf.[28] As a trading nation, its vital sea lanes would be put at risk by a declining US presence in the area.

Events of the late 1970s emphasised the West's inability to resist the Soviet's use of force and put into question the basis of Australia's defence and the vulnerability of her trade routes. They brought Australia's strategic position into a new focus and induced new emphasis on Australian-US relations. They made Australia aware that its interests both nationally and as an alliance member called for a stronger defence commitment in its maritime environment, including not only naval and air but also some army assistance to her neighbours.

The long-term implications of these developments left Filipino policy-makers with limited choices. There could be no return to the US dominated security system; there was opposition to any new form of collective security arrangement, whether among Southeast Asian nations only or Southeast Asian states and outside powers. The

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[27] Evelyn Colbert, "Changing Relationships in Southeast Asia: ASEAN, Indo-China, and the Great Powers", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol.4, no.1, June 1982, p.80.

[28] Bell, "Mr Fraser and Australian Foreign Policy", p.419.

Philippines could not defend itself and its commitment to national defence was the smallest in the Asian community. Its defence expenditure, however measured, was amongst the lowest in the region. It needed the support of a power capable of projecting itself into the area: not only against the Soviet Union but against any contender. Still tied militarily to the United States, the Philippines swung firmly back to the American axis.

Both the Philippines and Australia maintained that a balance of power among the super powers in the region was needed for the stability and peace necessary for the continued development of Southeast Asia. The security of Southeast Asia depended on the US navy; hence the importance of Subic Bay. US naval power, with its supporting air arm, underpinned the status quo and security of Southeast Asia. In the parlance of gunboat diplomacy, the mere presence of US naval forces helped deter efforts to destabilise the area and provided a check against the emergence of Soviet-Vietnamese preponderance which the PRC could provide only on the landward fringes of Southeast Asia.

Australia perceived as vital maintenance of sufficient American military presence to deter hostile forces. Dismantling or downgrading the US bases in the Philippines, would impair American operational capabilities in Southeast Asian waters and air space, and in the Indian Ocean. Should Guam and the Micronesian territories have to absorb many of the Philippine base functions, Americans might conclude that the Western Pacific was of little inherent strategic interest.[29]

At this point, Manila's real importance to Australia had little to do with its organisational contributions to ASEAN. Security and the Philippines' security relationship with the US was the major focus of the relationship. The US security umbrella over the region was founded on the bilateral tie with the Philippines; moreover, the credibility of that commitment was validated by the military posture permitted by forward basing facilities in the Philippines. In the light of the Vietnamese-Soviet alliance and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia the US in the Philippines became a vital component of the regional balance of power.[30]

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[29] Henry S. Albinski, "American-Australian Security Policies: The Current Phase", *Pacific Affairs*, vol.51, no.4, Winter 1979, p.613.

[30] Donald E. Weatherbee, "The Philippines and ASEAN: Options for Aquino", *Asian Survey*, vol.XXVII, no.12, December 1987, p.1225.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 also altered the regional mood toward the Soviet Union, particularly in view of its increasing military entrenchment in Vietnam. Marcos, who until then had taken a low-key approach to Hanoi, linked Soviet expansiveness to Vietnamese means and uncharacteristically warned that Vietnam might be preparing for an imminent attack on Thailand. This perception of increased external threat came to be widely shared among the non-Communist states in the Asia-Pacific region; there was a general tendency to increase military capability and to work more closely together. For the Philippines, there was another opportunity to have closer relations with Australia. The higher priority assigned to relations with Australia was reflected by the appointment of a senior career diplomat, Mrs Leticia Ramos-Shahani, to the Embassy in Canberra. Mrs Shahani was not only the sister of Fidel Ramos but was also a relative of Marcos.

By the late 1970s, closer attention was also paid towards the relationship by Australia. Growing criticism within Australia of human rights abuses by the Marcos regime received sympathetic hearings and resulted in increasing demands to terminate aid to the Philippines.[31] Uncertain how to deal with Marcos and Martial Law, Australia looked towards the US for guidance. While support for an unstable and excessively harsh regime was electorally and diplomatically undesirable, it was unprofitable for Australia to become involved in frequent exchanges with the Philippines over its domestic affairs, given the constraints imposed on the Philippines by its US relationship and US interests in the region. Unlike countries further removed, Australia did not have the option of avoiding relations with the Philippines. Australia therefore adopted a flexible policy: mixing pragmatism with principle, balancing firmness and criticism with restraint, tolerance, realistic expectations and attempts at understanding.[32]

For the later years of the 1970s, problems in the bilateral relationship were predominantly economic rather than diplomatic or strategic. The Philippines resented Australia's protectionism. While the non-communist states' resilience to domestic pressure and their

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[31] Robyn Lim, "The Philippines and the US: Tyranny of a Weak Ally", *Asian Pacific Review*, no.1, Summer 1985-86, p.2.

[32] J.R. Angel & P.J. Boyce, (eds), *Independence and Alliance: Australia in World Affairs 1976-1980*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, Australia, 1983, p.229.

capacity to react confidently to external pressures could be advanced through healthy economic development, Australia's ability to assist was hampered by reluctance to lower tariff and quota barriers against ASEAN products. Instead, Australia elected to provide development aid.[33] Such issues replaced earlier emphasis on security, alliances, and relations with dominant powers.

The decade of the 1970s gave both the Philippines and Australia unique opportunities to have closer bilateral ties. However, different perceptions regarding security and changes in the region's power configuration, constrained action in this direction. To Australia, the significance of relations with the Philippines was based on external security issues. The Philippines was important in Australia's defence strategy and to the defence posture of the Western alliance. Filipinos' threat perceptions were different, focussed rather on internal issues: insurgency, political stability, economic development. Hence the importance of Australian aid.

The global and regional significance of the Philippine bases further impinged on moves towards closer ties with Australia. While Australia considered the Philippines as important, the Philippines did not see Australia in quite the same light. The importance of the Philippines to Australia stemmed from its location in an area of strategic, political and economic interest to Australia; its membership of ASEAN; and its alliance with the US, including the hosting of major US military facilities. For the Philippines, however, although relations with Australia warranted some attention, far more importance was placed on its relations with the US. Increasingly preoccupied with internal affairs in the 1980s, the Marcos government had little time to cultivate relations with Australia.

The 1980s

While Philippine policymakers concentrated on domestic concerns, a combination of political and economic factors resulted in the revival of Australian strategic interest in the Philippines in the early 1980s. The decade began with a Soviet commitment to deploy its Pacific Fleet in Asian seas. Soviet military might increased as evidenced by the steady growth in expenditure. This, together with long term

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[33] T.B. Millar, "From Whitlam to Fraser", *Foreign Affairs*, vol.55, no.4, July 1977, p.861.

Sino-Vietnamese tensions provided justification for a US strategy that defended the Asian Pacific basin.

Australia's stake in the continuing capacity of the US to counter the ideological and military challenge of the Soviet Union generated a strong interest in avoiding situations in the Third World which allowed the Soviet Union significant strategic gains. The Philippine domestic situation, had the potential to create such a situation. Australia's concern stemmed from the USSR selectively encouraging radical or opposition groups at a time when the Philippines was politically fragile. Repercussions in the balance of power were enormous as the USSR was expected to exploit these developments to increase its military presence.

The growing crisis in the Philippines presented Australia with acute dilemmas. The NPA's increasing popularity and the lack of economic and political reforms raised the possibility of a leftist Philippine government which would evict US forces from the bases. To Australia, the security implications were enormous. As succinctly put by one author, "the Philippine situation in its deteriorating conditions would be of only passing concern if the Philippines and its bases were not so strategically important to the Western defences in the Pacific and Indian Ocean".[34]

A hostile Philippines could disrupt important lines of communication between Australia and its major trading partners; a secure, well-disposed Philippines could protect them. Maintenance of the bases was important; removal of the US presence would be detrimental to Australia's security interests. Dismantling or downgrading the bases would impair US capabilities in Southeast Asian waters and air space and in the Indian Ocean.[35]

While maintaining the basis was a matter between the Philippines and the US, Australia played a constructive if indirect role in sustaining the Philippine government: in reforming counter-insurgency, and through defence cooperation and development aid. In framing a policy of deep philosophical commitment to democratic principles for application in a complex situation of central importance to its own long-term security, Australia faced a dilemma, particularly over aid to the Philippine government. Increased aid was being used

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[34] Michael Richardson, *Pacific Defence Reporter*, 1987, p.12.

[35] Henry S. Albinski, "American-Australian Security Policies: The Current Phase", p.612.

by the Marcos regime against insurgents, but not effectively, Australians judged. Restricting aid might prod Marcos into reform in competition with insurgents. Certainly increased aid was seen by Marcos and his opponents alike as evidence of support for the regime, thereby reducing the incentive to reform. But cutting off aid would put at risk supplies essential to the effort to resist Communist guerillas.

In its policies towards the Philippines, Australia effectively enhanced the short term security of the Marcos regime at the expense of the long term security both of the Philippines and of the region. By acting as a proxy for the US in the region, and in supporting US policies towards the Philippines, Australia to some extent made an indirect contribution to the growth of super power competition in Southeast Asia.[36] Two guiding principles justified Australia's action; even the corrupt, authoritarian Marcos regime was preferable to one not totally opposed to the "communist" or even consisting of them; for regional, economic and military reasons, it was important to sustain the Philippines as an active member of a pro-American, anti-Russian, ASEAN bloc.[37]

Relations with the US featured prominently in both the Philippines' and Australia's foreign policy. US President, Ronald Reagan's inauguration promised even closer and more reassuring relations with the US. Fraser credited Reagan's conservative administration with similar strategic and politico-economic views.[38] US endorsement of Marcos weighed heavily with the Australian government.

The crisis caused by the assassination of Benigno Aquino in August 1983 resulted in a closer examination of relations with the Marcos regime. The situation in the Philippines could not be ignored and Australia was made aware of the repercussions should the situation be left unchecked. As opposition to Marcos' rule increased, the need for American support correspondingly increased. Relations with Australia were again left on the periphery.

By the mid 1980s, Filipino interest and knowledge about Australia had changed greatly. The Philippines became the focus of Australian

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[36] Tim Huxley, "Southeast Asia and Australia's Security", *Asia Pacific Community*, no.23, Winter 1984, p.45.

[37] Richard Searle, "The Philippines: Australian Support for Militarism", *Peace Studies*, no.1, March 1984, pp.3-4.

[38] Robyn Lim, "The Philippines and the US", p.ii.

interest after Indonesia. The repercussions and wider implications of the deteriorating political situation in the Philippines caused Australia some concern. There were demands to end Australian military assistance which cost $1.5 million in 1985-86; the growing crisis also raised the question whether Australia would provide alternative sites if American military bases were lost.[39] Military and economic aid programs continued despite opposition within Australia on the ground that to cut off aid to Marcos would be counterproductive, when the US was trying to ensure a "moderate" succession: as "deliberately undermining US political strategy in the Philippines".[40]

There was also the question whether Australian aid should be tied to the political behaviour of recipients. Reactions from other Asian countries with which Australia had important bilateral relations were a factor. Japan and other ASEAN states would consider any reduction as another indication of declining interest in the region.[41] Promises of further aid, however, would indicate a subordination of human rights to security.

Debate over the future of the Philippines saw the Foreign Minister calling on President Marcos to make dramatic political, economic and military reforms. Together with the production of official assessments of the bilateral relations this hastened deterioration in a relationship already poor. Concern over the Philippines' political situation was encapsulated in an ADAB policy paper which expressed concern that continued aid to the Marcos government would be viewed negatively by the Filipino people, and raised the possibility of a government in Manila "inimical to Western interest".[42]

The Gore case further heightened Australia's interest in the Philippines and facilitated renewed calls for termination of aid, as it highlighted the repression, social injustice and corruption of the Marcos regime. Resentment over Australian criticisms led to a ban on

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[39] Richard Higgott & Amitav Acharya, "Problems in Australian Foreign Policy", *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, vol.32, no.2, 1986, p.179. Australia was too far south and presented the least attractive choice given its high labour costs and trade union problems. The anti-nuclear movement also made an expanded US naval presence politically unwise particularly after a nuclear-free proposal by Australia was endorsed in the Pacific Forum in 1984.

[40] Robyn Lim, "The Philippines: After Marcos, What?", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, vol.62, no.2, July 1985, p.25.

[41] *Ibid.*, p.25.

[42] See The Jackson Report for more details.

Australian planes using Clark. This phase in the bilateral relations was overshadowed by events in 1986.

The 1986 political struggle for succession in the Philippines was a major regional crisis that exercised the minds of Australian foreign policy makers considerably. Australia's policies towards the Philippines had to reconcile a range of diverse and often competing considerations. Caution, some would say timidity, was the hallmark, much stemming from the prospect, however unlikely, that Australia might become embroiled under the aegis of ANZUS. Despite pressure from Australian aid agencies, there were no moves either to withdraw recognition of the Marcos regime or to cut bilateral aid.[43]

Aquino's first years in office were devoted more to internal problems than to foreign affairs , but a shift in foreign policy appeared imminent as the new constitution promised a more nationalistic posture. While the continuing importance of the Philippine's relationship with the US could not be ignored, Aquino emphasised independence and a regional focus. Once again, the opportunity to promote closer ties with Australia was present. Flexibility and independence were discernible as Aquino sought to expand diplomatic and trade relations established by Marcos; she visited Indonesia, Singapore, the United States, and Japan, and addressed the United Nations in 1986, but Australia did not figure significantly in the Philippines' regional policy thrust.

By the end of the 1980s, changes were accumulating throughout Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union completed its military withdrawal from Afghanistan to ease economic problems. The global strategic role of the US changed along with its relations with the USSR. Its military deployments in Southeast Asia, and particularly its naval dispositions at Subic Bay, were formerly predicated on a need to counter Soviet deployments in event of global war; now they focused increasingly on protecting Japan and the Middle East.

An important emerging theme was the shape of possible new security alliances in the region. What role would the Philippines play in this "alternative" alliance?[44] For its part, Australia's regional

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[43] R. Higgott & A. Acharya, "Problems in Australian Foreign Policy January-June 1986", p.371.

[44] Michael Richardson, "ASEAN Cautious About Pacific Partnership", *Pacific Defence Reporter*, September 1989, p.19. Australia proposed in 1989 the establishment of an Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Group - a new Pacific partnership.

interests were to neutralise any military threat to Australia, maintain a stable environment for commerce with international trade routes remaining open, and facilitate the orderly withdrawal of superpower conflict from the region, particularly any with a military component.

Strategic prospects for the 1980s called for closer co-operation amongst Western allies and an increase in capabilities to respond to Soviet military pressures in theatres remote from the points of confrontation in the past three decades. Security interests in the region gave rise to the idea of a larger role for Australia and new collective security arrangements by countries of the Pacific.

Future Directions

Changes in Eastern Europe as a result of the end of the Cold War, events in the Middle East culminating in the Gulf War and its repercussions, a partial resolution to the Cambodian issue, the weakening of US-Philippine security relations, and numerous disasters, both man-made and natural, have all contributed to the Philippines' turbulent security environment in the 1990s. Whether in reaction to these changes, or as a response to growing nationalist feelings within, the makers of Philippine foreign policy face some hard choices in security policy; present trends seem more independent and nationalistic.

The end of the Cold War ended East-West confrontation; the bi-polar balance of power gave way to a more complex multipolarity; new states emerged as nationalism reasserted itself, the United Nations assumed greater importance and new issues such as environmental protection, trade security and refugee policy became increasing important. Much that seemed stable and permanent about international politics only a few years ago has altered. World politics have entered a period of change and uncertainty; the world is a more difficult, more complicated place.

The Philippines and Australia cannot but be affected by the changes now taking place. In a world of growing interdependence, their futures are inextricably bound up with the shifting social, political and economic interests of other states. While the Philippines has succeeded in associating itself with the regional institutions of the Southeast Asian region, relations with Australia remain peripheral. The changing security environment, globally and in the Asia-Pacific region have pushed both countries to review foreign and defence policies. As the security role of the US in the region diminishes and the notion of a "vacuum" created by withdrawal of US forces is

discarded, as Australia orients its policies towards Asia and accepts its peripheral role in relation to happenings in Europe and the Maastricht Treaty,[45] the time is ripe for closer bilateral relations.

As countries in the region build their own modest arsenals and consider appropriate security models, the Philippines and Australia have a unique opportunity to work closely together. Both countries have adopted a policy of defence self-reliance with closer involvement with the Asia-Pacific region; new concepts for regional security have been proposed. For the Philippines, the most viable, active and effective forum for regional security has been ASEAN.

As the countries of the region reconcile themselves to a scaled-down US presence, there is an emerging consensus that a political-security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region involving ASEAN, China and the Soviet Union, should be initiated. A new regional order which seeks the development of varied economies and the stability of different political systems with foreign assistance but without foreign intervention may seem visionary but it may be the only way for peace and security in the region.

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[45] See Martin Howe, "What is Maastricht?", *The Courier Mail*, 7 November 1992, p.29.

XI
PHILIPPINE STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE*

Mark Turner

Australian academe's first excursion into the realm of Philippine studies came in the mid-1960s with the successful completion of two doctoral theses at the Australian National University (ANU). Appropriately, it was a Filipino, Dante Simbulan, who led the way with what was to become a much-quoted thesis on the socio-economic elite. The other doctoral candidate, Jean Vellut, focussed his attention on Philippine foreign policy. Before the 1960s were finished another doctorate, this time in economics, was completed at ANU while the anthropologist-prehistorian, Helmut Loofs-Wissowa, from the same institution undertook field studies in the Northern Cordillera. These disparate pieces of research on Philippine topics did not constitute any concerted push for Philippine studies. Australia's interest in the Third World was still firmly fixed on Papua New Guinea, Indonesia and Malaysia while the orientalists could find no 'high' civilisation in the Philippines to attract their attention.

By the 1970s Australian academics and postgraduate students had began looking further afield and research interest in the Philippines increased to the critical level where one could actually start talking about the existence of something called Philippine studies in Australia. Peter Krinks completed his doctorate on peasant colonisation in Mindanao at the ANU in 1970 and by the middle of the decade five more doctorates had been completed. Not only had the disciplinary range expanded to include anthropology, geography and history as well as politics and economics, but some of the work had been done outside the ANU, at the universities of Sydney and Western Australia. The latter university had employed the American Philippinist, James Murray, on its staff. But the most significant event came in Sydney in October 1974 when fourteen people with research interests in the Philippines met at Macquarie University and founded the Philippine

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Studies Group (PSG); its declared aim was 'to improve contacts among researchers in Australia and to circulate useful information'. The group published its first newsletter in November 1974 and followed it with eight more over the next four years. They were one to two page documents which gave brief details of meetings, most of which were held in private houses rather than in university seminar rooms.

Meanwhile in 1976 the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) was somewhat belatedly formed. At its second national conference there were twelve papers on the Philippines covering a range of historical and social science topics. This was a good indication that considerable academic interest in the Philippines had developed in Australian universities. This was confirmed in 1980 when Sydney's PSG went nationwide with the formation of the Philippine Studies Association of Australia (PSAA). The Sydney-based academics who spearheaded the move expressed concern that the Philippines was not being accorded the attention it deserved despite the numerical increase in scholars studying the Philippines and the growing volume of doctoral and published work on the country. In order to redress the 'disturbingly low priority' given to the Philippines within the context of Southeast Asian studies in Australia, it was necessary to have a 'nationwide professional association'. The PSAA secured an initial membership of thirty from the tertiary institutions of Australia and sought respectability and recognition by drafting a constitution and electing officials. The first newsletter, a more substantial document than its PSG predecessors, was dispatched to members in May 1981. It is currently circulated to over 100 members and associate members in Australia-New Zealand anda growing number of foreign associate members.

By this stage Philippine studies in Australia had established a solid base on which to develop. There was a professional organisation which kept people informed of events around the country and introduced a semblance of corporate identity and linkage to those engaged in Philippine studies. The output of doctoral dissertations was being maintained while academics specialising in the Philippines now held positions at a number of universities. For example, Alfred McCoy (history) and Raul Pertierra (anthropology) were at the University of New South Wales, Peter Krinks (geography) and Brian Fegan (anthropology) lectured at Macquarie University, Ron May (politics) was in place at ANU, John Smart (sociology/anthropology) at Newcastle, Howard Fry (history) at James Cook University in Townsville, and in the west James Warren (history) operated out of

Murdoch University. Thus, when the Fourth National ASAA conference was held in 1982 it was reported that Philippine studies was represented by 'more papers, more panels and more visiting scholars from the Philippines'. Philippine studies had become an integral part of the expanding Asian studies scene in Australian tertiary education.

The rise of academic interest in the Philippines was accompanied by an increased public interest in and awareness of what was happening in the Philippines. Links between Australia and the Philippines had been growing in importance. The longer authoritarian rule was perpetuated, the stronger and more diverse became the ties between non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Australia and their counterparts in the Philippines. The NGOs channelled aid to deserving causes and disseminated information on the unpleasant realities of the contemporary Philippines. Church groups such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and the Asian Bureau were early on the scene. But others followed, including solidarity groups, such as the Philippine Resource Centre, workers' groups, such as Australia Asia Worker Links, women's groups, such as Women in Solidarity with Women of the Philippines, and general aid bodies such as the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. The advent of the Aquino era did not dim the enthusiasm and resourcefulness of the NGOs. Thus, as we enter the presidential term of Fidel Ramos the NGO links are still strong and the information flow substantial.

In strategic terms the Philippines has assumed increasing importance in official Australian eyes as the latter have peered progressively further over the northern horizon. The question of the US bases and the matter of political stability are of considerable concern to Australian defence planners. On the economic front, investment by Australia in the Philippines peaked in the early 1980s. The Aquino era saw a revitalisation of Australian interest in Philippine investment opportunities although an uncertain political environment limited such investment. Trade has expanded although there is a large imbalance in favour of Australia. The Australian government also decided in the late 1970s to place a large chunk of its official development assistance in the Philippines. The integrated rural development projects in Samar and Zamboanga-del-Sur represent Australia's largest-ever funding of individual aid projects. There is still considerable interest in directing substantial sums of aid towards the Philippines to a range of projects and through both government and NGO agencies. Tourism also underwent a rapid increase from the late

1970s. Much of it assumed a hedonistic form which did nothing to enhance the image of Australia in the Philippines, but its character may now be changing as the volume of *balikbayan* travellers continues to grow.

A field which awaits investigation is collaboration between the Philippines and Australia in scientific research. Colleagues at James Cook University report recent or current projects involving research workers in both countries in wind and coastal engineering, fisheries, marine biology, marine biochemistry, tropical veterinary science and tropical agriculture. Such projects, which undoubtedly have counterparts in other Australian universities, are especially important because the flow of expertise, experience and benefits is in both directions.

Perhaps most important in the wide-ranging links between Australia and the Philippines has been the dramatic growth in migration from the Philippines to Australia. In addition to the much publicised and frequently misrepresented business of 'mail order brides' there is a larger flow of Filipino families and individuals. If current trends are maintained then by the end of the century people of Filipino descent will be a relatively larger group in Australia than in the USA. Already there is a network of diverse Philippine associations across the country; Filipino cultural activities and publications are expanding, while Philippine delicacies from *bagoong* to *balut* are available in many places. Judging from current experience this will make for even closer linkages between the Philippines and Australia.

The point of this excursion into the various strands of the Australia-Philippines relationship is to show that the growth of academic interest in the Philippines has been paralleled by the development of other links. Furthermore, the indications are that the two countries are becoming more closely enmeshed. In this environment it is hoped that Philippine studies will also expand.

The output of Philippine-oriented doctoral dissertations has certainly expanded. Whether the momentum is maintained remains to be seen. In the 1960s there were just three doctoral dissertations on the Philippines. The number rose to ten in the following decade while by mid-1988 another eighteen had been successfully completed. At that time there were twenty-three theses on the Philippines in progress at Australian universities. Since then another seventeen persons have graduated while the number of theses in preparation remains high at 31. The dissertations past and present span the full range of the social sciences while a few are in the arts. Table 1 shows anthropology/

sociology and history as the most productive disciplines, each boasting more than ten completed doctoral theses since 1965. Economics, politics and geography constitute a second division with six or seven in each. Music, education and demography have each produced fewer than five theses in the period. However, the balance may soon change as economics and demography exercise clear numerical dominance in the theses in progress category. Anthropology/sociology and politics are also well represented in current doctoral research, with five and six theses in progress, but there appears to be only minor activity in the other disciplines. Fifteen universities have been involved in this postgraduate training effort; eight accommodate the ongoing doctoral research. Filipinos have been an integral part of the programme and their importance appears to be increasing. Fourteen (29 per cent) of the completed theses have been written by Filipinos, and a further three (6 per cent) by Filipino migrants to Australia. Sixteen (52 per cent) of those in progress are being researched by Filipinos, almost all in the economics or demography programs at the ANU.

TABLE 1
Doctoral Dissertations on the Philippines in Australian Universities 1965-1992

Subject	Number Completed	Number in Progress
Anthropology/Sociology	12	5
Demography	1	8
Economics	7	9
Education	4	-
Geography	6	-
History	10	2
Literature	-	1
Music	2	-
Politics	6	6
Total	48	31

Filipinos have also been coming to Australian universities for postgraduate training of a more applied type at the graduate diploma and masters level. Planning, education, agricultural economics and development economics have been the major focuses. The ANU, the University of Queensland, the University of New England and Macquarie University have been the most favoured destinations over the past decade or more but Filipino students at this level are widely distributed across a range of programs.

But Filipinos have not simply come to Australian universities as students. Some have been recruited to teaching positions, and not necessarily positions which require Philippine studies expertise. For example, Reynaldo Ileto was the only Filipino member of the lecturing staff at James Cook University when he arrived in 1986. Now he has been joined by two other Filipinos, one lecturing in computer science, the other in behavioural science. I am personally acquainted with two Filipino lecturers in economics and marketing. These examples demonstrate that Filipinos have participated in the general trend of diversified ethnic origins of staff in Australian universities.

The increase in numbers of Filipino academics in Australian universities had not entailed an expansion of Philippine courses. There was one experimental Philippine politics option at ANU in 1989, but to my knowledge, there are now no exclusively Philippines courses in Australian tertiary institutions. An honours course was offered for many years by Howard Fry at James Cook University; Reynaldo Ileto continued to offer such a course from his arrival in 1986 until 1989, when it was broadened to include several other Southeast Asian countries. The Philippines makes numerous appearances in courses on Southeast Asia which are conducted in many disciplines. Philippine topics may also crop up in other courses which do not have an area focus, but it seems unlikely that any new Philippines-only course will be mounted in the near future. It is doubtful whether a demand exists for such exclusive courses while the current philosophy of Asian studies teaching does not favour such a highly specialised approach. Thus, we must turn back to research for further evidence of Philippine studies in Australia.

Although it is impossible in a paper such as this to do justice to the diverse and interesting range of Philippines-oriented research in Australian universities, a few observations will give some insights. Australian-based scholars have been anything but Manila-bound and have undertaken research in many provincial locations. Several persons have undertaken long-term research in specific locations. Raul

Pertierra and Brian Fegan, for example, have been monitoring change in municipalities in Ilocos Sur and Bulacan for nearly 20 years. For a slightly lesser period Michael Pinches has been studying the Manila settlement of Tatalon. Historians have also contributed to the detailed knowledge and understanding of particular areas. For example, Reynaldo Ileto has focused on Batangas and Tayabas in the 19th and early 20th century while Glenn May has written extensively of Batangas in the American period. Such studies not only uncover a wealth of local detail but also demonstrate differential local reactions to processes operating over wider areas. Such diverse engagements and responses are best illustrated in *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformation* (1982) edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus in which the contributing authors use an area focus to analyse the nature of engagement with European world trade and the outcomes of such engagement.

While the previous paragraph has indicated considerable research in Luzon over the past 20 years there has also been a large amount of attention to Mindanao over a range of disciplines through such people as Peter Krinks (the historical geography of peasant colonisation), Ruurdje Laarhoven (the history of Maguindanao), James Warren (the history of the Sulu Zone), Jeremy Beckett (the political history of Cotabato), Ron May (the politics of ethnic conflict), Paul Mathews (attitudes and behaviours relating to population planning in Surigao), Anne-Marie Cass (women and the military), Peter Sales (the communist revolution in Mindanao), David Hyndman (the Tasaday controversy) and Mark Turner (politics in Zamboanga City). Indicative of this longstanding interest in Mindanao was the 1992 publication of the book *Mindanao: Land of Unfulfilled Promise,* edited by Australian-based scholars Mark Turner, Ron May and Lulu Respall Turner. The Visayan region, by contrast, has been somewhat neglected. Lois Maghanoy completed a thesis on Siquijor in 1977 but Visayan studies were the almost exclusive preserve of Alfred McCoy until his departure for the University of Wisconsin.

Most social sciences are represented in Philippines research, although the participants are scattered over the country, some universities with only single representatives on their academic staffs - for example, David Hyndman (anthropology and sociology) at the University of Queensland, Mina Roces (history) University of Central Queensland, and Peter Sales (politics) University of Wollongong. By contrast, James Cook University has been a centre for new initiatives in historical research, first by Howard Fry but later consolidated and

expanded by Reynaldo Ileto and Rodney Sullivan. The historical specialisation has been complemented by additional Philippine research in geography, especially migration, by Richard Jackson and in literature by Elizabeth Perkins. The Southeast Asian studies journal from James Cook University, *Kabar Seberang: Sulating Maphilindo*, has reflected this Philippine interest with several issues devoted to the Philippines. Such developments have made James Cook University one of the leading and most dynamic foci for Philippine studies in Australia over the past decade. Sydney has been the major centre for anthropology-sociology although the leading practitioners - Raul Pertierra, Brian Fegan and Jeremy Beckett - are dispersed over different universities. In Western Australia, history has been well represented by James Warren and Greg Bankoff at Murdoch University. Malcolm Mintz has pursued linguistic studies at the same university while Michael Pinches has been a focal point for Philippine studies in the Anthropology Department at the University of Western Australia. At the Northern Territory University Dennis Shoesmith has undertaken research of the church with emphasis on its political role. Economics, demography and politics have been heavily concentrated on the ANU where Philippines specialists such as Hal Hill (economics) and Ron May (politics) are based, and where Mark Turner (politics-sociology) resided until his move across the city to the University of Canberra in 1990.

The ANU has in fact played and continues to play the major role in Philippine studies in Australia. Nineteen (40 per cent) of the doctoral dissertations completed in Australia are from the ANU, as are a further nineteen (61 per cent) of those in progress. They range across the social sciences from history, geography and economics to demography and politics. The current batch of doctoral researchers largely comprises Filipino students in the economics and demography programs at the ANU's National Centre for Development Studies (NCDS). This predominance of ANU is explained in large part by the existence of the Research School of Pacific Studies (RSPacS) which as its name suggests undertakes research including an extensive doctoral program, on the Pacific nations of Southeast Asia, East Asia and the Pacific Islands but does no undergraduate teaching. The Philippines obviously falls within the rubric of RSPacS research interests and over the years there has been some Philippines output from most of the social sciences in the RSPacS. The total of these efforts is impressive. Much has come from the short and long-term visitors to RSPacS. In history these have included Reynaldo Ileto (1974), Milagros Guerrero

(1976), Alfred McCoy (1977), Glenn May (1980) and Norman Owen (1983). The absence of a Philippines specialist in the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History since the mid-1980s presumably reflects shifting emphasis in the departmental research program. The Department of Political and Social Change has maintained continuity in its Philippine interests with temporary appointments including Brian Fegan, Francisco Nemenzo, David Wurfel, Benedict Kerkvliet and Mark Turner. The interest and hence the output of long-term staff has been far less but Ron May (politics) and Hal Hill (economics) have made major contributions. At one stage in the early 1980s there was even a privately-sponsored Visiting Lectureship to teach Philippine studies to undergraduates in the Faculty of Asian Studies. Incumbents of this position included Eric Casiño, Bernardita Churchill and Reynaldo Ileto, before it was phased out due to lack of funds. Nevertheless, ANU's interest in the Philippines remains strong with library resources on the Philippines probably superior to any other Australian university. Scholars at ANU are also able to make use of the Philippines collection of the National Library of Australia in Canberra. In addition to its regular Philippines acquisitions the National Library has also obtained several collections including the Otley Beyer, Goldenberg and the Villanueva collection.

ANU's recent work in Philippine studies has been led by the Department of Political and Social Change. Two doctoral students are currently engaged in Philippines research there while Ron May and Mark Turner (before departure for the University of Canberra) have not only devoted much of their time to research on the Philippines but for several years occupied the positions of President and Secretary of the PSAA. As such they were responsible for revitalising the association and recommencing production of the newsletters. Other staff in the Department of Political and Social Change, especially the former professor, Jamie Mackie, also have interests in the Philippines. The succession of Benedict Kerkvliet to the chair in 1992 will ensure the maintenance of a strong Philippine studies profile in departmental activities.

The department has led the way in hosting Philippine conferences. In 1983, there were two conferences, one on elites and the other on 'The Philippines After Marcos'. A workshop devoted to current doctoral research in the Philippines in Australian universities was held in 1988 while in November 1989 there was a three-day conference on Mindanao involving considerable Filipino participation. In July 1992 the department hosted a 'Philippines Update' on contemporary

developments in politics, economics, and society. Finally, in 1992 the *Fourth International Philippine Studies Conference* took place at ANU and was co-sponsored by the Department of Political and Social Change. Further discussion of this event appears later in this article.

While diversity has been and continues to be characteristic of Philippines research in Australia it is appropriate to identify several new research directions that have emerged in academic Philippine studies over the past few years. Although NGOs have for a long time publicised large volumes of information in the general area of human rights, academics have, until recently, largely steered clear. Alfred McCoy started the ball rolling with his Penguin book *Priests on Trial* but others have followed his lead and are now looking at such things as vigilantes, low intensity conflict, cultural minorities and women and militarisation. The academics and NGOs now overlap in both their interests and their writing. They have even co-operated in 'fact-finding missions'. Related to and overlapping with this work are efforts to describe and understand the communist insurgency. The younger generation of scholars engaged in postgraduate studies have been heavily involved in such research e.g. Cathy Beacham, Anne-Marie Cass, David Glanz and Kathleen Weekly.

The second recent development in Philippines research is work on Filipino migrants to Australia. So far, most investigations have concentrated on the Filipina brides of Australian men. However, Richard Jackson's work on all Filipino migration to Australia has taken this subject beyond its earlier exclusive social work orientation, a trend which is likely to be maintained. Australian academic work on Filipino migration is also becoming more international with important contributions from Richard Jackson, Rochelle Ball and Raul Pertierra. With migrant numbers growing, much more research in this area is to be anticipated.

A final area of research development has been the historical studies of Reynaldo Ileto and Rodney Sullivan at James Cook University. Between 1986-88 they were funded to investigate the social history of cholera in the late 19th century (Ileto) and early 20th century (Ileto and Sullivan). More recently they have been exploring early evidence of Filipino presence in Australia, a small-scale migration but one which goes back further than most think and which has particular significance in northern Australia. Related to this is analysis of 'racialist' and 'Orientalist' views of Filipinos and other non-whites. Also, the James Cook University historians are examining

Philippine Studies in Australia, asking the question what is Australian about them.

Despite its achievements Philippine studies in Australia has not been without its problems First, efforts to provide a permanent focus for Philippine studies have proved difficult. Among the many Centres which have mushroomed in Australian Universities, there is none devoted to Philippines Studies. ANU failed to sustain its Visiting Fellowship in Philippine Studies. Also, ANU's large Philippines research output has been derived mainly from non-tenured fixed-term staff (and perhaps over the next few years from Filipino doctoral students), not from tenured appointments specifically attached to the Philippines; there are none.

Second, one yawning gap in Philippine studies in Australia has been the absence of language teaching; even in the recent report on *Asia in Australian Higher Education (The Nairn Report)* it receives only passing mention. It appears to have been awarded an extraordinarily low priority despite the relative size of the Philippine studies community, the public interest in the Philippines and the wide-ranging links which bind the two countries. While scholars who want to learn Lao and Tibetan can be accommodated, those who wish to acquire competence in Tagalog cannot. In the Philippines, educationalists and government officials vigorously promote the national language but in Australia the Asian studies community continues to ignore the importance of Philippine language teaching. Yet 92 per cent of Filipinos understand Tagalog as against 51 per cent who understand English. Only 1 per cent of the population speaks English at home. A criticism of some Australian work on Philippine politics is that the researchers who produce it lack competence in Philippine languages and therefore may be prone to superficial enquiry and analysis. Thus the most urgent issue in Philippine studies is how to ensure that Philippine language instruction is made available and at the earliest opportunity. There have been a number of fee-paying introductory courses in Tagalog at James Cook University since the 1970s. A significant recent step has been made by Paul Mathews of the Department of Sociology at ANU. He has worked to have a short, intensive fee-paying Tagalog course listed through the Centre for Continuing Education at ANU for September 1992. If it proves viable then further lobbying may ensue in order to fund a full Philippine language and culture course at that university.

Third, the PSAA has at times fallen into states of dormancy; the newsletter has failed to appear and Philipinists have relied on

informal links to exchange information and ideas. The PSAA was reawakened from one such period of slumber in 1987. Over the following year the membership was revised and expanded and two newsletters produced. The second ran to twelve pages, an indication of the considerable activity in the Philippine studies community in Australia. It appears that this latest rejuvenation has enabled the PSAA to develop and maintain a focal role as co-ordinator and facilitator of Philippine studies. Furthermore, there have been regular changes of officeholders and hence responsibility for producing the newsletter. In 1990 the focus of power shifted from the ANU to James Cook University; from late 1991 until mid-1992 the principal officeholders were at the University of New South Wales and the University of Canberra; and from mid-1992 two of the major positions were held by staff at Western Australian universities.

Fourth, Australia is a large country and transport costs have traditionally been high. It has often been as cheap to travel from Sydney to Manila as it is has been from Sydney to Townsville, home of James Cook University. To bring all Philippinists in Australia together at any centre has involved the majority of them in large travel expenses. With the advent of airline deregulation and ensuing price-cutting of airfares the situation has now improved to some extent.

Fifth, given the size of the Australian Philippine studies community, its international connections and the widespread interest in the Philippines, it has been suggested that there is both need and room for a Philippine studies journal. The PSAA newsletter merely passes on news of what people are doing and what is happening; a journal might perform other useful functions. The James Cook University, Southeast Asian Studies journal, *Kabar Seberang: Sulating Maphilindo* featured several Philippines issues under the editorship of Howard Fry and Bob Hering, including the latest but unfortunately the last issue. The retirement of Bob Hering and the lack of funding support has lead to the demise of the journal. Thus, there is still the need to address the issue of an Australian Philippine studies journal. There would, however, be much debate about the nature of such a journal. Should it try to emulate *Philippine Studies* and go for a wide range of arts and social sciences? An orientation nearer to the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* with a focus on contemporary issues in development, economics and politics might be preferable. The matter requires further debate, especially over the division of labour and costs if such a journal is to be launched. Some might even regard the venture as unnecessary, or impossible given the lack of resources.

Perhaps a compromise in the form of closer collaboration with the American-based journal *Filipinas* would be the best answer.

From our survey it is obvious that Australia boasts an active and growing collection of Philipinists. The Philippines makes a multitude of appearances in Southeast Asian and other social science courses while postgraduate research has continued to expand since its modest beginnings in the 1960s. There is a community of established scholars in Australian universities and other experienced scholars have expressed interest in undertaking Philippine research. The output of publications by Australian-based Philipinists has been impressive and seems set to continue. Some of the publications have been widely cited in the Philippines and elsewhere, and have been viewed as significant contributions to Philippine studies. There is no dominant paradigm but some Australian-based research has drawn widely from European intellectual streams especially those dealing with power, conflict, and the control of resources. Less attention has been paid to culture as an explanatory variable, while there has been little sympathy for the functionalist orientation to 'Filipino values'. A register of Philipinists in Australia was compiled in 1990 and updated in 1992. There are problems, however, including the lack of a permanent focal point for Philippine research, the astonishing absence of Philippine language teaching, the occasional dormancy of the PSAA, the tyranny of distance, and the lack of an academic journal devoted to the Philippines. Nevertheless, Philippine studies in Australia will continue to make a major, possibly even growing, contribution to Philippine studies worldwide.

This optimism which I first expressed in the original 1989 version of this article was both justified and realised in 1992 with the hosting of the *Fourth International Philippine Studies Conference,* 1-3 July, at the ANU. This was the first time that this major international gathering had been held in Australia and its success was indicative of the strength of and commitment to Philippine studies in Australia. The organisers were able to raise funds to facilitate the attendance of 28 paper-givers from the Philippines. These financial resources were drawn from government, university and business sources and reveal a widespread commitment to Philippine studies and a strong cooperative spirit among the Philippine studies community and associated institutions. The international importance of the event was evidenced by representatives from the USA, Japan, New Zealand, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, the UK and Papua New Guinea while the

participation of approximately 200 persons further emphasised the interest in Philippine studies in Australia.

Ninety-four papers were presented at the conference necessitating the holding of three panels simultaneously at each session. The topics were diverse but papers concerned with migration and women were most numerous. However, there were panels on a multiplicity of subjects including elections, the environment, literature, class structure, insurgency, religion, land reform, economic development, population, history, the Tasaday, labour relations, indigenising the social sciences, deciphering images and texts, the colonial state and international relations. Approximately thirty of the papers were presented by Australian-based scholars - ranging from masters students to full professors. This in itself showed the vitality and scope of Philippine studies in Australia to an international audience and most importantly to the Philippine academic community which might now be more inclined to look south as well as to more traditional overseas locations. Some were even interested in promoting Australian studies in the Philippines. Future relations should thus be even stronger and perhaps more diverse than in the past.

XII
THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL PHILIPPINE STUDIES CONFERENCE: A PERSONAL REACTION

Raul Pertierra

The recently held 4th International Philippine Studies Conference at the Australian National University marked a watershed in Philippine studies in Australia. The well attended conference signalled the recognition of Australian scholarship on the Philippines. This Philippine interest has in the past been largely overshadowed by the emphasis given to the study of Indonesia and Malaysia which, in Departments of Malayan Studies, consistently left out the Philippines, in the mistaken belief that being Catholic, the country was not sufficiently Malay. Filipino is the only major Asian language not taught at any Australian university despite the fact that Filipinos constitute one of the main Asian communities in Australia. Recent scholarships for the study of Asian languages are not available to students wishing to learn a Philippine language because they must have had at least two years of previous study in an Australian institution. In the recently announced final round of the 1992 National Priority Fund, just under a million dollars is allocated to develop teaching material for Asian studies and the languages but nothing for Philippine languages. In the same issue of *Campus* (10 September 1992) announcing these grants, the Philippines is misspelt. One still comes across Australians who think that Filipinos predominantly speak Spanish or, more commonly, that they all speak English. The Philippines is currently one of the major recipients of Australian aid but AIDAB is frequently unable to find Australians with suitable social science expertise for their projects. This neglect of Philippine Studies reflects the mainly instrumental and strategic interests dominating Australian perspectives of Asia.

While Philippine Studies does not presently receive the attention of Australian scholars that it deserves, the 4th International Philippine Studies Conference clearly establishes Australian scholarship in this area. Filipinos can now be reliably expected to look to Australia as a possible site to pursue their interests rather than automatically going to the U.S.A. Hopefully, a greater number of Australians will begin to realise the advantages of conducting research in the Philippines. These advantages are as follows: Philippine society is remarkably varied, ranging from an almost hispanised world to one deeply immersed in its

Malay roots, despite having absorbed Indian and Chinese influences; it is remarkably open to investigation and its peoples are keen to share and exchange insights with outsiders; because of its Catholic past and a prevailing Americanism, it is initially more accessible to Australians who, however, soon realise that the country is not as slavishly western as it appears; the Philippines has one of the most vibrant political cultures in the world, often baffling to the naive observer, generally frustrating for both locals and outsiders but one which offers fascinating insights into the political process, largely because it is so openly and critically discussed; finally, Filipinos see themselves and are seen by others as extremely sociable, where the cultivation of personal ties involve complex plays of engagement and distance, *delicadeza* or the nuance which characterises Malay life. This last point is familiar to the Australian public in the form of Filipina brides. Unfortunately, it is less well known that Filipino women are more autonomous than their Australian counterparts.

In the last decade, largely fuelled by media interest in the antics of Marcos and his cronies as well as the issue of "mail-order" brides, there has been an increased awareness of the Philippines in the public consciousness. This interest peaked during the EDSA 1986 people's power revolution, particularly since the absence of bloodshed challenged the stereotypes about the violence of Asian politics. Since then, however, apart from the occasional mention of natural catastrophes, the Philippines has receded into the general background of Asia. Even the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), the icon of Australian multiculturalism, overlooks the thriving Filipino film industry, second only to India in the number of movies produced. In a recent Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) program on the 1992 presidential elections, the report began by showing Filipino flagellants and compared this practice to the country's feudal politics. The fact that such religious practices have gained much of their popularity in recent times and following media interest was not discussed. This program compared poorly with a Canadian one dealing with the same issue (shown on SBS at about the same time) which simply asked articulate Filipinos to explain the electoral issues and the likely possibilities. In contrast to this exotic image is the low media profile of the large Filipino community in Australia. This is mainly because Filipinos are generally well integrated into Australian society and do not pose the problem of refugees, criminal syndicates or social welfare cheats, which so incite media interest.

It is within such a context that the 4th International Philippine Studies Conference must be seen. Before this conference, there had been other conferences dealing with specific aspects of Philippine society as well as regular Philippine panels which formed part of the Asian Studies conference held biennially. However, earlier conferences were usually responses to specific issues such as the end of martial law or the consequences of Aquino's policies. In the Asian Studies Conference, the Philippine panels were rarely central to the broad interests of Asianists. While the Philippines was increasingly receiving more scholarly attention, a serious specialisation in this area, including a systematic study of its languages, literature, history and its various ethnic groups is still relatively undeveloped. For this reason, a major international conference, attracting the leading scholars in the field and comparing their work with their Australian based colleagues was a necessary step before the Philippines can be said to have become a serious area of study in Australia.

So far the only regular support for Philippine Studies has been at the Australian National University and, to a limited extent, at James Cook University. Other universities may have Philippine specialists but these were rarely so intended and often centres for the study of Asia show no interest in the Philippines (e.g. Monash, Griffith, Murdoch, N.S.W.). Departments teaching Asian history or politics do not appear to feel the need for a Philippine specialist. Australian courses on post-colonial literature rarely include the Philippines despite the fact that much of its literature is written in English and some of it published by Queensland University Press. Surprisingly, the National Library in Canberra has a good range of Philippine material, including the major part of the Otley Beyer collection, an extensive private library accumulated by an American professor of anthropology at the University of the Philippines over a period of some 60 years. It was therefore appropriate that this conference was held at the Australian National University, supported not only by the Department of Political and Social Change but also by AIDAB, the Co-op bookshop, the University of Canberra and the Australian Defence Academy. Other universities such as James Cook, Wollongong and the University of New South Wales (Kensington) also offered some assistance but the response by the majority of universities, including those purporting to have a serious interest in Asia was disappointing. My perception is that support for a scholarly interest in Asia is still largely determined by strategic and instrumental factors or at least by a lingering Orientalism. Since the Philippines is not perceived either as a threat

or as a major market, nor sufficiently exotic, there appears to be little interest in supporting Philippine Studies. The growing number of Filipino migrants may change this perception as well as encourage a realisation that the Philippines represents a cultural bridgehead for an Australian understanding of Asia. Such a bridgehead could have been established much earlier if Australian racism had not embittered relations between the two countries soon after World War II. The Gamboa case is still painfully remembered in the Philippines even if it has long been forgotten in Australia.[1]

When a delegation of Australian-based scholars attended the 3rd International Philippine Studies conference in Manila in 1989, we doubted whether Australia would have the interest and resources to host the next conference. We were, however, persuaded by our Filipino hosts, who were perhaps inspired by the rhetoric of Australia's interest in Asia, to suggest Canberra as the next venue. Much to our surprise, our Australian colleagues rallied behind the idea and we soon found ourselves hosting a very successful conference.

A major problem in hosting a Philippine Studies Conference outside the Philippines is to ensure a viable presence of Filipino scholars not only to provide a Philippine voice but also to test the views of non-Filipinos against a Filipino experience. Otherwise, such overseas conferences quickly become forums for imposing foreign perspectives on a Philippine reality. More commonly, they represent occasions for reinforcing prevailing stereotypes on their foreign audiences. Fortunately, we were able to sponsor nearly 30 Filipinos, contributing about a third of the papers. Over 200 people attended the conference, with delegations from Japan and the U.S.A. as well as specialists from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and Hong Kong. As expected, Australians constituted the largest group and the occasion provided an ideal opportunity for research students to meet Philippine specialists. Considering the poor institutional support given to Philippine Studies, the quality of Australian scholarship in this area is surprisingly high. This scholarship compares very favourably with international standards as well as with Australian scholarship on Asia generally. Perhaps one reason for this is that since neither fame nor fortune awaits the Philippine specialist in Australia, this area tends to attract

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[1] See Rodney Sullivan, "'It had to Happen': The Gamboa Case and Australian-Philippine Interaction", above.

dedicated students rather than the academic opportunists keen to profit from the Asian bonanza.

The conference was opened with a book launch consisting of three new studies written by Australian scholars and an exhibition of Australian academic publications on the Philippines. This was followed by the screening of Gary Kildea's latest ethnographic film (Valencia Diary). Over ninety papers were presented during the three days, including the performance of a Bicol epic (Daragang Magayon) by Merlinda Bobis. Standards varied as one would expect in any conference of this size. However, when compared to the Asian Studies Conference which I attended immediately after, I have little doubt of the advantage of having a large group of area specialists discussing a common and cohesive topic such as we had for the Philippines, rather than one which assumes the fictive unity of Asia. Moreover, the relative absence of Asians in a conference discussing their region ensured a tone which implied that one was talking about Asia rather than engaging it. The recent practice of holding such conferences, albeit irregularly, in an Asian country may partly remedy this problem. In one panel at the Asian Studies Conference we were assured that Asians often mix fun with work or rather that they often fail to distinguish between the two. This trite observation (i.e. the lack of institutional separation of areas of everyday life) is frequently used to explain why Asian societies are prone to corruption or why their politics seldom respects human rights. One wonders what Asians think of the institution of the Hash (some have even joined it) even if this practice does make an explicit distinction between work and play! It was unfortunate that the organisers of the Asian Studies Conference did not take advantage of the large presence of Filipino academics visiting Australia, many of whom would have been keen to participate in a broader conference. The Philippine conference was scheduled to facilitate such an attendance.

There were several themes that emerged at the Philippine Conference. As expected, a panel speculated on the possible consequences of the Ramos presidency and examined Aquino's record in government. The role of overseas Filipinos received considerable attention. The increasing importance and varied roles of NGO's was discussed. There were several panels examining the changing public expectations of women and the rise of feminist issues in Philippine society; there were also panels on health, and the environment. Various historical periods were examined, including early contacts between the Philippines and Australia. I participated in a panel which

discussed the possibilities of an indigenous Philippine social science. All of these issues were raised in the context of the changes confronting Philippine society presently or in the recent past - such changes being discussed by problematising the constitution of Philippine society.

What is the current state of Philippine Studies? Apart from its continuing exploration of diverse areas of history, politics, culture and economy, Philippine Studies increasingly includes the experience of overseas Filipinos, both as settlers and as workers. This new interest brings Philippine Studies face to face with the conditions of globality increasingly dominating aspects of everyday Philippine life, whether it be waiting for the remittances from a Saudi relative or watching Terminator II in a Manila mega-mall. While these forces of globalisation, from politics to pop-culture, mediate and affect Philippine life, a greater interest in local aspects of Philippines experience is also being investigated. Hence, there are calls for an indigenous social science (*Pilipinolohiya*) based on emic concepts, more Filipino scholars are probing the underside of conventional history, including the role of women and other subaltern categories, and there is a growing body of research in local forms of religiosity.

The Filipino diaspora is developing a momentum of its own and its study requires techniques and competencies different from those used in earlier research. Not only is overseas migration whether permanent or temporary increasingly common, its practice is having significant effects in shaping national policy, particularly since remittances have become the nation's largest source of hard currency. Migration not only disembeds local experience, making it more conscious of itself as local but is also re-orienting the national perspective. Filipinos often find themselves discovering their ethnic roots in alien places. Under these conditions the question of Filipino identity is being re-assessed. Moreover, the old divisions are being eroded or re-defined as the barriers of class, ethnicity, gender and religion are experienced in new localities. These new identities must now include drivers in Kuwait, domestics in Singapore, millenarian cultists in Mindanao, Muslims in Sabah and Ifugao in Manila. This diverse lot of Filipinos living abroad or locally are linked not only by traditional kinship and other ties but also by the experience of MacDonalds' food and Tagalog rap. The hegemonic view of the Filipino was significantly challenged as early as the 1970s, when provision had to be made for local followers of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, while this identity was never simple or homogeneous, it is now infinitely more complex and problematic than

it was for Rizal and his generation of nationalists. The artifactuality of an ethnic or national identity must now be consciously cultivated and performatively reproduced, often in the context of strangers or at least with an awareness of their presence.

Old topics such as the relationship of the nation to the state in the context of a global culture and economy must be re-examined. The global condition sets the framework for canonical standards in the economy and society such that a national consciousness and its cultural sub-structure become disconnected from local experience. Under these conditions of post-modernity personal identity must increasingly be individually negotiated since it can no longer be maintained through the mediation of the local using commensurable differences. In its place we have an identity constructed out of incommensurable differences drawn from a multitude of places converging in unique individuals such as an Ilocano worker in Kuwait whose sister has migrated to Canada but both of whom still share a primary affinity with their kin in a local Ilocano community. Globality is the condition in which incommensurability becomes the basis for negotiating individual and group identities.

Philippine Studies, even as originally conceived by Rizal in 1889, was meant to be a collaborative effort between Filipinos and others. This hardly needs re-stating even if we assert that much of this collaboration is often one way, with the other leading and the Filipino following. While this imbalance must be corrected, it should not be replaced by a one-sided introspection. Moreover, just as the Filipino gains in self-understanding by incorporating the insight of the other, this process should also be extended to incorporate the other as a Filipino object of study. Thus, others can gain a better understanding of themselves by including a Filipino perspective. Self and other can only exist in mutual constitution, where each establishes its identity by negotiating differences and commonalities with the other. This mutual constitution through a process of oppositional appropriation applies to all levels of identity formation. Needless to say, this full appropriation of self and other can only take place under conditions of unrestricted communication, a condition rarely achieved in the current world political dispensation. It is in this sense that the global condition raises problems of commensurability for the process of identity formation.

In earlier days Philippine Studies was dominated by American scholarship. The Universities of Chicago and Hawaii established Philippine Studies programs in the late 1950s and 60s and other

universities such as Cornell and Michigan attracted a growing number of Philippine students. This first generation of post-war specialists in turn trained students in the Philippines and elsewhere such that by the 1980s Philippine Studies was more truly international as well as having a strong base in the Philippines itself. During the 1970s, Dutch scholars took an interest in the Philippines growing out of their earlier involvement in Indonesia and the Japanese increasingly gave more attention to it. At about this time a small group of Filipinists begun to meet regularly in Sydney and Canberra forming the core of what was to become the Philippine Studies Association of Australia, a group affiliated to the Asian Studies Association of Australia, the umbrella organisation of Asianists. Presently, there are numerous Philippine Studies specialists in Europe, in Japan, the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and, of course, the Philippines. National and international conferences regularly bring these specialists together. As part of the internationalisation of Philippine Studies, the earlier American emphasis on functionalist approaches has been supplemented by Marxist and hermeneutic analysis as well as a more explicitly nationalist orientation using emic models (*Pilipinolohiya*). A local consequence of this nationalist interest has been a resurgence in the Philippines of folklore and regional studies, hitherto neglected. Feminist, post-modern and subaltern approaches are also gaining popularity among the younger specialist.

Philippine Studies is not local knowledge but knowledge of the local under the conditions of globality. It is this condition which makes it possible for the Philippines to be an object of investigation, both for itself and for others. The global condition enables the local to be seen as one of a range of possibilities which may be contrasted with other localities. This is why Philippine Studies must always be informed by the researches of others, lest its practice proceed apace with the marginalisation of Philippine society itself. In this context it is disappointing that there are very few Philippine specialists in the non-developed world, including Latin America and most of Asia. Attempts to create an Asian social science tradition have so far not led to many tangible results. The global network is still primarily based on centre-periphery ties rather than on horizontal links between societies with equivalent interests.

The recent emphasis on understanding Asia is a welcome relief to a previous sense of displaced Europeanness or Britishness characterising Australian society. This sense, in the form of Orientalism, still prevails in much Australian scholarship on Asia. An eminent Australian

philosopher, admittedly not an Asianist, is reported to claim that our universalist ethics separates us from Asia. This comment would astonish a Catholic Filipino as I suspect it would many other Asians. So would he suggestion that Australia is a cheap and convenient way for Asians to get to experience European civilisation. Asians I know expect to find something more distinctive than a displaced and attenuated form of Europeanism when they come to Australia. Those who want the real thing go to Europe or to the U.S.A. While we may have certain political conventions more conducive for a modern democracy, such as a free press and autonomous universities as compared to the traditional constraints on Asiatic tyranny exercised by a Buddhist sangkha or a mullah, Asians have learnt more subtle ways of resisting authoritarian regimes than we often give them credit for. In this instance, the Philippines is again instructive since it combines many western political institutions with traditional Asian ways of both assisting and resisting them. Moreover, Filipinos can teach Australians many lessons about a substantive democracy rather than the bureaucratic version more commonly experienced in Australia. As Australia goes beyond its present strategic and instrumental concern with Asia and achieves a fuller understanding of its differences as well as its commonalities with its Asian neighbours, I expect it to better realise the importance of closer ties with the Philippines. So far Asia has been portrayed as Europe's Other, to which, by chance of proximity, Australia can plead special access. This view not only fictionalises Asia and makes it subject to Europe's imagination but also denies Australia's own deep involvement in this region. Instead, easier access may be found in Philippine culture before confronting its differences. Both the Australian and the Filipino identity suffer from a sense of displacement.The former suffers from its excessive sense of displaced Europeanness, the latter from an insufficient sense of its Asianness. By achieving an understanding, the Australian and the Filipino have much to offer one another. For this reason I would argue for the strong support of Philippine Studies in Australia and, *mutatis mutandis*, for the encouragement of Australian Studies in the Philippines as well as elsewhere in Asia.

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