ered those by the end of the year, just before he moved to Washington, D.C., to begin what would turn out to be a long career as the director of the photography lab at the National Geographic Society.

DESCRIBING IN DETAIL the films that Martin and Worcester made is difficult, as there are only remnants known to exist, and these are in the possession of the Penn Museum in Philadelphia.[57] Beyond an analysis of that footage, any understanding of the making of the films and what the films show has to be done by reading about them, a more elliptical approach. For example, in his 1912 official report as secretary of the interior, Worcester briefly alluded to the making of the films, which he said began "immediately after the adjournment of the Legislature" when he departed for his regular trip to northern Luzon:

> The need of entertaining the great crowds of wild men who meet the secretary of the interior on these trips is imperative, and at times embarrassing. The gatherings often include large numbers of men who have until recently been bitter enemies, and who are liable to indulge in untimely reminiscences, with unfortunate results, if not kept actively occupied. This problem was solved in part in a somewhat novel way by taking with us a portable moving-picture outfit and showing our wild friends something of life in a world heretofore beyond their ken. At the same time we ourselves took cinematograph films designed to afford an accurate and permanent record of characteristic scenes and events in the now rapidly changing methods of life of these comparatively primitive tribes.[58]

In this report, Worcester suggested that the filming was done primarily in the name of dispassionate science; he did not reveal that he had plans in the works to profit from activities undertaken while doing his government work. At the same time, he echoed the call he made in his 1898 article in *National Geographic* to have anthropologists study the people of the Philippines before their ways of life had irrevocably changed.

Worcester didn't say how the "wild men" responded to the movie camera or movie projector, but a tantalizing hint can be found in Cornélis DeWitt Wilcox's 1912 book, *The Headhunters of Northern Luzon,* a book liberally illustrated with photographs from Worcester's collection. Commenting on the "spread of friendly relations" in northern Luzon due to Worcester's frequent visits to the region, Wilcox wrote: "this year (1912) more people 'came in' to meet Mr. Worcester than ever before. . . . A

moving picture machine was taken along in a four-wheeled wagon . . . and created both enthusiasm and alarm: enthusiasm when some familiar scene with known living persons was thrown upon the screen, and alarm when a railway train, for example, was shown advancing upon the spectators, causing many of them to flee to safety to the neighboring hills and woods,"[59] an anecdote that recalls the perhaps-apocryphal reaction of audiences to the Lumière Brothers' 1895 film of a train arriving at a station.

Although Worcester's letters clearly indicate that his interest was in *making* films of the non-Christian Filipinos, his *showing* of films to them has been the subject of more attention by anthropologists and historians. In her 2002 book, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture,* Alison Griffiths writes:

> Worcester devised a program to use cinema as part of a propaganda effort to educate members of the Bontoc Igorot, Ifuago [*sic*], and Kalinga tribes in the U.S.-occupied Philippines. The main aim of these government-produced educational films was to inculcate Western standards of hygiene among the indigenous subjects, although as a way of sustaining audience interest colonial administrators decided to exhibit nonpropaganda subjects (featuring both Western and native cultures, according to anthropologist Emilie de Brigard) between the propaganda films. But the decision to show films representing white Americans was probably motivated by another subtext, the idea that exposure to "civilized" culture would reinforce the object-lesson by representing white metropolitan culture as the idea to which colonial subjects should aspire.[60]

Worcester's own explanation for showing the film is a bit different than what Griffiths argues. According to Worcester, his actual subtext was primarily to keep people entertained. It is possible, too, that showing motion pictures made it simpler to explain his motives and to minimize the resistance of the Kalingas, Ifugaos, and others to his filming of them.

The Emilie de Brigard article that Griffiths references places Worcester as among the first to use film in "applied anthropology" and one of the originators of "colonial cinema." De Brigard goes on: "Worcester . . . devised a program of sanitary education for the provinces. To hold the interest of the Bontoc Igorot, Ifugao, and Kalinga between health films, Worcester's subordinates projected scenes of native and foreign life. The program achieved the desired results; when shown moving pictures of

better conditions, the people showed a disposition to change."[61] De Brigard based her analysis of Worcester's use of films on Leonard Donaldson's 1912 book, *The Cinematograph and Natural Sciences,* one of the first references to Worcester's use of films.

In that book, Donaldson wrote: "Wonderful results have been achieved among a number of wild Philippine tribes by the use of motion pictures. . . . The natives of the non-Christian tribes have lived in appalling squalor, but, when shown pictures of better conditions, contrasted with the old, have manifested a most encouraging disposition to profit by the lesson." Donaldson then quoted at length from Worcester about the changes taking place in the non-Christian areas of the Philippines: "A good state of public order has been established. . . . Life and property have been rendered comparatively safe, and in much of the territory entirely so. In many instances the wild men are being successfully used to police their own country." Donaldson concluded with a hearty "Such is the power of the motion picture!"[62]

The only problem with Donaldson's discussion is that the Worcester quote he used had nothing to do with motion pictures. It came from Worcester's highly emotional and divisive 1910 annual report, and was written before Worcester had introduced motion pictures into the non-Christian territories of the Philippines. Worcester wrote the passage that Donaldson quoted in order to highlight the accomplishments of the U.S. colonial regime in those areas where Worcester had executive control. Worcester's point in the passage was to contrast his successes in helping to "civilize" the non-Christian Filipinos with what he called the "lamentable lack of initiative" on the part of the governors of the provinces that were outside of Worcester's direct control.[63]

Nowhere in that discussion does Worcester mention motion pictures. He does, however, mention the use of films several pages later, but this reference was not to the use of films in anthropology, and had nothing to do with the non-Christian Filipinos. Worcester described how motion pictures were being used as part of a public health campaign:

> The moving-picture craze, long since developed in Manila, is now invading the provinces to some extent. As a result of the cooperation of Mr. A.W. Yearsley, many of the cinematographs of Manila are now showing nightly films of great educational value in connection with the recently inaugurated antituberculosis campaign, and it is purposed to extend and develop this plan of reaching the common people through the eye, both in Manila and in provinces. . . . Lec-

> tures illustrated by the stereopticon or reflectoscope will be given by officers of the bureau of health in the provinces and will cover such subjects as tuberculosis, intestinal parasites, hygiene, diet, etc.[64]

Given Worcester's usual way of writing about non-Christian Filipinos, his use of the term "common people" here instead of "wild men" strongly suggests that the educational films were being directed toward Christian Filipinos and not, as Donaldson indicated, toward the non-Christians. The use of films in that territory wouldn't begin for at least another year.

Word began to spread in the United States that Worcester was making use of films in the Philippines. As filmmaker and historian Nick Deocampo notes in his book, *Film: American Influences on Philippine Cinema,* in April 1911 Worcester "urged the use of motion pictures to bring about education and peace among native, non-Christian tribes" in the motion picture trade publication, *Film Index.*[65] That same year, another trade publication, *Motography,* published an article titled "Pictures in the Philippines" that praised the ability of motion pictures to aid in the civilizing process: "After centuries of fruitless effort on the part of the Spaniards to wean the wild men from their unholy pastimes, it has remained for Uncle Sam to adopt the only means to reach their hearts, all with the assistance of the ever-fascinating picture show." (The same article also made reference to Worcester's 1910 annual report and Worcester's use of before-and-after photographs, including the series of photographs of Don Francisco Muro discussed in chapter 2.)[66]

Although neither of those articles claimed that Worcester was making motion pictures of the non-Christian Filipinos, both conveyed a sense of anticipation that such films would be much desired. When he did begin making films in the non-Christian territories, Worcester appears to have had his lectures in mind more than he had in mind the "moral tutelage" of the non-Christians. His prepared memorandum of the films he made includes both descriptions of what the films showed and what the "announcements" (i.e., intertitles) said. The memorandum thus gives some indication about what he wanted to get across through each film. For example, the "Negrito Film" began by describing the Negritos as "the aborigines of the Philippines" and "nomadic forest dwellers." Film segments show scenes such as "a Negrito family camped under the trees, building a fire, cooking, overhauling belongings, etc.," Worcester interacting with the Negritos "so that there is an opportunity to see relative size," and activities such as a wedding ceremony, shooting bows and arrows, and dancing.[67]

The memorandum goes on to talk about the films that Worcester and Martin made of the Ilongots, the Ifugaos, the Bontoc Igorots, the Kalingas, the Lepanto Igorots, the Tingians, bats, and birds. All of the films of people except for the Lepanto Igorots show scenes of people dancing. One intertitle for the Ilongots reads: "Ilongot dancing. The dances of this tribe differ radically from those of any other tribe in the Philippines." The accompanying description of the scene reads: "Film shows a series of dances. The extraordinary contortions of the performers are brought out with great clearness." For the Bontoc Igorots, the intertitle reads: "The historic dance on the Bontoc Plaza, in which every town in the subprovince joined. Only friendly Igorots dance together."[68] The description says that there were "thousands of dancers" in the scene. According to Griffiths, "native dance" was one of the "enduring tropes" of ethnographic films from that time period.[69]

The existing footage from Worcester's films shows several dance scenes, including scenes at an Ifugao wedding, a scene of two Kalinga men in what the intertitle listed on the memorandum says is a "war dance. Two men engage in mimic combat, keeping step with the music meanwhile,"[70] and a scene of Ilongot musicians with two dancers behind them. The intertitle reads "'Oh, Listen to the Band!'"[71] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given Dinwiddie's prediction that a scene showing a "nursing woman" working in a rice field would entertain the public Worcester and Martin also captured quite a bit of footage showing the bare breasts of women, including a scene of Tingian women hulling and winnowing rice, a scene of Kalinga women carrying jars of water on their heads, a scene of women harvesting and carrying baskets of root crops, and a scene of several young women grooming each others' hair. In many of the other dance scenes described in his memorandum, the women undoubtedly were seen dancing bare breasted.

In addition to the dance scenes and the repeated scenes showing bare-breasted women, Worcester and Martin also filmed people engaged in activities that they had previously photographed, reenacting scenes previously captured only on still film. Thus, the Ifugao head-hunting reenactment mentioned above allowed Worcester to give a filmic representation to the photograph of a beheaded Ifugao man published in his 1912 article in *National Geographic*. He also filmed a series of "field sports," much like those seen in his 1911 article in that magazine, and the carabao slaughter, also written about and shown in the 1911 article.

WITH THE FILMS MADE, and with control of the films firmly in his hands, Worcester was ready to move ahead more forcefully to lay the

groundwork for his proposed lecture series. He didn't want to waste any time capitalizing on his films, photographs, and his name as soon as he returned to the United States. On July 18, 1913, Worcester sent a cablegram from Manila to the Philippine Lyceum Bureau listing nine lectures that he was prepared to give, lectures that would be "illustrated with slides and motion pictures." Worcester authorized the Bureau to "make the best arrangements possible" to secure speaking engagements.[72]

In an interview with a reporter from the *New York Times,* given shortly after he disembarked in San Francisco from the Pacific liner *SS Manchuria,* Worcester is quoted as saying: "There is cause for grave alarm that the placing of the balance of power of the Commission in the hands of the Filipinos will work irreparable damage" to the various accomplishments of Worcester and his colleagues. The lectures that Worcester proposed to give were designed, in part, to convince his audiences that the United States ought to maintain tight control over its colony. The *Times* article concludes by noting that Worcester "seems profoundly in earnest in his desire to tell the American truth about conditions in the Philippines. He brings with him 1,500 stereopticon slides and 20,000 feet of film of moving pictures of the various tribes, and he purposes to deliver lectures throughout the country."[73]

Paul Kramer says that Worcester's lectures combined "the traditional lyceum lecture and the novel motion-picture feature, allowing him to narrate and interpret the film to his audience. Worcester's descriptions of the film's goal would combine hopes for non-Christian uplift, retentionist argument, and commercial boosterism."[74] Kramer also points out that the American-Philippine Company, the umbrella organization through which Worcester operated, was "a major sponsor of publicity against present or future Philippine independence" and that its members, according to company president Edward Fallows, included "a large number of people of power and prominence, having a personal interest in the Philippines" who would "prevent the Government from doing something which might be prejudicial to their interests in the country."[75]

The New York Times noted the renewed popularity of public lectures in a December 29, 1913, article announcing a lecture by Worcester at New York's Carnegie Hall: "We have spoken lately of the revival of the lecture as a means of information and culture. We demand of the modern lecturer that he shall not only have the vocal training and vocabulary of the orator, but also an accurate and exceptional knowledge of his subject. To these qualifications Mr. Worcester adds the zeal of a teacher. He has a lesson to impart."[76] That lesson, of course, was that the United States should not relinquish control of the Philippines, both for the

good of U.S. interests in the region and for the good of the people of the Philippines.

The use of motion pictures in public lectures was still a relatively new phenomenon when Worcester embarked on his speaking tour, and lecturers and the institutions that hosted them did not always have the same goals in mind when films were used. For many lecturers, the primary goal was often the simplest goal—to reach as wide of an audience as possible in order to maximize profits. Some venues shared that goal. Other venues, particularly cultural institutions such as "learned societies," libraries, and museums, needed to balance the novelty and entertainment value of the films with their educational mission.

What this meant was that lecturers and their host institutions sometimes had to negotiate the format of the lecture. At the American Museum of Natural History, for example, museum president Henry Fairfield Osborn insisted "that either physical artifacts be displayed or slides be shown *before* motion pictures in public lectures." According to Griffiths, this insistence suggested that Osborn perceived "an opposition between the presumed nonscientific nature of mimetic movement [i.e., films] and the reflective qualities of stasis, even in the form of a magic lantern slide. Osborn's concern that scientific principles would be undermined or trivialized in the case of unaccompanied moving pictures invokes a hierarchy of visual representation in which stasis is afforded greater scientific exactitude than movement and spoken or written texts imbued with more authority than visual images."[77] (Worcester gave a lecture at the American Museum of Natural History on February 5, 1914, and likely would have had to conform to Osborn's demands.)

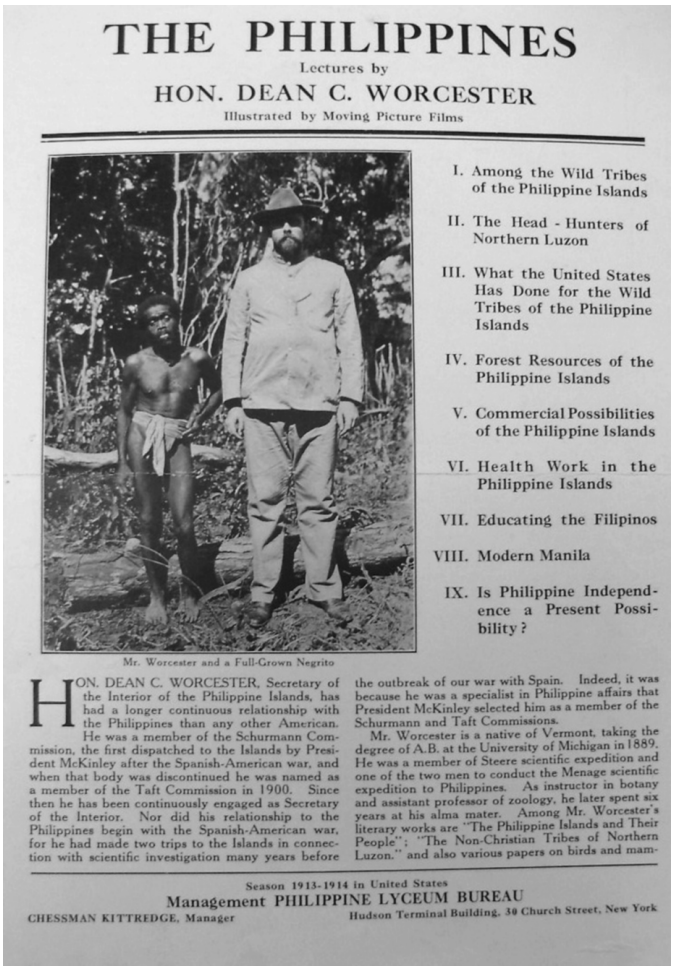
IN THE AUTUMN OF 1913, a press release announcing Worcester's return to the United States, his opposition to Wilson's policies in the Philippines, and Worcester's upcoming lecture series was sent out to newspapers around the country. Accompanying the release was the 1901 photograph of Worcester standing next to Ibag, a photograph that many newspapers dutifully published. Despite the fact that Worcester routinely depicted the Negritos as a disappearing race far different from the majority of Filipinos, he recognized the power that the photograph had to represent the stark differences between Americans and Filipinos. Worcester may have hoped that the photograph would prompt viewers to wonder about the wisdom of the president's plan to turn over control of the colonial bureaucracy to Filipinos, if men like this—short, dark-skinned, slouched, weary looking, and wearing only a loincloth—would

be left in charge of the Philippines. If Worcester had chosen a different photograph, such as one showing the success already achieved by the United States in "civilizing" the non-Christian Filipinos, readers might interpret it to mean that the United States had achieved its goals in the Philippines and that, perhaps, Philippine independence was a good idea. Worcester didn't want to risk such a response.

The same photograph was used on the front of the official brochure that the Philippine Lyceum Bureau distributed to promote Worcester's lectures (fig. 20). Prominently placed alongside the list of nine lecture titles that Worcester was prepared to give, the photograph was captioned "Mr. Worcester and a Full-Grown Negrito." Two other photographs are found on the back of the flyer, a photograph of "A Head-Hunter With His Trophy," and a photograph of "The Busy Wharves of Manila." The first one shows a man grasping the hair of a disembodied head lying on the ground in strong sunlight.[78] The man wears only a loincloth and his hair appears to be up in a topknot. He grasps the hair of his "trophy" with his left hand, while his right hand reaches behind him and seems to be grasping the handle of a knife. The other photograph, taken from middle distance, shows a bustling scene of men loading and unloading goods from the boats moored in Manila Bay, evidence that modern commerce had come to the Philippines as a result of U.S. efforts.

The three photographs worked together to show what the Philippines had been (i.e., savage and head-hunting), what the Philippines had become, and the role that Worcester played in moving the country toward civilization and prosperity. The text of the flyer reinforced this message: "As the 'White Father' of the wild peoples in the Philippines, his experience has been a novel one, and his work, first in winning their confidence and friendship, and then in turning them from intertribal warfare, head-hunting and other barbarous pursuits to the simpler works of husbandry, handicraft, education and friendly rivalries, is probably without parallel anywhere in the world."[79] To hear about Worcester's activities in greater detail, all you had to do was book him for one of his nine lecture titles.

Fittingly, the first two lectures Worcester was scheduled to give upon his return to the United States were set for the afternoon and evening of December 5, 1913, at the National Geographic Society. These lectures were intended for members of the Society; technically, then, they were not part of his public lecture series. Desirous of taking advantage of Worcester's time in Washington, D.C., Fallows wrote to Gilbert Grosvenor to solicit his advice about scheduling other lectures in the city shortly



THE PHILIPPINES

Lectures by

HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER

Illustrated by Moving Picture Films

I. Among the Wild Tribes of the Philippine Islands

II. The Head - Hunters of Northern Luzon

III. What the United States Has Done for the Wild Tribes of the Philippine Islands

IV. Forest Resources of the Philippine Islands

V. Commercial Possibilities of the Philippine Islands

VI. Health Work in the Philippine Islands

VII. Educating the Filipinos

VIII. Modern Manila

IX. Is Philippine Independence a Present Possibility?

Mr. Worcester and a Full-Grown Negrito

HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine Islands, has had a longer continuous relationship with the Philippines than any other American. He was a member of the Schurmann Commission, the first dispatched to the Islands by President McKinley after the Spanish-American war, and when that body was discontinued he was named as a member of the Taft Commission in 1900. Since then he has been continuously engaged as Secretary of the Interior. Nor did his relationship to the Philippines begin with the Spanish-American war, for he had made two trips to the Islands in connection with scientific investigation many years before the outbreak of our war with Spain. Indeed, it was because he was a specialist in Philippine affairs that President McKinley selected him as a member of the Schurmann and Taft Commissions.

Mr. Worcester is a native of Vermont, taking the degree of A.B. at the University of Michigan in 1889. He was a member of Steere scientific expedition and one of the two men to conduct the Menage scientific expedition to Philippines. As instructor in botany and assistant professor of zoology, he later spent six years at his alma mater. Among Mr. Worcester's literary works are "The Philippine Islands and Their People"; "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon." and also various papers on birds and mam-

Season 1913-1914 in United States

Management PHILIPPINE LYCEUM BUREAU

CHESSMAN KITTREDGE, Manager

Hudson Terminal Building, 30 Church Street, New York

Fig. 20. Dean C. Worcester lecture brochure (1913). (Courtesy of the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Historical Collections, Dean C. Worcester Papers, Box 2.)

after the December 5 lectures. Grosvenor advised Fallows to wait at least two weeks after that lecture to schedule a second, "public pay lecture" in Washington, noting that "we have invariably found that if there is an intermission of 2 weeks, the second lecture is very much better attended" than if it came quickly after the National Geographic Society lecture.[80]

In addition, Grosvenor warned Fallows that Worcester should avoid causing any controversies during his lecture: "Of course, in all lectures

before the National Geographic Society all politics and references to the new administration in the Philippines must be omitted." Grosvenor told Fallows that he was a bit concerned that Worcester would raise controversial topics, given that Worcester had done so in one of the articles that he had submitted to Grosvenor. (It is possible, perhaps likely, that the controversy surrounded accusations of slavery and peonage in the Philippines, a topic that Worcester included in other lectures, and that he issued a report on in 1913.) Grosvenor wrote:

> Mr. Worcester probably was right in his controversy, but I made the point that the main argument and purpose of this article [i.e., the November 1913 article in *National Geographic*] was to draw attention to the splendid work that he and his associates had done for the non-civilized tribes of the Philippine Islands. Anything of a sharp controversial nature in the article would draw attention from the real purpose of the article . . . and I therefore omitted the entire controversy. The result is that everyone is talking about the splendid achievements of the Americans in the Philippines.[81]

The cozy relationship with government bureaucracies that Grosvenor had nurtured through the years made him pragmatic in his politics. After all, this relationship allowed him access to photographs from those bureaucracies.[82] Indeed, the relationship between Worcester and Grosvenor originally grew out of Grosvenor's relationship with William Howard Taft when Taft served as secretary of war. Although Grosvenor was a registered Republican "for most of his life," the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 did not worry him as much as it did Worcester, as he had less personally at stake if the country's colonial policies changed. Indeed, by 1914 Grosvenor switched political parties, writing to his mother, "I believe everyone should uphold President Wilson."[83]

Grosvenor made it clear that he intended to distance himself as far as possible from any controversial position that Worcester planned to stake out: "If Mr. Worcester desires to assail the new administration in the public lecture which is to follow his National Geographic Society lecture, it is very important that there be an interval of at least two weeks between the National Geographic Society lecture and the public lecture, or otherwise the Society will become involved in a controversy on subjects which are not within its province." In case that reason wasn't enough for Fallows, Grosvenor added his opinion that Worcester would "seriously injure the popularity and attendance at his lectures throughout the country" if he

was too controversial in his talks.[84] Fallows and Worcester appeared to have taken Grosvenor's words to heart, as they scheduled no immediate public lectures in Washington.

Worcester steered away from controversy when he spoke before the Society. In the lecture, "The Great Adventure and the Great Experiment," the closest Worcester came to condemning the policy plans of the Wilson administration was at the end, when, in language he lifted from the ending of his forthcoming book, *The Philippines Past and Present,* he said: "The work undertaken for the physical, mental, and moral advancement of Non-Christians in the Philippine Islands has succeeded far beyond the hopes of those who initiated it and of those who have carried it out. Let us hope that the men who have done these things may not be forced to watch them broken and then derived [*sic*] the poor privilege of building them up again." He then asked, rhetorically: "The splendid results obtained at the cost of so much efficient, faithful, self-sacrificing and successful effort have not been paid for too dearly if they are to be permanent but if the[y] were to be lost, would not the dead who gave their lives for them, turn in their graves?" He closed by saying: "The greatest of the Non-Christian tribe problem [*sic*] in the Philippine Islands, at present, is: SHALL THE WORK GO ON!"[85]

The bulk of the lecture covered less controversial territory, and had a somewhat reflective tone. Worcester opened with an overview of the country under the heading "What Did Magellan Find?" This section included details of the geography, forest resources, minerals, and agricultural prospects, accompanied with a series of slides and his beloved bird film. He then moved into a discussion about the peoples of the Philippines, under the heading "What Peoples Did Magellan Discover?" According to his notes there were "[o]utright savages" and "[s]lightly civilized barbarians," and there were "[t]wo distinct races represented." He then showed his Negrito film. A handwritten note in the margins of his lecture notes reads "A link that is not missing," suggesting that Worcester may have expanded on his belief in racial hierarchies for his audience.[86]

Having dispensed with the Negritos, Worcester went on to discuss the eight civilized groups of Filipinos identified in the 1903 census that he said were not tribes and that had in common "their physical appearance; their religion; their manners and customs, and their dress." Despite their similarities, "They differ in industry, in self-assertiveness and in other ways. They are kept apart by dislikes and prejudices—handed down . . . from the days when their ancestors were members of mutually hostile tribes. The differences between are not so great and are constantly

becoming less. The important thing is that they themselves consider these differences very great." Continuing to ignore the protestations of many Filipinos that they did, in fact, have a national identity, and conveniently overlooking the fact that the Philippine-American War demonstrated the lengths to which Filipinos were willing to fight and die for their independence as a sovereign nation, Worcester told his audience that "the great experiment" that the United States had undertaken was "welding into one people the extraordinarily diversified aggregation of human beings which today comprises the population of the Philippine Islands."[87]

Somewhat unusually, Worcester did not dwell in great length on the non-Christian Filipinos in his talk. He apparently did not show any other films other than the Negrito and bird films, and only made brief references to the "27 distinct Non-Christian tribes." He was more interested in talking about advances in education and health, and the potential for increased trade with the Philippines. He spent even more time talking about some of the Americans he had worked with during his time in the Philippines and their commitment to the cause of U.S. colonialism there. He quoted at length from the Rudyard Kipling poem, "If," copies of which he said that he had sent "to each governor and lieutenant governor employed in the special provincial government service of the Philippine Islands. Kipling wrote for these men of mine up in the hills, without knowing it. They understood him, and he would understand them."[88]

WORCESTER'S PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES started three weeks after his talk at the National Geographic Society, with a two-night engagement at New York's Carnegie Hall. The first, which the *New York Times* described as "Wild Tribes of the Philippines," was given on December 30, 1913, and the second, "The Picturesque Philippines," was delivered on January 6, 1914. The *Times* was excited about the lectures, explaining to readers that the "future of the Philippines concerns us all, and the knowledge the citizen may obtain from books and newspaper articles could not be better supplemented than by these lectures, illustrated with lantern pictures from photographs taken by the lecturer in his extended official tours and founded on the closest observation of the people of varied races and ethical ideals whose relations with us are now so generally discussed."[89]

Worcester was introduced to the audience by the Reverend Samuel Fallows (Edward Fallows's father), who praised Worcester for "his unwea-

rying labors among the wild tribes of the Philippines that has gradually brought those people of the darkness into the light of civilization." The *Times* quoted Worcester as saying during his lecture that "[w]e have set the feet of these backward wards of the United States firmly on the road that leads onward and upward, and they are traveling it much faster than are their Filipino neighbors." Here, Worcester seems to have rhetorically inverted his typical depiction of the Philippines as having a civilized, Christian majority theoretically suitable for self-government at some unspecified point in the future but with a non-Christian population needing a much longer tutelage. Indeed, he went on to say that their "Filipino neighbors" were the greatest threat to the non-Christians: "The results thus far achieved would go down like a house of cards if American control were permanently withdrawn. If they were lost, would not the dead who gave their lives for them turn in their graves?" Then, echoing the end of his lecture at the National Geographic Society, Worcester closed by asking: "The greatest of the non-Christian tribe problems in the Philippines at present is 'Shall the work go on?'"[90]

A partial description of Worcester's remarks at Carnegie Hall reveals the message that Worcester wanted to drive home in his lecture: "There is no such thing as a Filipino people, the inhabitants of the Islands being divided between eight civilized peoples . . . and some 27 non-Christian tribes."[91] Worcester relied on his slides and his films to drive home the argument that there was no coherent Philippine nation, that the work of building a nation remained incomplete. His slides showed "Speaker Osmena of the Philippine Assembly, General [Emilio] Aguinaldo and a highly educated Filipina on one hand and a Negrito warrior, a headhunter, and women of the hills clad in banana leaves on the other." What Kramer says about the bifurcated model of colonialism in the Philippines, and what Vergara writes about the 1903 census photographs, was at work here, too: "The pictures of the wild tribes not only showed the extent of civilizing needed but also fed the consistent doubt on the capacity of the Filipinos to govern themselves. The civilized pictures, on the other hand, showed that there were well-groomed and 'educated-looking' Filipinos . . . potentially willing to be taught democracy. But it is the contrast between the two kinds that was meant to stress the heterogeneity even more."[92]

During the course of his lecture Worcester referred to the Negritos as "curly headed black dwarfs . . . incapable of civilization" whose "peculiarities and customs were shown by lantern slides and by the first motion pictures ever taken" of them. Worcester contrasted the Negritos with the

Bukidnons who "have progressed more rapidly under American rule than have the people of any other non-Christian tribe." There were also slides showing many of the same things that Worcester depicted in still photographs in his *National Geographic* articles, such as Igorots playing baseball and the construction of roads, and films of "a great gathering awaiting the arrival of the Secretary of the Interior and the welcome extended to him and his party" and "a tug of war between representatives of two hostile [Igorot] towns."[93] Through the films and the slides, Worcester was able to extend his arguments from the *National Geographic,* interpreting and explaining for the audience what is they were witnessing on the screen.

In its review of the lecture, the *New York Sun* quoted Worcester as saying: "We have checked head hunting, murder, slave taking, selling and keeping, robbery and theft, and have made life and property safe throughout vast regions where a few years ago the former was cheap indeed and the latter was apt to find its way into the hands of the man strong and brave enough to seize it and hold it." The audience was "a large one" and was "keenly appreciative," and the *Sun* listed the names of several prominent clergymen, military officers, professors, and physicians who were in attendance—precisely the kind of people Worcester wanted to reach.[94]

The review in the *New York Times* enthused about the evening's entertainment: "A brilliant audience listened to the lecture, which was illustrated by some of the most wonderful moving pictures ever seen in New York. Each picture told a story of the marvelous progress made by Americans in teaching civilization to the savage tribes of the Philippines. . . . The savage, naked, dirty, and unkempt, was shown in still photographs, while that same one-time savage, clothed, intelligent in appearance, and clean, later was shown in moving pictures."[95] A similarly glowing review in the *New York World,* titled "Shows Regeneration of the Filipinos in Movies," read: "Motion pictures showed the head hunters during the earlier days of American occupation and as they are now. The one portrayed life in its most savage form . . . the other showed a transformation almost unbelievable, uniformed soldiery maneuvering with precision."[96] In addition to hand-colored slides showing "types of men and women, their peculiar dress, or, rather, undress," the *Sun* took note of "the evolution of well disciplined constabulary soldiers from naked head-hunters," which may well have included the Igorot sequence.

After completing his two lectures at Carnegie Hall, Worcester's lecture tour began in earnest. The first two engagements after Carnegie

Hall were in Boston on January 8, 1914, and Chicago on January 10. In Boston he spoke on "Health, Schools, and Commerce," which means either that he gave three separate lectures, or else that he blended three of the lectures from his promotional brochure. In Chicago he spoke before the Association of Commerce, giving his speech on "Commercial Possibilities of the Philippine Islands." Following those early dates, it appears that he was asked fairly consistently to give (or else he suggested that he be allowed to give) his lecture "Among the Wild Tribes of the Philippine Islands." Of the eleven speaking engagements he had booked in February, nine were the "Wild Tribes" lecture; the other two bookings had yet to choose which lecture they wanted to hear. Similarly, seven of the eleven dates he had booked for March also requested that he give his "Wild Tribes" lecture. The only other specified lectures on his agenda were on January 17, in New Haven, where he gave his lecture on "Commercial Possibilities," and on January 24, in Brooklyn, and March 3, in New Bedford, where he lectured on "What Has the United States Done for the Wild Tribes of the Philippine Islands."[97]

The brochure from the Philippine Lyceum Bureau listed nine different lectures for audiences to choose from, but Worcester was willing to make adjustments when necessary. With movies still a new technology, not every venue was set up for him to show films. For example, in a letter dated January 7, 1914, Worcester discussed options for a lecture that he was scheduled to give at Rutgers University on January 11, presenting two options for Rutgers' president, the Reverend William Henry Demarest, to consider. Of the first possibility, "The Wild Tribes of the Philippines and What Has Been Done for them Under American Rule," Worcester said that he was "accustomed to depend to a considerable extent on motion picture films which show them in action." As an alternative, he said that he could give a lecture called "What Has Been Done for the *Filipinos*," in which he discussed "particularly, educational work, health work, the opening up of means of communication, etcetera." Worcester apparently was concerned that he would be limited to the use of slides for his lecture, and he had "a very large series of fine slides" for the latter title.[98]

Worcester's ability to adapt his lectures to different audience needs stemmed in part from the overlaps that existed between them. That is, he used the same slides and the same films in different lectures, giving them slightly different meanings depending on what the scheduled lecture was about. For example, a typed synopsis of his January 24 lecture at the Brooklyn Academy of Music says that the subject would be "Fifteen Years

in the Philippines," not the lecture on the "Wild Men." In his Brooklyn lecture, Worcester was still able to use many of his films, including the "scenes on the bird islands in the Sulu Sea," the same scenes that Dinwiddie had predicted would be of little interest to anybody. Worcester took his audience on a tour of the islands, noting "their picturesque features" and the effects of the recent eruption of the Taal Volcano, illustrated by his slides. Other films included one "showing Bontoc Igorot women in strange banana leaf costume clearing trail in anticipation of the arrival of the Secretary of the Interior," and a "strange dance to the music of head-axes beaten by sticks." He also showed slides of the Igorots being "civilized." Seemingly less heavy-handed and didactic than the "Wild Man" lecture, it nonetheless was able to get many of the same ideas across.[99]

Worcester's lectures regularly drew large crowds, and local newspapers frequently printed lengthy reviews that included excerpts from the lectures. This gave Worcester an even longer reach, as his words could be read by thousands of people who were unable to attend any of his talks. On January 22, he delivered his "Wild Tribes" lectures in Wilmington, Delaware. The next day the *Wilmington Journal* carried a headline reading "Wild Tribes Drop the Bolo for Baseball." The review itself opened: "The Philippine Islands, their inhabitants and all that seems strange about them, were transported to Wilmington for two hours and a quarter last night in moving pictures and a highly entertaining and educational lecture by the Hon. Dean C. Worcester perhaps the greatest living authority on the people and conditions of the islands. . . . His lecture was a departure far out of the ordinary, and almost every minute contained a laugh or an incident gripping the interest of those present."[100]

In a confirmation of Worcester's optimism that his lectures would reach "the people who really count," his audience that night contained "many of . . . the foremost residents of Wilmington and vicinity." Worcester repeated his main theme, telling the audience that "[t]here is no such thing as a Filipino people," and using photographs and films to visually convey his argument about the diversity of the islands. Like the review of his Carnegie Hall lecture, the review in the *Wilmington Journal* also singled out the series of photographs showing Speaker Osmeña and General Aguinaldo as representatives of "civilized" Filipinos, and Negritos and Igorots as representatives of the "wild tribes." Quoting extensively from Worcester's descriptions of the advances being made among the "wild tribes," the review finished with the same words that Worcester kept coming back to time and again: "Shall the work go on?"[101]

A slightly more measured review appeared the following day in the

Baltimore Sun, after Worcester's January 23 lecture in that city. The review opened with Worcester's sober assessment: "The only kind of government that the Filipinos could set up at the present time would promptly develop into a military oligarchy, under which would occur things that would not only justify but demand intervention." This reviewer was less enthralled than others about the films and slides, noting only that Worcester used them in order to show "the progress made by some of the hitherto savage tribes in the attainment of civilization." Worcester also accused Filipino political leaders of graft: "There is a crowd of politicians there, half-bloods, most of them, who would love to see us leave these people to themselves. These plunderers would then have a chance to feed and fatten themselves on spoils. The best thing we can do for these people is to ease this cry of self-government until they are ready for it—and that day is distant."[102]

Worcester's pattern of public engagement was established fairly quickly. He was able to give lectures before the kinds of audiences he wanted, the people he felt could make a difference in the political arena. He gave lectures at New York's American Museum of Natural History; at the Economic Club of Portland, Maine; at the Detroit Club; at the Chicago Geographic Society; at the Englewood (New Jersey) Armory; at Vassar College, in Poughkeepsie; at the Columbia University Institute of Arts and Sciences; and at the 20th Century Club, in Hartford, Connecticut. His printed schedule shows that he gave more than two dozen lectures between late December 1913 and late April 1914, and an advertisement for his films in the motion picture trade journal *Moving Picture World* said that he had given lectures with his films before more than fifty audiences. Not every venue was able to accommodate his desire to show films but when they could, he did. When they couldn't, he made do with his lantern slides.

ALTHOUGH HE HAD EXPRESSED an interest in giving lectures before respectable and influential audiences, Worcester also decided to broaden his reach through commercial distribution of his films. It is clear that Worcester saw deep interconnections among his articles and lectures, and that the films he had made in the Philippines were an extension of the work he previously had to rely solely on photography to accomplish. In a letter that he wrote to Grosvenor on February 14, 1914, Worcester requested permission to use a number of photographs that he had published in the magazine "in advertising some of my motion pictures."[103] Grosvenor granted Worcester the request, but noted that it would "be

advisable in your circular to print a footnote to the effect that they are copyrighted by the National Geographic Society."[104] Although Grosvenor may have wanted to distance himself from some of Worcester's more controversial proclamations, the fact remained that his magazine had been one of Worcester's most prominent supporters during Worcester's career in the Philippines. Perhaps anticipating the popularity of Worcester's films, Grosvenor was interested in reaffirming the link between his magazine and Worcester.

Two weeks after Worcester's letter to Grosvenor, a full-page advertisement appeared in the trade journal *The Moving Picture World* (fig. 21).[105] Deciding to reach out to commercial movie theaters in addition to the learned societies he favored for his lecture series, Worcester granted Pan-American Film Manufacturing the right to distribute two different films under the umbrella title of *Native Life in the Philippines.* One film focused on "The Headhunters," and the other focused on "From Savages to Civilization." The advertisement included ten photographs of non-Christian Filipinos, one man and one woman at each of the top corners, and eight photographs of "Our Little Brown Brothers of the Philippines" printed along the bottom.

The advertisement's copy makes reference to Worcester's belief in the ability of the camera to tell the truth, extending it to motion pictures, too. It asked: "Shall the hundreds of millions of dollars spent in the Philippines and the result of years of development be turned over to our 'Little Brown Brothers' or retained by the United States?" The implication here is that the people seen in the advertisement were typical representatives of the Philippines, signaling a complete collapse of any distinctions between Christian and non-Christian Filipinos. The advertisement then challenged viewers to think about the consequences of their vote in that year's congressional elections, and posed two questions: "What do you know? How shall you decide?" The answer to both questions was "It is up to the picture to tell you."

A review of Worcester's films was published in the April 18, 1914, issue of *The Moving Picture World.* Written by the journal's full-time film reviewer, W. Stephen Bush, the review said that although the "production has considerable educational value," Worcester's "zeal for a complete portrayal of Philippine life" resulted in the inclusion of footage "that might well have been omitted and that, as I understand it, will be eliminated in all the films intended for public use."[106] Nick Deocampo points out that Bush "lauded the use of film to show American voters what their country had done in the Philippine Islands."[107] In a hint that

NATIVE LIFE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Two Great Programmes of Absorbing Interest

1st Evening's Programme

THE HEADHUNTERS

From Human Flesh to Wedding Cake. The Romances, Sports and Festivities of the Wild Tribes.

6000 feet of wonderful photography

2nd Evening's Programme

FROM SAVAGES TO CIVILIZATION

Uncle Sam's uplift movement. "Baseball the forerunner of progress."

6500 feet of unsurpassed action

Filmed by Mr. Chas. Martin, the Government Photographer, under direction of the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, for fifteen years Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines.

These marvelous pictures (impossible of duplication) have been exhibited before the following:

National Geographical Society, Washington, D. C.
Princeton University.
Yale University.
City Club, Boston.
Association of Commerce, Chicago.
Princeton Alumni.
20th Century Club, Springfield.
Chamber of Commerce, New Haven.
Quill Club, New York.
Philadelphia Geographical Society.
University Club, New York.
Young Republicans' Club, Brooklyn.
Michigan Alumni Association.
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie.
Detroit Club, Detroit.
Carnegie Hall, New York,
and 50 other notable gatherings.

The New York World said: "The most wonderful motion pictures ever witnessed in New York City."

THE GREATEST PICTURE OF THE HOUR! OF VITAL INTEREST TO EVERY VOTER IN THE UNITED STATES

Shall the hundreds of millions of dollars spent in the Philippines and the result of years of development be turned over to our "Little Brown Brothers" or retained by the United States?
This question is going to be asked of every voter in America.
What do you know? How shall you decide? It is up to the picture to tell you.

Japan conquered Formosa, and is now spending millions to exterminate the people that it could not control.

W. Cameron Forbes, late Governor General of the Islands, asks the American people: "Shall we make a second Mexico of the Philippines?"

Only in the Philippines has the Christian Missionary converted a race of people—seven million souls, who hold the same religious belief as Americans.

OUR LITTLE BROWN BROTHERS OF THE PHILIPPINES

SOLE RIGHTS OF EXPORTATION BY

Pan-American Film Mfg. Co., Inc.

110 West 40th Street Phone Bryant 6578 New York City

Trade Mark Registered

Trade Mark Registered

Fig. 21. Advertisement for *Native Life in the Philippines. The Moving Picture World*, February 28, 1914.

Bush may have held political views similar to Worcester, he applauded how "manfully" the United States "has shouldered the white man's burden and how, with infinite patience and toleration, it has conquered the superstitions, the evils, and the crimes of savagery."[108]

Much like with his articles in *National Geographic Magazine,* the precise amount and kind of impact that Worcester's lectures and the public screenings of *Native Life in the Philippines* had on civic and political leaders is impossible to measure. It is clear that both the lectures and the publication in 1914 of his heavily illustrated two-volume book, *The Philippines Past and Present,* allowed Worcester to give prominent voice to the argument for long-term U.S. retention of the Philippines. As Congress debated the Jones bill and the question of whether the Philippines ought to be granted independence at some fixed date in the future, Worcester's influence was felt. In fact, in December 1914, a year after he began his lecture series, Worcester was invited to testify about the Jones bill before a committee of the U.S. Senate. Tellingly, his testimony included his lecture, including his lantern slides (though not his films). There, before a captive audience, he was able to bring his argument to the highest levels of power.