■ Article]

ENTREMONS. UPF JOURNAL OF WORLD HISTORY
Universitat Pompeu Fabra | Barcelona
Número 11 (Octubre 2020)
www.entremons.org

Constructing race and rehearsing imperialism: German anthropologies of the Philippines, 1859 to 1885

Nathaniel Parker Weston

Seattle Central College

Abstract:

This article argues that anthropology created in precolonial Germany rehearsed and reinforced imperialism by constructing portraits of colonized Filipinos as racially inferior. Before the unification of Imperial Germany in 1871 and up to its acquisition of overseas colonies in 1884, several German anthropologists traveled through colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands, amassing artifacts, human remains, and photographs that were essential for their studies. They subsequently used these sources to assemble racial categories asserting that colonized peoples lacked civilization. This article examines the example of German anthropologies of the Philippines under Spanish rule during the second half of the nineteenth century. German participation in colonial projects, particularly those involving racial ideologies, therefore lasted for a longer duration than the period in which Imperial Germany ruled directly over territories abroad.

Keywords

Germany; anthropology; imperialism; race; the Philippines; Spain.

Introduction

On April 1, 1870, anticipating the unification of Imperial Germany less than a year later, 523 scholars from thirty-six different German-speaking locales convened in Mainz to establish the German

Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*) (DGAEU).[1] The following month, the Society published a founding statement along with governing statutes that outlined the main goals of the organization.[2] The initial notice acted as a constitutional preamble while it optimistically conceived of the aims of German anthropology in a global context. Even though Germany was not unified, the statement nonetheless articulated the Society's mission in imperialistic language. The DGAEU would undertake the "most accurate comparative study of all the peoples of the earth," a project that intended to "encompass the entire globe" at a time when a significant portion of the earth's surface was under colonial rule. German anthropologists planned to employ the "skulls of races" (*Racenschädeln*) for determining "similarities and differences" among peoples, including "mixed blood races" (*Mischlingsracen*) and "doomed savages" (*Untergang geweihten Wilden*).[3] It was not long before the Society moved to gain access to territories overseas, an action which was facilitated in part by the unification of Imperial Germany in January 1871.

On July 18, 1872, little more than two years after the founding of the DGAEU, the Board of Directors of the Society sent a letter to the Chief of the recently formed Imperial German Navy seeking support for retrieving anthropological source materials from sites beyond Europe. The Board requested that navy personnel furnish information about "primitive types" (*primitiven Typen*) through descriptions of "races" (*Racen*) and to participate in the "acquisition of skulls and skeletons."[4] The Society thus took practical steps toward achieving the goals it had initially set forth in the founding statement by attaching its work to the global travels of the Imperial German Navy, even before Germany obtained colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands.

With the founding of the German navy following the unification of Imperial Germany in 1871, the groundwork for the establishment of formal, and protection of informal, German colonies was put into place. As David H. Olivier observes in his study of nineteenth-century German naval strategy, the creation of the Imperial German Navy was "to the advantage of German merchants, pan-

[1]F. Wibel, "Bericht über die constituirende Versammlung der deutschen anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Mainz am 1. April 1870," *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1 (1870): 5.
[2]"Die deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte," ibid., 1-2; and "Gesellschaftsangelegenheiten: Statuten der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte," ibid., 2-4.
[3]"deutsche Gesellschaft," 1-2.
[4]"Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen auf Expedition der Marine. Auf Veranlassung des Chefs der Kaiserlich Deutschen Admiralität ausgearbeitet von der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 4 (1872): 326. The *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* will be abbreviated hereinafter as *ZfE*.

colonialists and expatriates."[5] The Chief of the Admiralty, Albrecht von Stosch, wrote back to the DGAEU on August 19, 1872 consenting "to support the efforts of the Society in every way possible."[6] In his examination of German empire and sea power, Rolf Hobson writes that Stosch backed the use of the navy for promoting German commercial enterprises abroad and thus "took great interest in the task of protecting overseas trade and thereby encouraging its further development."[7] German military, commercial, and scientific interests hence held overlapping goals of extending their reach across the globe.

Even though Imperial Germany did not yet possess colonies of its own, the German navy visited countries colonized by other European nations and officials promised to assist the DGAEU by obtaining the physical remains of colonized peoples. Stosch explained to the Society that the regions most often visited by the German navy included "East Asian waters and the island groups of the Pacific Ocean" in addition to the "north coast of South America, the east coast of Central America, and the Caribbean islands."[8] The Society subsequently forwarded a thirty-five-page questionnaire for use by navy officials that included instructions for collecting data, artifacts, and human remains after dropping anchor in ports around the globe.[9] The founding statement of the DGAEU and the Society's subsequent communications with the Imperial German Navy illustrate the closer connections between German anthropology and the ideas and practices of the colonial world.

This article argues that German anthropologists' writings about the peoples of the Philippines published from 1859 to 1885 rehearsed imperialism by plundering artifacts and human remains in a colony to construct ideas about non-European races. Although these German-speaking scholars investigated Filipinos in the years preceding Imperial Germany's formal acquisition of colonies, they nonetheless depended on colonial networks to produce their studies, writings which ultimately reinforced notions about colonized peoples as uncivilized. Furthermore, they widely critiqued Spanish knowledge of Filipinos and thereby suggested that German anthropological methods would be better suited for running an overseas empire and governing the different peoples in it. Despite portraying the Spanish colonizers as ignorant, several Spaniards incorporated Germans'

[5]David H. Olivier, *German Naval Strategy 1856-1888: Forerunners of Tirpitz* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 77.
[6]"Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen," 327.
[7]Rolf Hobson, *Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875-1914* (Boston: Brill Academic, 2002), 114.
[8]"Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen," 327.
[9]Ibid., 329-56.

studies into their own writings about the Philippines. German colonial anthropologists' work on Filipinos was partly imaginary as far as anticipating Germany's acquisition of colonies in the future and partly real in that it took place in and offered potential support for an already existing colony ruled by Spain.

This article will perform close readings of published studies by German anthropologists and Spanish scholars to demonstrate this important means of creating knowledge about colonized Filipinos. It examines the Germans' travels through colonial transportation networks, contacts with German and Spanish colonists in the Philippines, and the mobilization of colonized Filipinos' labor to assist with their work in the colony. It shows their plunder of Filipinos' artifacts and human remains, objects which formed the basis of their studies, works that ultimately depicted these colonized people as uncivilized and prone to colonization. Finally, it looks at Germans' criticism of Spanish understanding of Filipinos as well as Spaniards' appropriations of German studies in their own writing about the Philippines. These all demonstrate German anthropologists' participation in imperialism on several levels, even if it did not take place in colonies ruled by Germany.

The main contribution of this article is a new look at the intersections between imperialism, science, and race in the modern world. In his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany, Andrew Zimmerman demonstrates scholars' dependency on material obtained from "imperialist networks," but describes these generally as originating from German colonies without explicitly examining other colonized territories.[10] This article expands his work by focusing on the years before Germany obtained an overseas empire and analyzing anthropologies of the Philippines as a case study, an area which has not been addressed previously by historians. German anthropologists promoted colonial ideologies of race by describing Filipinos as inferior to Europeans, justifying imperialism in the past, present, and future, by Spain, Germany, and others.

As Susanne Zantop argued about colonial fantasies in Germans' writings about the Spanish empire in the Americas between 1770 and 1870, "imagining colonial scenarios that allowed for identification with the role of conqueror or colonizer" allowed German authors to "create a colonial universe of their own and insert themselves into it."[11] This article builds on her seminal

[10]Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 158.
[11]Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 6-7.

study by examining German anthropologies of the Philippines and their appropriations by Spaniards.[12] It illustrates an example of colonial fantasy on the one hand and colonial reality on the other operating in tandem. Historians have shown that science and race were increasingly important aspects of nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual life in Spain.[13] This article further elaborates these trends through Spanish uses of German anthropology to maintain rule in the Philippines, another topic that has not been adequately examined by historians. Spaniards' investigations of the colony utilizing Germans' studies provided the basis for greater attention to the islands and the promise of additional commercial exploitation of the territory.

Germany: A Colonial Metropole before 1884

From the 1850s through the 1880s, German anthropologists, their equipment and writings, in addition to Filipino artifacts, human remains, and photographs of both, circulated within global colonial networks, moving to, from, and within the Philippines, Southeast Asia, Europe, and the trans-oceanic travel and communication lines that linked them. As David N. Livingstone points out in his geographic study of the construction of scientific knowledge, "ideas and instruments, texts and theories, individuals and inventions—to name but a very few—all diffuse across the surface of the earth."[14] Although not every territory to and from which these people, objects, and written texts traveled was colonized, each was nonetheless linked to colonial spaces through transportation and communication systems. Locating German anthropologies of the Philippines in the context of global empires demonstrates that these forms of knowledge emerged directly from colonial conditions.

The Spanish, British, Dutch, French, and eventually German, empires relied on these networks to move men and material to, from, and between metropolitan and colonized lands in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Merchants, militaries, missionaries, officials, scientists, and other personnel traveled with and exchanged goods, equipment, and belongings back and forth across the globe marketing, mobilizing manpower, extracting resources, converting, studying, measuring,

[12]Other works that explore imagined empires in German history include Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds., *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Birthe Kundrus, ed., *Phantasiereich: zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2003); and Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).
[13]See, for example, Dale J. Pratt, *Signs of Science: Literature, Science, and Spanish Modernity since 1868* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press 2001); and Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).
[14]David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 138.

and otherwise engaging people and the natural environment in countries outside of Europe. The on-going and increasing access provided by these imperialist infrastructures vitally facilitated German anthropologists' production of knowledge about Filipinos. On their way to and from the Spanish colony, they moved within empires aboard colonial shipping lines. These scholars also depended upon the assistance of Germans resident in the colony, Spanish colonial officials, and colonized Filipinos in order to create their studies.

While getting to the Philippines required circulation within trans-colonial global networks, traveling in and around the Spanish colony, relied upon access provided by local contacts, both colonists and colonized. German residents facilitated the anthropological work of their countrymen by assisting their access to travel, knowledge, and other important individuals in the colony. Shortly after his arrival in the Philippines in 1858, Carl Semper made contact with Moritz Herrmann, a German merchant in the Spanish colony, to whom the scholar dedicated his study and described as "active promoter of my scientific endeavors."[15] In 1864, Adolf Bastian came to Manila and got in touch with a German merchant who helped him plan his journey through the colony and equipped him with the "necessary things" for his travels, he wrote. The anthropologist also lodged in the home of a German planter during his tour of the Spanish colony and later stayed in the home of an acquaintance of the planter.[16] During his 1882 visit to the Philippines, the anthropologist Hans Meyer noted the presence of a "small German colony" in Manila.[17]

German anthropologists also circulated through local colonial networks with the assistance of Spanish clergy and officials. During his 1859-1860 journey in the Philippines, Fedor Jagor used a "passport" for travel in the colony and lodged at the "town hall," called locally the "Casa real" or "Tribunal," the residence of Spanish officials, or with Spanish priests in their quarters, known as the "Convento."[18] For his trip through Bataán Province, A. B. Meyer traveled aboard one of the "small steamboats" that offered postal service in the colony and relied on the "support of the alcalde," a local Spanish colonial judicial and administrative official.[19] During his travels in the southern Philippines between 1881 and 1882, Alexander Schadenberg had two Spanish officials,

[15]C. Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen* (Würzburg: A. Stuber, 1869), n.p.
[16]Adolf Bastian, *Reisen im Indischen Archipel: Singapore, Batavia, Manilla und Japan*, vol. 5 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1869), 256 & 258.
[17]Hans Meyer, *Eine Weltreise: Plauderein aus einer Zweijährigen Erdumsegelung* (Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885), 321.
[18]F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873), 50.

[19]A. B. Meyer, "über den Fundort der von ihm überbrachten Skelete und Schädel von Negritos, sowie über die Verbreitung der Negritos auf den Philippinen," *ZfE* 5 (1873): (90).

the naval doctor Augustin Doméc and the naval accountant Eduardo Fernandez, perform "further research" on his behalf.[20]

Additionally, colonized Filipinos performed tasks essential to the German anthropologists' work in the colony. During an 1860 trip through northern Luzon, the largest island in the Philippines, Semper embarked on an "eight-day march" with seventeen Filipino "companions."[21] He required a Filipino "guide" to direct his travels and Jagor made extensive use of Filipino translators.[22] Both also used Filipinos as sketch artists.[23] Adolf Bastian used Filipino porters "to carry the baggage" as he traveled in the colony and A. B. Meyer was accompanied by "armed Tagalogs" for his protection against robbery.[24] Meyer also stayed the night in the "hut of a Tagalog," he explained.[25] Hans Meyer's "caravan" consisted of twenty-six colonized Filipinos serving as "guides, interpreters, and porters" in addition to a "military escort" for travel in the Philippines.[26] He wrote in his travel account that due to having taken a double dose of quinine, he felt weak while hiking through mountains in Luzon and almost fell to his doom, but for the actions of a Filipino who "saved my life."[27] Like the study of Kapil Raj on the construction of knowledge by British scholars and South Asians, German anthropologists in the Philippines depended on the labor of colonized Filipinos to create their studies.[28]

German anthropologists in the Philippines were similar to the German travelers in the Pacific Islands that Harry Liebersohn analyzes, in that they moved through a "world of networks" that contained "multiple nodes."[29] Within the transportation and communication networks linking German scholars to the Southeast Asian Spanish colony, Germany too constituted one such node. Just as these German anthropologists left from and returned to Germany in their travels through colonies across the world, so did the artifacts, human remains, photographs, and written texts with which they worked circulate as well. Germany, particularly Berlin, became a repository for objects from and writings about colonized peoples and territories in the years preceding Germany's

[20]Alex. Schadenberg, "Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao und der Insel Samal," ibid. 17 (1885): 51.
[21]Carl Semper, "Reise durch die nordöstlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 10 (1861): 256.
[22]Semper, *Philippinen*, 10; and Jagor, *Reisen*, 101.
[23]Karl Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean: Reiseerlebnisse* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873), 4-5; and Jagor, *Reisen*, 17, 25, 189, 217 & 270.
[24]Bastian, *Indischen Archipel*, 258; and Meyer, "Fundort," (90).
[25]Meyer, "Fundort," (90).
[26]Hans Meyer, "die Igorrotes von Luzon (Philippinen)," *ZfE* 15 (1883): (377-78).
[27]Meyer, *Weltreise*, 297.
[28]Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[29]Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 8.

acquisition of overseas colonies.

Plundering Artifacts

Historians of anthropology in Imperial Germany demonstrate that the mass accumulation of artifacts was a prominent feature of anthropological study.[30] Grave robbery in the Philippines by German scholars in the precolonial era underscores this phenomenon. Semper visited a Filipino "grave" in northern Luzon in an attempt to procure a "coffin," and Jagor also traveled to "grave sites" on the island of Samar in the central Philippines, after hearing that they contained "numerous coffins, implements, weapons and jewelry" of local Filipinos.[31] Although both ultimately captured fewer objects than they initially had hoped for, Semper and Jagor intended to remove objects from the graves of colonized peoples. Later German anthropologists included illustrations of grave sites (see Figs. 1 & 2) in their studies, demonstrating that they did not wish to hide their plunder of colonized Filipinos' artifacts and physical remains.[32] Instead, they openly depicted these sacred spaces as if in an invitation for others to continue the despoliation.

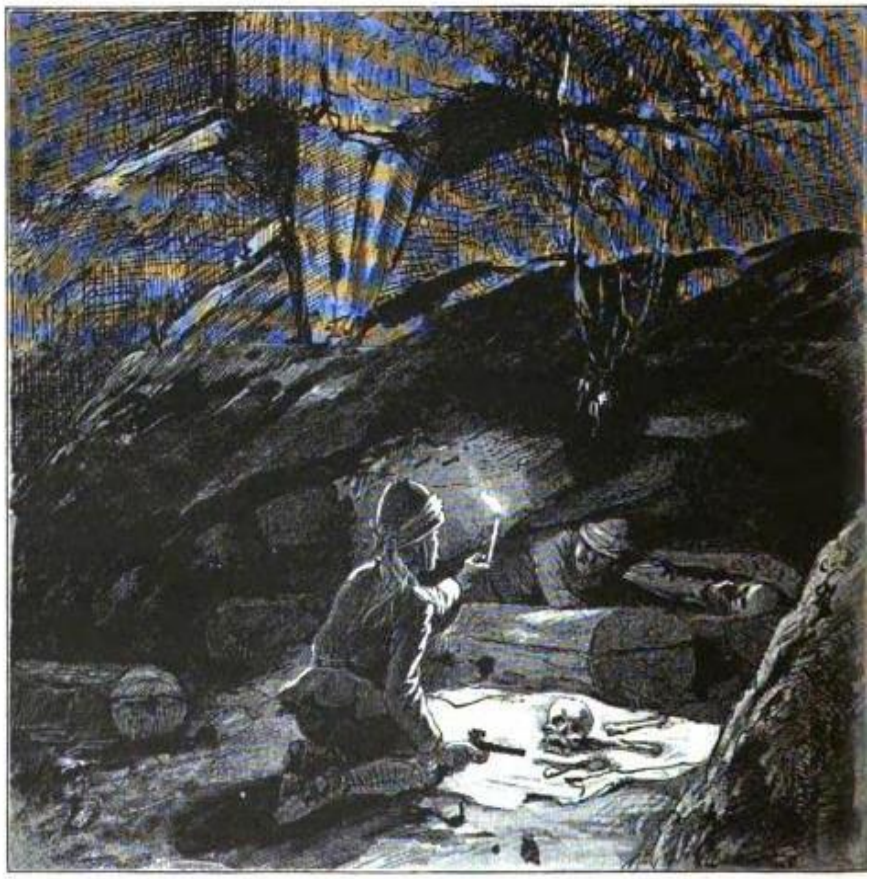
The seizure of artifacts in the colony enabled German anthropologists to make more definitive claims about Filipinos' material culture. Schadenberg analyzed various kinds of "arrows" used by the Aetas, known by the Spanish as "Negritos" (literally, "little Negroes," based on their skin color and diminuitive stature), for hunting and gathering. The anthropologist was impressed by their construction since the arrows broke apart upon impact and were able to be reconstructed and reused thereafter.[33] He also discussed the Aetas' jewelry, clothing, domestic implements, and musical instruments, uses of which helped illuminate aspects of their overall cultural practices. Reaping as many source materials as possible represented a continuous imperative, since, as Schadenberg observed, "our knowledge of the Negritos, that strange race of people [*merkwürdige Menschenrasse*] in the Philippines, is unfortunately still very meager."[34]

[30]See, for example, Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*; H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).
[31]Carl Semper, "Reise durch die nördlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 13 (1862): 96; and Fedor Jagor, "Grabstätten zu Nipa-Nipa, Philippinen," *ZfE* 1 (1869): 80.
[32]Alex. Schadenberg, "Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao und der Insel Samal," *ZfE* 17 (1885): 8-37 & 45-57; and Meyer, *Eine Weltreise*, 271.
[33]Alexander Schadenberg, "Ueber die Negritos der Philippinen," *ZfE* 12 (1880): 139.
[34]Ibid., 133.

Figure 1: grave site from Schadenberg, "Süd-Mindanao"

Over time, securing artifacts became an exercise in mass accumulation fueled by the creation of museums which displayed the objects as representations of the cultures that fashioned them. In his study of ethnological museums in Imperial Germany, H. Glenn Penny shows that "as an international market in material culture took shape in the wake of rising competition, museums emerged as the largest and most influential consumers."[35] Hans Meyer collected "jewelry, clothing, and weapons" from Filipinos known as the Igorrot and subsequently deposited them in the "Royal Museum," where Bastian had been director since 1873.[36] As a museum director and anthropologist, Bastian sought to assemble a greater number of artifacts to enhance the collections in the museum and the possibilities for anthropological study in the future. About the understanding of the anthropology of the Philippines, Bastian remarked in 1871 that it was "often complicated" and that "the increasing accumulation of material surrounding these islands is therefore particularly gratifying."[37]

[35]Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 59.
[36]Meyer, "Igorrotes," (380); and Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 2.
[37]"Sitzung vom 14. Januar 1871," *ZfE* 3 (1871): 44.



Eine Suche nach Igorrotenschädeln.

Figure 2: image from Meyer, *Weltreise*, 271

After their extraction from the Philippines, shipments of human remains came to the DGAEU, which enabled scholars who had not traveled to the Spanish colony to use them for anthropological investigation. In 1872, the Society received Filipino "skulls" and "skeletons" from A. B. Meyer that he had retrieved in the Philippines.[38] Co-founder of the DGAEU and one of the most important early anthropologists in Europe, Rudolf Virchow used human remains from the Philippines for study, without having visited the colony himself, writing that "more accurate knowledge has come to us" about the peoples of the Philippines "through the skull shipments of Mr. A. B. Meyer."[39] In 1879, Jagor donated Filipino skulls to the Society that he had received from José Muñoz de Bustillo in Manila and in the same year G. A. Baer, a German also resident in the Spanish colonial capital, sent his collection of Filipino skeletons to the DGAEU, showing the

[38]Rudolf Virchow, "über Negrito- und Igorroten-Schädel," *ZfE* 4 (1872): (204); and "Sitzung vom 6. Juli 1872," ibid. (222).
[39]Rudolf Virchow, "über Schädel von Neu-Guinea," ibid. 5 (1873): (65).

advantage of continuing to access local colonial networks in the Philippines for obtaining human remains.[40]

Besides the use of skulls and skeletons, German scholars employed other physical specimens for study. In 1873, for example, Joseph Pohl-Pincus, who never visited the Spanish colony, turned to "hair samples" as a means of accurately distinguishing Filipinos from one another.[41] "Because of the ease of collecting hair," writes Zimmerman in his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany, "it became an important anthropological object. Hair can be acquired from the living, does not decompose, and is relatively easy to ship."[42] Schadenberg and Hans Meyer also analyzed "hair" in their examinations of racial and physiological differences between different colonized Filipino groups.[43]

Publishing Colonial Anthropologies

Before their return to Europe, German anthropologists sent written communications reporting on their travels and observations in the Spanish colony that were published in scientific periodicals, which thus widened their colleagues' access to the colonial networks through which they and the objects circulated. Semper sent two anthropological reports back to Germany that were published in 1861 and 1862 in a German geography journal prior to the founding of the DGAEU.[44] During his travels in the Philippines in the early 1870s, A. B. Meyer sent reports to the Society that were published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.[45] The DGAEU circulated information about colonized Filipinos by publishing reviews, articles, and presentations of German scholars' works on the Spanish colony. The premier volume of the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* reviewed the first book-length German study of the Philippines, written by Semper and published in 1869. The unnamed reviewer applauded its content, since understanding the peoples in the Spanish colony "needed much clarification," he asserted.[46] In the same and succeeding volumes of the journal, Jagor, Virchow,

[40]"vier Schädel von Cagraray (Philippinen)," ibid. 11 (1879): (422-26); and Rudolf Virchow, "Schädel und Skelette von den Philippinen, namentlich von Negritos," ibid. (426-28).
[41]Joseph Pohl-Pincus, "über die Haare der Negritos auf den Philippinen," ibid. 5 (1873): (155).
[42]Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 162.
[43]Schadenberg, "Negritos," 136, 147, 162 & 163; and Meyer, "Igorrotes," (380).
[44]Semper, "nordöstlichen Provinzen," 249-66; and Semper, "nördlichen Provinzen," 81-96.
[45]A. B. Meyer, "Schädeln und Steinwaffen von Celebes," *ZfE* 4 (202-203); and A. B. Meyer, "Ueber die Papua's und Neu-Guinea. Brief des Herrn A. B. Meyer an Herrn Virchow, mitgetheilt in der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft am 15. November 1873," ibid. 5 (1873): 306-309.
[46]Semper, *Philippinen*; and "Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner, Dr. C. Semper (Würzburg 1869)," *ZfE* 1 (1869): 328.

A. B. Meyer, and other German anthropologists published articles, presentations and reports on Filipinos.[47] Many of these initial works later formed portions of their longer publications.

German anthropologists also relied on the circulation of written texts produced by travelers to the Philippines from other European countries. Semper and Jagor employed the works of older and contemporary Spanish writers in their works. In a later article, Schadenberg cited more recent Spanish writings on the Philippines published after the studies of Semper and Jagor as a way of keeping abreast of information relevant to anthropology. Semper and Jagor also made use of the writings of British and French visitors to the Spanish colony. Ferdinand Blumentritt extensively utilized the circulation of written texts through colonial communication networks to produce the most information about the Philippines in any language during the nineteenth century, without ever traveling to the Spanish colony.

He published his first study of the Spanish colony in 1879, an investigation of the Chinese population in the Philippines for which Jagor furnished the "greater part of the sources."[48] The study also cited the work of Semper and Jagor, as well as the same Spanish chroniclers on which they had drawn in their works, in addition to contemporary Spanish writers.[49] In 1882, he compiled a vocabulary of Spanish words local to the Philippines that included an extensive bibliography of works dealing with the colony and it was dedicated to J. C. Labhart-Lutz, the Austrian Consul in Manila, an informant with direct access to local information.[50] Despite his distance from the Philippines, Imperial Germany, and the DGAEU, as an Austrian German living in the Czech lands of the Habsburg Empire, other German anthropologists recommended his work.[51]

These scholarly communication networks were not separate from colonial and popular publications in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, demonstrating their further transnational circulation across global imperial spaces. German anthropologists' studies of the Philippines were translated into the languages of colonial powers, including Spanish, English, and French, and their

[47]See Rudolf Virchow, ed., *General-Register zu Band I-XX (1869-1888) der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und der Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Berlin: A. Ascher & Co., 1894).
[48]Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen: Eine Historische Skizze* (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1879), 33, n. 113.
[49]Citations of Jagor and Semper appeared in ibid., 5, n. 9 & 7, n. 16.
[50]Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke und Redensarten, welche dem Spanischen der Philippinischen Inseln eigenthumlich sind* (Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1882).
[51]Hans Meyer characterized Blumentritt's 1882 comprehensive study of Filipinos as a "highly commendable work." A. B. Meyer dubbed the Austrian's study "outstanding" and described him as the "best authority on the Philippines." Meyer, "Igorrotes," (377); and A. B. Meyer, ed., *Album von Philippinen-Typen: Circa 250 Abbildungen auf 32 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Dresden: Wilhelm Hoffmann, 1885), 1.

works appeared frequently in periodicals from Spain, Britain, France, and the Netherlands. German anthropologists' writings also appeared in the more popular and illustrated German-language geography journal, *Globus*.[52]

Demonstrating a more direct link between formal colonialism and anthropology in Imperial Germany, the second volume of the newspaper of the German Colonial Association, an organization dedicated to the promotion of German overseas colonization, positively reviewed Hans Meyer's travel account that included his journey through the Philippines.[53] The travel and communication networks that made possible Germans' studies of the Spanish colony prior to the acquisition of overseas colonies by Imperial Germany show that anthropology was anything but apart from the age of empire, as early as the 1850s.

Colonized by Nature

German anthropologists' studies of Filipinos were rooted in a colonial setting, even in the precolonial era, because their work resulted from the circulation of anthropologists, artifacts, human remains, photographs, and written texts through imperialist networks. Additionally, their writings underscored white supremacy in the context of the Spanish overseas empire, as German anthropologists used written descriptions, skulls, and photographs to mark colonized Filipinos as uncivilized. The German production of anthropological knowledge in the Philippines also therefore operated as an ideological staging ground for future colonialism, even though it took place in part in a non-German, i.e. Spanish, colony.

Although their anthropologies were not written by Spanish authors, they still upheld the "rule of difference," a phrase that George Steinmetz describes as a central goal of "modern colonialism" in his study of German colonial states in Southwest Africa, Samoa, and China.[54] As Zimmerman shows in his history of anthropology in Imperial Germany, anthropologists distinguished between civilized and uncivilized peoples with the terms "cultural peoples" (*Kulturvölker*) and "natural

[52]"F. Jagor's Reisen auf den Philippinen," *Globus: Illustrirte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 23 (1873): 177-81, 196-99, 245-49 & 326-28; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Bewohner des Suluh-Archipels: Nach dem Spanischen des P. de Pazos," ibid. 37 (1880): 88-91; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Erdbeben des Juli 1880 auf den Philippinen," ibid. 38 (1880): 315-18; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Goldfundstellen auf den Philippinen und ihre Ausbeutung," ibid. 39 (1881): 39-41; Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Die Bevölkerung der Suluinseln nach A. Garin," ibid. 40 (1881): 335-36; and "Dr. Hans Meyer's Reisen im nödlichen Luzon. (Philippinen.): (Auszüge aus seinem als Manuskript gedruckten Tagebuche.)," ibid. 43 (1883): 169-72, 202-205 & 215-18.
[53]"Literattur: 'Eine Weltreise'," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2 (1885): 432-34.
[54]George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 36.

peoples" (*Naturvölker*) respectively.[55] Even before the founding of the DGAEU, however, the German anthropologist Theodor Waitz located Filipinos in the latter category in his multi-volume study of "natural peoples."[56] German anthropologists took for granted thereafter that Filipinos were uncivilized, a distinction that also implicitly conceived of the Spanish as "cultural peoples" and thereby equated colonialism with civilization in the islands. This dichotomy illustrates a powerful method for constructing the non-European "other" in a way similar to those in Edward Said's classic study of Orientalism, in which European discourses about the "Middle East" portrayed the region and its peoples in a negative light as a means of magnifying their own history, culture, and political-economic orders.[57]

Semper's and Jagor's studies of the Philippines represented Filipinos as "natural peoples" by their inability to dominate the natural environment and effectively exercise political power. For example, Semper attempted to examine "whether and how the people of the Philippines have been able to free themselves in their historical development from the shackles which nature has lain upon them."[58] Jagor noted of the Filipino that he "can utilize very many things for his own purposes directly from the hands of nature and create for himself through minor toil relatively great convenience."[59] Because his observation associated Filipinos with the "hands of nature," "minor toil," and "great convenience," it thus distinguished them from people who used their own hands to conduct boundless toil. Whether imagining a relationship of master and slave or mother and child, as their metaphors for nature suggest, both German anthropologists portrayed Filipinos as dependent upon nature.

[55]Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*.
[56]Theodor Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Fünfter Theil, *Die Völker der Südsee: Ethnographisch und culturhistorisch dargestellt*, Erstes Heft, "Die Malaien" (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1865). Although Waitz passed away in 1864, his writings significantly influenced the work of later German anthropologists. Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[57]Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).
[58]Semper, *Philippinen*, 47.
[59]Jagor, *Reisen*, 33.

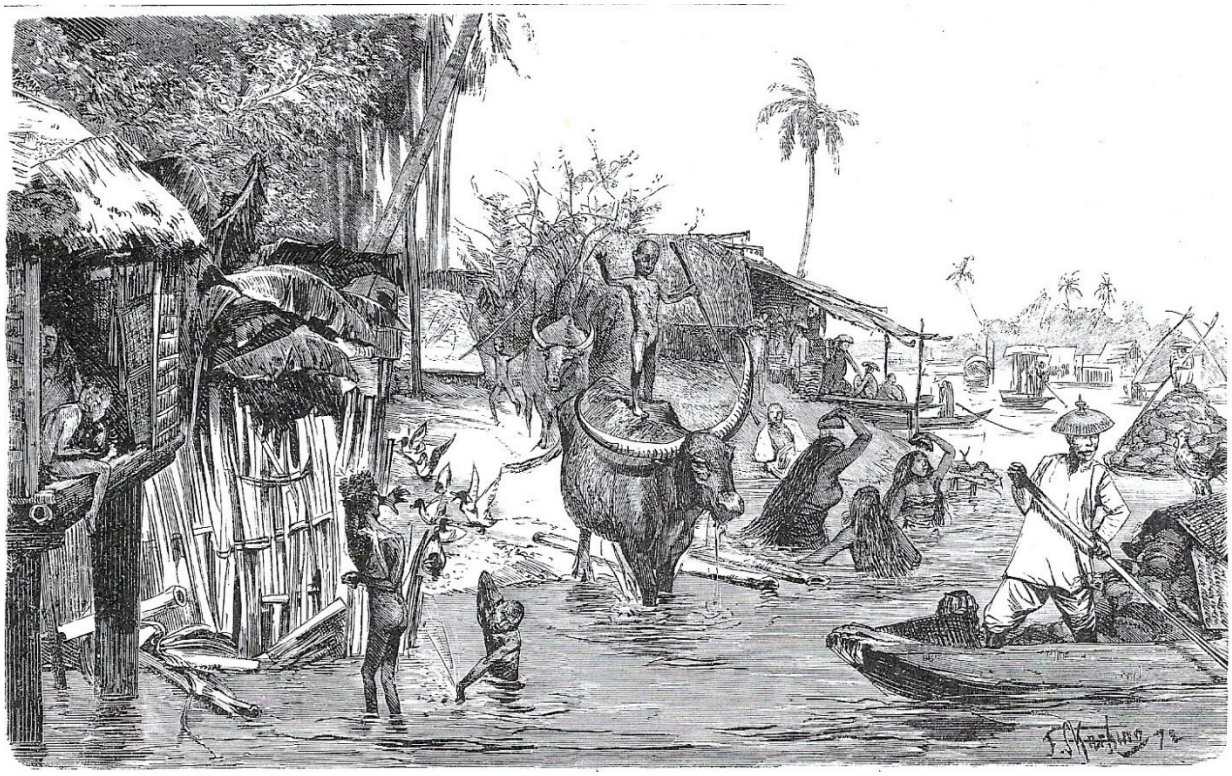


Figure 3: "Life on the Water" from Jagor, *Reisen*, 34

Furthermore, Jagor identified a Filipino structure that equated them with primitive Europeans. Still envisioning these colonized people as dependent upon nature, he described a typical village next to a river where "on its banks, and especially on its broad mouth, the huts of the natives rise on stilts, stilt-houses of immediate apparent convenience."[60] By describing the dwellings as stilt-houses, Jagor linked them to prehistorical people in Europe, despite the use of these traditional abodes both in the Philippines and elsewhere across island and mainland Southeast Asia.[61] Concurrent to his and other Germans' studies of the Philippines, academic and amateur investigators in Europe unearthed the remains of these structures erected in prehistoric Europe. Jagor even included an illustration depicting a Filipino stilt-house (see fig. 3). The image presents a scene shrouded in darkness as a woman and child peer out of a stilt-house, the symbol of primitivity and a lack of civilization.

[60]Jagor, *Reisen*, 34.
[61]Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: Volume One: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 5.

They also characterized Filipino government prior to the advent of the Spanish in diminutive terms, describing its leadership as "petty."[62] Additionally, while they narrated the Spanish conquest, Semper and Jagor suggested that it was inexorable by linking political power to race. Semper contrasted the power of the Spanish, for example, to the "meager energy and political fragmentation of the natives."[63] Jagor argued about Filipinos that the "character of the population as well as their political institutions favored the occupation" of the islands by the Spanish, since there was "no mighty empire, no ancient dynasty, no influential priest class to overcome, and no patriotic traditions to suppress."[64] In depicting Filipino sovereignty as impotent, it operated as a justification for imperialist conquest, which Semper, Jagor, and colonial ideologists in general could claim brought the necessary stability to the archipelago.

Race and Conquest

Blumentritt's comprehensive ethnography of Filipinos that compiled and synthesized all extant studies of the Philippines up to 1882 came to a similar conclusion. Rather than analyzing Filipinos' relations to their natural environments, however, his account conceived of the history of the Philippines as a succession of conquests by one racial group defeating others. Blumentritt's narrative of the populating of the islands began with the Aetas, whom he described as the "original inhabitants of the Philippines" residing throughout the "entire archipelago." However, after "migrating Malays" arrived, they "expelled the former masters into the inaccessible mountain wilderness of the interior." As other Malay-speakers migrated to the archipelago, they forced the first group of Malays into the "interior of the large island" where they joined "territories occupied by Negritos."[65] Rooted in an idea of difference based on civilization, the two groups of Malays were culturally different, according to Blumentritt. The first migrants participated in "head hunting" (1), for example. The second group of Malays, however, "could boast a somewhat higher grade of civilization and milder customs than the Malays of the first period of invasion" (1).

The Austrian ethnographer thus conceived of the history of the Philippines as a series of subjugations that led up to the Spanish empire, as if inevitably. During a "third Malay invasion,"

[62]Semper wrote, for example, that each Malay clan was ruled by a "prince," an office clearly lesser than a king or emperor, before the advent of either Islam or Christianity in the Philippines, although he noted that the Spanish described such rulers as a "king" or "petty king." Jagor concurred in reporting that the animistic Malays were governed by "petty chiefs." Semper, *Philippinen*, 63; and Jagor, *Reisen*, 280.
[63]Semper, *Philippinen*, 73.
[64]Jagor, *Reisen*, 280.
[65]Ferd. Blumentritt, "Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen," *Dr. A. Peterman's Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, Ergänzungsheft Nr. 67 (1882): 1. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

the Spanish arrived in the archipelago and "interrupted and partly impeded" (2) the Muslim Malays, he wrote. Blumentritt remarked that without the advent of the Spanish conquerors, "European-Christian civilization" in the islands would have been "lost" (2), suggesting his ideological solidarity with European imperialism, which he imagined as synonymous with civilization. The appendix to Blumentritt's comprehensive study of Filipinos related the history of the Spanish conquests, with which audiences in both Germany and Spain could identify and use to compensate for deficiencies in their imperialistic imaginings in the present day. The Austrian began his account with Ferdinand Magellan, the "discoverer of the Philippines" (59) who deserved "immortal merit" (68), though ultimately Blumentritt argued that the "bold conquistador" Juan de Salcedo, characterized as the "Cortes of the Philippines" and "gallant" (66), had earned the "crown among the discoverers and conquistadors of the Philippines" (68).

Blumentritt's study not only characterized different races by their ability to dominate others, but also associated colonial conquest with racial mixing. The first Malays, he argued, "occupied the coast and mixed with the Negritos in part, while they took the women of those defeated and slain in their huts" (1). Likewise, the Spanish "mixed with the natives and thus created the caste of Mestizos" (2).

Blumentritt noted further that the few Iberian migrants "laid many cuckoo's eggs," though he regretted having to employ such a "vulgar phrase" (58). Thus, the Austrian ethnographer distinguished between Aetas, Malays, and Europeans by their military success over one another, as well as by their sexual conquests, his explanation for the existence of racial mixing between them. Blumentritt therefore illustrated the possible consequences of conquering non-European territories at the same time that his observations anticipated debates about race mixing during the colonial era in Imperial Germany after 1884 that Pascal Grosse and Laura Wildenthal show in their studies of German imperialism.[66]

Blumentritt's model of successive conquests became the preferred picture of the history of the Philippines for German anthropologists after its publication in 1882. Hans Meyer cited Blumentritt's work directly and summarized the Austrian's thesis at the beginning of a study of the Igorrot in 1883, referring to the "two Malay invasions."[67] As late as 1897, Virchow redeployed Blumentritt's argument in an article about the populating of the Philippines, recounting the

[66]Pascal Grosse, *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918* (New York: Campus Verlag, 2000); and Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1894-1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
[67]Meyer, "Igorrotes," (377).

Austrian's notion of "three different Malay invasions."[68] Conquest was hence the norm for German anthropologists' thinking about the Philippine past that ultimately ended with Spanish colonization. Besides identifying with colonial conquest, these German scholars employed physical evidence to compare the racial characteristics of the colonized peoples under Spanish rule.

Colonization as Civilization

After extracting Filipinos' remains from various sites in the colony and bringing or sending them back to Germany for measurement, comparison, and interpretation, German anthropologists identified racial characteristics of different groups in the Philippines that emphasized their inferior positions as "natural peoples." In the appendix to his work, Jagor included an essay by Virchow that used different Filipinos' skulls to come to certain conclusions about them as groups. Virchow described Aetas' skulls as "bestial" and "ape-like," ultimately claiming by referring to an illustration that these people gave the "impression of ugliness."[69] He also used skulls to depict other Filipinos as uncivilized. In one such comparison between "races" (*Rassen*) for example, the president of the DGAEU noted that one group possessed a "gentler, sedentary, and more civilized population," while another appeared to belong to a "more savage people."[70] A decade later, Virchow examined Igorrot skulls to distinguish among "all of the central savage tribes" in the interior of the island of Luzon.[71] His studies hence anticipated German colonial ideology that distinguished the colonizers from the colonized as civilized and savage, superior and inferior.

Like the amassing and subsequent investigation of human remains, German anthropologists used photographs to characterize racial attributes and emphasize European superiority by depicting Filipinos as uncivilized. A. B. Meyer published an album of photos of different Filipinos intended to assist anthropological understanding of various peoples' racial and cultural characteristics. The work contained thirty-two plates, many with more than one photo, accompanied by written descriptions. The book implicitly ordered Filipinos by depicting civilization as a scale with the hunting and foraging Aetas first, followed by sedentary hunter agriculturalist Malay-speakers, and mestizas, women of mixed Filipino and Spanish or Chinese ancestry.

[68]Rud. Virchow, "Die Bevölkerung der Philippinen," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1 (1897): 285.
[69]Virchow, "Ueber alte und neue Schädel von den Philippinen" in Jagor, *Reisen*, 375.
[70]Ibid., 363.
[71]Rudolf Virchow, "Schädel der Igorroten," *ZfE* 15 (1883): (391).

Figure 4: "Igorrot from north Luzon" (8 & Tafel XXIII)

The photos generally reinforced notions that Filipinos lacked civilization. For example, Plate XXIII illustrated an Igorrot in "position to demonstrate the use of the shield in head hunts" (see Fig. 4).[72] Meyer's commentary excluded the possibility that the photo depicted a military tactic and instead stressed this Filipino group as a savage race. Representing Filipinos as headhunters not only starkly contrasted European culture, but also potentially cast Spanish colonialism in a benevolent light for restraining the alleged savagery of the Igorrot. The photo merely confirmed the assumption that European viewers believed in the first place: Filipinos were uncivilized.

[72]Meyer, ed., *Album*, 8. References to this source will appear parenthetically in the text hereafter.

Figure 5: "civilized Negrito woman" (5 & Tafel XIII)

Furthermore, in several photos of Igorrot women, they appeared with uncovered torsos. To European viewers, this dress style qualified these Filipinos as uncivilized, since it cut against Victorian norms surrounding femininity. Although he made no similar comment elsewhere in the book, about an Igorrot woman in a photo from Plate XX, Meyer noted her "remarkably small breasts" (8), showing that his gaze affixed to the woman's body, particularly to parts not normally exposed by Germans. Elsewhere, Meyer's album further defined civilization or its lack with types of clothing. For example, Plate XIII exhibited a "civilized" (5) Aeta woman attired in the style of a Spanish woman (see Fig. 5). With this image, Meyer thus reinforced the notion that Spanish culture was civilized and the Aetas' was not. He speculated about her that "she must have either married rich or found well-to-do god-parents."[73] In two different images of Aetas from Plate XIII, a man donned a cloth around his neck and in the other a woman wore a headscarf. Meyer suggested that both indicated "civilized influence" (5), though he did not specify their source.

According to Meyer, Spanish and Chinese Mestizas constituted the most civilized Filipinos in the book. Whereas Aetas, the Igorrot, and other Malay-speakers were shown out of doors, photos of these women were taken inside, likely in a studio. Among them were a "large number of

[73]Meyer further remarked about the photo that the governor of the province from where she had originated fostered "friendly relations with the Negritos" which had resulted in their taking up "positions as servants" in "coastal villages" (5).

gradations," Meyer pointed out, but their Spanish-styled clothing again indicated them to be "civilized" (9). Associating European clothing with civilization was common practice in colonial settings and depicted natural peoples aspiring to cross the boundary separating them from cultural peoples, which reinforced the imagined dichotomy between them.[74]

A Scientific Empire

Although several relied on Spanish colonists for travel through the Philippines, German anthropologists unanimously rejected Spaniards' knowledge of Filipinos, which suggested that their own information would more effectively form the basis of an overseas empire. In direct contrast to their own knowledge, the German scholars wrote extensively about the ignorance of Spanish clergy and officials in the Philippines. Referring to Filipinos, for example, Bastian wrote that the "clergy has an unconditional influence" over them and that the power of the religious orders "is far more significant than the government." Furthermore, in conversations he had with "mixed-blooded subordinate officials," it seemed to the German anthropologist that "recent new discoveries," including those of Copernicus, "as yet had not penetrated into these distant territories of the East."[75] Semper described the education of Spanish priests in the colony as "primitive."[76] Jagor recounted the visit of a priest to a Filipino burial site armed with "crosses, banners, icons, and everything with which to exorcise the devil." The result of the crusade was in direct opposition to the aims of the German anthropologist to collect artifacts and human remains for study when the "coffins were broken, and the vessels shattered, the skeletons thrown into the sea," he explained.[77]

German scholars specified particular false beliefs that the clergy propagated in the colony too. A. B. Meyer wrote that Christianized Tagalogs were taught by priests that the Aetas were "not human beings, but rather, with great injustice, a kind of monkey." Despite residing in close proximity to Aetas, the clergy lived in "total ignorance" of these Filipinos, he asserted.[78] Schadenberg wrote more generally about Spaniards, but still described the impact of Catholicism. Regarding the creation of information about the Aetas, he argued that "of the Spanish, the owners of the Philippines, who indeed could first have undertaken research about them, little has been written

[74]Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 32; and Bernard S. Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century," in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 106-62.
[75]Bastian, *Indischen Archipel*, 265.
[76]Semper, "nordöstlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon," 249.
[77]Jagor, "Grabstätten," 80.
[78]Meyer, "Fundort," (92) & (92, n.2).

and this writing is usually influenced by religious prejudices."[79] Addressing the clergy specifically, he identified a "longing for conversion" among them, which precluded their understanding of the Aetas' culture, according to the German anthropologist.[80] Like A. B. Meyer, Schadenberg remarked that members of the church viewed these Filipinos as nothing more than "monkeys."[81] The German anthropologists' critiques of Spanish knowledge about Filipinos were not limited to the Aetas. In his investigation of the Igorrot, for example, Hans Meyer wrote of Spanish priests that "they usually know nothing more than a blind zeal against the 'savages'."[82]

Contrasting their anthropological work to Catholic superstition was merely one aspect of the Germans' condemnation of Spanish knowledge of Filipinos. They also sought to demonstrate that colonial officials were generally uninterested in scientific understanding of the peoples of the Philippines, which not only disrupted the German scholars' ability to perform their studies, but also seemed irrational as far as governing a colony was concerned. About the Aetas' language, A. B. Meyer inquired among both "officials and priests," who claimed that they "have no language of their own."[83] Yet, the German anthropologist's recording of the Aetas' dialect suggested the opposite. Hans Meyer expressed shock at the ignorance of the Spanish about the Igorrot. He wrote that "it is quite incredible and incomprehensible how little knowledge the Spanish officials in general have of the peoples' lives in their area."[84] His statement implied that anthropological knowledge would assist governance of the colony at the same time that it contrasted himself and his work with the character of the Spanish officials. Schadenberg asked two Spanish officers to record observations on his behalf, but ultimately elected not to use them in his study since they were "superficial," he noted.[85]

Blumentritt also problematized Spanish knowledge of Filipinos. In his comprehensive ethnography of the Philippines, he wrote about the Aetas that "their character is very energetic" and that "they are not as untalented as the Spanish priests would like to demonstrate" (5). He also noted of Malay-speaking Filipinos that "with the name 'Igorrotes' much disorder is wrought," since Spanish authors have "christened all of the pagan so-called 'savage' hill tribes of Luzon Igorrots,

[79]Schadenberg, "Negritos," 133.
[80]Ibid., 135. Jagor also remarked on a member of the Spanish clergy in the Philippines that he was "full of longing for conversion." Jagor, *Reisen*, 49.
[81]Schadenberg, "Negritos," 135.
[82]Meyer, "Igorrotes," (378).
[83]Meyer, "Fundort," (92, n.2).
[84]Meyer, "Igorrotes," (378).
[85]Schadenberg, "Negritos," 51-52.

and all were also known as "Igorrots of Camarines', 'Igorrots of Tayabas' in the ethnographic literature" (24). The anthropologist expressed similar sentiments about the Spanish in communications he made directly with the DGAEU. In a letter responding to Virchow's discussion of Igorrot skulls, Blumentritt commented that the "carelessness with which Spanish authors deal with ethnographic relations is often unbelievable."[86] In the conclusion to his comprehensive study, he directly contrasted the Spanish to German scholars, first tracing the history of the conquest of the Philippines, but then explaining that "the interior of most islands is still today a terra incognita, and not until the most recent period have people commenced to make up for lost time, among these scientific conquistadors, we also encounter German names" (68), including Jagor, A. B. Meyer, and Semper.

German anthropologists' rejection of Spanish knowledge of Filipinos suggested that they believed their own ability to create information was superior. This shared attitude stemmed from their anthropological method, which involved a type of scientific colonization of the colony, plundering artifacts and human remains, while critically viewing extant knowledge to expose its limitations. Despite their harsh portrayals of Spanish understanding of Filipinos, scholars in Spain drew on translations of studies originally published in Germany. This was an unintended consequence of the creation of German anthropologies of the Philippines, but it nonetheless demonstrates an important link between their work and global imperialism.

Spanish Appropriations of German Scholarship on the Philippines

Although produced by German anthropologists and aimed primarily at audiences in Germany, much information contained in their studies could be enormously attractive to Spanish commercial and colonial interests in the Philippines. German scholarship offered potentially opportunity for Spain's rule over the colony with detailed information about Filipinos. Better comprehending the languages, lifestyles, and labor of the various people on the edge and outside of the boundaries of the Spanish domain in the colony could assist with integrating Filipinos more effectively and efficiently into a revamped political economy, should the necessary efforts be implemented. German anthropologists identified numerous Filipino groups conducting systematic agriculture at different locations across the archipelago, for example, though without being mobilized by robust state or commercial interventions and incentives. Data about the colonized peoples of the

[86]Rudolf Virchow, "Igorroten und andere wilde Stämme der Philippinen," *ZfE* 16 (1884): (57).

Philippines had already begun to be amassed by the anthropologists from Germany, and all that Spanish scholars had to do was expand on the foundations they had laid.

In 1874, the colonial forestry inspector for the Philippines, Sebastián Vidal y Soler, published a study of forests in the Spanish colony that drew on works by the German scholars. In the preface, he lamented the "inactivity" and "apathy" of Spanish writers in contrast to the recent work of Semper and Jagor, a distinction about which he admitted that "I sacrifice a bit of pride to a lot of patriotism." The good of retaining the colony was hence of greater importance for him than the apparent reality of the Germans' superior knowledge of the Philippines, though Vidal still confessed in the conclusion to his preface that "it is not without bitterness" for him to admit that "a foreigner of a different race [*extranjero de distinta raza*] and language so different from ours has demonstrated a knowledge of things of the Archipelago that reveal far beyond the works of our compatriots more understanding of that country, its people and its political, governmental and social organization."[87] Later in 1874 and the following year, he translated part of Semper's study, and all of Jagor's, into Spanish.[88] Vidal subsequently included references to both German scholars' works in a catalog of forest products from the Philippines to be presented at the 1876 Bicentennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.[89] In the decade following the colonial official's translations, numerous Spanish authors also cited these studies.

Interest in the Philippines in Spain was increasing, fueled in part by the work of the German anthropologists. In 1876, José Felipe del Pan published a translation of an 1858 travel account through the Spanish colony by the Englishman John Bowring that drew on the Germans' studies.[90] In a popular scientific study of Filipinos that appeared the following year, the pro-Catholic anti-Darwinist author Emilio Huelin also cited the translations.[91] References to the work of the German anthropologists were also present in Spaniards' studies of the Lepanto district, Zambales Province, gold deposits in the Philippines, agriculture in the colony, and the history and geography of the islands and their inhabitants over the years that followed.[92] In 1885, Vidal's colleague, Ramón

[87]Sebastián Vidal y Soler, *Memoria sobre el ramo de montes* (Madrid: Aribau, 1874), ii-iii.
[88]Sebastián Vidal, *Estudios sobre el clima de Filipinas* (Madrid: M. Minuesa, 1874); Carlos Semper, "Los negritos y las tribus malayas idólatras de Filipinas," trans. Sebastián Vidal, *El Bazar: Revista Ilustrada* 2 (1875): 443-46, 455-59 & 470-74; and F. Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas*, trans. S. Vidal y Soler (Madrid: Aribau and Co., 1875).
[89]*Memoria-catálogo de la Colección de Productos Forestales, presentada por la Inspeccion General de Montes de Filipinas en la Exposicion Universal de Filadelfia* (Manila: Revista Mercantil, 1875).
[90]John Bowring, *Una visita á las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876).
[91]Emilio Huelin, *Cronicon científico popular* (Madrid: Guirnalda y Episodios Nacionales, 1877).
[92]Maximino Lillo de Gracia, *Filipinas, distrito de Lepanto: descripción general acompañada de itinerario* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1877); Francisco Cañamaque, "La provincia de Zambales: monografía," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica* 9 (1880): 290-92; El Marqués de Caicedo, *El oro: su explotación y consideraciones acerca de los yacimientos auríferos de*

Jordana y Morera, also a forestry engineer, published a study of the colony that drew on the translations as well. The work was the most comprehensive discussion of Filipinos written by a Spaniard to date and asserted racial superiority over them, claiming that Christianized Tagalogs, for example, were "indolent and neglectful by nature."[93]

In the same year that Jordana published his study, Imperial Germany moved to annex the Caroline Islands, a Spanish colony in the Pacific Ocean east of the Philippines, an act of aggression that nearly led to war between the two countries. Pope Leo XIII arbitrated the conflict, ultimately deciding in favor of Spain, but still upholding German trade and naval fueling rights in the islands.[94] During the Caroline Crisis, scholarship came into play on behalf of both countries' claims to the islands. For example, the German anthropologist Carl Semper gave a speech before the Würzburg branch of the German Colonial Association arguing that Spain's claim to the Carolines was "justified by nothing."[95] Numerous Spanish authors published works on the geography, history, and anthropology of the islands to buttress their claims to the colony.[96] Other Spanish writers feared that German meddling in the colony was merely a pretext for taking over the Philippines.[97]

Despite the widespread perception among Spanish writers that Germany sought to take both the Caroline and Philippine Islands away from Spain, it did not stop others from continuing to incorporate the work of German anthropologists into their studies of the colony. In 1886, for example, the Medical Head of the Military Sanitation Corps for the Philippines and Professor of Anatomy at the University of Manila, José de Lacalle y Sánchez, published a study that drew heavily on their work. In the preface to the work, the author explained that understanding the "races" in the Philippines would be useful "to the man of science, to the legislator, and to the economist."[98]

---

la Islas Filipinas (Madrid: Ramon Moreno y Ricardo Rojas, 1880); Zoilo Espejo, *La agricultura en Filipinas* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1881); and Francisco Javier de Moya y Jiménez, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: estudios históricos, geográficos, estadísticos y desciptivos* (Madrid: F. Ferdnandez, 1883).

[93]Ramón Jordana y Morera, *Bosquejo geográfico é historico-natural de archipiélago Filipino* (Madrid: Moreno y Rojas, 1885), 54. Three years earlier, he had translated the conclusion to Blumentritt's comprehensive study of the Philippines that focused on the Spanish conquest. Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Descubrimientos marítimos de los españoles en el archipiélago filipino," trans. Ramón Jordana, *Revista Contemporánea* 41 (1882): 129-52.

[94]Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1995), 7-8.

[95]"Deutscher Kolonialverein," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2 (1885): 757.

[96]See, for example, Emilio Butrón y de la Serna, "Memoria sobre las Islas Carolinas y Palaos," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica* 19 (1885): 23-31, 95-119 & 138-62; Manuel Escudé y Bartolí, *Las Carolinas: descripción geográphica y estadística del Archipiélago Carolino con datos recopilados y ampilados* (Barcelona: Administración: Cortes, 1885); and Juan Gualberto Gómez, *Las Islas Carolinas y Las Marianas* (Madrid: San José, 1885).

[97]Rafael de Gracia y Parejo, *Consideraciones acerca del derecho de España sobre las Islas Carolinas* (Madrid: Gregorio Juste, 1885); and Francisco Coello, *La Conferencia de Berlín y la Cuestión de las Carolinas* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885).

[98]José de Lacalle y Sánchez, *Tierras y razas del archipiélago Filipino* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1886), 8.

In 1887, a Philippine Exposition took place in Madrid, which was motivated in part by the German threat to the Caroline Islands.[99] In a collection of articles on the exposition, Spanish authors widely discussed Fedor Jagor, Carl Semper, Rudolf Virchow, A. B. Meyer, and Ferdinand Blumentritt in pieces involving geology, marine life, anthropology of Filipinos, agriculture, and the social and political condition of the colony.[100]

Conclusion

The anthropologists who worked on the Philippines during the precolonial era in Imperial Germany played important roles in the initial years of the DGAEU. Semper corresponded with Virchow about the organization of the Society and served as the first General Secretary and editor of the DGAEU correspondence newspaper.[101] Bastian was co-editor of the Society's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and Jagor was an original member of the DGAEU.[102] Furthermore, numerous studies of the Philippines appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Materials from the Spanish colony also helped members of the DGAEU standardize the measurement of skulls for their own anthropological work: Virchow employed skulls from the Philippines to explain the proper means of gauging these specimens to members of the Society.[103]

This article has demonstrated that anthropologists in precolonial Germany created knowledge that anticipated the nation's acquisition of an overseas empire and was predicated central on the existence of colonies ruled by other countries. German scholars moved through global and local networks linking colonies held by Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, and most importantly, Spain in their travels to, around, and from the Philippines. They mobilized colonial transportation, information, and labor, calling on officials, clergy, and colonized Filipinos to accomplish their anthropological work. The same mechanisms that enabled the systematic exploitation of natural resources and labor in colonies made possible the German anthropologists' accumulation of data, artifacts, and human remains.

---

[99]Megan C. Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and* Ilustrados: *Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012), 62-63.
[100]*Exposición de Filipinas: Colección de Artículos publicados en El Globo, Diario Ilustrado politico, científico y literario* (Madrid: El Globo, 1887).
[101]Christian Andree, *Rudolf Virchow als Prähistoriker*, 2 vols. (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1976), 2: 450-57; and *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, vols. 1-3 (1870-72).
[102]Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 56; and *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1 (1870): 8.
[103]Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 88 and 278, n. 7; and Rudolf Virchow, "Ueber die Schädel der älteren Bevölkerung der Philippinen," *ZfE* 2 (1870): 151-58.

In addition to their dependency on existing imperialist structures, the end products of these German scholars' work transmitted discourses about race. They asserted European superiority in discussions of civilization and savagery among Filipino peoples' social organization, political institutions, economy, and technological and military aptitude. In their characterizations of colonized peoples, German anthropologists thus presented a framework for newly integrating them into colonial regimes, whether by Germany, Spain, or other power, in the Philippines as well as elsewhere. At the same time, the anthropologists emphasized a universal lack of knowledge about Filipinos among Spanish officials and clergy, which suggested that a German replacement would operate more effectively. In spite of their critiques, Spaniards translated German anthropologies of Filipinos and began to appropriate this foreign scholarship directly into the Spanish colonial projects in the Philippines. While some authors utilized the translations in their writings about colonial commerce and science, others emphasized the colonizers' cultural and racial superiority, both strengthening the ideology which justified Spain's rule over the Philippines.

While their work was used in the service of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, this application did not preclude the future possibility of German colonization of part or all of the islands. In his discussion of the centuries-long struggle of the Spanish attempts at conquering Sulu, a region in the southwest portion of the Philippine archipelago, for example, Jagor noted that "not long ago, the Sultan of Sulu offered sovereignty over his territory to the King of Prussia." Although "his offer was refused," the anthropologist reported, it still demonstrated the very real possibility of a German colonial alternative to Spain. This potential avenue for Germany's colonial interests in the vicinity loomed all the larger as independent German merchants supplied the sultanate in its conflict against Spain.[104] In 1873, Spain seized two German vessels while blockading Suly, leading to a diplomatic protest that resulted in Germany's continued trade and lifting the blockade.[105] Coupled with the later 1885 Caroline Crisis, the shadow of German imperialism loomed over the Philippines.

Methodologically, the German anthropologists were little different from similar scholars elsewhere. Yet, the initial lack of colonies in fact created a situation in which they could freely visit colonized people under the rule of other nations without being obligated to study subjects within a German overseas empire, which only emerged beginning in 1884. The position of German anthropologists in relation to colonies shifted thereafter. In an 1891 address to the DGAEU, for example, Virchow

[104]Jagor, *Reisen*, 182, n. 100.
[105]Volker Schult, "Sulu and Germany in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Philippine Studies* 48 (2000): 81-89.

explained that since Germans had become a "seafaring people," due to the acquisition of "imperial colonies," it was necessary to study the physical forms of "our new countrymen." The Society's president went on to describe human remains the DGAEU had recently obtained from German colonies in both West and East Africa and made suggestions about locating additional specimens.[106] Although these scientific practices did not necessarily lead in a straight line to Auschwitz, they still set the stage for additional imperialist aggression around the world in the short term and the later continued promotion of racist ideas both inside and outside of Europe. Many people around the world hope to dismantle these deep ideological and institutional structures both as others offer stubborn resistance, wishing to keep them intact whether in their former or altogether new guises.

Bibliography

Andree, Christian. *Rudolf Virchow als Prähistoriker.* 2 volumes. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1976.

Bastian, Adolf. *Reisen im Indischen Archipel: Singapore, Batavia, Manilla und Japan.* Volume 5 of *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien: Studien und Reisen*. Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1869.

Blumentritt, Ferdinand. *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen: Eine Historische Skizze.* Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1879.

Blumentritt, Ferdinand. *Filipinas: ataques de los holandeses en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII.* Translated by Enrique Ruppert. Madrid: Impr. de Fortanet, 1882.

Blumentritt, Ferdinand. *Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke und Redensarten, welche dem Spanischen der Philippinischen Inseln eigenthumlich sind.* Leitmeritz: Communal-Ober-Realschule, 1882.

Bowring, John. *Una visita á las Islas Filipinas*. Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876.

Buschmann, Rainer F. *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica

Caicedo, El Marqués de. *El oro: su explotación y consideraciones acerca de los yacimientos auriferos de la Islas Filipinas*. Madrid: Ramon Moreno y Ricardo Rojas, 1880.

[106]Rudolf Virchow, "Zur Frankfurter Verständigung," *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 22 (1891): 122.

Coello, Francisco. *La Conferencia de Berlín y la Cuestión de las Carolinas*. Madrid: Fortanet, 1885.

Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung.

Dr. A. Peterman's Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt.

El Bazar: Revista Ilustrada.

Escudé y Bartolí, Manuel. *Las Carolinas: descripción geográphica y estadística del Archipiélago Carolino con datos recopilados y ampilados*. Barcelona: Administración: Cortes, 1885.

Espejo, Zoilo. *La agricultura en Filipinas*. Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1881.

Exposición de Filipinas: Colección de Artículos publicados en El Globo, Diario Ilustrado politico, científico y literario. Madrid: El Globo, 1887.

Fitzpatrick, Matthew P. *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008.

Globus: Illustrirte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde.

Gómez, Juan Gualberto. *Las Islas Carolinas y Las Marianas*. Madrid: San José, 1885.

Goode, Joshua. *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009.

Gracia, Maximino Lillo de. *Filipinas, distrito de Lepanto: descripción general acompañada de itinerario*. Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1877.

Gracia y Parejo, Rafael de. *Consideraciones acerca del derecho de España sobre las Islas Carolinas*. Madrid: Gregorio Juste, 1885.

Grosse, Pascal. *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918*. New York: Campus Verlag, 2000.

Hezel, Francis X. *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1995.

Hobson, Rolf. *Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875-1914*. Boston: Brill Academic, 2002.

Huelin, Emilio. *Cronicon científico popular*. 2 volumes. Madrid: Guirnalda y Episodios Nacionales, 1877.

Jagor, F. *Reisen in den Philippinen*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1873.

Jagor, F. *Viajes por Filipinas*. Translated by S. Vidal y Soler. Madrid: Aribau and Co., 1875.

Jordana y Morera, Ramón. *Bosquejo geográfico é historico-natural de archipiélago Filipino*. Madrid: Moreno y Rojas, 1885.

Lacalle y Sánchez, José de. *Tierras y razas del archipiélago Filipino*. Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1886.

Liebersohn, Harry. *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Livingstone, David N. *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Memoria-catálogo de la Colección de Productos Forestales, presentada por la Inspeccion General de Montes de Filipinas en la Exposicion Universal de Filadelfia. Manila: Revista Mercantil, 1875.

Meyer, Hans. *Eine Weltreise: Plauderein aus einer Zweijährigen Erdumsegelung*. Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1885.

Moya y Jiménez, Francisco Javier de. *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882: estudios históricos, geográficos, estadísticos y desciptivos*. Madrid: F. Ferdnandez, 1883.

Olivier, David H. *German Naval Strategy 1856-1888: Forerunners of Tirpitz*. London: Frank Cass, 2004.

Penny, H. Glenn. *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Raj, Kapil. *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Revista Contemporánea.

Reid, Anthony. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: Volume One: The Lands below the Winds.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Schult, Volker. "Sulu and Germany in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Philippine Studies* 48 (2000): 81-89.

Semper, Carl. *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner: Sechs Skizzen. W*ürzburg: A. Stuber, 1869.

Semper, Karl. *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean: Reiseerlebnisse.* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873.

Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

Smith, Woodruff D. *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Steinmetz, George. *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Thomas, Megan C. *Orientalists, Propagandists, and* Ilustrados: *Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012.

Vidal y Soler, Sebastián. *Memoria sobre el ramo de montes*. Madrid: Aribau, 1874.

Vidal, Sebastián. *Estudios sobre el clima de Filipinas.* Madrid: M. Minuesa, 1874.

Virchow, Rudolf, editor. *General-Register zu Band I-XX (1869-1888) der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und der Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.* Berlin: A. Ascher & Co., 1894.

Waitz, Theodor. *Anthropologie der Naturvölker.* Fünfter Theil: *Die Völker der Südsee: Ethnographisch und culturhistorisch dargestellt.* Erstes Heft, "Die Malaien." Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1865.

Wildenthal, Lora. *German Women for Empire, 1894-1945.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001. Zantop, Susanne. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.

Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde.

Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

Zimmerman, Andrew. *Anthropology and Anthihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.