

HUNTING AND SECURITY ESCORTS IN PHILIPPINE ETHNOLOGICAL FIELDWORK AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Michael Armand P. Canilao

Some turn-of-the-20th century ethnologists who were doing fieldwork in the Philippine interiors were accompanied by armed escorts and native collaborators. Although the interiors of the archipelago were generally assumed to be “*independent*” at the time, thus necessitating such arrangements, these state-sanctioned expeditions accompanied by *show-of-force* may have exerted undue pressure upon the natives. It made them more docile than they would have been, under less intimidating circumstances. This conjecture is given further credence when narratives, documents, and photographs from the period are viewed through the lens of postcolonial perspectives, specifically in respect to the role of collaborators, the deployment of symbolic violence, and the “spectacle of the hunt.” Connections between the hunt and empire in some of the ethnological expeditions that took place in the Philippines become obvious when compared to observations on hunting in the Victorian era and in British colonies. The paper will look at narratives and visual documentation of expeditions of DC Worcester, Fay-Cooper Cole, and other ethnologists at the turn of the 20th century.

Keywords: *Hunting, D.C. Worcester photographs, postcolonial perspectives, turn of the 20th c ethnology, museum collecting, armed escorts.*

Submission to the established order is the product of the agreement between on the one hand, the cognitive structures inscribed in bodies by both collective history (phylogenesis) and individual history (ontogenesis) and, on the other, the objective structures of the world to which these cognitive structures are applied.

–Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason*, 1998, p.55

Introduction

Relying on Pierre Bourdieu's (1998) theory of power and symbolic violence, this article looks at the turn-of-the-20th century interactions between ethnologists and natives as encounters in an uneven topography where the former was able to hammer out pliable natives. The notion of symbolic violence and the state (Bourdieu 1998), provides an overarching theoretical handle with which to view these encounters: the ethnologists had access to "war capital" (or firearms), which may have exerted compulsion, both real and symbolic, on the part of the natives. The concentration of war capital (firearms) could have been exhibited in how the anthropologist or the ethnologist performed a parallel role as an agent of the state, strapped with the badges and emblems (like firearms) of the state and/or surrounding themselves with the agents of the state who were wearing such badges and emblems. I will argue that in fact, the mere display of weapons and the emblems and badges of the state elicited what Bourdieu would call "doxical submission." Symbolic violence, as defined by Bourdieu, is "the violence which extorts submission which is not perceived as such,"

Like the theory of magic, the theory of symbolic violence rests on a theory of belief or, more precisely, on a theory of production of belief, of the work of socialization necessary to produce agents endowed with the schemes of perception and appreciation that will permit them to perceive and obey the injunctions inscribed in a situation or discourse... The belief I am describing is not an explicit belief, possessed explicitly as such in relation to a possibility of nonbelief, but rather an immediate adherence, a doxical submission to the injunctions of the world which is achieved when the mental structures of the one to whom the injunction is addressed are in accordance with the structures inscribed in the injunction addressed to him. (Bourdieu 1998:103)

Perception and recognition are crucial to eliciting this doxical submission. "The state does not necessarily have to *give orders* or to *exercise physical coercion*," according to Bourdieu (1998:56) (author's emphasis).

The ethnological field work in the early 20th c. can also be viewed through an integrated framework drawn from critical works not necessarily based in the Philippines. The interesting intersection between colonialism and hunting,

as pointed out by William Beinart (1990), Pablo Mukherjee (1990), E.I. Steinhart (1989), and the early nineteenth century work on Oriental field sports by Thomas Williamsons (1808), is explored in this study as demonstrating certain parallels between the turn of the 20th c. Philippine experience and the experience of colonialism in India. Following on the observations of these authors, the final section of this article will attempt to show that the integration of hunting and target shooting in the ethological trips (the loud bang from the rifle) was used for colonial objectives. These objectives are, namely: subjugation of resources and people (informants), winning the hearts and minds of the people, and conflation of firepower with colonial strength, paternalism, and colonial ordering.

As Mukherjee notes, “The fortune of this imperial hunter metaphorically foregrounds the material exchange that underpinned all imperial relations: the tracking, discovery, and ripping out of the native wealth from the soil.” (1990:937). Wonders states that “the iconography of game trophies contributed to a celebration of conquest.” Big game hunting was an expression of domination, “An emblem of the conquest of territories and, increasingly toward the end of the nineteenth century, a form of administration when big game hunting became connected to preservation” (Wonders 2005:281).

In the case of the turn of the century ethnologists this process is clearly reversed such that the ethnologist is primarily a scientist conducting ethnological research who hunts at the same time, rather than a hunter who becomes transformed into a scientist. But what holds true for both types of encounters is the fact that the hunt was also done to ensure participation of the informants (subjects).

Paternalism is shown “in those instances of benevolent but commanding paternalism where the imperial man abolishes the physical distance between himself and the colonized bodies” (Mukherjee 1990:934). Moreover, “Imperial hunting also provided the flip side of the enlightened physical proximity between the ruler and the subject by dramatizing the debasement and abjectness of colonized subjects” (Mukherjee 1990:934).

Mukherjee’s (1990) essay on hunting analyzes a very interesting 1847 piece by novelist and sporting writer R.S. Surtees entitled *Master of the Hunt*, demonstrating how the “celebration of order and authority” arises out of a hunting field and “leads to the idealization of masculinity, class relations, and the nation.” Mukerjee observes, “the virile order that the Master’s appearance radiates also reflects the military virtue of the hunt— he is a “general”— and his skill lies in “making the most of a country” (1990:930).

The intimate connection between the sporting order and social order is made amply clear in the master-servant relationship in the hunt. The virtue of salutary violence is added to the other English ‘virtues,’ as the ideal conduct of the English hunter will contribute to a sense of order that emanates from the hunting field” (Mukherjee 1990:931). Williamson’s *Oriental Field Sports* (1808) demonstrates the “ordering” aspect of the hunt,

It is not merely to the sportsman that this work addressed. It is offered to the Public as depicting the Manners, Customs, Scenery, and Costume of a territory, now intimately blende [sic] with the British Empire. (Williamson 1808, quoted in Mukherjee 1990:935)

In the case of the British colonialists who hunted in India,

.... as they tracked tigers, elephants, and boars, the imperial hunters were compelled to document the ‘racial’ qualities of the Indians whom they recruited, came across, or forced themselves upon as uninvited guests... This racialization of the colonized was frequently accompanied by the sexualization of their bodies, often conflating them with the very animals that were (ostensibly) the quarry. (Mukherjee 1990:935)

On one plane, we can argue that the spectacle of hunting offers a vicarious experience that juxtaposes the native to the body of the hunted animal, thus tacitly eliciting compliance. In fact, predatory slaughter of animals in colonies was associated with the subjugation of a vast natural resource (Beinart 1990). If this was the case in continental Africa, can this be seen in some ethnological expeditions to the Philippines?

At this juncture we look at documentary archival and photo archival records of the fieldwork of DC Worcester, Fay-Cooper Cole and other turn of the 20th c ethnologists.

Dean C. Worcester’s photography

The narratives of hunting, where the hunter traverses the often-inhospitable colonial terrain, allow him to map unexplored or little-known aspects of the colonized society. The hunt for the tiger [or the carabao, deer, or snake in the Philippines] is also frequently the hunt for information and knowledge, allowing hunters to claim epistemological

authority. Thus the hunting narratives are almost always anthropological, sociological, political, and scientific in tone. - Pablo Mukherjee 1990:935

According to Salvador-Amores (2016), extensive photo-documentation during Dean C. Worcester's ethnological field trips was undertaken as a sort of proxy to visual or written records of the indigenous groups, which were lacking. Indeed, a century later, the introduction of these photos to locals in fieldwork (or photo-elicitation) "allows for the discovery of deeper meanings in Igorot material culture" (Salvador-Amores 2016:56). These images have also played a key role in some ethnohistorical and archaeological research in the area.

One of Worcester's objectives through the Special Provincial Government Act of 1905, was to "solidify his control over the upland areas" (Sullivan 1991:150). To accomplish this objective, he mobilized the state's monopoly on physical and symbolic force or instruments of coercion. He surrounded himself with armed escorts when he set out on official field trips visiting interior areas at least once a year. Worcester narrates:

As I was unable to obtain reliable information concerning them on which to base legislation for their controlling and uplifting, I proceeded to get information for myself by visiting their territory, much of which was then quite unexplored (Hutterer 1978:125-56).

Here we see a curious intersection between colonial projects and the social sciences (as a means of getting information). With the aid of ethnological trips, Worcester's expedition parties were able to amass an impressive collection of photographs. Worcester was able to assemble a total of 16,000 photographs between 1890 and 1913, a feat that may have been considerably abetted by symbolic violence.

Based on the ethnological operations of Worcester, M. Bianet Castellanos notes that this type of "Ethnological and anthropological research ... served as a means of social control in the colony" (Castellanos 1998). She argues that the typical clean sheet that appears in the background of the Worcester photographs of the natives was in fact a visual strategy to draw attention to dubious physical features of the subject— "the innate criminality of a person" (Castellanos 1998).

[Worcester's]...photography provided the perfect 'evidence' of colonial projects concerning education, public health, citizenship

and military training, housing and sanitation. Images of such institutions were captured through photography, serving as a testament to the physicality of colonialism and to its structural organization. (Castellanos 1998)

In this paper; however, we will not deal with the thousands of photographs that were cast with a clean sheet background and the natives posing uneasily on the foreground. Instead we will apply a sort of incidental intelligence by looking at photos that do not have the clean textile background— those photos with captions that include the key terms “guides,” “party,” the “escorts,” the “carriers,” “polistas,” the “group,” and the “hunters.” This exercise will reveal that some of the ethnological and anthropological operations carried out by Worcester came replete with a squad- or platoon-sized escort that was armed, comprised of officers and constables together with several native collaborators and polistas (forced labor).

A particularly interesting photo (60A008) that appears in the CD compilation *Imperial Imaginings* (Sinopoli & Fogelin 1998), shows a portrait of Worcester and Dr. Frank Bourns in “field gear” accompanied by their “tracker” Pauljencio Acibida. The photo is dated 1891 and was taken at Baco River, Mindoro Island, and as seen in the photo, “field gear” included rifles for each of the three gentlemen. It is interesting to note that Bourns eventually became the head of intelligence operations in the Philippines (Sinopoli 1998). Nine years later, Worcester and Bourns appear once again in field gear together with General Higgins, Otto Scheerer and his son, the Lieutenant in command of escort, and an Igorot (Cordillera native). This photo was taken in 1900 at Baguio, Benguet. Pistols and bandoliers are clearly visible in this photo (see Figure 1). What is interesting in this photo is the presence of native highlander collaborators. This features a break from the typical Spanish practice of recruiting only lowlanders as armed escorts during their expeditions. This time, highlanders were being recruited to assist in the expeditions.

Another photo plate places Worcester’s expedition party in 1899 at Sablan, Benguet (Figure 2). Here again, the presence of Ibaloi collaborators wearing palm leaf rain gear is clear in the photo. But also note the armed escorts, some bearing rifles and others holstered pistols. In another photo plate that features the ethnological expedition party during fieldwork among the Aeta of Zambales in 1903, we can see one of Worcester’s assistants, William Reed of the Bureau of Ethnological Survey in the Philippines (formerly the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes) surrounded by Philippine Constabulary escorts armed with single shot Springfield rifles. The party is also composed of Aeta

collaborators armed with bows and arrows. Reed himself is noticeably armed, with his bandoliers visible in this photo (Figure 3). Two more plates (Figures 4 and 5) are dated to January 1905 and show Worcester in the company of constabulary escorts armed with single shot Springfield rifles and pistols. Both plates were taken at Mount Polis and it is also important to note the mix of spear wielding Ifugao collaborators alongside the Filipinos members of the constabulary. Regarding the inclusion of Ifugao collaborators, recruitment of these agents was one of the projects of the constabulary, quite attuned to the divide and rule strategy. Figure 6, dated 1906, shows Worcester's party at Cagayan de Jolo searching for a site for a leper colony. The photo features escorts armed with Krag repeating rifles. A year later, 1907 (Figure 7) Dean Worcester is escorted by constabulary regulars armed with Krag repeating rifles at Puntian, Bukidnon.

Agents for and of the State

It is interesting to note the parallelism of tax collection and ethnological specimen collection. For both to become successful, performance of power plays a critical role. For some ethnologists, bearing a firearm typically combined with the presence of armed escorts was ideal. To facilitate this arrangement, the ethnologists had to become integrated into the colonial bureaucracy. Dean Worcester was integral to the transformation of ethnologists into state agents. Worcester became a conduit for all scientific researches in the archipelago because of his influence over the Bureau of Science. He was consulted early on in preparation for some of the ethnological expeditions. Upon the advice of Worcester, the Philippine Commission appointed ethnologists Stephen Simms, Fay-Cooper Cole, and William Jones as employees of the Bureau of Science¹. This affiliation gave them the privileges of colonial administrators in the archipelago, including discounts in transportation, access to the government arsenal, and access to armed government escorts.

The ethnologists would make courtesy calls to top ranking colonial officers to request for escorts. For instance, in a letter of acquaintance dated 6/11/1906, Seth E. Meek introduces Simms to a certain Maj. BB Ray requesting that "Any attn. [attention] you may be able to give him and his work

¹ Fay-Cooper Cole to George Dorsey, February 02, 1907, RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, FMNH Archives, Field Museum, Box 1 Folder 6

will be esteemed by me as a personal favor”². Before his fieldwork, Fay Cooper Cole also meets General Wood, who commits to give him assistance and armed escorts for his trip in Mindanao. He also meets General Allen, who then issues an order for the forces in the islands to provide Cole with assistance³.

Mabel Cole reveals that her husband always coordinated his field visits with the colonial officers, and although the couple were not oblivious to the possible negative effect of being escorted by armed constabulary, they proceeded with this practice, which they deemed to have been accepted by the communities, as indicated in this passage below:

The presence of soldiers would have made our intimate acquaintance with the wild people impossible, so when we felt that our reputation as royal entertainers had penetrated the mountain districts, we prepared to go back into the country.
(Cole 1929:15)

The passage above is critical, because for the Coles, or at least for Mabel, the opposite impression is attributed to the natives, perceiving the hunting they performed as shows akin to royal entertainment, rather than producing a negative impression. This is a very apt example of a unique type of symbolic violence. A standard symbol of might and power, instead of causing fear, is imagined and excused in the mind as evoking something positive (entertainment) in the mind of the primitive, regardless of the actual impact upon the message recipient.

The “Display of Arms”, emblems of symbolic violence

Social memory of the natives then dictates certain accommodations that should be given the state with its armed agents. But at this point it is worth emphasizing that performance plays a key role on the side of the ethnologists. They have to wear their costume and props (firearms) and act as expected of a colonial state official—openly carrying firearms, hunting, and target shooting (to be elaborated in the last section). So both social history and life history intersect and dictate the habitus of the natives.

² Letter of Acquaintance Seth Meek to B.B. Ray US Army, RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, Anthropology Records, Field Museum, Box 2 Folder 12

³ Fay-Cooper Cole to George Dorsey, February 02, 1907, RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, FMNH Archives, Field Museum, Box 1 Folder 6

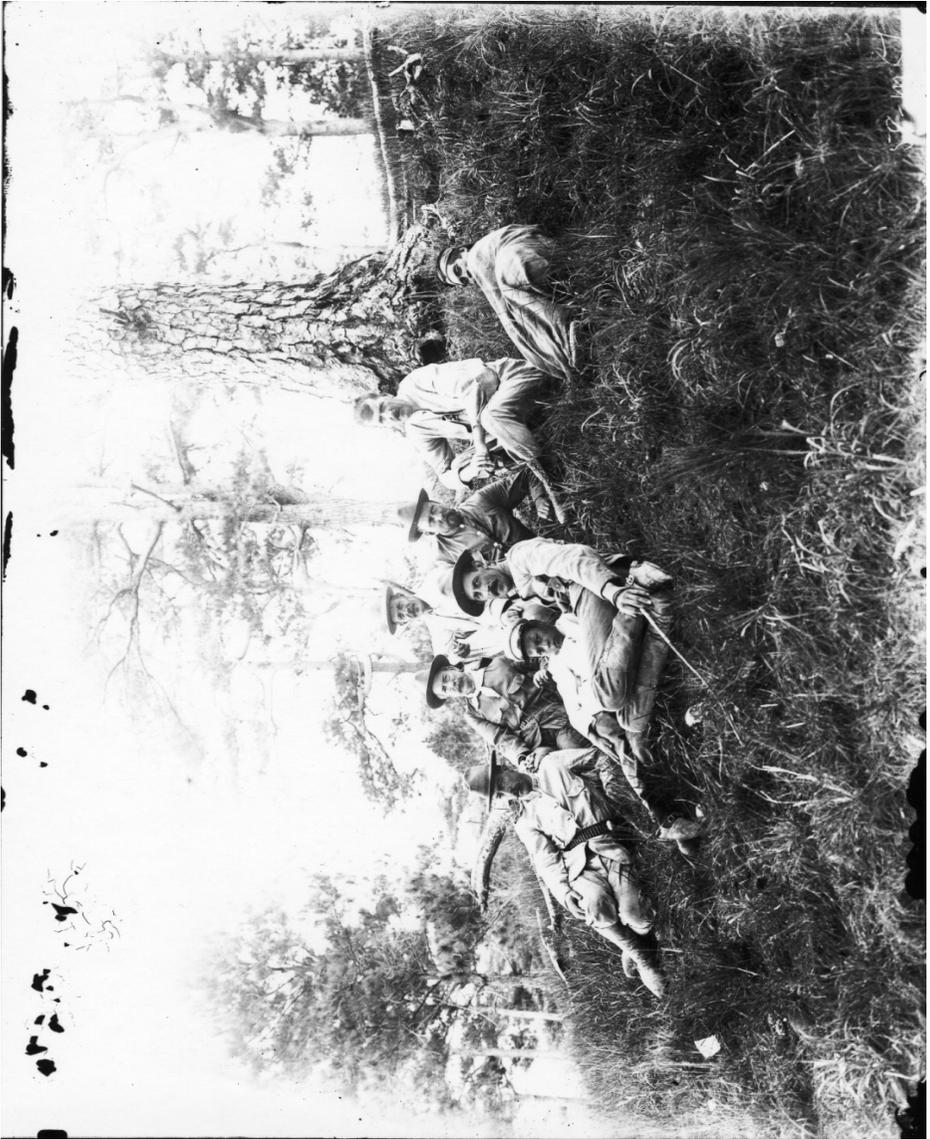


Figure 1 Left to right: Dr. F. Bourns, General Wright, Otto Scheerer's son, Lieutenant in command of escort, Otto Sheerer, Dean Worcester, H. Higgins, and Igorot. Note holstered revolver of the Lieutenant. Baguio, Benguet 1900. [Reproduced with permission of The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology.]



Figure 2 Worcester and his ethnological party in Sablan, Benguet 1899. Note Ibaloi collaborators wearing palm leaf rain gear and the armed escorts in this photo, some bearing rifles and others waist- strapped guns and bullets. [Reproduced with permission from The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology.]

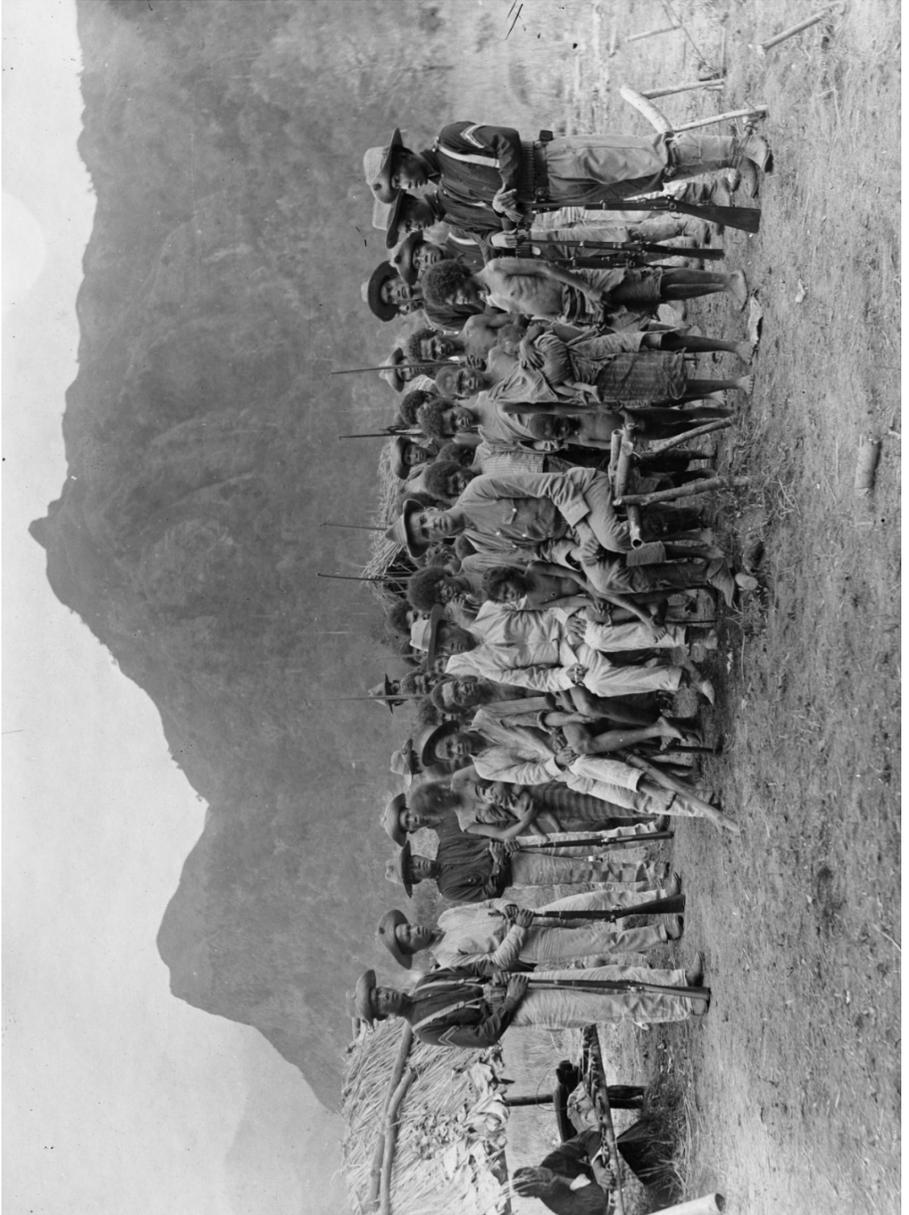


Figure 3 William Reed (center) with holstered gun and surrounded by constabulary escorts armed with Springfield rifles. Note Aeta collaborators armed with bows and arrows. Reed himself has a holstered gun with ammunition. [© The Field Museum, CSA24953, Photographer J. Diamond.]



Figure 4 Worcester (seated center) flanked by officers on top of Mt Polis, Ifugao in 1905. Note Ifugao collaborators armed with spears and constabulary escorts armed with Springfield rifles. [© The Field Museum, CSA22054].

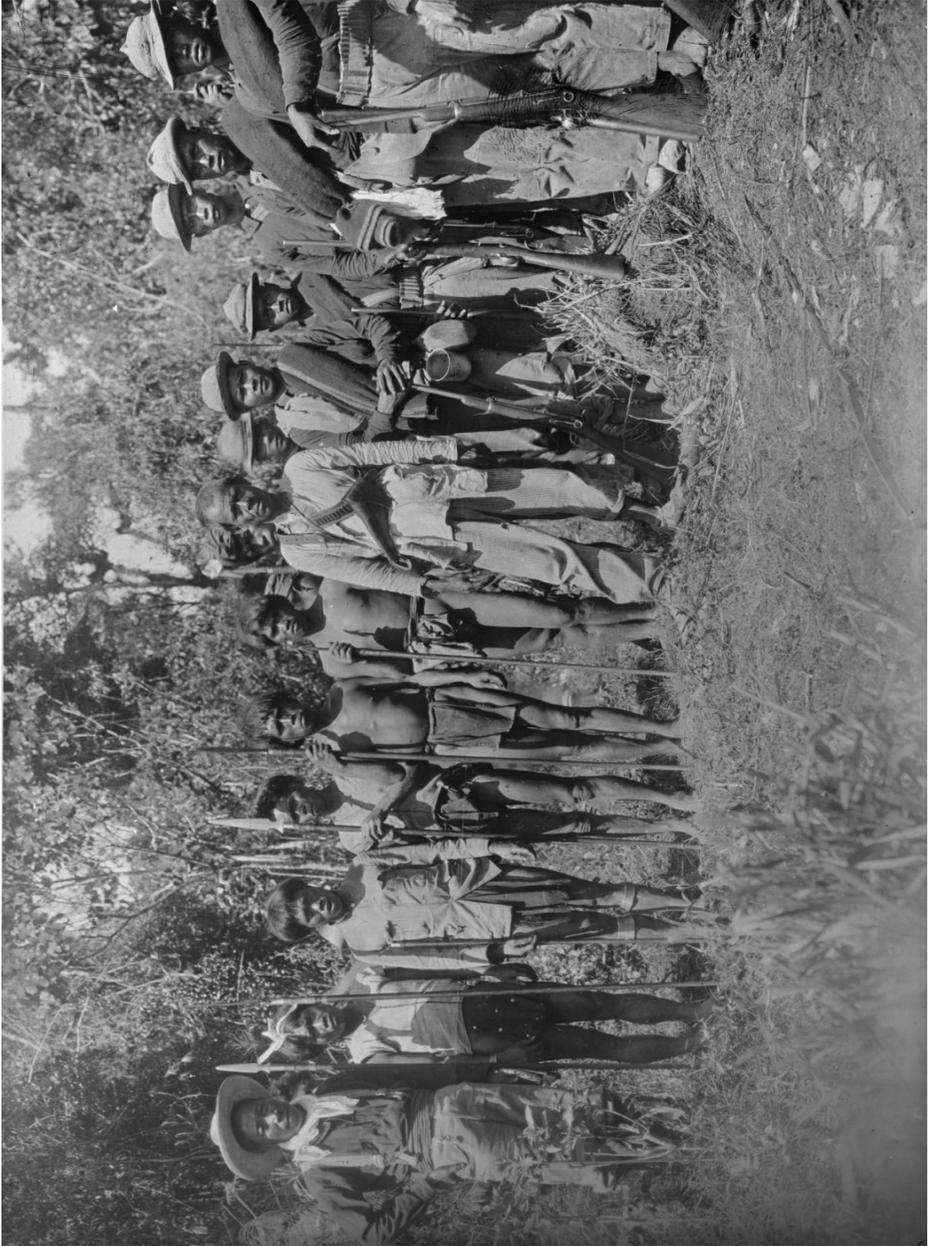


Figure 5 Worcester party standing on top of Mt Polis. Note Ifugao collaborators with spears and constabulary escorts with Springfield rifles. Ifugao, 1905. [© The Field Museum, CSA22055].

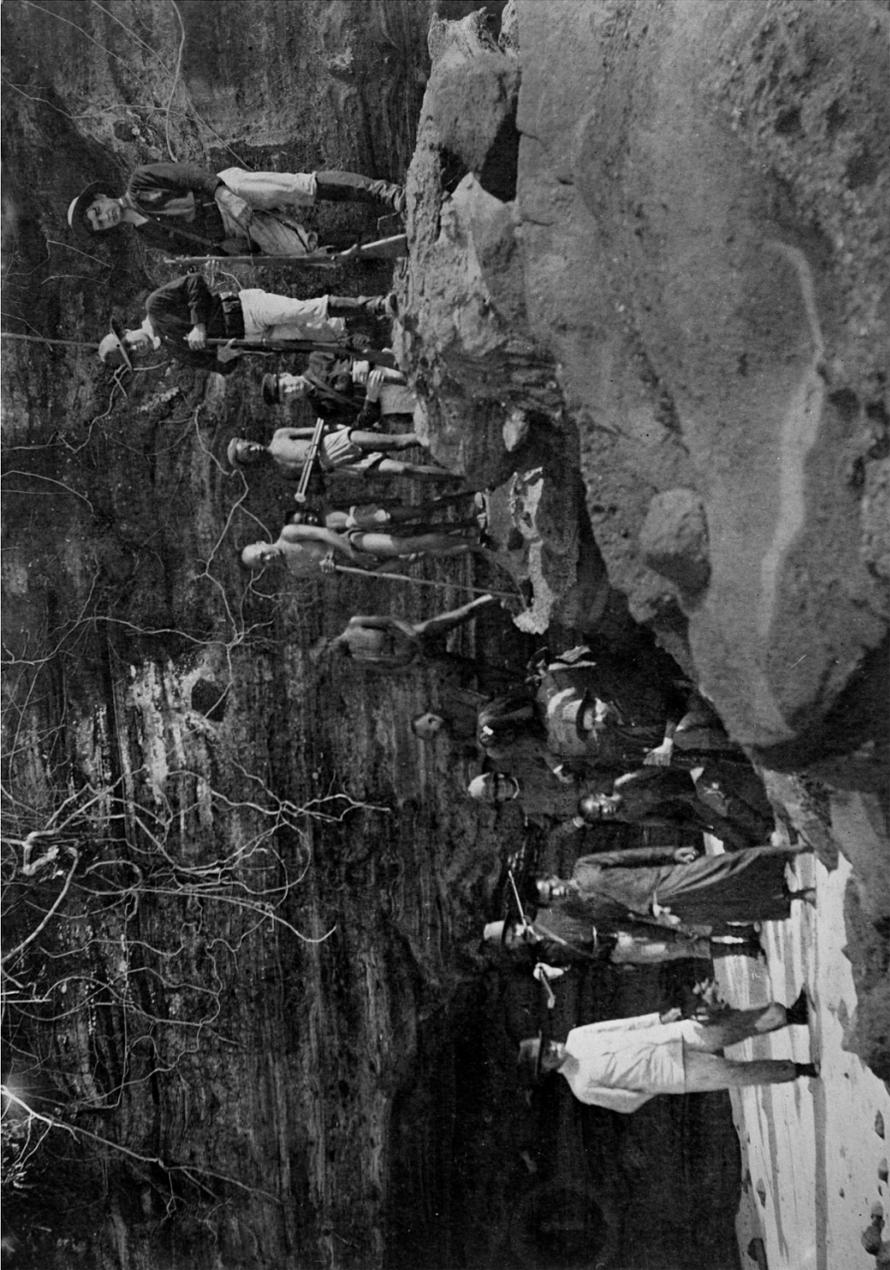


Figure 6 Worcester contingent at the edge of the Crater Lake Cagayan de Jolo (1906) searching for a site for a leper colony. The photo features escorts armed with Krag repeating rifles. [© The Field Museum, CSA23474].

Immediately preceding the turn of the century ethnological and anthropological work, was the short-lived Philippine-American War (earlier called the Philippine Insurrection) which started in February 1899 and ended in April 1902, and resulted in 20,000 dead Filipino soldiers, 200,000 dead Filipino civilians, and as many as 4,200 American soldiers killed (Sinopoli 1998). This war was still fresh in the memory of the natives, and perhaps the social and individual memories of the natives during this period feature war trauma, especially upon the sight of modern weapons.

The Philippine Constabulary was initially armed with the single-shot magazine Springfield rifle in 1902 but was subsequently modernized and took full delivery of the advanced repeating rifle, Krag-Jorgensens (McCoy 2009:85-86). Some of the early 20th c. ethnological expeditions may have utilized the Philippine Constabulary effectively. At this juncture, let us look at specific emblems, badges, or bailiffs of the ethnologists that are open to the natives' perception and recognition, which then trigger doxical submission. The best emblems of power are the rifles and pistols carried during expeditions.

Provisions for the ethnologist included food, medicine chests, chairs, tables, tents, compasses, camera paraphernalia, and other necessities. But part of the standard provisions included rifles and bullets. One particular list of fieldwork equipment⁴ issued to Cole shows he was issued 1 Winchester (30-40mm) rifle with 1,000 shells. In another record, we can see that Cole returned the rifle after fieldwork⁵. Based on the accounts of his wife Mabel, we can infer that he probably used these bullets in the performance of "hunting" and target shooting—displaying the rifle's firepower to the natives (Cole 1929:14, 28).

Apart from the weapons they brought with them, the ethnologists were also issued weapons by the colonial state (from the government arsenal). Simms, for instance, was issued a Colt 45 revolver with 50 cartridges by the

⁴ Mr. Fay Cooper Cole. For Cummings Philippine Expedition. Museum Property (List) RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, FMNH Archives, Field Museum, Box 3 Folder 25

⁵ Memorandum. Museum Supplies (List). "taken by Cole to Manila" Winchester rifle marked "returned" out of 1000 cartridges 500 left in museum, part used. RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, Anthropology Records, Field Museum, Box 1 Folder 2

Philippine Constabulary in 19 June 1906. The Colt was labeled as public civil property⁶. Later, a Philippine Constabulary Ordinance Officer Asa Fisk had to write Cole –who was then in Abra- requesting him to follow up on Simms to return the revolver and bullets⁷. Cole wrote back saying that he had no information regarding the weapon and that Simms had already left the Islands⁸. William Jones, on the other hand, was armed with a Luger pistol with an eleven-bullet clip during his fieldwork among the Ilongots (Rideout 1912:139). He displayed this openly among his informants, and even used the pistol as his pillow at night. He also regularly engaged in hunting during his field work (cf Rideout 1912:175, 192-193).

“The Hunt” as performance of symbolic violence

It is interesting to note that the many of the ethnological expeditions into the Philippine interiors featured a hunting component. There may have been another purpose, a project that lurks underneath these hunting activities, and whether or not there was conscious motive, these hunts can assume the general structure of impressing upon the subjugated, the relation of domination. In short, Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic violence is at work.

The ultimate attestation of symbolic violence upon the natives was not seen in the display of armed escorts and rifles and pistols discussed earlier, but rather in the hunting and target-shooting activities that curiously were done in conjunction with some of the ethnological and anthropological expeditions. This symbolic violence strikes right at the heart of the natives who are spectators to the colonials’ performance, eliciting doxic submission. These hunting performances were part of an elaborate strategy to deliver a vicarious experience to the natives, humbling them. The sound of the gunfire that echoes through the mountains signals the arrival of the colonial ethnologist out to conquer the wild.

⁶ Memorandum of Receipt of Public Civil Property Issued to Simms 19 June 1906, RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, FMNH Archives, Field Museum, Box 3 Folder 25

⁷ Asa Fisk to Fay-Cooper May 3, 1907, RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, FMNH Archives, Field Museum, Box 3 Folder 26

⁸ Fay-Cooper Cole to Asa Fisk June 11, 1907, RF Cummings Philippines Expedition, FMNH Archives, Field Museum, Box 3 Folder 26

Subjugation of resources and people (Informants).

William Jones was not discreet in sharing how thrilled he was when he was able to kill a carabao (wild buffalo) during a hunting trip, which he called “a whopper.” He boasted about this not only once, but twice in his correspondences. It appears first in a letter to a friend named Bill, dated August 8, 1908,

I had the great pleasure of killing a whopper one day. It would take pages to tell of the thrilling joy an Ilongot and I had in doing it. I caught the animal below but a little back of the horn on the right side, and it dropped like lead. I used a dumdum and the ball lodged in the brain. (Rideout 1912:164)

He boasted about the same experience in another letter, to Marlborough, dated February 25, 1909,

I've had some carabao hunting, but steel nosed bullets are only ticklers. Unless you catch the beast where it lives your shooting is only target practice. A 30-30 soft nose would do the trick, for it has the smashing power to stop the animal. Be on your guard if you hunt the animal when you come out here. It's a fighter all the time, and an ugly one at that. When it throws up its head on seeing you, it is coming, and coming like hell. (Rideout 1912:199)

Later, Jones reflects that he should have brought a higher caliber rifle for hunting instead of his Luger pistol, perhaps a similar caliber to the Winchester his colleague Fay-Cooper Cole had.

Jones was ironically both a Sauk and Fox Indian who imagined himself as out to conquer the wild Sierra Madre (present-day province of Quirino) frontier. Quite unfortunately the carabao bore the brunt of this clamor for this frontier adventure.

In conjunction with this conquest and subjugation of the wild is the plundering of ethnological resources (both material and non-material) from the land.

Winning hearts and minds through redistribution

Hunting was also an integral component of ethnological fieldwork because it was part of a strategy to win the hearts and minds of the natives, enlisting them

as collaborators in exchange for a regular supply of hunted meat. Missionaries and scientists in East Africa could assemble disciples/informants, interpreters, or companions in this way. Steinhart concludes that “it is hard to imagine the successful exploration and colonization of East Africa had not the safaris of men like J. Thomson, J.R.L. MacDonald, and F. Lugard been fed by the leaders’ rifles” (Steinhart 1989:251).⁹

In the case of the Philippine expeditions, hunting allowed the ethnologist to distribute meat to the natives, akin to a village chief redistributing the village resource, possibly imposing patronage. Apart from the escorts, the expeditions always included natives numbering anywhere between 10 to 30, who served as armed escorts (with spears, bow and arrows) or polistas (carriers). As “polistas,” they carried supplies across rivers and over mountains. They were also tasked with carrying the burgeoning collections during the trip. Hunting then may have allowed the ethnologist to recruit more collaborators with the accumulation of more and more cargo to carry. These collaborators are crucial to the success of the expeditions.

For example, during Cole’s field work in Abra, one account shows how Manowang, a Tingguian/Itneg headman and collaborator convinces fellow natives to “faithfully serve” Cole as polistas despite their fear of other tribes,

He assured them that in going [with Cole’s party] they would be safe on account of our guns, and that for the return trip we would give them a “pass.” (Cole 1929:83)

Interestingly, Mabel Cole describes Manowang as a “convert to anthropology” (Cole 1929:81).

Raw fire power, raw colonialist strength

As the colonial state enjoyed cutting-edge, weaponry during the early 20th c. (Mc Coy 2009), what better excuse to fire these new Krag and Winchester repeating rifles than in a hunting context? Hunting is a way to demonstrate

⁹E.I. Steinhart talks about hunting as a means to feed huge expedition parties in colonial Africa before World War I:

In this era the largely unrestrained group of explorers, traders, and pioneer administrators killed animals in prodigious numbers, not to say wantonly. Their purposes varied from providing meat for themselves and their porters, retainers and native allies, to the quest for ivory and trophies animated by both commercial and ‘sporting’ motives. (1989:252)

firepower and is often juxtaposed with the strength of the colonialist. Mukherjee claimed that hunting brings out the essential quality of the able colonial administrator (man) in India. In a passage that would perfectly fit the hunting undertaken by the turn of the century ethnologists who were doing ethnographic fieldwork in the Philippines, he states,

The essential qualities of a hunter were also the qualities of the imperial man. This popular message was reinforced in the field of 'high culture,' where scientific discourses were saturated with eulogies elaborating the connections between knowledge, empire and nature. Empire was seen not merely as a socio-political entity, but also as a natural/epistemological one where knowledge about humanity and its environment was driven forward by the energetic efforts of intrepid hunters and collectors (Mukherjee 1990: 932).

Mukherjee adds,

The imperial hunt is the perfect opportunity not only for British men to establish their macho credentials, but also to mold that machismo into an overwhelmingly public authority as the detailed descriptions of the physical manliness of the hunter would lead us to expect, one strand of imperial authority is the overwhelmingly physical nature of it. (Mukherjee 1990: 934)

This kind of public authority seem to have become the reward for Fay Cooper Cole among the Tingguian when he participated in a hunt and successfully shot down a wild carabao. As narrated by Mabel Cole,

Part of the men, including my husband with his rifle, took their places in the brush near the open place, where they could have a chance at the game when it came out, while the others with the dogs went back and beat through the brush, hoping to drive out some deer. Suddenly their wildest hopes were fulfilled; a great shout arose, for a wild carabao, the *fiercest and most difficult of game*, had leaped out into the open.

There was a loud report from the rifle. The entire party ran after the great beast. A second report. A third. But it still ran. A moment later it was over a knoll and down a gully, lost to sight. The hunters pursued, and after some time they came



Figure 7. Constabulary regulars who looked after Worcester's baggage and horses at Puntian, Bukidnon (1907). The constables are armed with Krag repeating rifles. [The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology.]



Figure 8. Cole's hunting party somewhere in Kalinga- Apayao in the background of a hunted python in the foreground (1908). Constabulary escorts are armed with Krag Repeating Rifles. Villamor, a known collaborator for Worcester holding a stick that is spiked through the python head. [© The Field Museum, CSA29250. Photographer: Fay-Cooper Cole]



Figure 9. Cole's hunting party in Bukidnon 1909 with three hunted deer. One of constabulary regulars holding a Winchester rifle similar to the one issued to Cole by the Field Museum. [©The Field Museum, CSA33933; Photographer: Fay-Cooper Cole]



Figure 10. Worcester's hunting party somewhere in Baguio, Benguet (1903). Note the escorts sporting Krag repeating rifles, while the native collaborators are armed with spears. The group is also replete with dogs for the hunt. [© The Field Museum, CSA22416]

upon the animal where it had fallen. It had run nearly a mile after having two fatal shots in the body.

The joy of the natives was unbounded. Killing the fierce, wild carabao [water buffalo] was a rare event, and great homage was paid to the rifle which had proved so much more efficient than spears. (Cole 1929:29-30) (author's emphasis)

For the natives to have given "great homage to the rifle" means they were really impressed with the firepower and recognized that authority exudes from the person possessing it: the ethnologist. This becomes apparent when the natives ask for Cole's help: Mabel Cole earlier relates an episode demonstrating how their guns and rifles "were objects of great admiration and respect"

... Bulakano came breathlessly up the ladder, calling 'Oh mister a hawk is after my chickens. Come and bring the big gun!' My husband hurried out and killed the hawk which was hovering overhead. Then he shot at a mark on a tree. It happened that the bullet went through the first tree and lodged in a second, which stood two feet back. The People were asexcited as children [sic]. 'It is no good to hide behind a tree when that gun is around,' they confided to each other. (Cole 1929:14)

So here the ethnologist-colonial has become a savior to the natives, a father-figure. This quote provides a platform for the next objective of the hunt.

Commanding paternalism

Paternalism coincides with the infantilization of the natives. In the preceding quote Cole has become akin to a father toward the Tingguian who were "excited as children".

In another hunt, Mabel Cole talks about how the villagers together with Bulakano, became so impressed with the superior fire power of the rifle,

"[t]hey were like small boys in respect to the guns [sic]. Their eyes glistened at sight of them, and no greater joy could be granted Bulakano than to allow him to examine them, though of course they were never loaded at such a time. (Cole 1929:28, emphasis added)

So during the actual hunt the physical distance is relaxed in cases when both the master and the servant lie in waiting for the beast to popup. Relaxed physical distance also clearly took place when Cole allows the native collaborator headman Bulakano to hold and examine his powerful rifle— but he has removed the bullet from the chamber. The natives can hold the Winchester rifle, but not when it is loaded. They are not allowed to fire the weapon.

Reifying colonial order

Symbolic violence rests on the adjustment between the structures constitutive of the habitus of the dominated and the structure of the relation of domination to which they apply: the dominated perceive the dominant through the categories that the relation of domination has produced, and which are thus identical to the interests of the dominant. - Pierre Bourdieu 1998:121

Categories of domination become obvious through the ordering aspect of the hunt. It can be argued that hunting activities that took place during some of the ethnological expeditions were meant to literally put things in [colonial] order — or specifically, to remind everyone about who is dominant and who is dominated. Forms of symbolic violence, notably hunting and target shooting, are occasions for too-proud polistas to be broken into submitting themselves to their colonial masters.

It can be argued that everyone who participates in the hunt are reminded about the class boundaries— the colonial, the civilized natives and the uncivilized natives (formerly independent but now under subjugation). The ethnologists are the colonial masters, the servants are the mix of civilized and uncivilized natives who form their hunting packs. Interestingly varying levels of access to high powered weapons reflect your space in the social order as can be seen in hunting scenes (see Figures 8 and 9). Who has the big gun? Who scares the prey into the trap? Who can carry a rifle and who carries spears? The uncivilized natives are merely spectators to the violence- - the killing power of the colonial.

Fay-Cooper Cole took some photographs of the hunting activities during his ethnological expeditions. One plate dated 1908 somewhere in Kalinga-Apayao shows his escorts in the background with a big captured python in the foreground (see Figure 8). The following year, 1909, this time in

Bukidnon, he takes a photo with his escorts in the background and three slain deer in the foreground (Figure 9). Dean Worcester also has a photograph of a hunting party (Figure 10) taken somewhere in Baguio-Benguet (1903). Note the escorts sporting Krag repeating rifles while the native collaborators are armed with spears. The group is also replete with dogs for the hunt.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show that some ethnological fieldwork that took place in turn of the 20th century Philippines may appear to be (colonial) state-sanctioned operations. The ethnologists may have intentionally or unintentionally integrated the colonial state into their research expeditions, most notably its symbolic violence by way of the presence of escorts. Also notable is the access to the symbols of violence (firearms) by the ethnologist. While the paper has focused on hunting activities and armed escorts and its utility for the 20th c ethnologists, there is also a need to look into the agency of the native collaborators involved in the ethnological expeditions. Some questions would include, what was at stake for these collaborators? How did they stand to benefit from participating in these expeditions? Were they using the ethnologists as weapons in their own local wars or competitions? Such questions, however, are beyond the scope of this study.

The regular hunting trips that occurred in conjunction with some of the ethnological fieldwork may have been an ultimate encounter that defined colonial subjectivity. It should be noted though, that the state is a structure comprised of agents who are "... not just the servant of the state, he is also the one who puts the state at his service" (Bourdieu 1998:87). This is clearly the case with Worcester, where he used the resources of the state to support active imperialism in the Philippines.

The hunting activities then feature a liminal stage between physical compulsion and symbolic compulsion. It can be argued that the potent strategy to use in the case of the natives lay somewhere in the middle of this spectrum since the ethnologists also had to develop a good rapport to water down the hostile relationship. It is argued in this paper that hunting is that middle range position that elicits compliance and the vicarious experience accord with the habitus of the dominated.

The point is that some of the ethnological expeditions appear to have an entanglement with the subjugation of the natives. Some of the interactions that may have transpired between the colonial ethnographer and the indigenous

took place in an uneven terrain, where these ethnologists enjoyed a higher position buttressed by symbolic violence.

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Michael Armand P. Canilao is a PhD. Anthropology Candidate at the University of Illinois at Chicago and a Research Affiliate at the Archaeological Studies Program of the University of the Philippines Diliman. He is also a Scientific Affiliate of the Field Museum. He holds MA degrees in Environmental and Urban Geography, Anthropology, and Archaeology. His research interests include postcolonial studies, GIS and remote sensing applications in multi-scalar archaeology, and Cordillera archaeology (Early Historical to Historical period gold trade).

Email: migscanilao@gmail.com