Grave Visions: Photography, Violence, and Death in the American Empire, 1898 – 1913

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During the Spanish-Cuban-American War (1898) and the Philippine-American War (1899 – ca. 1913), US soldiers and mainland citizens photographed, sold, and bought grisly images of imperial violence and death which were kept in private albums to memorialize US victories in these conflicts. The fighting began in 1898 over control of Spain's waning colonial empire in the Caribbean and Pacific, and evolved into a decades-long armed conflict with the peoples and provinces of the Philippines, who fought for independence from colonial rule. The battles and ensuing military occupations brought a host of camera-wielding US citizens to the island shores of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Broad access to affordable cameras and advancements in photomechanical printing fueled the transoceanic spread of war images and the development of new practices of album-making. Ubiquitous within these albums are photographs of death and violence inflicted by US and Spanish forces upon countless Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, in the pursuit of US imperial dominance.

The images discussed in this dissertation include original snapshots and widely sold photomechanical prints that depict scenes of military executions, battlefield death and burials, and snapshots of US soldiers desecrating cemetery burial pits – or boneyards. This dissertation surveys these interrelated images and examines how they were collected and viewed within private photo albums owned by US soldiers and other agents of empire. This study is the first to delineate a network of circulation and exchange of photographic images among soldiers, photographers, and imperialist actors who travelled to and from the US and its new overseas territories.

The three chapters are centered on key albums and images that have been understudied or absent from previous histories of photography and visual studies of US imperialism. This study demonstrates how private and public narratives of US imperialism and military occupation relied on photographic images that allowed US citizens the ability to "see" the dead bodies and bones of the nation's perceived enemies. It offers a new lens for understanding how private albums and images were collected and used by mainland citizens to display and perpetuate US imperialist visions and ideals.

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Preface

This is a dissertation about war and empire. It offers a critical look at the photographic legacy of US imperialism, colonialism, and military occupations abroad. I want to acknowledge the military service of my grandfather Lewis Berry, who was retired US Air Force; my father Bobby Stricklin, who served in the US Marine Corps; and my brother Joseph, who served in the US Army. I was born in a small military town in North Carolina and raised on stories of war and service to this country. Those stories sparked an early interest for me in United States history and later influenced my decision to study photographs of war. From my family, I learned that history is always complicated and never stops changing.

I also grew up hearing stories of Japan told by my mother and grandmother. I owe so much of who I am to my late grandmother, Junko Nakamura Berry, who immigrated to the US in the 1960s from Japan and had to learn quickly how to adapt as an Asian woman in American society. She was small and mighty and tough as nails. Even though she is gone, I am reminded daily of her strength and humor. She believed that rice crackers and a good book were the solution to any problem, and I have found this to be an eternal truth. This dissertation is dedicated to her.

My art history journey began at Florida State University under the tutelage of my first mentor, Dr. Karen Bearor. Her passion for American Art and encouragement to pursue a graduate degree was my first step down this path. In the fall of 2012 in a course on "Monuments and Memorials," I was assigned chapters from a book titled *Monument Wars* written by Kirk Savage. For that first introduction, I am forever grateful. At Florida State, I was lucky to have the support and encouragement of many professors, including Dr. Adam Jolles and Dr. Paul Neill. I also had the good fortune to learn and grow alongside an incredible cohort of graduate students. Among

those students, I had the special honor of meeting Dr. Amy Bowman-McElhone. I survived that first year of grad school because of her.

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Over the years, I have received generous financial support from many institutions, which have made this work possible. Thank you to the Dietrich School of Arts & Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh, the Friends of Frick Fine Arts, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Smithsonian American Art Museum and Renwick Gallery, Oregon Historical Society, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA). These fellowships and grants allowed me to travel, research, and write this dissertation. I am also grateful for the opportunities I have had to share this research with colleagues in the field. Feedback from my peers has been essential to shaping the ideas and questions of this project. In particular, I want to thank Joseph Hartman and Alejandro Acierto for their support and thoughtful comments on various sections of this dissertation.

I am so grateful for my friends and colleagues at the Smithsonian American Art Museum, including curators John Jacob and Eleanor Harvey and my cohort of 2019-2020 SAAM fellows – Lee Ann, Christine, Olivia, Davida, Dina, Josie, Ana, Caroline, Sarah, Elizabeth, Heather, Faye, Hanna, Kyungso, and Robin. Their support sustained me through the last years of research and writing and have inspired me to enter the museum field. I am also grateful for the support of my family, especially my parents, Bobby and Patty Stricklin. More than anyone they have loved and supported me through this journey. I want to thank my dear friends, Randi Cromer, Hugh Whitaker, and Dominique Young. I could not have done this without their encouragement and friendships. Most of all I want to thank my brilliant and courageous friend, Dr. Marina Tyquiengco. There are no adequate words to describe the love and admiration I have for her. I am continually in awe of her achievements and her commitment to preserve and foster knowledge of Indigenous art and culture. Her friendship is a gift that I cherish deeply. She stood beside me through every step of this journey and this dissertation would not exist without her.

My deepest gratitude goes to my advisor Kirk Savage. It is hard to imagine where my life would be had we not met. I have learned so much from him over the past eight years. Most importantly, Kirk has taught me that life is precious and not to be wasted. He has remained committed to me and this project through my struggles and his own. It has been the greatest honor of my life to be his student.

1.0 Introduction

This dissertation project began with a single photograph of an US sailor sitting on top of a tangled pile of disarticulated Filipino bones (see Figure 4.1). In a morbid balancing act, the man in the photograph crouches over a small pyramid of human skulls, with a skull balanced on top of his head, two more tucked under his arms, and one held in each hand. A jumble of sun-bleached bones and skulls are scattered at his feet. The photograph, located in the archives of the Naval History and Heritage Command (NHHC) in Washington, DC, is one of a dozen similar snapshots featured in the private albums of Frank M. Rainey, a US veteran who lived near the port city of Cavite in the Philippines sometime after the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898. Rainey's albums, which have been disassembled for preservation purposes, contain hundreds of original snapshots depicting sights and events from his life in the Philippines. Featured among his photographs are shocking views of public executions, Filipino dead on the battlefield, and piles of unburied human skulls and bones in a Filipino cemetery. I first viewed Rainey's albums and photographs in 2014 during an exploratory research trip to archives around the nation's capital. After searching for similar images and discovering their frequent inclusion in private albums, I began to question the context of their making and historical import. Ultimately, I pieced together a history that demonstrates how these interrelated genres of morbid images displayed in private albums were fundamental for the visualizing of violence and death at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries during the early years of US imperialism abroad.

1.1 1898, War and Aftermath

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain over control of their remaining colonial territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Following a declaration of war on April 25, thousands of US troops and a swarm of eager journalists arrived swiftly on the shores of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines – armed with both cannons and cameras. The initial conflict on the Caribbean front ended quickly with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, in which Spain transferred its sovereignty of these territories to the US, on December 10, 1898. However, the conflict in the Philippines escalated into the Philippine-American War (1899 – ca. 1913); a lengthy and more brutal guerilla war that continued well into the 20th century.[1] In the years after 1898, the US established military occupations of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, enacting overhauls of the social, political, and cultural institutions that governed the islands' many inhabitants.[2] During this establishment of US imperial rule, photography played a critical role in shaping mainland American ideals and policies overseas, and in asserting an image of global power and authority. Images of the war and the new empire appeared in newspapers, books, and magazines and circulated as postcards, reproductions, and stereographs intended for private view. Family photograph albums that were filled with cheerful, domestic scenes or holiday travel views, now also displayed grim photographs of war and unfamiliar landscapes and peoples. Ubiquitous within

[1] This conflict is commonly known as the Spanish-American War; however, this name negates Cuba's long history of struggle for their independence and many historians have adapted new titles for the war, such as the War of 1898 or the Spanish-Cuban-American War. For more, see Jorge Duany, *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island & in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 1-11.

[2] The terms "colonial" and "imperial" are often used as synonyms, yet there is a difference in their meaning. Colonialism, put simply, is when one country exerts complete control over another country, and imperialism is when one country exerts political and economic dominance over another country. For more, see Krishan Kumar, Colony and Empire, "Colonialism and Imperialism: A Meaningful Distinction?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63(2), (2021): 280-309.

these private albums are photographs of the tremendous death and violence that US soldiers and colonial agents inflicted upon Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans while in the pursuit of US imperialism.

The images discussed in this dissertation include original snapshots and widely sold photomechanical prints that portray scenes of public executions, battlefield death and burials, and snapshots of US soldiers desecrating cemetery burial pits, or boneyards. I survey these interrelated images and examine how they were collected and viewed within private photo albums owned by US soldiers and other agents of empire. This study is the first to delineate a network and exchange of photographic images among soldiers, photographers, and imperialist actors, who travelled to and from the US and its new overseas territories. Each of the three chapters is organized by corresponding types of images and centered on key albums and images that have been understudied or absent from previous histories of photography and visual studies of US imperialism. The first chapter introduces several major albums and examines how images of public executions of Filipino nationalists were collected and displayed in soldiers' albums. The second chapter centers on photographs of battlefield dead and how this visual trope had shifted since the US Civil War, as well as how these images established a framework for visualizing death in US wars fought on foreign shores. The third and final chapter examines the popular practice of US soldiers, journalists, and tourists photographing and ultimately desecrating cemeteries and burial pits located in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines.

This study establishes a framework for understanding how both private and public narratives of US colonialism relied on photographic images that allowed mainland-citizens the ability to "see" the death and "possess" the bones of the nation's perceived enemies. As such, this dissertation offers a new lens for understanding how private albums and images were collected

and used by mainland citizens to perpetuate imperialist visions and ideals.[3] I argue that these images played a critical role in the spread of knowledge about the customs and practices of death and burial on the islands. I also demonstrate how albums were used by US soldiers as dynamic spaces for shaping lasting narratives of war and US hegemony over other peoples and cultures.

This dissertation is not an attempt to review the complex historical accounts of the war or its major military and political figures. However, a brief timeline of events and introductions of several key figures are warranted at the beginning of this study. Sold to the public as a humanitarian crisis by the government and the news media, the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898 was both popular and quickly fought. Tensions had mounted between the US and Spain after the sinking of the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, a tragic event that was blamed on the Spanish as sabotage and used by the media to foment war.[4] Following the public outrage of the *Maine* disaster, President William McKinley (b.1843 – 1901) declared war on April 25, and ten days later, Navy Commadore George Dewey (b.1837 – 1917) sailed to the Philippines and into Manila Bay with a squadron of six ships.[5] Within a matter of hours, Dewey had defeated the Spanish Naval forces led by Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón (b.1839 – 1917), thus effectively ending

[3] In this dissertation, I use variations of the term "US mainland" to describe and define US citizens who lived within the continental US, versus the persons and peoples of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guam, and the Philippines, who were given the title of US non-citizen nationals after 1898. For more on citizenship and US empire, see article IX of the Treaty of Paris of 1898 and Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, and the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 165.

[4] For a concise account of the origins of the war with Spain, including the US *Maine* disaster, see David Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 1-29.

[5] President McKinley served his term as president from 1897 to his assassination in 1901. Despite calling for "no wars of conquest" in his inaugural address on March 4, 1897, a year later McKinley would lead the country into war with Spain. For more, see Louis A. Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 23.

Spain's 300-year occupation of the Philippine Islands.[6] On the Caribbean front, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson (1840 - 1902) led an attack on the capital city of San Juan, Puerto Rico on May 12, and then launched a blockade of San Juan Bay. After withstanding a few Spanish naval counterattacks, US infantry troops landed on the southern side of the island near Guánica on July 25. Under the command of Major General Nelson A. Miles (1839 – 1925), US forces won decisive battles in Yauco, Fajardo, and Guayama.[7] By the end of June in Cuba, troops had landed in the villages of Daiquirí and Siboney, just a few miles east of Santiago de Cuba. On July 1, two decisive land battles were fought in El Caney and San Juan Heights, followed by the naval Battle of Santiago on July 3, which effectively brought Spain's colonial rule in Cuba to an end. By early August the fighting in Cuba and Puerto Rico had ended and the US claimed victory over Spain – a triumph that was celebrated in the States with parades, parties, and a frenzy of patriotic fanfare.

The interpretation of the war as a humanitarian mission to save Cubans from the "brutal" and "monstrous" Spanish is a paradigmatic example of the white-savior complex underpinning all systems of colonialism and colonialist thinking, specifically reflects the history of US foreign policies in Asia, Central and South America, the Middle East, as well as other geographies. The often-overlooked truth is that prior to 1898, generations of Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans had been forming independence movements and fighting wars against Spain for decades, and in some cases centuries. Far from supporting these efforts, the US arrived in the final few months of this struggle to claim victory and assert control. The Cuban War of Independence (1895 – 1898),

[6] This event became known as the Battle of Manila Bay and was hailed as a decisive victory for Dewey and the US. It was commemorated in song, art, private memorabilia, and popular culture. For more, see David Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898*, 95-107.

[7] For a detailed overview of the Puerto Rican Campaign, see Trask, 336-368.

for example, was the third in a series of liberation wars fought against Spain from as early as 1868.[8] This final attempt, begun in 1895, was led by the Cuban poet and national hero José Martí (1853-1895) and the celebrated Cuban Army Generals Antonio Maceo (1845-1896) and Máximo Gómez (1836-1905); Martí and Maceo were both killed during the rebels' invasion of the western provinces. Cuba's participation in their own hard-fought freedom is often obscured by the white imperialist-engine that has driven much of the course of modern history forward.

It is difficult to frame a history of this war and era of US imperialism without mention of Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt (1858 – 1919), who would become president unexpectedly in September of 1901 after McKinley's assassination. During the war, Roosevelt helped form the 1st US Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, nicknamed the "Rough Riders," who were hailed as heroes of the war in Cuba and were showered with the public's attention and admiration. Again, Roosevelt and his achievements in Cuba were only possible because of the efforts of many others, including Cuban forces and soldiers in the segregated regiments of African Americans, known as "Buffalo Soldiers," who fought in the 9th and 10th Cavalry and 24th and 25th Infantry.[9] Many of these men would be sent from Cuba to the Philippines where the fighting continued after 1898.

In January of 1899, the Filipino revolutionary writer and nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo (1869 – 1964) was proclaimed president of the Philippines by the First Philippine

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[8] For a history of the war for independence in Cuba from 1895 to 1898, see John Lawrence Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895-1898*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). Also see, Louis A. Pérez Jr., "Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba," *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (1999): 356-398.

[9] A significant body of scholarship has been written about the segregated African-American regiments that were formed during the Civil War and fought in the Indian Wars, in the war with Spain in 1898, and the conflict in the Philippines. For more on this rich history of service, see Willard Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1975). For a more recent collection of essays, see *Brothers to the Buffalo Soldiers: Perspectives on the African American Militia and Volunteers, 1865–1917*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011). Also see the recent publication, Deborah Willis, *The Black Civil War Soldier A Visual History of Conflict and Citizenship* (New York: New York University Press, 2021).

Republic (1899 – 1901), which was established during the Philippine Revolution (1896 – 1897) against Spain. Aguinaldo and his followers fought to free the Philippines from the yoke of colonial rule, which it had endured for 333 years. A month prior, in December 1898, sovereignty of the Philippines had been transferred from Spain to the US with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the US's conflict with Spain. After signing the Treaty, President McKinley enacted a policy of "Benevolent Assimilation" toward the Philippines, which outlined his colonial agenda for the islands.[10] Essentially, the plan was to extend the scope of the US military government established in Manila to the entire archipelago, to control the islands and its peoples. In early 1899, tensions between the US and the revolutionary First Philippine Republic grew hostile as it became clear that the US would not relinquish their newly acquired islands in the Pacific. Fighting broke out in Manila and new troops were organized and sent across the Pacific to seize control of the Philippines. This conflict would become known as the Philippine-American War, yet at the time it was always called an insurrection or insurgency. This language was a way for the US to assert the perception of a just cause for war; essentially that they were merely suppressing those who resisted the established authority. Today, the war is largely understood to have ended on July 2, 1902. The Philippine Revolutionary Army was dissolved in late -1899 in favor of guerrilla warfare; Aguinaldo was captured by US forces in March of 1901; and finally President Roosevelt proclaimed the war over on July 4th the following year.

However, the fighting did not end with Roosevelt's premature proclamation. As late as 1913, the armed conflict known as the Moro Rebellion continued between American forces and varying groups of the Moro peoples who lived in the Southern islands of the Philippine

[10] See Stuart Creighton Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation:" The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1902, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

archipelago. In the 1970s, noted Filipino historian Renato Constantino wrote extensively on the reexamination of Filipino colonial history, establishing a Filipino nationalist historiography that highlighted centuries of resistance to western colonialism.[11] Much as the Spanish had had a difficult time controlling the Southern islands for centuries, the US faced continued hostility and resistance from the Moro peoples, who like most Filipinos, had desired freedom from colonial rule. This conflict would lead to the bloody Battle of Bud Dajo in 1906, where hundreds of Moro men, women, and children were killed by US forces on the island of Jolo. Photographs of US soldiers posing with the dead of Bud Dajo circulated widely back home, and many of these images were preserved in family albums, an album trend which I address in the second chapter.

1.2 War, Photography, and Album-making

Since the invention of the camera, both amateur and professional photographers have aimed their lenses at the shock and violence of war.[12] While during the Civil War (1861 – 1865) cameras were both cumbersome and costly, by the arrival of war with Spain in 1898, the Kodak craze had revolutionized the field of photography and the print news industry. Historians have often defined this period in US history as shaped by the emergence of so-called "yellow journalism" or sensationalized media. Unquestionably, the anticipation of war stoked the public's

[11] For a concise overview of the history of Filipino resistance to American colonial rule after 1902, see Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From The Spanish Colonization to the Second World War*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 250-280.

[12] Studies on war and photography are numerous and well-researched. For a few broad surveys, see Caroline Brothers, *War and Photography: A Cultural History*, (London: Routledge, 2005) and Anne Tucker, Will Michels, Natalie Zelt, and Jeff Hunt, *War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.)

desire for more and more lurid photographs.[13] Newspapers and magazines published exaggerated and occasionally outright false news stories next to images of purported Spanish atrocities, which helped to sell war to the mainland American public as a humanitarian cause to aid the Spanish colonies in their struggle for independence. Scholarship on the visual culture of this period is often focused on the use of images and photographs as propaganda to showcase the might of the US military and to bolster support for overseas expansionism. Mainland citizens eager to see and know about "Greater America," as the newly expanded nation was being termed in the press, ultimately turned to photographs in their rush to "see" these distant and unfamiliar geographies. At the same time, the growing popularity of affordable handheld cameras and developments in halftone printing enabled the massive spread of images, which were published, sold, and circulated in astonishing numbers across the nation and around the world. This in turn led to the growth of private photograph collections and the sale of more varied and modern photograph albums.

This dissertation examines the photograph album as a key site for meaning-making and the spread of knowledge about the wars and early period of US occupation. Rooted in questions concerning visual strategies and narrative structures, this study explores how albums offered a private space for novel arrangements of images and text, while challenging the conception that albums can be read as straightforward visual objects that reflect a singular narrative of war and imperialism. While my approach favors close visual analyses of individual photographs, I also consider the album as a wholly subjective, yet intelligible object with mutable arrangements of materials and meanings. Albums are powerful and dynamic photographic objects that, I argue, are essential to the history of visualizing US imperialism. The complexity of these albums makes clear

[13] For more on yellow journalism, see W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies,* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001).

the need to look beyond conventional readings of propaganda and war images and instead investigate the myriad, and sometimes strange, ways in which albums were used, constructed, and shared with others. Private albums require a different methodology that is sensitive to the ways photos were used to make highly idiosyncratic meanings by album makers and viewers. The full meaning of a private album often relied on personal narratives told by the album-maker while viewing the photographs. Unlike commercially produced photo histories of the war, private albums expressed the shifting identities of the album-makers as US-mainland citizens, soldiers, sailors, colonizers, colonial agents, veterans, journalists, tourists, and explorers.

War albums have a rich history in the United States going back to the Civil War. In the mid-1860s, scrapbook and album-making were a popular practice among upper and middleclass society. Card albums were used to preserve and display photographs of loved ones away at war, as were portraits of celebrated military leaders and other scenes of war. A large majority of these albums were designed specifically for cabinet cards, which were standardized at 6½ x 4¼ inches and were the leading format for photographic portraits during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[14] After the Civil War, families turned to scrapbooking and album-making to commemorate lost loved ones and the end of the war. Album-making as a subjective act of personal history-making also opened a space for those who struggled to make sense of the war to reflect on the changing political and social landscape of the Reconstruction-era. Yet, the limits of photographic technology at this time meant that Civil War albums were limited in size, format, and availability. Most of these albums were designed with pre-cut slots for inserting standard size

[14] For an examination of how cabinet cards reinforced middle-class Americans' sense of family and national belonging, see John Rohrbach, Erin Kristl Pauwels, Britt Salvesen, and Fernanda Valverde, *Acting Out: Cabinet Cards and the Making of Modern Photography*, (Oakland: University of California Press; Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of American Art), 2020.

cabinet cards or *cartes de visites*, which predetermined the exact placement and number of photos viewable on each page. By 1898, the most popular albums were designed with blank pages open for myriad arrangements, captions, and images sizes.

In recent years, historians have engaged in scholarly discourse of the photograph album, its methods of construction, and its rich history. In her book, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame* (2010), historian Elizabeth Siegel provides a thorough study of albums from the early 1860s to 1888, which she identifies as the beginning of the rise of the snapshot album.[15] In sketching out a historiography of photo albums and their social function, Siegel references Walter Benjamin's 1931 essay "A Short History of Photography," in which he dismisses albums as inconsequential to the history of photography. In contrast, Siegel argues that albums are complex "systems of representation" and invaluable windows onto nineteenth-century society and visual culture. For this dissertation, Siegel provides critical contextual history of the "institution" of the family album, a consideration of the album as an object with distinct practices of making, looking, and display. Her analysis provides a foundation for understanding the social and cultural milieu in which the albums of this dissertation were made and used. She argued that early photo albums existed in the "seemingly private space of the home," which in turn conveyed a sense of belonging to an extended national family.[16] As she elucidates, the popularity of photograph albums paralleled the escalation of the Civil War, when photographic portraits "provided a new and powerful way of preserving memory."[17] This sensation of national-belonging during wartime via album-making and image

[15] Elizabeth Siegel, Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[16] Siegel, Galleries of Friendship and Fame, 3-4.

[17] Ibid., 8.

ownership, which in the 1860s was limited to those who could afford professionally-made photographs, had expanded exponentially by 1898 as photographic images became ubiquitous in American society with the rise of the snapshot album.

In the same vein as Siegel's work, a number of significant studies have been written on family photography and private albums from their initial use and rise in popularity during the Victorian-era to modern day iterations. Most of these studies are quick to point out that the book or album has always been a dominant vehicle for the displaying and viewing of photographs, and is much more ingrained in our lived experiences than viewing photographs on the wall of a gallery or museum. The work of historian Martha Langford, for one, provides a foundation for studying the syncretic nature of personal albums.[18] Langford's approach guides my own investigation, in particular her concept of the "album as collection" which argues that an album serves as a private collection of social, anthropological, historical, and/or biographical importance, displaying a "pattern of knowledge and experience inextricably linked with the self."[19] However, Langford's methodology at times limits the album's capacity as a space for crafting personal histories, instead viewing albums as more passive vehicles of memory rather than active constructions dealing with problems in the present. In their studies, both Siegel and Langford attempt to untangle the highly syncretic nature of personal albums – a daunting task considering the sheer variety of album formats and page designs, as well as the lack of information regarding their makers' intentions. In her book, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (2012), Marianne Hirsch, works to forge a theoretical vocabulary for understanding and unraveling the subjective nature of

[18] See Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

[19] Langford, Suspended Conversations, 63.

family photographs, arguing for the broader importance of studying them in *all* their historical complexity. In other words, the album stands apart from other photographic objects and must be considered from everchanging and kaleidoscopic viewpoints. One argument I hope to make clear throughout this dissertation, is that photographic albums are not passive repositories of images, but dynamic spaces in which personal memories and experiences are actively narrated, reimagined, and given new meanings.

Of the abundant studies on war and photography, few examine the approaches and practices of wartime album-making, and even fewer focus on war albums of this period. One notable exception is the work of German historian Silvan Niedermeier, who has written several articles on Philippine-American War albums located in US military archives. In his 2014 article, "Imperial Narratives: Reading US Soldiers' Photo Albums of the Philippine-American War," he provides a close reading of two albums created by US soldiers with images related to their service in the Philippines.[20] In one album, which I address in the second chapter of this study, Niedermeier draws attention to photographs taken of a soldier standing next to a mass grave of Filipinos, commenting on the popularity of such images in other albums. While Niedermeier's analysis is thoughtful and rich with historical context, it is not comprehensive. In fact, his exploration of the albums' authorship and narrative format raises many questions that this study aims to address. Building on Niedermeier's work, I demonstrate that a more expansive approach and a more varied

[20] See Silvan Niedermeier, "Imperial Narratives: Reading US Soldiers' Photo Albums of the Philippine-American War," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 18, no. 1, (2013), 28-49. Also see Niedermeier's chapter "Colonial Self-positioning: Approaching the Snapshots of an American Woman in the Philippines (1900-1902)" in Ulrike Linder and Dörte Lerp, eds., *New Perspectives on the History of Gender and Empire* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Place, 2108), 115-148.

range of albums yields greater insight into the practice and social function of album-making during this period.

The photographs examined in this dissertation are violent images of war and death; however, they appear in private albums alongside ordinary snapshots of family life that depict everything from domestic scenes and vacation sights to casual portraits of friends, family, and beloved pets. The entire scope of photographs and images produced during this period is vast and richly varied. Yet the wars have been largely forgotten in popular memory and the images remain absent in most histories of photography. This dissertation is a response to that oversight and builds on the growing body of scholarship on the art and visual culture of the 1898 era.[21] A first in-depth study of images of death and burial displayed in albums of this period, it brings to light an important history of the evolving nature of war albums and how they were used by US mainlanders as a space to behold, envision, and perpetuate the deathly mechanisms and practices of US colonialism and imperialism abroad.

1.3 Visualizing Death in "Greater America"

The nation's pursuit of empire in 1898 left a mark on every aspect of American life and culture; to address that history in a single study is an impossible task. While modern history textbooks have largely overlooked the wars and US occupation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, there is a substantial field of academic studies on this period in US history. In the

[21] See for example, Joseph Hartman ed., *Imperial Islands: Art, Architecture and Visual Experience in the US Insular Empire after 1898*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021) and Taína Caragol and Kate Clarke Lemay, "Imperial Visons and Revisions," Bully Pulpit, *Panorama: Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2020), https://doi.org/10.24926/24716839.10096.

field of art history and visual studies, David Brody's *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines* (2010), Bonnie Miller's *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (2011), and Lanny Thompson's *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898* (2010) are three foundational texts that provide a framework for understanding the political, social and symbolic meaning of images during this era.[22]

In *Visualizing American Empire*, Brody breaks new ground in the study of visual culture and its connection to US colonialism. In his introduction, Brody argued that images, more than other forms of communication, provided a space for cultivating dialogues about empire. Throughout the book he surveys a wide range of objects, from home interiors and architecture to photographs and maps, concluding that through these objects US citizens attempted to know, possess, and restructure the Philippines and Filipino culture.[23] While acknowledging that photographs and lithographs were crucial to media coverage of the Philippine-American War, Brody does not offer an examination of how these images helped to shape public perception or dissolve the boundaries between home and "our new possessions" abroad, nor does he bring private photo albums into his discussion.

In *From Liberation to Conquest*, Bonnie Miller examines the shifting media portrayals of US actions during the war and shows how the media capitalized on the public's thirst for drama

[22] See David Brody, Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Bonnie Miller, From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); and Lanny Thompson, Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

[23] Brody, Visualizing American Empire, 1-10.

and spectacle, while adapting to new colonial opportunities.[24] Conducting extensive research, Miller frames much of her analysis on the editors, advertisers, cartoonists, and other media people who shaped the dominant news narrative of the war. Throughout the book, she emphasizes the media's use of triumphalist imagery in depicting military engagements and naval battles – the kind of imagery that is present in nearly every photographic text produced on the war. However, Miller does not spend time examining photographic texts, instead, focusing her visual analysis on popular prints and cartoons. Both Brody and Miller rely on a traditional "photos as propaganda" approach, whereas, my study diverges from this methodology to address objects and images that are absent from their seminal studies.

Despite a great amount of academic research on the subject of US imperialism, the nation's complicated and violent history with colonized peoples and overseas territories – particularly in the Pacific – still rarely features in broader narratives of the United States. Recently however, art historian JoAnne Mancini's 2018 book on art and war in the Pacific has been a critical catalyst for my own development of a framework for thinking through the complex visual processes that take place in and around wars.[25] In what Mancini describes as "the thicket of scholarship that considers the relationships between images and the militarized US pursuit of empire in the 1890s," her assessment is that the common formulation was as such: "images sold war, and war sold images." [26] And it is true, the Spanish-Cuban-American War has long been associated with the emergence of yellow journalism and the use of photographs as propaganda for political, commercial, and

[24] Miller, From Liberation to Conquest, 3-12, 22.

[25] JoAnne Mancini, "The Pacific World and American Art History," in *A Companion to American Art*, edited by John Davis, Jennifer A. Greenhill, and Jason D. LaFountain, (Malden: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2015), 228 - 245.

[26] Mancini, 230 - 237.

ideological interests. Building on the concept that "war sold images," the commercialization of war-related pictures of death is an issue examined at length in this study. But while most art historical scholarship depends heavily on propaganda-themed analyses, my inquiry seeks a deeper understanding of how photographs operated in private and family spaces and for personal meaning-making.

Photography in and of the US occupation of the Philippines has received more attention in recent years as scholars have sought to expand the borders of American art and our understanding of this nation's violent imperial past. Historian Mark Rice has written extensively on the well-known imperialist Dean Conant Worcester (b.1866 – 1924), a man who wielded considerable influence in the Philippines during the early years of occupation, and produced a large archive of photographs taken both before and after the war.[27] In 1888, Worcester participated in a zoological expedition to the Philippines. After the outbreak of war in 1898, he capitalized on that knowledge to market himself as an expert on the "exotic" nature of Filipinos and their culture. Returning to Manila in 1899, Worcester quickly became a key figure in the overhaul of the Spanish imperial regime and an enthusiastic promoter of the government's colonial agendas. In his book, Rice traces the history of Worcester's photographs and their popular reception by the US public. Worcester shared his photographs in public lectures and in his bestselling book, *The Philippine Islands and*

[27] During his time in the Philippines, Worcester took thousands of photographs of Indigenous peoples and their homes, families, villages, work, religious practices, and other scenes across the archipelago. For more on Dean Worcester and the scope of his colonial photography and archive, see Mark Rice's many publications on Worcester, including his book, *Dean Worcester's Fantasy Islands: Photography, Film, and the Colonial Philippines* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2014); his articles, "Dean Worcester's Photographs, American National Identity, and *National Geographic Magazine*," *The Australasian Journal of American Studies* 31, vol. 2 (2012), 42-56; "Colonial Photography Across Empires and Islands," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3 (2011), 1-22; "Dean Worcester's Photographs and American Perceptions of the Philippines," *Education About Asia* 16, vol. 2 (2011), 29-33; and "US Photography in the Philippines Before 1898: The Menage Expedition of 1890-1893," in *History of Photography* 42, vol. 1, (2018), 25-45.

Their People, published in 1898.[28] His colonialist views on the Philippines were disseminated to the public through his books and in popular magazines, such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Life Magazine*, and for the growing readership of *National Geographic Magazine*, founded ten years prior to the war in 1888.[29]

It is important to understand that the albums and photographs discussed in this dissertation were created at the same moment when opportunistic men such as Dean Worcester were actively marketing photographs as the superior way for citizens to see and learn about the Philippine Islands, a place that until the war many US citizens could not locate on a map. Within a year, the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were suddenly part of a new "Greater America" – a phrase as problematic then as it is today. Worcester's photographs remain the most widely recognized and studied colonial photographs from this period; however, he was not the only man to capitalize on the public's voracious desire for pictures of the new empire, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 1 with the publishing enterprise of Henry. H Stratton.

During the Civil War, Americans were confronted with the brutality of war through the work of battlefield photographers like Matthew Brady and Timothy O'Sullivan. But unlike Brady and O'Sullivan's iconic photographs of dead Union and Confederate soldiers, the images discussed in this dissertation, created only a few decades later, exclusively depict the destruction of foreign bodies – first the Spanish and then Filipino "enemies" of war. As such, I employ the term "colonial death" to describe distinct acts of physical violence inflicted upon the bodies of peoples who were

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[28] Dean Conant Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, ltd., 1898.)

[29] For an account of *National Geographic Magazine*'s coverage of the US colonial occupation in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Cuba, see Julie A. Tuason, "The Ideology of Empire in National Geographic Magazine's Coverage of the Philippines, 1898 – 1908," *Geographical Review* 89, No. 1 (1999), 43 – 53.

regarded as either foreign enemies or colonial subjects, mainly the Spanish and Filipinos, as well as Cuban and Puerto Rican prisoners. This dissertation considers images of colonial death as they relate to the broader legacies of racialized violence in the US and mechanisms of death and corporeal control, and examines how such images within family albums aided in the continued sanctioning of death during the occupations. These photographs illustrate a form of imperial privilege; mainly, the capacity of the US public to rationalize or minimize the grim consequences of US militarism abroad – a phenomenon that has largely endured to today.[30]

In her 2017 book, *Body Parts of Empire: Visual Abjection, Filipino Images, and the American Archive*, historian Nerissa Balce writes: "Images of violence and war are relatively straightforward to process; they are hard to look at but easier to analyze – the roles of the protagonists are usually clear and well defined; the actions and outcomes are recognizable, if not predictable."[31] Most of the photographs discussed in this dissertation are straightforward images of death and violence with predictable protagonists, as Balce describes. However, the final chapter looks at images of cemetery tourism and stolen human relics that, while certainly morbid, differ in some ways from the immediate horror of bodies strewn on a battlefield or hanging from a scaffold. Balce goes on to ask, "But what about other images, other imperial relics and artifacts, where the violence is subtle or implied, or where the violence is of another form?[32] In her book, Balce lays the foundation for a broader iconography of violence in literature and visual culture of the period

[30] See "Imperial Privilege: On War and Violence Near and Far," Rashna Batliwala Singh and Peter Matthews Wright, *Common Dreams*, October 14, 2016, https://www.commondreams.org/views/2016/10/14/imperial-privilege-war-and-violence-near-and-far.

[31] Nerissa Balce, Body Parts of Empire Visual Abjection, Filipino Images, and the American Archive, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 4.

[32] Balce, Body Parts of Empire, 4.

by analyzing the continuities around images and literary descriptions of corpses and more subtle representations of colonial violence depicted in the racialization and sexualization of Filipino bodies.[33] Following Balce's critical framework, this study brings together three genres of images related in their subject of death and violence, and more importantly, demonstrates the inherent violence of all colonial images and archives.

This study does not attempt to offer a new definition of US imperialism; instead, it seeks to interpret a tangled piece of its violent history. It is important to note the foundational thinkers on this subject who have laid the groundwork for studies of art and visual culture of the US imperium. For one, Puerto Rican philosopher Nelson Maldonado-Torres has written essential texts that outline the distinction between "colonialism" and "coloniality" – the former being a historical and political event and the latter being a "pattern of power" that effects every aspect of our lived experience. In his essay, titled "On the Coloniality of Being," he writes:

> Coloniality is different from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire. Coloniality, instead, refers to *long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism*, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day. [34]

In each of the island territories – Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines – the visualizing of death for a mainland American audience functioned as part of the "long-standing patterns of power" that emerged as a result of US colonialism, and thus defined the coloniality of being for Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos then and today. As Maldonado-Torres' goes on to point out in his essay, coloniality is kept alive in books, images, and other cultural patterns. How, then, are such patterns

[33] Ibid.
[34] Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On the Coloniality of Being," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007), 4.

of coloniality broken? That is just one of the monumental problems that scholars, artists, and cultural leaders must grapple with today, seen activated in numerous ways through decolonization efforts across museums and institutions around the world. The question set before this study is – How might we begin to 'de-colonize' a specific genre or set of colonial images within the larger scope of US imperialism – particularly one that has been buried across disparate archives and institutions? A first step is to bring together related images that clearly share a problematic history and status within the archive.

1.4 Chapter Overviews

During the course of my research for this study, I located and studied over fifty albums containing hundreds of snapshots and prints in various iterations and arrangements, from libraries and archives scattered across the US. Some of the most exemplary albums chosen for this dissertation are located in California public archives, specifically in the special collections of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), the University of Southern California (USC), and at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County (NHMLAC) in their Seaver Center for Western History Research (Seaver Center).[35] On the East Coast, the Independence Seaport Museum in Philadelphia has a significant holding of Spanish-Cuban-American and Philippine-American War objects and photographs. Elsewhere, in Pennsylvania, I visited the US Army Heritage and Education Center (USAHEC) in

[35] Many of these albums belonged to American soldiers who served in the Philippines. During the war, military and civilian transport ships sailed frequently from San Francisco to the Philippines and typically stopped in Hawaii and or China on the long journey to Manila. This is likely how so many soldiers' letters and photograph albums ended up in archives and museums across California.

Carlisle, and the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall & Museum in Pittsburgh. In Washington D.C., I viewed albums located at the Naval History and Heritage Command (NHHC), Library of Congress (LOC), Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives (NAA), and the National Archives (NARA). At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, I viewed materials at the Bentley Historical Library, Special Collections, and Clements Library. I also visited the John Hay Library at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. While there are many more albums that would fit into the categories and chapters of this study, I have selected works that exemplify the broader scope of material existing in archives, museums, and private collections across the country.

Each chapter of this dissertation centers on a group of images and albums that depict three interrelated subjects of death and violence: public executions, battlefield dead, and unburied skeletal remains. The first chapter provides a close analysis of a number of soldiers' albums containing snapshots and published images of public executions by hanging, primarily of Filipino persons captured and killed during the Philippine-American War and its aftermath. Each album or case study presented in this chapter was created as a singular object for individual or family use and viewership; however, brought together and examined collectively, they epitomize a nationwide practice that is previously unstudied in the history of album-making, yet critical to the development of US imperialist photography. In this chapter, I argue that the popularity of such images and their prominence within personal and family albums reveals their significance in the broader visual history of war and empire, and merits the need for this study. I further argue that these shocking and exploitive images were used to punish and criminalize the Black and Brown bodies of the US's perceived enemies in unprecedented ways, and I examine how this violence was normalized and perpetuated, predominately by US soldiers, through the collection and display of images in private albums.

In the second chapter, I examine photographic images of battlefield death and the burial of "enemy" war dead, mainly Filipino nationalists, in the aftermath of 1898. This analysis includes a selection of popularly sold prints and reproductions, and well as original photographs taken by private citizens and soldiers and displayed within snapshot albums, including several albums discussed in the previous chapter. I provide context with a discussion of Civil War photography as a visual precedent for photographing battlefield dead, and I trace the visual tropes of this war to the conflict of 1898. In this chapter, I address several iconic photographs of the war that were reproduced over and over again in popular magazines, books, and other printed media. This chapter also demonstrates how language regarding burials on and off the battlefield was often used to vilify Filipino revolutionaries and their sacrifices for freedom.

The final chapter examines a macabre photographic practice that emerged in the aftermath of 1898, in which US soldiers and tourists desecrated island cemeteries by plundering and photographing the boneyards located within, where thousands of skeletal remains were deposited into large heaps after removal from their original graves. I demonstrate how this morbid photographic activity was normalized and perpetuated through personal snapshots taken and collected as souvenirs or "trophies" and by the widespread commodification of boneyard images through books, popular magazines, and newspapers, as well as stereographs and postcards. I examine the ways in which boneyard images functioned to satisfy US desires for lurid pictures of the new empire, and also, how they shaped the enforcement of new US policies regarding the business of death and burial on the islands. I aim to show the inherent violence of such images and how their making involved the disturbing of persons – both living and dead.

The photographs examined in this dissertation are related in subject matter as depictions of the death and violence that occurred during this war and colonial occupation. While the

photographs of public executions and war dead display an overt violence common to images of war, the boneyard photographs portray more subtle acts of colonial violence.

1.5 Regarding the Living: Ethics and the Archive

The research and writing of this dissertation required prolonged periods of looking at photographs of death and dying, violence and war, burials and graves, and the obscene disregard for human remains. Looking at and grappling with such horrific images of human suffering begs a question of ethical responsibility. Why study photographs of persons being executed or lying dead on a battlefield, particularly when the people in the images are exclusively Black, Indigenous, and/or People of Color of Southeast Asian, Filipino, Cuban, or Puerto Rican descent? Why should historians exert effort into analyzing such violent and racialized images, and if so, to what end? Or Phrased another way, *how* do we responsibly study this material?

In her seminal text *On Photography,* Susan Sontag recalled the first time she saw pictures of the horrors of the Holocaust, and asked the question, "What good was served by seeing them?"[36] For her, seeing such brutal photographs constituted needless exposure to traumatic images. In a similar vein, French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann denounced what he called the "absurd cult of the archival image" and refused to include historical documentary footage of the Holocaust in his celebrated film, *Shoah* (1985). Instead, Lanzmann relied exclusively on his interviews with survivors and witnesses and frequent visits to the physical sites where the horrors of the Holocaust occurred. Other historians have argued that studying photographs of human suffering and

[36] Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

exploitation only prolongs the misery of the people who suffered, often under the racist policies and practices inflicted upon them by the cruel mechanisms of colonialism and imperialism. Violence visualized through images is often for the purpose of reinforcing a notion of superiority and the outcome of an extreme power imbalance.[37] Those who create and own the photos have power over the people dead and brutalized in the images. It is problematic to ignore or brush aside the historical creation and modern existence of such photographs, and their pervasive presence in colonial archives.

Against this deliberate rejection of looking, in her book, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (2010), journalist and historian Susie Linfield makes a powerful argument *for* the importance of looking at images of political violence and trauma as a way to learn how to *see* the people in them.[38] Linfield weighs the critique of violent images from Sontag to Roland Barthes in *Camera Lucida*, and John Berger's analysis of Don McCullin's Vietnam War photographs, ultimately reasoning that to make sense of our violent world, we must not look away from suffering. In fact, she determines that we must look at and into "the cruel radiance of what is," a phrase borrowed from James Agee's text in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941) and defined as something difficult to see that we must try "to perceive simply." She reasons that to look away allows for forgetting; I would add that it also permits a false perception of a particular past or event. One goal of history is to view the whole of something, and not only the unproblematic parts. Linfield's impassioned argument and sincere appeal for looking at and not

[37] For more, see Christophe Busch, "Bonding Images: Photography and Film as Acts of Perpetration," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 12, Iss. 2, (2018), 54-83.

[38] Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

away from images of human trauma has served as a touchstone for me during the research and writing of this dissertation.

For those whose families, relatives, friends, and personal histories are tied to this tragic colonial past, I respect and support the choice to look away from such painful images. For the many of us who have benefitted from systems of colonialism and other historical injustices toward Black, Brown, and other Persons of Color, I encourage the thoughtful examining and grappling with historical or contemporary acts of violence upon others, even when it is hard to do. We look to remember and honor those who suffered and died unjustly, whose names have been lost to history. We look to gain an understanding of the past, so that we might build a more inclusive future.

This dissertation is a study in observing images that reveal too-long ignored injustices lurking in this nation's past – injustices that inform the present and future. The paternalistic and racist rhetoric used to define and characterize the many diverse groups of peoples in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines stemmed from deep-rooted systems of racial prejudice, political opportunism, and the desire for US expansion – which imperialists saw as the extension of Manifest Destiny abroad. The images discussed in this dissertation are documents that expose the many ways that non-white bodies have been brutalized and put to death by systems of racism and prejudice, especially under the auspices of US colonialism and imperialism in the aftermath of 1898. In many ways, album-makers tried to make sense of this brutalization through their albums by incorporating images of violence into personal and national frameworks that enabled the album makers to live with their own experience of coloniality.

2.0 Gallows of Empire: Public Executions in the Philippines

On March 30, 1900, US military officials in the Philippines executed two Filipino citizens, Antonio Morales and Faustino Gonzales, by hanging them to death from a wooden gallows constructed in front of the church in San Carlos, a small town located in the Pangasanin Province on the island of Luzon. Morales and Faustino were accused of banditry and murder, and they were captured, tried and sentenced to death by an US-led military court, amidst the ongoing war against the First Philippine Republic for control of the islands. This double, military execution was reportedly witnessed by a thousand people, including local Filipino leaders, priests, and the residents of San Carlos and surrounding villages, as well as US soldiers, colonial officials, correspondents, and of course, several photographers to capture the event for eager viewers back home.[39] In newspapers across the country, the execution was hailed as the "first legal execution" under US rule in the Philippines, alongside numerous, vivid reports from persons whom witnessed the execution firsthand. "Two nooses dangling from a cross beam told the story," wrote A. G. Eames, a correspondent for *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, in his detailed retelling of the men's crimes, trial, and final moments before their death.[40] To illustrate his story, Eames included six photographs of the execution, documenting each stage of the gruesome process from "the march to the gallows" to the final "ordering of the bodies cut down." (Figure 2.1). The death of Morales and Gonzales sparked an already growing public interest and debate in the US, regarding the

[39] According to multiple newspaper articles, the execution was supervised by US Army Colonel Jacob H. Smith of the 17th Infantry Division. See "Uncle Sam's Justice Overtakes Murderous Ladrones of Luzon," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 21, 1900, 6.

[40] A. G. Eames, "First American Military Execution in the Philippine Islands," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 27, 1900, 26.

methods and morals of executions authorized and carried out by the US military in the former Spanish colonies of the Philippines, Cuba, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

This chapter provides a close analysis of a selection of exemplary US soldiers' albums containing photographic images and views of public executions by hanging, primarily of Filipino persons captured and killed during the Philippine-American War. Each album or case study presented in this chapter was created as a singular object for individual or family use and viewership; however, brought together and examined collectively, they epitomize a nationwide practice, previously unstudied within the history of album-making and the development of US imperialist photography. The popularity of such images and their prominence within personal albums reveals their significance in the broader visual history of war and empire, and merits the need for this study. I argue that these shocking and exploitive images were used to punish and criminalize the Black and Brown bodies of the US's perceived enemies in unprecedented ways, and I examine how this violence was normalized and perpetuated, predominately by US soldiers, through the collection and display of images in private albums. This chapter also delves into public debates about executions in the Philippines and how they informed private album-making practices. These albums and images are difficult-to-view objects, both in the sense that they are located in museums, archives, and library collections across the US, and that they require thoughtful analysis to understand the problematic nature of their production and use – both past and present.

The images discussed in this chapter, and throughout this dissertation, are a mixture of original snapshots, gelatin silver prints, photogravures, halftone prints and other reproductions, including images sold as boxed sets or in small bound books. Where possible I identify the known or likely owner, photographer, or publisher of each image and albums discussed; however, many

questions remain on the matter. Advancements in photographic reproduction processes coincided with the expansion of US colonialism and imperialism. They provided soldiers, sailors, and journalists the ability to document all aspects of the war, extensively, and to market the widespread replication of those views. As the war with Spain ended, the public's attention turned toward the brutal guerrilla war being fought in the Philippines and the rooting of US imperialist ideals and policies in each of the territories. Above all else, photographs served as the medium through which mainland Americans came to understand and participate in the nation's expanding overseas empire.

Photographic images of the execution of Filipino nationalists at the hands of US soldiers, I argue, have a central place in the history of US imperialism – a history tethered to the brutal mechanisms of death used to punish, criminalize, and destroy the Black and Brown bodies of the nation's perceived enemies and opponents to US rule. With the aid of photography, the executed bodies of marginalized, subjugated, and disenfranchised BIPOC from the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico were made into objects of turn of the century amusement and war relics for predominately white American audiences. Examining how these images were used to perpetuate white imperialist narratives of the war is a critical step toward understanding their latent potency within existing imperial archives and museum spaces today.

2.1 Witness to an Execution: Harry J. Kizer Album, ca. 1901 – 1904

The first album discussed in this chapter belonged to US army infantryman Harry J. Kizer (b. 1878 – 1951), whose papers are held at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County's

Seaver Center for Western History Research.[41] Born in Tipton, Iowa, on August 20, 1878, Kizer enlisted in the army on March 12, 1901 at the age of 22, and served as a private in the 13th Infantry Regiment during the Philippine-American War.[42] He was discharged from the army on March 11, 1904. He married a year later in 1905, and worked as a bricklayer for most of his life, eventually moving from Iowa to California sometime in the early 1930s.[43] He died of a stroke on April 12, 1951 in a veterans hospital in Long Beach, California, and he is buried in Los Angeles National Cemetery, only a few miles from where his album is housed at the Seaver Center.[44] Kizer's album is hand constructed and fashioned with dark-gray covers and leaves that are bound together with string. This is a distinct feature from other albums discussed throughout this study, which are mostly commercially-made. A decorative scripted title – "Scenes in the Philippines" – appears on the front cover or top leave, and the album's images are mounted on both rectos and versos with no interleaving. The majority of the album is comprised of 86 halftone prints, with a few original photographs, other reproductions, and several portraits of soldiers mounted onto the last two leaves of the album. The 86 halftone prints, which are numbered and captioned within a surrounding white border, were likely purchased as a set, and are mounted two to a page, purposefully rearranged from their original sequence.[45]

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[41] Harry J. Kizer Collection, ca. 1898, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. The entire collection consists of one handmade album and one folder of postcards depicting scenes of California and other West Coast locales.

[42] U.S. Army, *Register of Enlistments, 1798-1914*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, 81 rolls, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[43] Kizer's father, Harvey, was born in California and worked in the cement contracting business, according to his obituary, see "Harvey Kizer Services Set," *Des Moines Tribune*, November 1, 1938, 13. Harry registered for the draft during World War I and II, but there is no record of him having served in either war.

[44] National Cemetery Administration, *U.S. Veterans' Gravesites, ca. 1775-2019*, database online, Ancestry.com.

[45] The recto of the final leaf has photographs attached to it, which means the album may be missing a back cover or at some point may have contained additional leaves. It is also possible that the album was created by a family member;

Kizer added a handwritten caption on one the 86 halftone prints; an image of a double execution by hanging of two Filipino men captured by US soldiers during the war (Figure 2.2). The photograph's composition centers on the menacing structure of the wooden scaffold, and portrays the final moments of the men's execution, after their bodies had dropped from the release of the trap doors beneath their feet on the high platform. The soldiers, or rather executioners, mingle about the scene. Some watch the event, like spectators at a sport, as others prepare to cut the bodies down from their noose and place them in the two wooden coffins visible beneath the gallows stairs. A group of at least eight soldiers stand on the platform, raised over 14 feet in the air and designed with a beamed arch for securing the noose as well as the trap doors that "sprung" open, forcing the condemned individual to fall, either breaking their neck instantly or slowly strangling them to death. Dressed in white clothes, the Filipino captives were bound by their hands, legs, and feet, and died with cloth bags placed over their heads. The photograph reveals little of the surrounding scene; however, more soldiers and small groups of spectators are visible in the distance, acting as witnesses to the gruesome tableau.

Kizer's caption begins at the top left edge of the white border surrounding the image, wrapping around the right edge of the photo, and reads: "This is the hanging I witnessed in Bangan, Luzon." Adding further emphasis to this statement, the words are partially underlined, as if to stress the truth of his claim, or perhaps, as a mark of pride at having "been there" as an observer to this particular execution, the likes of which occurred often during the war. This personalized, declarative caption is significant for two reasons. First, it suggests that witnessing this execution was an experience that Kizer marked as especially meaningful, above the many other sights and

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however, the first-person narrative-style of the captions indicate that Kizer himself likely owned and constructed the album.

events that he certainly witnessed while serving in the Philippines. There are no personalized captions, for instance, on images of soldiers on the firing lines or battlefields, on military encampments, or other scenes of troop life or on any views of Manila or surrounding area, which are featured throughout the album. Secondly, the caption reveals that Kizer perceived his role as a "witness" as warranting special citation in his personal record of the war, again distinguishing it from other memories. The declarative caption and image together would have provided a compelling visual aid for Kizer when sharing the album with family and friends or in reliving the war during private use.[46]

The shift from military to civilian rule of the Philippines occurred in gradual phases beginning in 1901 with the appointment of William Howard Taft as Civil Governor of the Philippines.[47] During this transition period, a new court system was established and led by US judges and law officials, who would take over rulings on capital punishment that had previously been led by an all-military commission. During this period, wooden gallows were constructed across the archipelago and trials and executions of Filipino prisoners continued for decades under US authority. Reports on the exact crimes that warranted execution varied over the years; however, murder, rape, theft, and other serious charges were often cited in newspapers and official reports as grounds for a sentence of execution.

Below Kizer's caption, the image's printed description reads: "No. 4 - Hanging Filipinos for the Murder of an American Soldier." It is worth noting that there are no historical records to

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[46] This is one of three other handwritten captions all on the last two pages of the album and on images not from the Stratton set. Other images in the album depict aggressive actions and violence toward Filipinos, for example, an obviously posed photo on the last leave shows an American soldier on horseback, pointing a gun at the head of an unarmed Filipino man standing in the foreground, and another image shows three soldiers posed with bayoneted guns and a Filipino prisoner, with a caption claiming: "we got him."

[47] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 112, 173-174.

verify this statement. The photograph is not signed or dated to a specific time or place, thus making it impossible to know who these men were and why they were executed. However, newspaper reports confirm that executions were ordered specifically for the crime of "murdering American soldiers." One example, reported in December of 1901, involved the death by hanging of Filipino army comandante, Timote Dahlan and his lieutenant, Manuel Gonzales.[48] They were charged and court martialed for taking prisoner and killing five US soldiers who were guarding the house of the "presidente of the Puebla of San Miguel de Mayamo, province of Bulacan," which is located in the Central Luzon region with the capital city of Malolos. Their deaths were approved by General Adna Chaffee, who served in Cuba in 1898 and as military governor of the Philippines (after Otis and MacArthur) from July 1901 to October 1902.

The details laid out in this report expressed the prevailing racial prejudice toward Filipino people common during this period. The report fixated on the fact that Dahlan offered five pesos for the lives of the US soldiers and instructed Gonzales to "do with them what we are accustomed to do." General Chaffee, upon passing his guilty verdict, said: "…by promising reward for the execution of his inhuman command aggravates his offense and marks the accused as one so lost to the better instincts of his race as to preclude an appeal to clemency."[49] This type of paternalistic rhetoric was used widely in the print and visual media of the day, spurring the fallacious beliefs that Filipino peoples were violent or savage by nature because of their race, as Chaffee plainly suggests in his statement. It was, in short, a method of characterizing Filipinos as less than civilized or less than human to justify US imperialist agendas.

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[48] "Death Sentence for Filipinos," *The Leavenworth Times*, December 25, 1901, 1.

[49] Ibid.

Kizer enlisted in the military in March of 1901, so it is possible he witnessed this specific execution or at least heard details about it from other soldiers stationed in and around Luzon at the time. It is equally possible that the photograph in Kizer's album depicts an earlier or entirely different execution, and that Kizer did not witness the execution portrayed in the image as he claimed. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that he did witness an execution at some point during his service given the frequency with which they occurred and the emphatic statement in his caption. As with Morales and F. Gonzales in 1900, Dahlan and M. Gonzales were captured, tried, and sentenced by US military officials without a jury of their peers as would be the right of any US-mainland citizen. With Manila and surrounding cities under their control, US military leaders gained command over the courts and legal systems and with it the power to decide what crimes warranted execution. Unlike dying on the battlefield, which was understood as the inevitable result of war, this type of war-related death was presented to the public as necessary and just acts of criminal punishment and part of the broader "civilizing" mission of the occupation. This notion was reinforced by military leaders in the press and with photographs and soldiers' accounts.

It is clear from his caption that Kizer wanted to highlight the gallows photograph, emphasizing his personal knowledge and observation of the execution. He also chose to surround the execution scene with seemingly innocuous pictures of the cultivation of rice, a staple food in the Philippines, and of Filipino children at play in front of thatched-roof homes (Figure 2.3). When the album is open to the 16th and 17th leaves of the album, the execution appears at top left with the image of rice cultivation fixed directly below. On the opposite leave, Kizer included two photographs of Filipino children posing in front of their homes or "farm houses" as described in the image captions. These homes were constructed of bamboo stalks and leaves, and placed on stilts at the edge of watery rice fields and other bodies of water, such as rivers and lakes. The three

surrounding photographs are from the same boxed series, which I will address in the next section of this chapter; however, it is significant to note here that Kizer mounted these four prints out of numbered order (#4 – execution, #48 – Cultivating Rice," #69 – "Farm House and Children, and #98 – Farm House in the Rice Fields"). The arrangement suggests Kizer's intention to group these images together, perhaps for their visual comparison. There is a visual parallel between the wooden construction of the gallows and the bamboo "farm houses" which were also raised from the ground and accessed by a ladder. Viewing the structures side by side, it becomes plain to see the difference in their construction and use. The gallows are a mechanism for death, strongly built and secured, while the homes meant for living seem unsteadily built and held up on spindly bamboo legs.

Other pairings of images within the album suggest that Kizer was thoughtful in his arrangement, attempting in some way to curate a unique narrative, different from the set's pre-arranged order – a narrative no doubt based on his visual preferences and undoubtably influenced by other popular portrayals of the war. For instance, the album opens on the first leave with two images: "No. 138 – Ready for the Enemy" and "No. 30 – Friendly Filipinos Seeking Protection Inside the American Lines" (Figure 2.4). The first photograph shows an imposing line of US sharpshooters tucked into a trench with their guns aimed at the "enemy," who were presumably just outside of the picture's frame. The second image depicts US soldiers leading a group of primarily Filipino women and children down a road toward "safety" behind the US lines. Juxtaposing these two images at the beginning of the album suggests an understanding, however naïve or misguided, of who the "enemy" was, mainly the rebels or Filipino *insurrectos*, and that there was a distinction between Filipinos who were perceived as the enemy and those who merited protection from the US (i.e., women and children). This positioning of different groups or actors in the war – US soldiers, Filipino "enemies" and Filipino "protectees" – is significant; it worked

to simplify both the purpose of the war and the justification for imperialism, which was grounded in the erroneous principles of McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation thinking. The deep-rootedness of those principles in mainland American society is made manifest in Kizer's decision to pair these images at the start of his war album.

The 86 photographic prints displayed in Kizer's album were produced and sold by the Chattanooga-based publisher, Henry Hill Stratton, in boxed sets and bound volumes, variably titled: "Scenes in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands and Scenes Relating to Soldiers," from which Kizer's own title is clearly abbreviated.[50] It is worth expounding here on the Stratton set as his images circulated widely, especially among soldiers, and appear in multiple albums examined in this dissertation.

2.2 Selling the Gallows: Henry H. Stratton's War Photographs

From around 1900 to mid-1920, Henry Hill Stratton (April 1, 1855 – December 7, 1925), a wealthy and industrious entrepreneur from Chattanooga, Tennessee, published and sold a vast quantity of postcards, photogravures, halftone print sets, bound volumes, and other photographic ephemera depicting scenes related to the war in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.[51] Primary sources on Stratton and his publishing career are scarce, and there have been no studies detailing

[50] There are unconfirmed sources that Stratton's sets were gifted to soldiers upon their return from fighting overseas; however, it is more likely that sets were readily available for soldiers to purchase onboard transport ships and or in port cities, including San Francisco and Manila.

[51] In public city directories from 1900 to the mid-1910s Stratton listed numerous variations of his occupation, including "post cards," "military specialties," "whol (sic) stationary," and "traveling salesman." In the 1910 census, his listed profession was "Proprietor" of a "Publishing Co." By the 1920s, his listed occupation was "real estate."

his photographic enterprise, which lasted for nearly two decades. It is clear that sometime around 1900, he started selling boxed sets of 166 to 188 halftone photographic prints (5 x 7 inches) in different iterations and formats, and with various titles that begin with: "Scenes in the Philippines."[52]

Over the next decade, Stratton published and sold many versions and editions of his "Scenes in the Philippines" print set, adding and reordering images over the years, and eventually expanding the geographic scope of the set to include scenes of Japan and China. Every version of the set began with the Philippines, and the execution image, which Kizer captioned in his album, remained the fourth image in every known version of the boxed set and bound volume. Many of Stratton's images are imprinted with "H. H. Stratton, Chattanooga, Tenn. S. F. Cali," however his exclusive ownership of the images is indeterminate, as federal copyright laws in the 1900s regarding photographs were muddled at best.[53] Throughout this dissertation, I refer to this entire enterprise as "the Stratton set" although it is comprised of photographs from multiple photographers and was sold in many different iterations.

While Stratton's life is shrouded in some mystery, there is substantial evidence that he did travel to the Philippines and Hawaii, and possibly to Cuba and Puerto Rico. According to newspaper reports, in January 1903, Stratton left Chattanooga for San Francisco on his way to the Philippines, where he spent over a year, returning to San Francisco via Honolulu onboard the

[52] The Independence Seaport Museum in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania holds a copy of Stratton's box set, titled "Scenes in the Philippines Cuba, California and the Hawaiian Islands." This title appears to be an earlier version, with later editions marketed more specifically to soldiers. Other copies of the set are located in the collections of the Rubenstein Library at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, the Denver Public Library in Denver, Colorado, and the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to name a few. His individual prints and bound volumes are located in institution, libraries, and private collections across the US.

[53] Federal copyright laws had not been revised since 1790, until in 1909, when Roosevelt signed into law a new federal act.

Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamship *China* on February 15, 1904.[54] This suggests that Stratton may have taken many of the Philippine photographs himself or employed photographers who were already there creating images. While there is no record of his travelling to the islands again, in February of 1919, *The Chattanooga News* reported that an associate of his, named C. A. Dagley, was traveling to Cuba "on a business mission" presumably for Stratton, and possibly to secure more photographs for his enterprise.[55] By this time, with the US finally entering WWI a year prior in 1918, Stratton had expanded his publishing business to include the sale of Soldier's Records and discharge certificates, which were commemorative posters marketed to returning soldiers and designed with blank spaces for photos and "recording important events in your army life."[56] Advertisements confirm that Stratton continued to sell his soldier's records and certificates as late as 1922; when he died in 1925, the bulk of his estate went to his surviving sisters, as Stratton never married or had children.

Ever the opportunist, Stratton made his fortune selling war pictures and solders' ephemera from the Philippine-American War to the Mexican Revolution (c. 1910 – 1920) and through World War I (1914 – 1918).[57] He employed sales agents across the country to hawk his photographic

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[54] There are some discrepancies in this timeline, which is based solely on newspaper reports. *The Chattanooga News* on January 3, 1903 stated that "He [Stratton] left for San Francisco, where he will remain some time." Then in June 1904, the same newspaper reported he had returned from the Philippines "where he spent 18 months." However, *The San Francisco Call* listed Stratton's name as a passenger onboard a ship returning from Honolulu on February 15, 1904.

[55] "Going to Cuba," *The Chattanooga News*, February 11, 1919, 5.

[56] Stratton placed advertisements for his Soldier's Records and certificates across the US, see *The Alamance Gleaner*, (Graham North Carolina), February 15, 1923, 7 and *Angola Herald* (Angola, Indiana), May 10, 1918, 7.

[57] According to a few brief newspaper announcements, Stratton made several trips to San Antonio, Texas from 1917 to 1919. It is probable that he was in Texas to sell pictures and post cards for the ongoing Mexican Revolution. I have identified several images taken during the Philippine-American War, which he later sold as pictures of the revolution in Mexico.

wares, promising great commissions for agents with his collection of "best-selling war pictures." At times he employed unscrupulous selling methods, included hiring young "pleasant-looking" women to sell his pictures to camps full of male soldiers. For example, directly upon his return from the Philippines in 1904, he placed an advertisement in *The Washington Post*, seeking: "3 or 4 Young Ladies of modest and pleasant appearance to sell pictures to the soldiers at Camp No. 1, Manassas maneuver grounds;" and in another search for agents in 1919, he noted in his ad: "lady agents especially successful."[58] These advertisements and other clippings, suggest that Stratton's marketing model centered on selling images directly to soldiers, like Harry Kizer, in army camps and on bases and other venues where large numbers of soldiers congregated.

For example, there is evidence to suggest that Stratton (or one of his agents) sold the bound volumes onboard transport ships that carried soldiers to and from the Philippines. Purchased from on online auction site, in my private collection I have a copy of Stratton's bound volume of "Scenes in the Philippines" with two handwritten inscriptions included on the first page.[59] On the recto, the inscription reads: "Presented to Margaret Toney (sic), Christmas 1904." On the verso, it reads: "Brought (sic) from Manila on transport Sheridan by Guy Russell, soldier, of Troop H, Sixth Cavalry U.S.A. Semper Fidelis." With a dark brown binding (8 by 5 ¾ inches) and a red scripted title, this edition contains 204 halftone prints in similar numbered order, with several additions from the boxed sets. There is no title page or published date, but the handwritten caption dates the volume to c. 1904. Built in 1892 and purchased by the Army in 1898, the USAT *Sheridan* was a transport ship used during the wars, making numerous voyages carrying thousands of soldiers to

[58] "Wanted," *The Washington Post*, September 4, 1904, 2

[59] The full title of this copy is Scenes in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands. And Scenes Relating to Soldiers.

and from the US to the Philippines. The Sixth Cavalry served in Cuba during 1898, and then in China during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and from China were sent to the Philippines from 1900 – 1903.[60] The companies were stationed around Manila and Luzon, performing patrols, military escorts, enforcements, and other duties until April 1903 when the unit was redeployed to Presidio de San Francisco, California.[61] It is likely that the volume exchanged hands on the *Sheridan* upon Russell's return from the Philippines in 1903, and was given as a gift the next year. This volume provides a noteworthy example of how Stratton's images circulated widely among soldiers, family and friends, and across oceans.

Several images in Stratton's set are marked with a copyright for San Francisco photographer, Perley Fremont Rockett (1871 – 1950), the official photographer of the 20th Kansas Regiment of Volunteers.[62] Born on May 6, 1871 in New York, Rockett's designation as an official regimental photographer was unique; it is unclear precisely how he obtained the role. However, it is known that he spent at least eight months in the Philippines with the 20th Kansas Reg., from late-1898 to July 1899. In a letter to the editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle* printed on July 10, 1899, Rockett wrote of his return to the US, and voiced ardent support of then-Military Governor Otis' tactical strategies in the Philippines, declaring: "Actually the war is over, and the rebels

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[60] The unit was assigned to Brig. Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry division and served in Cuba alongside Roosevelt's "Rough Riders." In China, the 3rd Squadron participated in the storming of Peking. Interestingly, Adna Chaffee began his military career with the Sixth Cavalry in 1861 during the Civil War. See, Lt. Col. William H. Carter, *From York Town to Santiago with the Sixth US Cavalry*, (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1900).

[61] Newspaper and military records confirm there was a man named Guy Russell who served in Troop F, Sixth Cavalry, until at least 1913.

[62] I have identified at least three additional photographs as Rockett's in Stratton's collection which do not bear his copyright. And one photograph titled, "No. 46 – Shell from the American Artillery Sets Fire to Pasig," which does bears his name and copyright; however, another name has been marked out below. In my research, I discovered that this photograph was actually taken by photographer J. D. Givens, and is published in his book of similar size and title, which was sold as late as 1914. As well, several photographs in Givens' book have Rockett's copyright, suggesting that Stratton, Rockett, and Givens possibly worked or sold images together or were acquainted in some manner.

thoroughly understand that they are whipped."[63] General Otis was appointed Military-Governor from August 28, 1898 to May 5, 1900, and oversaw many of the early US atrocities inflicted on Filipinos during the war, including methods of torture, such as the "water cure" and executions.[64] It was under Otis' command that Morales and Gonzales were executed. Clearly supporting the new execution policies in the Philippines, Rockett wrote in his letter: "One of the best things Otis ever did was to start the civil courts, manned by Filipinos, directed by Americans."[65] Rockett's views on the use of executions and other US-approved methods of "criminal" punishment in the Philippines aligned with the imperialist positions espoused by other vocal supporters of the military's unethical tactics of war.

From 1899 to 1901, Rockett seized upon his momentary fame as an official photographer of the war and travelled around the Midwest giving illustrated lectures, titled: "On the Firing Line with a Camera." Rockett used a stereopticon or "magic lantern" to project his photographs for rapt audiences packed into high school auditoriums, church reception halls, theatres, and opera houses across Kansas and Missouri. Newspapers reported that Rockett took over 1200 pictures while in the Philippines, with one Topeka paper boasting that: "Rockett has 'shot' more Filipinos than any other man who followed the fortunes of war in the Philippines."[66] The advertisements for Rockett's lectures claimed that he was wounded multiple times and captured twice by Filipino insurgents. The papers promised attendees that they would hear all about his "many narrow escapes;"

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[63] P. F. Rockett, "Otis and His Campaign," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1899, 5.

[64] For more on this see, McCallus, Chapter 3.

[65] Ibid.

[66] *Topeka State Journal*, (Topeka, Kansas) March 31, 1900, 5. In another paper, his lecture was advertised as informative and entertaining, and recommend to "take the children." See *Lawrence Daily Journal*, (Lawrence, Kansas) November 18, 1899.

however, reports varied as to how many times he was actually captured and wounded.[67] One newspaper in Kansas City reported that he drew a crowd of more that sixteen hundred people, and after a sold-out show in Iola, Kansas, he was asked to repeat the lecture a second night.[68] Another review included an endorsement by celebrated Brigadier-General Frederick "Fighting Fred" Funston, who praised Rockett's apparent fearlessness while taking photographs under fire.[69]

A highlight for many viewers were Rockett's dramatic sunset photographs and one image taken at night of a burning Filipino village, set aflame by US troops; this photograph was later exhibited at MoMA in New York City in 1951 in an exhibition titled, "Forgotten Photographers," curated by then-director Edward Steichen with the assistance of photographer Homer Page.[70] Rockett's night photographs also appear in the Stratton set, as well as several other publications from the period. The "Burning of Manila" photograph, for instance, is No. 10 in the Stratton volume discussed previously.

Where or how Rockett and Stratton first met is unclear, as is the full nature of their business arrangement; however, the early appearance of Rockett's images in the Stratton series suggests they were acquainted from the onset of Stratton's publishing enterprise. It is plausible that Rockett sold some or all of his images to Stratton after he ended his popular lecture series, or allowed him

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[67] *The Belleville Telescope*, (Belleville, Kansas) February 15, 1900. These accounts vary with some reporting that Rockett was shot twice and captured once, other that he was shot once and captured twice, etc.

[68] *The Iola Weekly Record*, (Iola, Kansas) December 8, 1899, 1.

[69] *The Olathe Mirror*, (Olathe, Kansas) February 22, 1900, 2.

[70] *The Coffeyville Daily Journal*, (Coffeyville, Kansas) March 3, 1900. Quote: "The Oriental sunset scenes were masterpieces of photography. The pictures of fire at night are seldom equaled." Three of Rockett's photographs were exhibited in this show at MoMA in 1951, see press release, "Forgotten Photographers: Exhibition of prints from the Library of Congress to go on view," The Museum of Modern Art, NYC, August 24, 1951. The show included 125 prints selected by then-director Edward Steichen and photographer Homer Page. The three Rockett photographs exhibited were: *Streets of Manila, Burning Manila, Midnight, Troops Firing in Jungles (Philippine Insurrection)* taken from 1898-1899.

to reproduce certain images for an arranged fee. Prior to the emergence of Stratton's volumes, Rockett had published his own photographic book in 1899 titled, "Our Boys in the Philippines." [71] This book contains no execution images, and so it stands to reason that the No. 4 execution image from Stratton's set was not taken by Rockett. However, his volume does include photographs of US soldiers burying Filipino dead on the battlefield, and the same images are also included in the Stratton set and in albums that I examine in the following chapter.

2.3 UCLA "Deckle Photones" Album, ca. 1899 – 1902

The same execution of two unidentified Filipino men that was pictured in Stratton's set, which Kizer claimed to have witnessed, was photographed by at least one other soldier. Notably, this individual also chose to display his photographs of the execution in a private war album. Created by an unidentified US soldier, the album contains 23 original photographic prints taken in the Philippines, as well as 104 halftone reproductions from the Stratton set; it is located in special collections at the Charles E. Young Research Library at UCLA.[72] At the front of the album is a group portrait of company E of the 5th US Army Infantry Division, which indicates that the soldier who owned and created the album likely served with this unit. Prominently featured at the beginning of the album is series of five large gelatin silver photographic prints – two of the images depict the aforementioned double hanging, and three images portray a second double hanging that

[71] See full digitized copy at University of California. Perley Fremont Rockett, *Our Boys in the Philippines, A Pictorial History of the War and General Views of the Philippines*, (San Francisco: P. Fremont Rockett, 1899).
[72] This album was purchased in 2015 from Between the Covers Rare Books with funds from the Southeast Asian Studies bibliographer, Jade Alburo. See, *Album of Philippine-American War photographs*, between 1899 and 1902, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

took place in the city of Urdaneta in the province of Pangasinan in the Philippines. This album provides a critical framework for understanding the broader context in which these photographs were made, and how such views of colonial death were internalized and perpetuated by US soldiers through the practice of album-making. From here, I refer to this photographic album as the Deckle Photones album, or simply the Deckle album, in reference to the album's manufacturer and cover title.

In 1901, the New York-based manufacturing company, F. L. Schafuss & Co., placed an advertisement in *The American Stationer* announcing their newest line of albums for unmounted photographs, named the Deckle Photone Albums. "Each album is bound with floss silk and has a handsomely embossed cover of dark grey," the company's announcement boasted.[73] The advert also declared, "The 'Deckle Photones' are the 'Edition de Luxe' for the Kodaker," and the only deckled edge album available on the market. F. L. Schafuss, who already produced the successful "Star Album" line of products, sold their new Deckle albums through catalogs and in specialty camera stores and stationary departments across the country, in a variety of sizes that ranged in price from 45 to 75 cents.[74] The UCLA Deckle album is the largest album sold from the series (11 by 13 inches), with the title, Deckle Photones, embossed on the cover and encircled by laurel branches. As the advert claimed, the album's leaves consist of a Scotch gray paper of "the finest quality." With the larger 11 by 13 inch format, album-makers could feature more images and larger photographs on each page, which is seen in this album. The original snapshots are mounted on

[73] "Deckle Photones," *The American Stationer* XLIX, No. 17, April 27, 1901, 4. In 1903, the company was doing well enough to open a second office in Boston. They manufactured several lines of photograph albums, postal card albums, tally cards, art calendars, etc. They patented an album design with "hidden stubs" in 1907, and sold one of the first designs of "lay flat" albums.

[74] In 1901, the Deckle line was introduced with two sizes, the 8x10 and 11x13 inches. Each album came in a box, and other sizes were added to the line in later years.

rectos and versos of the first five leaves, with one displaying five snapshots together. The Stratton prints are also mounted on rectos and versos of the last thirteen leaves, four to a page, doubling the display of images per page compared to Kizer's album.

On the verso of the 3rd leaf, two 5 by 8 inch gelatin silver photographic prints depicting a double hanging in the Philippines are mounted askew with the caption: "The hanging of two natives in Bangan – Luzon" written in brown ink in the upper right corner of the page (Figure 2.5). The photographs show a viewpoint almost identical to that of the Stratton image, indicating that at least two photographers were present for the execution and positioned close together. There are slight differences between the scenes, exposing the movement of the crowd and the activity of the soldiers performing the execution. While Stratton's picture depicts the final moments of the execution after the bodies had dropped, the first photograph in the Deckle album shows the two men standing on the gallows platform, still alive and awaiting the spring of the trapdoor beneath their feet. Four uniformed US soldiers surround the men on the platform, preparing the men for the fatal drop. One soldier is seen standing just behind the two prisoners with his elbow resting against the platform railing, in a jarringly casual stance given the grimness of the scene. Below the gallows stairs, the same wooden coffins are visible, awaiting their soon to be occupants.

The second photograph in the Deckle album depicts an even more disturbing scene, the moment mid-drop when the two men's bodies are blurred in motion as they fall to their deaths, strangled by the noose (Figure 2.6). The two blurred bodies of the falling men appear in glaring contrast to an otherwise motionless scene, as the soldiers positioned around the gallows stand at attention perfectly still for the camera. From a contemporary viewpoint, the blurred image of the Filipino men and their inability to remain still for the picture is an evocative conveyance of the total absence of agency for these individuals, who lacked control not only over their nation's

sovereignty, but also their own deaths. Indeed, that lack of agency extended well beyond their death through such photographs taken for soldiers to possess and display as war relics. Endlessly suspended between life and death, the camera provided a means for these men to be viewed and owned as 'objects' – their bodies mounted in albums as mere props forever trapped within a white imperialist narrative of the war.

On the opposite recto, a sequence of three photographs of a different double hanging are featured with the caption: "Hanging two prisoners at Urdaneta Pangasinan Luzon" (Figure 2.7). The first two images of the sequence are aligned one above another on the right side of the page (Figure 2.8). However confronted with a lack of space, the album-maker mounted one photograph sideways on the left edge of the page, forcing the viewer to turn the album to finish reading the narrative. The sequence begins with the photograph at top right depicting the Filipino prisoners on their walk to the gallows. At the center of the image, two soldiers march with bayoneted rifles on their shoulders alongside a worn foot path leading out of a two-storied, barrack-shaped structure. The high wooden platform of the gallows is shown on the right, partially out of view, while the prisoners' dressed in white clothes are barely visible, surrounded by a group of uniformed soldiers ushering them up the gallows steps. In the following photographs, it is evident that the photographer has changed his position, moving closer to the gallows and centering the platform within his view. Armed soldiers mounted on horseback observe the execution, positioned in the background near a tall barn-shaped structure with a pitched roof. Two additional Filipino men dressed in white tunics stand on the platform of the gallows, likely Catholic priests who would have given last rites to the prisoners. A large crowd of people encircle the gallows – spectators to witness the enforcement of "justice" under US colonial rule.

The specific details of this Urdaneta execution, as well as the names of the hanged men, remain unknown. With unanswered questions regarding so many of these executions, it is necessary to seek out other sources to contextualize the political circumstances and public attitudes around which these photographs and executions occurred. Following the execution of Morales and Gonzales in April 1900, state and regional newspapers across the US circulated the following report from DC, detailing the War Department's new execution policy in the Philippines:

> The execution of Morales and Gonzales, the Philippine leaders, it is said at the war department, marks the inauguration of a new policy in the Philippines. This is the execution of the death sentence by order of the military officer in command in the cases of persons, natives or others, convicted and sentenced by military commissions organized under the rules of war. [75]

The brief report goes on to provide assurances to readers that General Otis acted "entirely on his own responsibility" and "within his full authority" under the rules of war, as legal officers in the War Department had previously established that the "insurrection" in the Philippines amounted to "a state of war."[76] This public declaration followed a series of scathing reports of the military's mistreatment and even mutilation of Filipino prisoners of war. It also coincided with public debate over the possibility of a court martial for General Fred Funston for capturing two Filipino nationalists and hanging them in a village square without a trial, as a "warning" to other villagers or revolutionaries who might aid their cause.[77]

Returning to the case of Morales and Gonzales, it is critical to parse the use of the words "insurrection" and "legal" in reference to the war and executions. Labelling the Philippine-

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[75] "A New Philippine Policy – Death Penalty to be Inflicted on Brigands and Guerrillas," *The Pentagraph* (Bloomington, Illinois), April 02, 1900, 1.

[76] There were some military officers and politicians in Washington who criticized Otis' new execution policy, fearing that it would jeopardize the lives of US prisoners of war held by the Filipino forces.

[77] "Funston's Drastic Measures," *Haskell County Clipper* (Sublette, Kansas), April 27, 1900, 3.

American War as an insurrection, and thus Filipino nationalists as *insurrectos* or rebels, was a calculated maneuver that allowed legal leeway for certain laws and policies to be enacted. It also served as another way to obscure the fact that Aguinaldo and the First Philippine Republic were fighting for independence from yet another foreign imperial invader – the United States. An insurrection by definition is an "uprising against an authority or government," which presupposed that the Philippines already "belonged" to the US based on the terms of the Treaty of Paris by which Spain sold the islands for a sum of twenty million dollars. Based on this agreement, the government and the press labelled the war an insurrection, essentially a "rebel" uprising against the US. This allowed for the use of certain political and military actions, such as enforcing martial law over the islands, which General MacArthur. Jr. declared in December of 1900.

2.4 Unending Death: The UCSB "Gallows" Album, ca. 1900 – 1910

Many execution photographs discussed in this dissertation, and others I viewed during my research, are of a similar format and composition to the Stratton halftone or the snapshots seen in the Deckle album – often varying in size and depicting different executions that took place across Luzon, but remaining within the same general style and narrative sequence. Conversely, some photographers and album-makers used these execution images and the unrestricted space of the album page to experiment with unusual combinations of images, the addition of personal captions, as seen with the Deckle and Kizer albums. In one unique case, an unknown photographer created a composite image using an execution photograph, and displayed it in a war album now located at

the UCSB Library Special Research Collections.[78] Since the photographer and album-maker's name is unknown, I refer to this work as the UCSB Gallows album or simply the Gallows album (Figure 2.9).

The UCSB Gallows album contains 80 photographic prints, mostly black and white snapshots with a few hand-colored photomechanical prints. The first seventy images depict scenes from the Philippines and the last ten are images of Japan. Included among the Philippine scenes are 10 photographs depicting 3 different executions by hanging that occurred roughly between 1900 and 1910. This album contains more gallows photography than any other album surveyed during my research. Constructed with dark grey covers and white leaves, the album measures 11 by 10 inches and is bound together with green string. The images are mounted 3-4 to a leaf (with the exception of one that contains 5 images), and only on the rectos, likely done because the leaves are of a thinner quality paper than standard commercially-made albums of this time. There are very few captions included. The other Philippine photographs in the album depict various street scenes, houses and buildings, US military vessels, groups of Filipino women and children, agricultural production, military barracks, rivers and bridges, carabao drawn carts – mainly standard views taken in the Philippines during this period.

However, on the 11th recto of the album is a curious and rare composite view of two photographs – a familiar scene of a double hanging overlaid on a ordinary landscape view in the Philippines (Figure 2.10). Upon closer inspection the overlaid gallows image used to create this composite is the exact same image as the 3rd photo of the Urdaneta hanging from the Deckle Photones album. The same Filipino priests are visible at the top of the image, as well as the pitched

[78] *Philippines and Japan photograph album, SC 907*, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, c. 1900-1910.

roof of the barn-like structure in the background and the same flag pole is seen at left. This indicates that multiple photographers may have been present for this execution or one photographer made multiple exposures of the same photographic plate, via the method devised by Sir Francis Galton in the 1880s in his attempt to study and define physiognomic characteristics of criminality with composite portraits.[79] In this highly unusual composite landscape, a grim scene of a double hanging of two Filipino nationalists is combined with a fairly unremarkable view of a grassy field located in front of a few thatched-roof buildings in the distance, scattered among some trees.

By manipulating the original execution image to create an imagined scene, the photographer further objectified the death of these Filipino nationalists for display in his personal narrative of the war. In the composite image, the Urdaneta gallows are made to look as if transported to a previously empty field near an unnamed Filipino village. With the aid of photographic manipulation, the gallows are transformed into a moveable object, conceivably capable of being placed within any scene or landscape imaginable, albeit if only within the album's pages.[80] This is one example of how album-makers experimented not only with different sequences and narratives of individual images, but also attempted to insert images of the gallows into entirely new spaces.

After the composite image on the 14th verso, a series of five original snapshots depicting a triple execution are mounted on a single leaf (see Figure 2.11 and 2.12). Following a now established sequence from march to the gallows to the fatal drop, the five images depict various

[79] See Joshua Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images: The Photography of Bertillon, Galton, and Marey*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

[80] There are two additional photographs on the same page that appear to be burial scenes; however, it is difficult to determine the exact context without captions.

stages of the same execution, with no captions offering information about the location of the execution. Four of the images are small 4 by 4 inch square snapshots that were taken at some distance from the gallows. The top left photograph is slightly larger in size, and offers a closer view of the scene from after the bodies have dropped through the trap doors.

Of note here is the top right image, which does not show the gallows, but instead depicts the surrounding crowd of spectators to the execution. The crowd comprised mostly of Filipinos is seen formed into a straight and orderly line, under the watchful eye of a US soldier in the foreground. Returning to A. G. Eames' description of the Morales and Gonzales execution published in *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, he described the shape of the crowd at this execution as follows:

> Three companies of soldiers dressed in buff and blue stood in three sides of a square around the plaza, tossed their rifles lightly from hand to hand at the command, took open order and stared furtively under their helmet visors at a wooden structure that seemed just about completed in the center of the square. Crowds or *hombres* with their senoras and senoritas gathered under the big tree in front of the town hall and filled the side of the quadrangle left vacant by the soldiers. [81]

The square-shaped crowd formation that Eames described corresponds with scenes from other execution photographs published at this time, as well as earlier images of public hangings that took place in the United States throughout the nineteenth century.[82] This is a small, but significant detail as the executions were highly public affairs meant to showcase the "civil" orderliness and discipline of the US military, as opposed to the "uncivil" behavior and practices of the Filipino peoples and Aguinaldo's army. Controlling how and where the Filipino crowd could watch the

[81] Eames, *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 27, 1900, 26.

[82] In 1890, the first use of the electric chair in New York marked a shift in public perception of hangings as an ethical method of capital punishment, and state-sponsored hangings saw a steady decline in the next century.

execution of their own men was just another way the US military asserted their dominance over the populace. And for an American audience back home, the orderliness of the scene reinforced the perception that the executions were conducted in a civil and genteel manner, and not as gross abuses of power or violations of societal norms.

On the following verso in the Gallows album is mounted yet another series of execution photographs, in this case a sequence of four cropped snapshots, depicting another double hanging at an unknown location in the Philippines (Figure 2.13 and 2.14). Each photo measures roughly 3.5 by 3.5 inches, and has possibly been cut from larger prints, as figures look cropped at the edges of each image. The photos are mounted in a square grid on the center of the page, following a similar narrative layout as the previous page, with the top left image and bottom two images centered on the gallows, and the top right image featuring the crowd of observers – again presented as an orderly line of Filipino viewers. In this photo, a crooked entrance arch is seen in the background, indicating that this execution may have occurred at a military encampment or possibly near a graveyard, where such signs were often used. A group of Filipino children stand in the foreground watching the scene, with one child's head noticeably turned backwards looking at the orderly row of Filipino men, dressed like soldiers in matching uniforms and wide-brimmed hats, who were possibly captured prisoners of war or Filipinos working for the US authorities. The atypical number and variety of execution photographs in this single album suggests that the album owner was most likely a soldier and conceivably a person tasked with the duty of performing such executions. At the very least, it is clear that the gallows photographs held great significance for the album-maker, who gave them ample space within his album, woven through his personal narrative of the war.

2.5 Samuel M. Shera Album, ca. 1900 – 1906

The final album in this chapter on gallows photography is attributed to US infantryman and avid photographer, Samuel Morton Shera (b. 1877 – 1947). Shera was born in Ward, Indiana on February 4, 1877, to his father, James Shera, a Civil War veteran who fought for the Union with the 68th Indiana Infantry Regiment.[83] On December 13, 1898, a 21-year-old Shera followed in his father's footsteps and enlisted in the army as a private in Company C of the celebrated 4th US Infantry Regiment that participated in the Battle of El Caney and assisted in the occupation of Santiago de Cuba earlier that year.[84] Shera served with the 4th Infantry for three years while stationed in the Philippines and worked in the Quartermaster Department at San Francisco de Malabón near Cavite. He was discharged from service on December 12, 1901.[85] After his discharge, Shera remained in the Philippines and started a photography business based in Manila. According to an announcement in the *Jamestown Press* in 1902, Shera maintained a lucrative business selling photo prints, postcards and other ephemera; at the time he was 26 years old.[86] He

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[83] See James Shera's obituary, *The Advance Hustler* (Advance, Indiana), November 20, 1919, 3.

[84] *Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1798-1914*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, 81 rolls, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The *Lebanon Patriot* of Lebanon, Indiana published a series of Shera's letters received by his father James from 1899 - 1901. See "Philippine Letters," *Lebanon Patriot*, October 12, 1899, 1; "Samuel Shera Writes of the Effect of Lawton's Death Upon the War in the Philippines," February 8, 1900, 1; "A Few Skirmishes," January 18, 1900, 1; "Samuel Shera Gives a Soldier's Description of the Philippines," April 4, 1901, 5. In one letter Shera described how he took a few "biblical pictures" from a Filipino's bamboo shack, which he sent home to his father. He explained that the hole in one of the pictures was from a stray bullet from his unit.

[85] In April 1901, Shera was stationed in the Quartermaster department at S. F. Malabon. See, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), *Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments, June 1821 - December 1916*, Microfilm Serial, M665, Roll: 50, Civil War Pensions Index, June 24, 1927. Shera died of an apparent heart attack while driving his car to Palm Springs.

[86] "Announcement," *Jamestown Press*, (Jamestown, Rhode Island), Friday September 26, 1902. The short announcement stated: "He [Shera] is now engaged in the photography business at San Francisco, De Malabon, twenty miles from Manila, and is doing a fine business." For a collection of Shera's postcards and various correspondence, see Evangelina E. Lewis Photographic Postcard Collection of the Philippine Islands, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

spent the next 22 years selling photographs in the Philippines, and eventually returned to the States around 1923.[87] Later in life, he settled in California, near Santa Cruz, where he died on January 6, 1947. His photo album and other photographic material related to his life and business are held in Library Special Collections at the Charles E. Young Research Library at UCLA.[88]

Shera's album contains 98 gelatin silver photographic prints, each approximately 12 x 18 centimeters, mounted on rectos and versos of 50 leaves of heavy, dark-colored album paper (Figure 2.15). The album measures 18 x 27 centimeters as is bound in dark brown cloth covers and interleaved with sheets of glassine guard tissue. Every photograph is captioned and numbered within the frame of the picture and a few are also signed with "Shera."[89] The photographs depict a wide range of scenes, including fourteen images of the military base at Cavite, eight views of a smaller base at Olongapo, and many popular sights of Manila, including the Postigo Gate, Santa Lucia Gate, Santa Cruz Bridge, Calle Real, Manila Cathedral, and San Agustín Church; it also contains photographs of carabaos, crop harvests, volcanoes, cock fighting, men of the "Negritos" tribes, and various Filipino village scenes. Shera's album also includes a photograph of the Massacre at Bud Dajo, which I discuss in the next chapter.

On the 18th leaf of Shera's album is a photograph of an execution, captioned "Hanging De La Cruz S. F. Malabon" (Figure 2.16). This photograph, likely taken by Shera during his tour with the 4th Infantry, is noteworthy for its location as a meaningful site and symbol of the Philippine

[87] A passport application shows that Shera left Manila on March 25 onboard the *SS President Cleveland*, and traveled to Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Japan for roughly 8 months before returning to the U.S.

[88] See Samuel M. Shera, Photograph album from the early years of the American colonization of the Philippines, between 1900 and 1906, Album 349, Photograph Album Collection (Collection 94) in Library Special Collections at the Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

[89] The album was manufactured by Heinn Co. of Milwaukee, Wisconsin and is labelled as stock number 604.

Revolution against Spain, which preceded the US war in 1898. Located southwest of Manila in the Province of Cavite, San Francisco de Malabón, as it was known at the time, held symbolic significance for Filipino revolutionaries, as the site of the first attack in Cavite during the short-lived Kawit revolt staged by revolutionaries on August 31, 1896. A few days later, Aguinaldo marched his army to the town of Imus to engage the Spanish colonial forces in what would become known as the Battle of Imus, the first major battle of the Philippine Revolution (1896-1898).[90] Despite Aguinaldo's issuing of the Philippine Declaration of Independence on June 12, 1898, as previously mentioned, the US did not recognize Philippine independence and turned on Aguinaldo and his forces, who were fighting to maintain control over the islands. The city was besieged by US troops during the Cavite Campaign of the war, in which General Lawton and other US forces swept through towns south of Manila in October 1899.[91]

The site of San Francisco de Malabón also held religious significance to a Filipino audience. Located in the *plaza* or town square, the St. Francis of Assisi Parish Church, commonly called the General Trias Church or the Church of San Francisco de Malabón, is visible in the background of Shera's photograph. The parish, which was erected in 1611 during the Spanish colonial period, is one of the oldest Catholic churches in the Cavite region.[92] The attached convent building is the location where a local Malabón marching band practiced the music of the Philippine national anthem, "Lupang Hinirang," before performing the song on June 12 during the Philippine Declaration of Independence.[93] JoAnn Mancini argues that there was potent symbolism in images

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[90] See Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, (Quezon City: Tala Publishing Service, 1975), 10.

[91] Linn, The Philippine War, 1899-1902, 120 – 142.

[92] Ronald E. Dolan, *Philippines: A Country Study*, 4th edition, (Washington, D.C: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1993), 100-106.

[93] "Dateline 1898: Countdown to Independence," *Filipinas* 15, no. 170 (June 2006), 38-40.

of US soldiers "toppling" catholic buildings, landscapes and objects as a means of diminishing the sovereignty of the Catholic church, which held great power in the Philippines. Likewise, a photograph of US soldiers executing a Filipino prisoner on a gallows constructed in front of the Church of San Francisco de Malabón would be a powerful message of US dominance over Filipino sovereignty. Another remarkable detail of Shera's photograph is the inclusion of another photographer within the frame. Standing to Shera's right and positioned closer to the gallows, a second photographer is depicted looking down at a camera in his hands. This suggests that multiple photographers were often present at these executions, a fact supported by the varied collection of gallows images discussed in this chapter.

2.6 Other Mechanisms of Death and Torture Under U.S. Occupation

A final disturbing photograph in Shera's album, captioned "Giving the Watercure [sic]," shows a group of three US soldiers demonstrating the "water cure" – a method of torture more commonly known as water boarding, which was used on captured Filipino soldiers during the war (Figure 2.17).[94] Shera's photograph of US soldiers "giving the water cure" and others like it circulated widely in private photo collections and spurred a national debate about the morality and use of torture during war times. Despite military regulations prohibiting the use of torture during war, its practice occurred early in the war, initially focused in the central Luzon region, but by

[94] For more see, Katrin Dauenhauer, *The Shadow of Torture: Debating US Transgressions in Military Interventions, 1899-2008*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2015), 313; and W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Civilizing Torture: An American Tradition*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 155 – 180.

early 1901 had spread across the archipelago.[95] The "water cure" was the most common method of torture used on Filipino prisoners, whereby water was poured down the mouth and nose to create the sensation of drowning. As seen in Shera's photograph, one soldier holds a bar between the victim's teeth to keep his mouth open, while another soldier pours water from a cup down his throat. A third man holds a rope binding the victim's hands and feet together to restrict his movement. The victim's hat is shown on the ground by his side, and a large tub of water is shown to the left of the scene. Considering the carefully arranged scene, Shera's photograph was likely staged to demonstrate the war torture technique. Analogous photographs documenting this form of torture circulated widely among soldiers, including a version reproduced in the Stratton set and other slim volumes. These photographs reveal variations of the practice with some images showing as many as eight soldiers holding down a single Filipino prisoner of war. Most of these photographs were staged scenes, like Shera's, meant to demonstrate the practice for a US audience.

MIT historian Christopher Capozzola writes in his 2014 online essay, "Photography & Power in the Colonial Philippines," that photographs of the water cure were not published in the US during the war and that the practice was viewed primarily as cartoons and illustrations, most notably a cartoon that appeared on the cover of *Life* magazine in 1902.[96] The cover illustration is captioned, "Those pious Yankees can't throw stones at us anymore," and depicts three US soldiers administering the water torture with "U. S. Army" written on the bucket. A group of men in uniforms representing various European nations watch from the background. The obvious message

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[95] Christopher J. Einolf, *America in the Philippines, 1899-1902. The First Torture Scandal,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 235.

[96] Christopher Capozzola, "Photography & Power in the Colonial Philippines - The U.S. Conquest and Occupation (1898-1902)," Online essay published for *Visualizing Cultures* at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and presented on MIT OpenCourseWare. The *Life* cover is from Vol. 39 published on May 22, 1902.

was that America acted no better than European imperialists, who were often condemned for their cruelty. This 1902 illustration signified a growing public debate about atrocities committed in the Philippines, during the last official year of the war. It is possible that this negative public attention was among the many motivating factors for Roosevelt to declare the war 'ended" two months later in July.

Historian Paul Kramer discussed the use of the water cure in his seminal book on the Philippines, *The Blood of Government* (2006).[97] He surmised that "the scale of its practice and the frequency of death remain difficult if not impossible to establish."[98] Writing again in an article for the *New Yorker* in 2008, Kramer outlined his analysis of the use of the water cure by US soldiers in the Philippines, the military's response to reports of atrocities committed abroad, and the public debate it stirred in early 1902.[99] As Kramer suggests, prior to 1902 the public had limited knowledge of the atrocities of war, due in part to the Army's intense censorship of the press. However, the publication of an anti-imperialist pamphlet *"Marked Severities" in Philippine Warfare* written by Moorfield Storey (b. 1845-1929), leader of the Anti-Imperialist League and fellow League member and lawyer Julian Codman (b. 1870-1932) coincided with a Senate investigation from January to June 1902 which brought further public attention to the issue.[100] Defenders of the Philippine occupation and various news outlets maintained that the use of the

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[97] Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 140-142, 150. Also see Kramer's essay "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War," *Diplomatic History* 30, No. 2., 2006, 169-210; and Brundage, *Civilizing Torture*, 176-200.

[98] Kramer, 140.

[99] Paul Kramer, "The Water Cure," *New Yorker* February 25, 2008, 38-43.

[100] Kramer, 39.

water cure and other atrocities were rare; and that if these tortures occurred, they were justified based on the racial argument that Filipino guerilla soldiers were "savage" and did not obey the "civilized" standards of modern warfare.

A related form of torture practiced by US soldiers was known as "the rope cure" – where prisoners were hung by the neck from a rope for a period of time, choking but not necessarily killing them. As with the water cure, the practice of "rope curing" went largely unpunished by the War department, and those who were caught received minor punishments, such as fines or reprimands. In 1902, *The Courier-Journal*, a Louisville, Kentucky newspaper reported that the War Department had issued reprimands to two soldiers of the 27th Volunteer Infantry for "torture by causing natives to be hanged by the neck for 10 seconds."[101] The rope cure technique was also discussed in the above mentioned Senate investigation in 1902 and received moderate attention in the press.[102] One soldier, a John Loughran who served in the Philippines, described the torture as more "effective" than the water cure and testified to the senate committee that he had "seen the rope cure administered with good effect many times."[103] While death was not the aim of the torture, one newspaper acknowledged, "Of course if the victim should have a weak heart, he might die of shock[…]"[104] The water cure and the rope cure are both mock forms of execution that tortured victims with the trauma of possible death by drowning or strangulation, and if taken too far would surely lead to death.

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[101] "Officers Who Have Been Tried," *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky) April 17, 1902, 4.

[102] See "The Rope Cure Described," *Tucson Citizen*, May 16, 1902, 1; "Rope Cure," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 25, 1902, 16; and "The Rope Cure, This New Filipino Torture is Said to be Worse than the Water Cure," *The Ohio County News*, May 21, 1902, 4.

[103] "Rope Cure," *The Pittsburgh Press*, 16.

[104] "The Rope Cure Described," *Tucson Citizen*, 1.

While Capozzola and Kramer are correct in their historical analysis of the water cure as a method of torture that went relatively unnoticed by the broader public until 1902, my research demonstrates that staged photographs of the practice were already circulating among soldiers prior to 1902. In fact, this study confirms that at least one water cure image was being sold widely among soldiers and collected for display in private albums. A halftone print titled "No. 7 – The Water Cure" is included in Stratton's "Scenes in the Philippines" set, which as previously mentioned, were sold directly to soldiers as early as 1900. Again demonstrating the broader argument of this dissertation that while mass media and private album imagery often overlapped, there were many differences as well. In this case, a photograph deemed too controversial for printing except as an illustration in the press had a market for soldiers many of whom desired such photographs for their private albums.

While death by hanging was the favored method of execution for the US colonial administration, the garrote machine also played a critical role in the debate and imagery surrounding executions and death in the new empire. The garrote device was used as the primary method of execution in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico during the Spanish colonial period. An article published in the *Sioux City Journal* in 1900, titled "Garrote vs. Gallows," revealed that "A discussion of the ethics of capital punishment is the latest development of expansion."[105] The newspaper noted that a number of condemned criminals in Puerto Rico were "put to death by garroting, the established form of execution there during the Spanish rule."[106] The device typically

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[105] "Garrote vs. Gallows," *Sioux City Journal*, April 17, 1900, 4. See also, "Merits of the Garrote," *The Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1900, 1. For one of the earliest US newspaper accounts of the garrote, see "Spanish Garrote, Relic of Modern Barbarism Unearthed from an Old Havana Prison," *The Record* (California), August 3, 1899, 8.

[106] Ibid. Another report from Cuba in 1904 claimed that "the first legal execution since the Spanish regime" occurred when two "bandits" were garroted in a provincial jail. See "Bandits Garroted," *The Times Recorder* (Ohio), May 5, 1904, 6; However, garroting had taken place in Havana previously, see "Double Garroting in Havana," *The Pittsburgh Press*, November 10, 1901, 37.

consisted of a steel collar that encircled the neck and a device that applied pressure until the victim was strangled; sometimes a screw was located at the back of the neck to pierce the victim's head at the base of the brain. The Sioux city paper argued that while many American citizens perceived the garrote to be a cruel form of execution, the gallows offered a no less grisly method of death. "There is nothing especially aesthetic about the scaffold, the rope and the trap," the editorial surmised.[107] Nevertheless, a prevailing public sentiment developed that the garrote was a "barbaric" and Spanish method of execution and the gallows represented a more "civilized" method of US death; the garrote was officially abolished in the Philippines in September of 1902.[108]

Photographs of staged garrote executions were nearly as popular as gallows photographs and often appeared together in private albums. In the public media, images of the garrote first appeared around 1899, but often as a crude drawing based on the original photograph.[109] Stories of the garrote centered on its use in the former Spanish colonial administration and the shift to executions by hanging by the US administration. However, despite the official abolishment of the device in 1902, the use of the garrote was not altogether stopped. One story in particular gained national attention when in October 1903, four Filipino men were garroted at Amulung in Cagayan province, but during the execution something went wrong.[110] The headlines declared, "Executed

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[107] Garrote vs. Gallows," 4.

[108] "Hereafter Filipino Criminals will be Dispatched by the Rope," *The Evening Times*, November 25, 1902, 3. This article stated, "The use of the garrote as an instrument for inflicting the death punishment has been discontinued, and the time-honored gallows substituted instead."

[109] For examples, see "In The Philippines," *The Beloit Weekly Times*, Beloit, Kansas, October 26, 1899, 2; and "Execution in the Philippines," *The Weekly Star and Kansan*, October 27, 1899, 6; and "Execution in the Philippines," *The Pittsburgh Press*, November 6, 1899, 4.

[110] Amulung is located in the northern region of Luzon about 325 miles from Manila.

Men Still Live" and described how two of the four condemned men survived the execution.[111] An official from Bilibid Prison in Manila was sent to perform the execution, and witnesses claimed that he had "practiced with the gruesome machine" and by the arranged day had "about perfected himself in its use."[112] The reports do not make clear how he practiced or how he could know if the machine would achieve the desired results. One paper surmised that the complications arose from problems concerning how long a victim should remain in the machine. According to some accounts, the Spanish tradition was that it took eight minutes to cause death, but bodies should be left in the machine for up to four hours. However, it was decided in this case that the eight minutes was "all that was necessary to complete the work of death" and afterwards the bodies would be exposed for four hours, but not left in the machines. When two constabulary officers were sent to check on the bodies three hours later, they were horrified to find three of the bodies still bound in their cords, yet "squirming and contorting in half conscious endeavors to release themselves."[113] The three men were unbound and given water and food. One died later, reportedly from shock and exhaustion, and two men recovered and were expected to live for years to come. This created an interesting conundrum for the local authorities, as the court records stated that they were dead, having paid for their crimes with their lives. "The law can neither punish them again nor can it recognize their continued existence," one newspaper observed.

In addition to executing Filipino soldiers during the war, the US military court in the Philippines tried and hanged a number of their own soldiers for war-related crimes, including two

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[111] The most detailed report of this incident was published in *The Leavenworth Times*, January 5, 1904, 5.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

African-American soldiers from the 9th Cavalry Regiment, one of four segregated army units that served in both wars.[114] Privates Edmund A. Dubose and Lewis Russell had been charged with deserting their camp, stealing weapons, and defecting to fight with the Filipino revolutionaries. After months on the run, they returned to their camp on Samar Island, and insisted that they had been tricked into capture and had not acted against the US forces in any way.[115] Regardless, they were found guilty by a military commission and were hanged in February of 1902. Newspapers across the US reported their execution as having taken place at Guinobatan "in the presence of 3,000 people."[116] Newspapers noted that several petitions urging for clemency were sent; however, military authorities "failed to see any reason to delay the execution."[117] It is clear that such a public display of authority was intended to discourage others from desertion or sympathizing with the Filipino nationalist cause. African American soldiers faced a complex ethical dilemma with the war, as they were sent to fight for the cause of a racial imperialism governed by the white military establishment of the United States.[118] Many Black soldiers and other Black leaders and intellectuals in the US voiced support for the Filipino's struggle for independence, sympathizing with their cause and recognizing that many white US citizens treated Filipinos, as well as Cubans and Puerto Ricans, as sub-human based on their race.

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[114] The four segregated units were the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. See Bruce A. Glasrud, Editor, *Brothers to the Buffalo Soldiers: Perspectives on the African American Militia and Volunteers, 1865–1917*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011).

[115] See Khary Oronde Polk, Contagions of Empire: Scientific Racism, Sexuality, and Black Military Workers Abroad, 1898 – 1948, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 91.

[116] "Two Deserters Hanged," *The Republican Citizen* (Atwood, Kansas), February 21, 1902, 3.

[117] Ibid., 3.

[118] For more see, Scot Brown, "White Backlash And The Aftermath Of Fagen's Rebellion: The Fates Of Three African-American Soldiers In The Philippines, 1901-1902," *Contributions in Black Studies: A Journal of African and Afro-American Studies* 13, 1995, 165-173.

2.7 Conclusion

Not all US citizens supported the occupation of the Philippines or the methods of torture and capital punishment enforced by US officials. In his 1912 book and memoir, anti-imperialist lawyer James H. Blount, who served in the Philippines as an officer in the US volunteer infantry and then as a US District Judge, condemned the ongoing subjugation of the Philippines in what he called a "grave strategic and economic mistake, fraught with peril to the nation's prestige in the early stages of our next great war."[119] Blount's book offers a well-reasoned critique of the US's imperialist agenda in the Philippines, written by a man who spent "seven years at the storm-centre of so-called 'Expansionism.'" In his book, Blount recalls an afternoon excursion where he and two friends, also judges in the region, went to stand on top of a recently constructed gallows. He wrote:

> Judge Carson had had a gallows erected near the public square of the town, for the execution of some brigand he had convicted, whether it was for maltreating some poor farmer's daughter until she died, or burying an American alive, or what, I do not now recollect. But in going around the town someone suggested, as we passed this gallows, that we go up on it to get the view. So we went—the three of us. Then each looked at the other and all thought of the work ahead. Then Judge Carson smiled and dispelled the momentary somberness by repeating with grim humor, an old Latin quotation he happened to remember from his college days at the University of Virginia: *Hæc olim meminisse juvabit* ('It will be pleasant to remember these things hereafter.') [120]

While Blount expressed criticism of the prolonged subjugation of the Filipino people and argued for their independence, he also displayed an attitude of complacency to his duty as a judge and the use of capital punishment on Filipino prisoners for certain crimes – mainly murder, looting, rape, torture, or some combination thereof. The moral argument that Blount espoused points to a larger

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[119] James H. Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898 – 1912*, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912), vi.

[120] Blount, The American Occupation of the Philippines, 429.

question: What right did the US have to make such decisions of life and death, particularly for a country of subjugated people who were deemed non-citizens? As Blount points out in an essay written in 1907, the Filipino people had no representatives in Congress, nor did they live "under the protection of the US flag" and they would continue to suffer from "the enactment or defeat of laws of one sort or another at the instance of special interests at home."[121] The harsh warfare tactics used by the US military and the cruel treatment of Filipino residents, many of whom saw their villages burned and were displaced from their homes, outraged many US citizens and led to a growing public disillusionment with the war in the Philippines.

After 1898, photographs of public executions of Filipino prisoners and captured soldiers circulated widely in the US, appearing in popular magazines and newspapers and in the private spaces inhabited by photographic albums. These gruesome photographs were used to demonstrate the need for imposing a US brand of "justice" over an "uncivilized' nation of purported "savages," as outlined in the policies of President McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation and the prevailing imperialist discourses of the day. The photographs also offered US mainland citizens a visual reassurance that the ongoing war and military occupation taking place on distant shores were both just and necessary. As Mark Rice argues in the case of Dean Worcester, his photographs served a dual function as souvenirs and as "visual proof" of Worcester's position as a leading figure in the US colonial regime.[122] Likewise, gallows photographs served a dual purpose – as evidence of the US's enforcement of "justice" over the peoples of the Philippines (and Cuba and Puerto Rico) and

[121] James H. Blount, "Philippine Independence – Why?" *The North American Review* 185, No. 617 (June 1907), 373-374.

[122] Mark Rice, Dean Worcester's Fantasy Islands: Photography, Film, and the Colonial Philippines, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2014).

as souvenirs for soldiers to take home and display in their albums – visual reminders of the deaths they bore witness to and sanctioned in the pursuit of empire.

These personal photograph albums are both gendered and raced, created and owned by white male soldiers and likely shared with their close family and friends. Unquestionably, the images were taken without consent or agency on the part of the Filipino prisoners being executed and "shot" by white imperialists to create images for a largely white audience. As mentioned in the previous section, some images presented staged scenes of torture and execution; however, most depict the all too real hangings of Filipino men, who were captured and killed by the US military as prisoners of war, or put to death under the newly developed legal system of the US colonial administration. Executions continued after the war in increasing frequency as the US established further control of the islands – a rule that lasted until 1946.

These execution images appealed to the US public in ways similar to the horrific lynching photographs of Black Americans that circulated simultaneously throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century; they were both ghastly spectacles made and sold to appease a market for violent pictures of death, especially of Black, Indigenous, People of Color.[123] Lynching photography is a well-researched area of photographic history. While largely beyond the scope of this project, clear comparisons and analyses offer a useful lens to understanding this execution material. [124] An essay by Hilton Als in *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (2000) – is particularly relevant to this study and worth quoting here. For this volume on lynching

[124] James Allen, Hilton Als, Leon F. Litwack, and John Lewis, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, (Santa Fe:Twin Palms Publishers, 2000).

photographs, Als penned an honest and unreserved response to his experience viewing such images as a Black American man. Als wrote:

> Too often we refuse information, refuse to look or even think about something, simply because it's unpleasant, or poses a problem, or raises 'issues' – emotional and intellectual friction that rubs our heavily therapeuticized selves the wrong way. I didn't like looking at these pictures, but once I looked, the events documented in them occurred in my mind over and over again, as did the realization that these pictures are documents of America's obsession with [omitted], both black and white. And it is as one that I felt my neck snap and my heart break, while looking at these pictures.[125]

Als goes on to ask several important questions about historical and contemporary viewership of such images: *"Who wants to look at these pictures?" "Who are they all?" "When they look at these pictures, who do they identify with?"* Again for *The New Yorker* in June 2020, after protests erupted nationwide in the wake of the murder of George Floyd by a white police officer, Als would write, "The truth is that nothing is impersonal when it comes to racism, or the will to subjugate. Every act of racism is a deeply personal act with an end result: *the unmooring diminishment of the person who is its target*."[126] While speaking broadly about racism in the context of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement, his words resonate deeply with the photographs examined in this chapter and throughout this dissertation. Album-making and racism are both deeply personal acts, and photographs have served to celebrate, preserve, conceal and obscure racism in many forms. In the next chapter, I examine a related genre of photographs that depict scenes of death and burial on the battlefield primarily from the Philippine-American War.

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[125] Hilton Als, "GWTF," in *Without Sanctuary*, 38 – 44. In this quote, I omitted the author's use of a racial slur.

[126] Hilton Als, "My Mother's Dreams for Her Son, and All Black Children," *The New Yorker*, June 29, 2020.

3.0 Death in the Trenches: The Grim Machine of US Empire

In his 1895 war novel, *The Red Badge of Courage*, Stephen Crane described the Civil War battlefield and all its horrors as a "grim machine producing corpses."[127] Since the invention of the camera, both professional and amateur photographers alike have aimed their lenses at gruesome scenes of death and suffering, and never more readily than during war. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, both during and after the Spanish-Cuban-American and Philippine-American Wars a grievous number of public executions were conducted and photographed under the newly established system of US colonial rule in the Philippines. While execution photographs represented one genre of images in the broader iconography of colonial death examined in this dissertation, more familiar to the US public were images of death on the battlefield, similar to photographs taken during the Civil War. In this second chapter, I examine photographic images of battlefield death and mass burials, mainly of Filipino nationalists who died during the Philippine-American War and in the Moro Rebellion that followed and lasted until 1913. To understand how battlefield photographs from the Civil War set a precedent for these later conflicts, I examine a few key images from this period and outline the evolution of their iconography in the US. This chapter centers on a few popular and widely reproduced photographs of battlefield trenches and graves filled with dead Filipino soldiers, as well as original snapshots of views taken by soldiers and displayed in private albums. In the press and in photographs, US soldiers' deaths were displayed as heroic sacrifices for preserving the nation's new empire, while the corpses of Filipinos were

[127] Stephen Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895).

displayed as the inevitable results and even trophies of war. This chapter further demonstrates that the circulation of such violent images was unprecedented in US history up to this moment, and establishes how narratives of US colonialism relied on photographic images that allowed mainland citizens the ability to "see" the dead bodies of the nation's perceived enemies. As such, this chapter offers a new lens for understanding how images of colonial death were collected and used by mainland citizens to display and perpetuate imperialist visions and ideals.

3.1 Photographing the Dead: Civil War to 1898

One hundred and sixty years later, the Civil War remains a carefully studied event in the history of United States art and photography.[128] With the arrival of war in 1861, technical advancements in negative-positive image processes enabled photographers to record the brutalities of the war and its devastating consequences across a morally and politically divided nation. Shocking photographs depicting prostrate corpses strewn on the battlefield transfixed the public and created a frenzy when first exhibited to the public in 1862. The reality of war and the carnage of the battlefield was perceived by viewers in realistic detail that exceeded any previous form of visual medium. Scholar David Bjelajac notes that, "Photographers brought Civil War battlefields into American consciousness in a manner that seemed to surpass the communicative power of

[128] There are an abundance of excellent sources on this topic. Specifically, for discussions of civil war photography, see Bob Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography*, (Westport: Praeger, 2005); Anthony Lee and Elizabeth Young, *On Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); and Alan Trachtenberg, "Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs," in *Critical Issues in American Art: A Book of Readings*, edited by Mary Ann Calo (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997).

history painting."[129] The photographers Matthew Brady, Alexander Gardner, and Timothy O'Sullivan became synonymous with images of Civil War battlefields from Antietam to Gettysburg, with particular scholarly attention paid to iconic images such as O'Sullivan's *A Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania* (1863) and other scenes of war dead from Gardner's celebrated photobook, *Sketch Book of the Civil War* (1865).[130] And yet, limitations of the medium in the 1860s, including cumbersome cameras and equipment and expensive printing processes, resulted in few people owning original prints and a continued reliance on other visual mediums to illustrate the war.

The battlefield scenes produced by Gardner and his company of photographers laid the foundation for an iconography of war that has endured through every US conflict from 1861 to the present. Unsurprisingly, death on the battlefield was a popular subject of these images. Gardner and his cohort travelled from battlefield to battlefield to capture the outcome of each bloody encounter. For example, Gardner, O'Sullivan and James F. Gibson were the first to arrive at the blood-stained fields of Gettysburg on the morning of July 5, just two days after the battle.[131] The three men worked for two days taking pictures of the battlefield and between them returned with over sixty negatives, more than 75 percent of which depicted corpses on the field awaiting burial.[132] From this work, O'Sullivan produced his most iconic photograph, which Gardner titled

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[129] David Bjelajac, *American Art: A Cultural History*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2000), 223.

[130] Alexander Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War*, (New York: Dover, 1959). First published in 1866 by Philip & Solomons. For a classic text on death and the civil war, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2008).

[131] See Eleanor Jones Harvey, "The Art of Wartime Photography," *The Civil War and American Art*, (Washington DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012). Also see Timothy Sweet, *Traces of War: Poetry, Photography, and the Crisis of the Union*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

[132] Harvey, "The Art of Wartime Photography," 85.

in his book *A Harvest of Death*. To create such vivid tableaus, Gardner and other photographers sometimes manipulated the setting with the addition or staging of props such as ammunition, canteens, cups, or muskets. A few historians have debated back and forth the extent to which Gardner and his cohort arranged scenes, including the corpses, for a greater narrative effect.[133] Regardless, the photographs yielded the desired emotive response from the public.

For the purpose of this study, Gardner's photographs of the Battle of Antietam fought on September 17, 1862, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, provide a contextual understanding of how Confederate and Union soldiers were portrayed in images and in regards to burial. His photograph, *A contrast! Federal buried, rebel unburied, where they fell at the Battle of Antietam* (1862) (Figure 3.1), depicts a man standing in front of a freshly dug grave with an unburied corpse disposed alongside.[134] These photographs were in fact the first ever to be made in the United States showing corpses on the battlefield. The caption's text implies that the grave is of a fallen Union soldier from the battle of Antietam, while the unburied body is of a Confederate soldier who remained "where he fell." Under magnification, the grave's headboard reveals the name and unit of the buried Union soldier, "J A Clark, 7th Mich.," as discussed by Kirk Savage in his 2016 essay in *The Civil War in Art and Memory*.[135] In his essay, Savage also points out the unlikelihood that the two men died on this precise spot. It is more plausible that Gardner directed the corpse be posed beside the grave to create a contrast and perhaps emphasizes a point – that Confederate soldiers were not

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[133] See Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White*, 107; and William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time*, (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1975).

[134] For an in-depth analysis of this photograph and other related burial images, see Kirk Savage, "The Unknowable Dead: The Civil War and the Origins of Modern Commemoration," in *The Civil War in Art and Memory*, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 81-102.

[135] Savage notes that Frassanito was the first to decipher the headboard, see Savage, 100; and William Frassanito, *Antietam: The Photographic Legacy of America's Bloodiest Day,* (New York: Scribner, 1978), 182.

deserving of the same burial rites as Union soldiers. By arranging the buried soldier in contrast to the unburied, viewers could imagine a narrative of how all war dead were not treated as equal, even in a war fought among countrymen.

Another of Gardner's photographs from Antietam, *Ditch on Right Wing, where a large number of Rebels were killed at the Battle of Antietam* (1862) is known by an alternate title, *Bloody Lane, Confederate Dead, Antietam* (Figure 3.2).[136] The photograph was taken on September 19, 1862 after the battle of Antietam when Gardner and his assistant James F. Gibson created numerous views of Confederate dead on the battlefield.[137] The image depicts the blurred profiles of two men standing at the edge of a long trench that cuts diagonally across the frame. The trench is filled with corpses of fallen soldiers lying in a jumbled heap of limbs and the debris of battle – a trench that became known as "Bloody Lane." Similar to Gardner's *Contrast*, the caption informs viewers that the unburied dead are Confederate soldiers, who had died in great numbers during the bloodiest day of the war. The arrangement of the scene is rife with symbolic meaning – in short, viewers were encouraged to see this mass of death as emblematic of the larger defeat of the Confederacy. This early trench photograph closely resembles the trench burial images taken in the Philippines that circulated widely after 1898.

After the end of the Civil War in 1865, the country turned toward healing and reconstruction, and the ongoing imperialist expansion and forced removal of Indigenous peoples and communities located West of the Mississippi. During the three decades between the Civil War and the war with Spain, the US public watched as an increasingly violent conflict unfolded in

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[136] For a detailed account of Gardner's photographs of Antietam, see Zeller's chapter "Gardner at Antietam" in *The Blue and Gray in Black and White*, 65-82.

[137] Zeller, 75.

regions across the Great Plains, as part of the centuries-long American-Indian Wars that spanned generations and continents. Employing an analogous iconography of death, photographers captured the aftermath of violent skirmishes and massacres that occurred between the US Army and Native American and Indigenous peoples. Most notably, in 1890 the Wounded Knee Massacre occurred when an estimated three hundred Lakota people were killed by US Army troops at a camp near Wounded Knee creek in South Dakota.[138] The massacre of Wounded Knee became synonymous with the violence of the Indian Wars and was memorialized in paintings, prints, and photographs. One frequently reproduced photograph depicted the "burial of the dead" in what was a mass grave (Figure 3.3). The image was reproduced and sold by Trager & Kuhn of the Northwestern Photo Company; and the gruesome scene was taken by photographer George Trager five days after the massacre, along with other views of the destruction of the camp and the carnage wrought by the Army's Hotchkiss guns.[139] Contrary to Gardner's *Bloody Lane*, which included two obscured figures standing by the trench, the Wounded Knee photograph depicts over two dozen Army men posed standing in a line and holding their rifles. This type of group portrait posed around a mass of unburied dead become a common practice for soldiers in the Philippines, as I demonstrate in the next section.

[138] For more on the Wounded Knee Massacre and the politics that shaped this horrific event in American history, see Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre*, (New York: Basic Books, 2010). Also, for a personal history and historical account of the massacre, see David Treuer's 2019 novel, *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present*, (New York: Riverhead Books, 2019).

[139] See Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul, and John E. Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee*, (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); in particular, Carter's chapter "Making Pictures for a News-Hungry Nation."

3.2 Bloody Lanes in the Philippines

With the arrival of war in 1898, photographers set out once again to capture scenes of death and dying on the battlefield. This time armed with portable cameras and aided by advancements in photo development and printing services, amateur soldier-photographers became the new innovators of battlefield photography. Instead of relying on woodcuts or sketches, newspapers and magazines printed halftone photographs on the same page alongside letters sent from soldiers and reports from their correspondents on the frontlines. Fighting a new war on distant island shores, many US citizens perceived the conflict with Spain and the Philippines as an opportunity to rally the nation together against a common enemy and dispel any lingering tensions from between the Northern and Southern states. As soldier W. B. Emerson of the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteer Infantry Regiment wrote in his poem, titled *United*, "Thus the graves around Manila, Mark a turn in history's tide, For the sons of North and Southland, Lie there buried side by side."[140] In fact, the societal shift that Emerson recognized as "the turn in history's tide" was also a pictorial turn in the evolution of US war photography away from images of Confederate dead and the massacre of Indigenous peoples of the US to pictures taken on distant shores showing fields and trenches strewn with the corpses of Filipino revolutionary soldiers.[141]

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[140] Poem "United" by W. B. Emerson, Company C, Fifty-first Iowa Volunteer Infantry Regiment, see A. B. Feuer, *America at War: The Philippines, 1898-1913*, (Westport: Praeger, 2002), 247.

[141] Again, it is important to note that during this period Filipino soldiers were most often referred to as "rebels," "insurrectionists," "insurgents" or other designations that demeaned their fight for freedom. As previously noted, the war was labelled an insurrection by the American government and the press due to a widespread belief that the US already "owned" the islands based on the terms of the Treaty of Paris signed in December 1898, after the Spanish-Cuban-American War. For more on the events leading to the war against the Philippines, see Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 3-25.

Some of the earliest photographs that portrayed Filipino dead were published in *Harper's Weekly* on April 8, 1899.[142] The popular Saturday issue's cover boasted a four-page supplement of "Photographs of the Fighting Around Manila." Of the 22 photographs chosen for the 4-page spread and reproduced as halftones, five images depicted bloodied scenes of Filipino corpses exposed in trenches and left along roadsides near the battles fought from Singalon to Caloocan. John F. Bass, a special correspondent for *Harper's Weekly* who was reporting from the Philippines, wrote the two-page article that accompanied the photographs, under the heading: "Fighting in the Philippines – The Revolt." In his weekly occurring segment, Bass provided readers a drama-filled description of the war and his movement with the troops, which had officially begun two months prior with the Battle of Manila on February 4th and 5th. From February to July 1899, Bass travelled with the famed 20th Kansas Regiment that fought in the Philippines, as discussed in the previous chapter. On the first page of the 4-page spread, the publisher included an image with the caption: *Bloody Lane, Where the 14th Infantry Charged,* which showed a mangled corpse lying on the side of a tree-lined dirt road (Figure 3.4). The corresponding text from Bass explained that the Spanish had given the name "Bloody Lane" to the stretch of road leading past Singalon church toward Manila, where so many Spanish soldiers were killed by Filipino revolutionaries, during the long fight for freedom from Spanish colonial rule. No doubt, for an US audience the title evoked images from the Civil War such as Gardner's own *Bloody Lane* from 1862. At the bottom of the page, the photographs are credited to a Lieutenant C. F. O'Keefe of the Photograph Department of the Office of Military Information of the 8th Army Corps.

[142] John F. Bass, "Fighting in the Philippines – The Revolt," *Harper's Weekly*, XLIII, April 8, 1899, 334-335. See page 355-359 for photographs.

In the article, Bass described for viewers how the Filipino dead were often left along the roadside. He wrote, "In the road dead Filipinos lay here and there like great disfigured dolls thrown away by some petulant child."[143] This description further dehumanized the Filipino soldiers by comparing them to discarded toys, specifically, dolls which are representations of humans but not "real." This type of dehumanized rhetoric was used frequently in the US to characterize Filipinos as "less than human" because of their race. A second photograph published with the article, titled "On the Road to Caloocan – the Aftermath," seemingly confirms Bass's observation by showing a soldier's body lying headfirst in a shallow ditch with his legs bent and pointing upward to the sky. This description corresponds with similar stories written by soldiers who were fighting in the Philippines, who described the death they witnessed on the frontline and in the trenches. For example, a young soldier named Theodore Conley of a Kansas Regiment, wrote: "Talk about dead Indians! Why, they are lying everywhere. The trenches are full of them. … Those not killed in the trenches were killed when they tried to come out."[144] Likewise, Red Cross worker F. A. Blake wrote from his service post near Manila: "I counted seventy-nine dead natives in one small field, and learn that on the other side of the river their bodies were stacked up for breastworks."[145] These two examples were printed and circulated in an anti-imperialist pamphlet in 1899, along with other horrific accounts of the "take no prisoners" policy that the US Army was imposing in the Philippines.

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[143]Bass, "Fighting in the Philippines – The Revolt," 348.

[144] Excerpt from a private letter written by Theodore Conley, who was a soldier of a Kansas Regiment, circa 1899. Originally published in *Soldier's Letters*, pamphlet (New York: Anti-Imperialist League, 1899). Reprinted in Philip S. Foner and Richard Winchester, *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States*, Vol. 1 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984), 316–323.

[145] Foner and Winchester, *The Anti-Imperialist Reader*, 320.

Through his vivid stories for *Harper's Weekly*, Bass provided an influential source of information for mainland Americans on the increasingly unpopular war and occupation of the Philippine Islands. In the April 29, 1899 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Bass wrote:

> The natives soon learned to dislike us. We plastered the town from end to end with beer and whiskey advertisements. And so far Americans who have followed the army have put their time and money into saloons. No other business attracts them. According to native standards, the American soldier has been rough and tyrannical while from our point of view the natives have been tricky and dishonest. The extreme East and the extreme West have learned to hate each other. The importance of these things is great as indicating what the future has in store. […] Formerly we might have compromised with them; now we must crush them. There are few men of education and ability who are managing the insurrection; the rest of the army follows blindly, misled about false reports of our cruelty, and they look upon us now as a species of ogre. We have fallen heir to the hatred which the natives felt for the Spaniards, and the same stories are told about us that were told about our predecessors. [146]

It is evident that Bass' views aligned with the bigotry and racial prejudice that ran deep within early-twentieth-century US society, particularly toward Asian, Asian-American, and Pacific Islander groups. The generalized and erroneous characterization of all Filipino peoples as "tricky and dishonest" was a common message in the press and government's pro-war propaganda aimed at garnering public support of the war and military occupation of the islands.[147] It was also common for the military and press to downplay or dismiss reports of cruelty enacted by US soldiers and sanctioned by top military leaders, such as the methods of torture by strangulation discussed in the previous chapter.

A third photograph taken by Lt. O'Keefe appeared in *Harper's* 4-page spread, with the caption: "Dead Filipinos in trench of Bastion Fort Before Santa Ana" (Figure 3.4). This photograph

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[146] John F. Bass, "The Philippine Revolt – In Trench and Gunboat," *Harper's Weekly*, XLIII, April 29, 1899, 427.

[147] For more on propaganda imagery, see Miller's chapter, "Building an Imperial Iconography," in *From Liberation to Conquest*, 187-230. Also, see Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines*, (Luzon: University of the Philippines Press, 1995).

depicts a gruesome scene of mangled corpses lying prostrate in a shallow trench beneath a sparse row of palm trees. In an earlier story for *Harper's*, Bass detailed the bloody charge of Santa Ana that occurred on February 5th during what would become known as the Battle of Manila. Located on the outskirts of Manila, Santa Ana was a small town situated on the southeastern banks of the Pasig River and bordered to the north by the San Juan River, a major tributary of the Pasig. During the two-day battle, small towns located up and down the Pasig were attacked by two divisions of US troops that comprised at least eighteen different regiments, including the 20th Kansas and 1st Nebraska. According to historians, the Filipino soldiers were caught off guard by the US advance and many remained in their trenches and were easily slaughtered by heavy artillery.[148] The battle was hailed as a victory for the US, and the story was publicized in newspapers and in headlines across the States. Yet, it is critical to remember that this attack by US forces occurred less than two weeks after the First Philippine Republic was inaugurated on January 23, 1899, with celebrations across the islands as Emilio Aguinaldo took the oath of office as President of the Philippine Republic.

The death toll at Santa Ana and other nearby battlefields is undetermined; however, firsthand accounts of witnessing the sight of the dead were shared by soldiers writing home and other correspondents reporting from the Philippines. In May 1899, *The Spokane Chronicle* published a soldier's letter sent from Manila that described the sight of a trench near Santa Ana, perhaps the same view that was photographed by Lt. O' Keefe. In his letter, he wrote that "the trench was a slaughter pen" and he was "made sick at the sight of over 84 bodies thrown into a

[148] For a concise account of the Battle of Manila, see Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* and *A History of the Philippines*, 214-219; and for a detailed chronology of the order of battle and the US strategy and fighting tactics, see Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 42-64.

trench for burial."[149] Historians estimate that closer to a few hundred Filipino soldiers died in and around the trenches near Santa Ana; however, accurate records of causalities were not taken during the war.

What is beyond doubt is that photographs of the Santa Ana trench emerged as a recurrent image and militaristic symbol of the occupation of the Philippines. Numerous reproductions and cropped versions of O'Keefe's photograph circulated widely in the US over the following decade, appearing in books and magazines, in photographic print sets, including Henry H. Stratton's, and as such were commonly included in private albums.[150] To name just a few examples, the photograph appears in Harry J. Kizer's album at NHMLAC's Seaver Center, which I discussed in the previous chapter, and in a similar private album held in the archives of the Independence Seaport Museum in Philadelphia.[151] The image also appears in William S. Bryant's landmark text *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil* of 1899.[152]

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[149] "New 'Death on the Trail,'" *Spokane Chronicle* (Spokane, Washington), May 8, 1899, 3.

[150] Harper's reproduced this photograph in their multi-volume series *Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain*, Vol. II, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899), 253.

[151] Photographic album, unknown author, circa 1899, Independence Seaport Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This album contains a near complete set of Stratton's print, which are pasted into the album two images per page and begin in numbered order and then diverge into a seemingly random arrangement.

[152] José De Olivares, William Smith Bryan, and Walter B. Townsend, *Our Islands and Their People As Seen with Camera and Pencil*, (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing Co, 1899). *Our Islands and Their People* is an impressive two-volume, large format, and highly illustrated text that cost an exorbitant fifteen dollars in 1899, yet still managed to sell over 400,000 copies in just three short years. José de Olivares, a soldier, war correspondent and photographer, who described himself as a *mexicano* from California, wrote most of the book's text. It was edited and arranged by William Bryan, who had written an earlier text called *America's War for Humanity*. Many photographers are credited throughout the text, including Olivares, Walter Townsend, Albert Fout, Geo Dotter, and others; however, many of the photos remain uncredited. The text and images are aimed at "introducing" American to these newly acquired territories and to demonstrate how to maximize the contribution of the islands to the US economy. For an analysis of the volume's many photographs, see Max Quanchi, "Imaging the USA's Pacific Empire," *History of Photography* 39, no. 3 2015, 213-236.

Comparable photographs depicting trenches and soldiers posed with Filipino dead were produced and sold as popular stereoviews throughout the period. One example held in the Library of Congress, titled "A Sacrifice to Aguinaldo's Ambition – Behind the Filipino Trenches after the Battle of Malabon, P.I" (Figure 3.5), provides a clear pro-imperialism message, suggesting to viewers that the Filipino soldiers died as a result of the "ambition" of Aguinaldo. [153] In this photograph, three US soldiers sit on mounds of dirt in the background with two Filipino corpses laid out in the foreground. One of the bodies is laid in a shallow trench and the other is strewn out with his head pointed toward the cameraman and one hand resting on his chest. In contrast, the US soldiers are shown in a relaxed posture. Two men hold cups in their hands, posed in a moment of apparent rest and refreshment, and the third soldier sits with a rifle resting on his knees.[154] It is unclear why the US soldiers are present or resting at this spot – is the staged scene meant to suggest that they killed those Filipino soldiers in battle? Or were they there to bury the "enemy" dead? The arrangement of the figures in this image is ideal for the stereograph format, which would have highlighted the depth recession of the figures and made the corpses pop out toward the viewer. Like other propagandistic images, the broader message is clearly one of conquest – the living over the dead, colonizer over colonial subject.

A second popular photograph of the dead at Santa Ana is featured in a private album that documents the soldiers and activities of the 13th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Philippines (Figure 3.6). The album is 11 by 13.75 inches in size and located in the collection of the Minnesota

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[153] *A Sacrifice to Aguinaldo's Ambition - Behind the Filipino Trenches after the Battle of Malabon, P.I.* , ca. 1899. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2004682813/. For a similar view, see *A Sacrifice to Aguinaldo's Ambition - Behind the Filipino Trenches after the Battle of Malabon, P.I.*, ca. 1899. https://www.loc.gov/item/2004682817/. Both are located at the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division in Washington, D.C.

[154] In this stereoview, the heads and necks of two soldiers are cut off by the frame, but their lower bodies and hands are visible.

Historical Society in Saint Paul, Minnesota.[155] The album contains 79 photomechanical prints depicting scenes of war and sights around Manila, and likely belonged to a soldier who served in Company D of the 13th Minnesota. The 13th Minnesota was mustered into service on May 7, 1898 in Saint Paul, and sailed for Manila in June of that year, arriving in Manila Bay on July 31, 1898. The regiment participated in the "mock" Battle of Manila on August 13 and helped US forces capture the city.[156] They remained in service to fight in the Philippines until August 1899 when they returned to the United States on the transport ship *Sheridan*, and were mustered out of service in October of that year.[157] The unit's return home was celebrated with a grand reception at the Minnesota State Capital that was attended by thousands, including President McKinley and members of his cabinet.

The Santa Ana photograph is featured on the 12th page of the album, as a single image centered on the page with no accompanying text or caption. Unlike O' Keefe's image, this photograph includes a long line of US soldiers standing at the edge of the grassy trench filled with Filipino dead. Unmistakably posing for the camera, the soldiers stand in a row between the palm trees and trench and look toward the photographer, many with rifles poised between their legs. The Filipino dead are positioned in a mangled pile in the trench, with one body dramatically splayed out on the edge with a visibly blood-soaked shirt and disfigured head. Four straw hats are strewn

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[155] See Album 59, 13th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Philippine Islands, Minnesota Historical Society. Digitized September 2019. http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/sv000367/pdfa/sv000367-00001.pdf This album is fully digitized and available through the Minnesota Historical Society's online archive, along with several other albums pertaining to 1898 and the war in the Philippines.

[156] The 13th Minnesota was the only Minnesota regiment deployed overseas during the war. The regiment consisted of 12 companies. For more information, see 13th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, Company B Last Man Club Collection, 1898-1974, Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, MN.

[157] For a popular firsthand account written by a soldier of the 13th Minnesota Vol. Infantry, see John Bowe, *With the 13th Minnesota in the Philippines*, (Minneapolis: Press of A.B. Farnham Ptg. & Stationery Co., 1905).

in the grass at the forefront of the trench, likely taken from the corpses and kept by soldiers as souvenirs. Although the print is partially faded, in the upper left corner the heads of two soldiers standing on the opposite bank of the trench are discernable through the palm branches that surround the morbid scene like a canopy. It is again likely that the soldiers or the photographers moved and repositioned corpses to create more dramatic scenes for photographing, a macabre practice that was carried over from the Civil War. This photograph, in particular, displays a visual similitude to the Wounded Knee Massacre photograph, and demonstrates the iconographic legacy that was established by a generation of war photographers prior to this war.

A cropped version of this photograph appears with the title *After the battle of Santa Ana, February 5, 1899,* in author and publisher Frank Tennyson Neely's small bound book, titled *Fighting in the Philippines,* which was first published in 1899.[158] Neely's photograph books were matching in size and format to Henry H. Stratton's *Scenes in the Philippines* (1899), which I detailed in the previous section; however, Neely produced many titles that were arguably more popular and sold to a broader public, whereas Stratton marketed his books and boxed print sets more directly to soldiers. Neely's iteration of the Santa Ana trench photograph includes another

[158] Frank Tennyson Neely, *Fighting in the Philippines*, (New York: F. Tennyson Neely, 1899). Frank Tennyson Neely was born in Quincy, FL in 1863. He began work in publishing in Chicago, then moved to New York in the 1890s at the height of his publishing career. He first published mass-market fiction under the brand "Neely's Library of Choice Literature." His most popular title, *Panorama of Our New Possessions*, was published in 1898 under the brand of Neely's Educational Library, along with *Greater America* (1898) and Burr McIntosh's *The Little I Saw of Cuba* (1899). The label on the cover page of *Panorama* reads "December 1898. Issued Monthly. $3.00 per Year." All of his photobooks were small in size, setting them apart from the larger comprehensive volumes published by *Harper's* and *Leslie's Weekly*. It is unclear precisely where or how Neely obtained his images, though many are copyrighted as belonging to Strohmeyer and Wyman, who in collaboration with Underwood and Underwood produced copious stereographic views of the Spanish-Cuban-American War. There is limited text in each volume, and no explanation as to how the images were selected; however, each volume contains "authentic original photographs." Although his publications received positive reviews and popular interest, Neely was apparently not the keenest businessman. He filed for bankruptcy twice in 1900 and 1903 and was forced to sell many of his possessions, including his thirteen bicycles. He was eventually jailed for participating in a massive Ponzi-type scheme in 1911. After spending months in prison, he was released and began a career as a travelling lecturer on political and historical topics and used his photographs to illustrate his talks.

figure standing to the right, who was cropped out of the 13th Minnesota Album print. Additionally, Neely's book features a photograph of the burial of the Filipino dead at Santa Ana, which I will return to in section 3.4.

3.3 General Harrison Gray Otis Album, ca. 1899

This section provides a close analysis of an album located at the Seaver Center for Western History Research at NHMLAC that displays multiple photographs of Filipino war dead in trenches and on the battlefield. The album is attributed to Brigadier General Harrison Gray Otis (b. 1837 – 1917) who commanded the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Corps of Army Volunteers during the Philippine-American War. Born in Ohio in 1837, Harrison Otis was a successful California-based newspaper publisher, who began his career as an apprentice and type-setter and later became president and general manager of the *Los Angeles Daily Times*.[159] During the Civil War, Otis fought with the Union as a private in the 12th Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, and rose to the rank of Senior Captain before he was mustered out of service in July 1865.[160] After a brief time working in Washington DC, Otis moved to California in 1876 and purchased an interest in the *Los Angeles Daily Times* and *Weekly Mirror*. By 1905, Otis was president of the Times-Mirror Company and an influential leader in the Los Angeles newspaper and publishing industry.

[159] This is information was provided in his obituary, see "Gen. Harrison Gray Otis Is Suddenly Called by Death," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1917, 111.

[160] For more on Otis' biography and Civil War service, see Lewis Randolph Hamersly, *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Officers of the Army and Navy*, (New York: L. R. Hamersly, 1905), 211-213.

At the age of 61, Otis volunteered again for the Army when war erupted in 1898. Like many Civil War veterans who volunteered or reenlisted, he was appointed to a high-ranking position, in his case, the role of brigadier general of volunteers. Little is known of his precise movements during his service; however, based on the photographs in his album it is evident he spent a majority of his time in the Philippines. His album is unusual for the period, with a metal spine and pages fastened together by two metal bolts or screws. The design allowed for the addition of extra pages. The album is large at approximately 10 by 13 inches and heavy in weight given the metal binding and thickness of each leaf. In the beginning of the album, the photographs are organized six to a page, front and back, with handwritten captions in ink and penciled numbers.[161] The opening page features three photographs of Private William Walter Grayson, an enlisted volunteer with the 1st Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. Grayson is generally credited with firing the first shots of the Philippine-American War. Many of the photographs detail the activities and soldiers from the 1st Nebraska, suggesting that Otis spent time on the field with their infantry unit, which was under his command as brigadier general of volunteers. At the end of the album, larger photographs are interspersed with different arrangements and less detailed captions.

The Santa Ana trench appears at the beginning of the album in a photograph simply captioned: "Dead Filipinos in trench after battle" (Figure 3.7, left). The nonspecific caption does not identify this as Santa Ana; however, upon a close examination the placement and position of bodies in the trench is identical to O. Keefe's photograph discussed in the previous section. The difference in Otis's photograph is the addition of two US soldiers, one standing on the righthand side of the trench, and a second man standing in the distance at the beginning of the trail of Filipino

[161] There are several penciled notations throughout the album that appear to have been added after the time of its making, probably by a later owner or archivist.

corpses. Based on the composition, it is evident that the photographers stood in almost exactly the same spot when composing their photographs.[162] This also suggests that word had spread among soldiers in Manila of the trench and after the battle it was a gruesome "sight" to visit and photograph, before the bodies were removed. This is also supported by firsthand accounts written by soldiers and war correspondents posted in Manila.

Next to the Santa Ana image, Otis paired the trench with another view, captioned: 'Dead Filipinos on field after battle" (Figure 3.7, top right). Otis, who presumably wrote the captions, used this same descriptor for several similar photographs depicting Filipino dead. In this image, a white hat rests in the center of a flat, grassy landscape with two corpses laid flat in the grass on each side. White forms appear in the distance, indicating additional dead remaining on the field of battle. The solitary hat on the battlefield is again a photographic trope that was used in the Civil War, and surely influenced the kodak-wielding soldiers who found themselves on battlefields in the Philippines. Otis, who served in the Civil War, undoubted had seen and perhaps owned copies of Gardner, Brady, and O'Sullivan's photographs; knowingly or not, he learned from them the morbid motifs of photographing war dead. In this manner, the visual literacy acquired from collecting and viewing photographs develops from one generation to the next, and supplies individuals with the basic visual strategies to capture a particular subject or genre of images.

Otis's album is exceptional among the albums researched for this dissertation for the sheer number of photographs it contains that show scenes of colonial violence and death, including all three genres examined in this dissertation. Out of nearly sixty photographs, more than a dozen depict views of Filipino dead after battle, both buried and unburied, and left on the field and in

[162] It is unclear if Otis took these photographs himself or if he acquired them through another soldier or photographer. It is possible that he had a photographer who worked for him or assisted in making the images. Given that the album belonged to Otis, the captions are likely his own.

trenches. Two different photographs depict a single corpse of a Filipino laid out on the grass and posed in a sleep-like position (Figure 3.8). Both men are positioned on their sides with bare feet and hatless heads, which at first glance gives the appearance they are merely resting. In the lower image, however, the Filipino soldier's blood-stained clothes and face confirm the candid reality stated in the caption: "Dead Filipino on battlefield." The above image conveys a more subjective description of the scene with a caption that reads: "Filipino soldier who tried to pass American lines." In the albums of this period, subjective narration of this kind was frequently included beside images of Filipino dead, which demonstrates an impulse to justify the death akin to the popular stereoviews that placed blame on Aguinaldo's "ambition." Both captions attempt to provide context and rationale by way of perpetuating the prevailing white imperialist narratives of the war and the belief that the occupation of the islands was justified and lawful. This is yet another example of how albums provided the space for individuals to shape and display private histories of the war that conformed to broader narratives of empire.

Today Otis's album and his troubling photographs from the Philippines remain largely unknown; yet the man's legacy is still celebrated across the city of Los Angeles. His namesake institution, Otis College of Art and Design, is located in the Westchester area of the city and boasts a highly regarded art program; a life-size bronze statue of Otis is located in the heart of MacArthur Park in Westlake. The statue depicts Otis dressed in his military uniform standing on a rock while pointing his right hand and index finger forward to the horizon. A second figure of a young boy hawking newspapers stands beside him on a lower rock. A bronze plaque embedded in the large rock beneath his feet reads: "General Harrison Grey Otis. 1837-1917. Soldier, Journalist, Friend

of Freedom. Stand Fast, Stand Firm, Stand Sure, Stand True."[163] Ironically, most people who pass by the statue today are unaware of his photographs and album, which remain dormant in an archive less than five miles away, and the fallacy of Otis described as a "friend of freedom."

Also at the Seaver Center in Los Angeles is a collection of disassembled album pages that include numerous photographs of Filipino dead on the battlefield. The Leadabrand Collection comprises around 190 images of primarily sepia-toned prints affixed to loose pages from an album that documents scenes of the Philippines, Hawaii, and other islands of the South Seas.[164] Of note in the collection is a photograph of two US soldiers standing in front of a line of dead Filipinos laid out on a grassy field. Below the image is a handwritten caption, titled: *Work of Kansas Boys* (Figure 3.9). This is yet another reference to the 20th Kansas unit, who were famed for their fighting in the Philippines. The album-maker's use of the word "work" is richly suggestive. On one hand, the description of slaughtered Filipinos as "work" for the US soldiers implies that the album-maker considered the death he witnessed to be a justified and necessary result of war. On the other hand, the "work" depicted might reference the laying out of bodies for burial. The scene is reminiscent of Gardner's photographs of Confederate soldiers gathered for burial at Antietam, and their position in an open field is suggestive of a metaphorical harvest – as in a harvest of death. The caption indicates an element of playful semiotics and a pleasure and or pride in viewing and sharing the images. The photograph is analogous to images taken by Perley Fremont Rockett, the official photographer of the 20th Kansas Regiment. Rockett included several views of Filipino dead on the battlefield and in trenches in his 1899 bound volume, *Our Boys in the Philippines*, discussed in the

[163] See General Harrison Grey Otis statue, https://tessa.lapl.org/cdm/ref/collection/photos/id/111017, Security Pacific National Bank Photo Collection, 1 photographic print, Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection.

[164] Leadabrand Collection, ca. 1890-1910, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

previous chapter.[165] Rockett, who travelled with the same 20th Kansas regiment in early 1899, also witnessed and photographed the burial of Filipino soldiers slain on the battlefield.

3.4 Battlefield Burials in the Philippines and Cuba

After the battles, the bodies of slain Filipinos were often left behind in their trenches, either exposed or covered over with dirt, and in some cases, they were buried in fields by US troops. In Henry H. Stratton's *Scenes of the Philippines*, discussed in the previous chapter, a photograph of the trench dead at Santa Ana is displayed with the caption: "As They Died So They Were Buried."[166] As I noted earlier, photographs of the Santa Ana trench were copiously reproduced, however, this caption is unique to Stratton's volumes and sets and was likely written by Stratton or one of his associates. And as I established in the previous chapter, Stratton's photomechanical prints were sold to and collected by soldiers as small bound volumes and boxed sets of individual prints, which were often used for album-making. With his iteration of the Santa Ana photograph, Stratton omits certain specific details in his caption, such as the location of the trench at Santa Ana, and instead, imbues the image with a generalized view of the war in the Philippines and how the dead were buried. It is a factual assertion that Filipino soldiers were sometimes buried in the trenches where they died; conversely, there is evidence to suggest that at least some of the Filipino dead from Santa Ana were removed from the trench and buried elsewhere in the days after the

[165] Perley Fremont Rockett, Our Boys in the Philippines: A Pictorial History of the War and General Views of the Philippines, (San Francisco: P. Fremont Rockett, 1899).

[166] Henry H. Stratton, Scenes in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands. And Scenes Relating to Soldiers, dated around 1904. From the author's personal copy.

battle. As such, this section examines several popular photographic views of battlefield burials in the Philippines, as well as in Cuba.

Frank Neely's competing photographic volume, *Fighting in the Philippines*, featured a photograph printed with the caption: "Burying the dead at Santa Ana on February 6, 1899."[167] The photograph depicts a small unit of soldiers standing watch over a group of Filipino men burying their own dead in an open field (Figure 3.10). The added caption asserts that the dead had fallen in the trench of Santa Ana from the celebrated Battle of Manila fought on February 5th. This type of burial imagery was popularized through photographs such as this example, many others of which appeared in visual media pertaining to the war. While Stratton's caption relied on ambiguity to convey a homogenized picture of how the "enemy" dead were buried during the war, Neely's title supplied viewers with precise information, including the exact date, location, and circumstance of the photograph. This contrast in visual strategies and the slippage between facts and photographs, together with publisher's intentions, is typical of how images of the war were interpreted for a mainland American audience. In truth, Neely's photograph might depict the burial of Filipino dead on February 6 after the battle at Santa Ana; equally likewise, it might not. The volume's title page boasted to contain "Authentic Original Photographs," yet several of the images were clearly manipulated and other provided captions are wholly subjective.[168] In sum, photographic accounts of the fighting in the Philippines were often unreliable sources of information that obscured the reality of how the occupation was unfolding on the islands.

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[167] Neely, *Fighting in the Philippines*, 65. The pages and photographs are unnumbered; however, the Santa Ana trench image is the 46th photograph in the volume and the burial of the dead is the 65th image.

[168] Neely, 1.

Nonetheless, stories and photographs of the burial of "enemy" dead circulated in the press and were the subject of heated public debate, particularly during the first year of the war in 1899. Letters sent home from soldiers who wrote of burying the dead were frequently featured in local papers. For example, in a letter published by the *Detroit Free Press* in August 1899, Army private Albert Hauser wrote, "We were burying dead Filipinos for two days. The way we bury them is to dig a lot of big holes, throw seven men in each hole, and then pile the dirt on top of them."[169] Mass burials were a common practice during the Civil War, which produced an unprecedented number of dead. Since there was no civilian or government system for dealing with such a situation, mass burials were the only feasible way to bury all of the bodies and body parts left on the battlefields.[170] In the Philippines, as well as in Cuba and Puerto Rico, it was imperative for soldiers to bury the corpses in the ground as quickly as possible as the heat and moist climate of the islands increased the rate of decomposition.

Similar to Frank Neely and Henry Stratton, Perley Rockett included a photograph captioned "Burial of the Enemy" in his popular volume *Our Boys in the Philippines* (1899) (Figure 3.11). The photograph portrays seven US soldiers armed with pick axes and shovels, standing over the body of a slain Filipino soldier laid beside a freshly dug shallow grave. In the background, five more Kansas soldiers stand together and look downward, presumably in the act of digging another grave. Unlike Stratton and Neely, who in the above examples did not take the photographs themselves, Rockett provided viewers with his firsthand knowledge of the burial process that he witnessed while following the 20th Kansas Regiment. In his extended caption, he wrote: "After an

[169] "Hospitals Full of Punctured Filipinos," *Detroit Free Press*, August 6, 1899, 5. According to the newspaper, Private Albert Hauser served in Company D of the 17th Infantry Regiment.

[170] For more on the burial of Civil War dead, see Faust, Chapter 3 "Burying" in *This Republic of Suffering*, 61-101.

advance had been made it is not an exaggeration to say that the ground was covered with insurgent dead, for two hundred and sixty-five were buried behind the Kansas line after an advance of a mile, and this is true of other regiments. The hardest work was for the details of men sent out to scour the country and bury them."[171] Presumably, the "details of men" described in his text are the same depicted in the photograph.

There is evidence that a segment of the US public was resentful about the time and energy US troops spent burying Filipino war dead. In July 1899, the Ohio *Dayton Daily News* published an article that questioned, "Perhaps, after all, our troops are not sick but overworked from burying dead Filipinos. The lists sent by Otis indicate that the task of internment is stupendous."[172] Earlier that February, the New York paper *The Buffalo Enquirer* had reported, "The burial of the dead Filipinos by our soldiers began yesterday morning. In one place 180 bodies were found and in another sixty. Nearly every US regiment engaged has reported finding fifty or more of the enemy dead along its front."[173] Beneath a photograph of the Pasig River, the same front page story announced in bold print, "Filipino Insurgents Fell Back…Leaving their Dead Comrades in Heaps in Trenches."[174] The story was published a few days after the start of the war and the Battle of Manila, when photographs or negatives taken of the battlefield would not have arrived yet back in the States. Similar headlines describing trenches "heaped" with the dead were published in newspapers across the country. This implies that mainland Americans likely read headlines about Filipino trenches and the monumental task of burying the dead, before seeing or owning the trench

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[171] Rockett, Our Boys in the Philippines, 59.

[172] Untitled article, *Dayton Daily News*, (Dayton, Ohio) July 27, 1899, 4.

[173] "Aguinaldo Declares for War Against U.S.," *The Buffalo Enquirer*, (Buffalo, New York) February 7, 1899, 1.

[174] Ibid., 1.

photographs that were eventually published and sold for private use. This is a significant point to demonstrate how public narratives of the war informed photographers working abroad and how photographs illustrated and reinforced key narratives for an audience at home.

Two photographs showing the burial of Filipino dead are displayed in the private albums of Ashley R. Fareless, a soldier in the 1st Regiment California Volunteer Infantry, who was stationed in the Philippines sometime during or after Philippine-American War.[175] Two of his personal albums are located at the US Army Heritage and Education Center (USAHEC) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which is home to a large collection of vernacular photographic material related to soldiers' who served in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.[176] Both albums display a wide range of scenes pertaining to his training and departure from San Francisco and his arrival in Manila, and like other albums of the period included a combination of original snapshots and reproductions of popular photographs. The album is organized in a repeating arrangement of two to three images per page, with photographs affixed to opposite corners of the page. Many of the images feature handwritten captions inscribed directly on the photographs, rather than on the surrounding blank page. This suggests that the photographs may have been stored and viewed as individual objects, and then later arranged into albums, perhaps even years after Fareless' return to the States.

A photograph on the 8th page of the 2nd album depicts an almost eye level view of a plot of freshly turned dirt with a cluster of palm trees lined in the background. Handwritten in blue ink on the bottom of the photo is the caption: "Philippino [sic] trench filled in over the dead" (Figure 3.12). No bodies are visible in the image, however, the grassy edge of a battlefield trench is

[176] Albums of Ashley R. Fareless, Spanish American War Survey Photograph Collection, 1895–1960. US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.

discernable on the right side of the scene. The image, which appears to be an original snapshot taken by Fareless, is noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, the image renders visual evidence of the corresponding written accounts in the press that told of Filipino dead who were buried in trenches. To some extent, this snapshot can be read as the sequential view to the popular trench dead photographs, such as the ones taken at Santa Ana. Stratton's caption of the Santa Ana trench, "As They Died So They Were Buried," attempted to convey this same fact, without visualizing the actual burial.[177] Alternatively, Fareless' caption provides "proof" of burial without depicting any bodies. How do viewers *know* there are corpses buried beneath the dirt? The truth of what the scene depicts is established through the authority of Fareless, who was there and witnessed this scene firsthand. This again demonstrates the significant narrative component of albums and how they were used and enacted by their creators. Without showing a single corpse, Fareless' photograph instead provides a personification of coloniality and death.

Fareless inscribed a second photograph depicting the burial of Filipino dead with the caption: "Insurgent Casualties" (Figure 3.13). The photograph portrays a uniform group of four armed US soldiers standing over a row of four Filipino corpses laid out in a field. On the left side of the image, a crew of Filipino laborers pose for the camera with raised shovels and pick axes while digging graves for their fallen soldiers. This burial scene is particularly rich with meaning. First, the photographer has seemingly paired the four US soldiers dressed in dark uniform in direct contrast to the four dead "insurgents" dressed in white or other light-colored clothing. The US soldiers stand over the bodies in a conquering pose, reminiscent of images of hunters posed with their slaughtered prey. Second, it establishes that US soldiers did not do the work of burial alone. At least eight Filipino workers are visible in the scene. Three of those men stand in a knee deep,

[177] Stratton, *Scenes in the Philippines*, 18. Author's copy.

freshly dug grave. The physical operations of coloniality and the mechanics of death and burial are laid bare in this photograph. A message of colonial dominance is explicitly shown in the opposing rows of men – the dead Filipino revolutionaries lined up as "causalities" of war, versus the US subjugators alive and in control of the living and the dead.

While many of the albums' photographs were snapshots taken by Fareless himself, this image is a popular reproduction that appeared in numerous books and magazines, as well as other albums discussed in this study.[178] For example, Stratton included this image as the 20th print in his *Scenes in the Philippines* volumes and sets, copies of which are included in the Harry Kizer and Deckle Photones albums discussed in the previous chapter. According to historian Vicente Rafael in his book *White Love* (2000), this image was taken by photographer and publisher James David "J. D." Givens, who included the work in his photographic book, *Scenes Taken in the Philippines* (1st edition 1900; 1912).[179] Givens photobooks were akin in size and format to Neely and Stratton's volumes; however, Stratton's version of the photograph displays his copyright mark, and therefore, the image's true authorship remains dubious at best. Regardless, the photograph circulated widely in the US and similar to the Santa Ana trench images, this scene became part of the iconography of death that emerged in the aftermath of 1898 and has remained fixed in the visual legacy of the US colonial occupation of the Philippines.

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[178] The sources for this photograph are too numerous to recount, but it appeared in publications such as, Harper's *Pictorial History of the War with Spain* (1899), and Harry P. Mawson, *Leslie's Official History of the Spanish-American War*, (Washington: n.p., 1899), and the previously mentioned two-volume text, *Our Islands and Their People As Seen with Camera and Pencil* (1899).

[179] Vicente L. Rafael, White Love: And Other Events in Filipino History, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 88. James David Givens, Scenes Taken in the Philippines, China, Japan, and on the Pacific, Relating to Soldiers, (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd Co., 1912). It appears that Givens first published the volume in 1900 and continued to publish new versions up to 1912. The author's personal copy is from 1912. A portfolio of Givens original prints are held at Cornell University library in Ithaca, New York.

As mentioned in the introduction, German historian Silvan Niedermeier has written several essays on Philippine-American War albums, and is the only scholar to pay critical attention to the Fareless albums.[180] In his analysis, Niedermeier characterized the photographs in Fareless' albums as emulative of and endorsing the national interest in imperial conquest, and he surmised that the narrative structure followed a typical chronological format, beginning with images of his regimental unit's preparation and departure from San Francisco, followed by their activities in the Philippines, and ending with the regiments return to the US in 1899. In my own study of over forty or more soldiers' albums, I concur with Niedermeier that a chronological narrative was *one* of the most frequently applied methods of album-making; however, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, many albums do not follow such a logical formation. In his discussion, Niedermeier draws attention to both burial images in the album, and noted the popularity of similar views in other albums that he had viewed in his extensive archival research.[181] He argues that the photographs demonstrate how soldiers attached a "special meaning" to photographs depicting dead soldiers on both sides. Niedermeier's study of the Fareless albums is both thoughtful and a welcome exception

[180] For his analysis of the Fareless albums, see Silvan Niedermeier, "Imperial Narratives: Reading US Soldiers' Photo Albums of the Philippine-American War," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 18, no. 1, (2013), 28-49. Interestingly, Niedermeier began the essay with a personal account of his own interaction with the albums in the archive. For his examination of women's photographs of the Philippines during the early years of the occupation, see Niedermeier's chapter "Colonial Self-positioning: Approaching the Snapshots of an American Woman in the Philippines (1900-1902)" in Ulrike Linder and Dörte Lerp, editors, *New Perspectives on the History of Gender and Empire* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Place, 2108), 115-148.

[181] In his 2013 "Imperial Narratives" essay, Niedermeier discussed a similar private album located at USAHEC that was created by Army Lt. Howard M. Koontz. The Koontz album, which I also examined during my research at USAHEC, deviated from a "traditional" narrative formula by including photographs of Koontz own death and burial in the Philippines, as well as his later reburial in the US. Presumably, a member of Koontz's family, likely his wife or a parent, added the burial images to the album upon his death and in doing so, Niedermeier argued, calls into question the nature of how the album was made and its primary social function. For more on his analysis of the Koontz album, see Niedermeier, 41-42.

in an otherwise total absence of art historical scholarship on Spanish-Cuban-American and Philippine-American War albums, such as those discussed in this study.

Across the Pacific in the Caribbean, similar problems and concerns regarding the burial of Spanish war dead arose in Puerto Rico and Cuba after the battles fought in 1898. The land assaults that began on both islands after the initial naval battles and blockades were quickly fought in the spring and summer months of 1898. In his 1899 book, *The Eighth Illinois*, Corporal William T. Goode described his visit to San Juan Hill the day he his unit landed in Cuba on August 17, only a few weeks after the famous battle fought on July 1.[182] Goode served in Company F of the Eighth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, one of the all-Black volunteer units that were mustered into service at the beginning of the war. In his account, he wrote: "Scattered around and about, were to be seen parts of the remains of dead Spaniards, partially buried, and partially exposed to view. Ever and anon, here and there, a hand, a foot, an arm or a leg, would be exposed, or a skull would be discovered above the ground […] Some of them were buried, some half-buried, and some buried semi-conscious, had exhumed themselves before the final breath had left their bodies, thus leaving them half-buried." Painting a dramatic picture for his readers, Goode went on to describe how trenches no more than three feet deep served as shallow graves where bodies were buried one on top of another with only a thin layer of dirt to conceal them, and witnessing dead Spanish soldiers burned on a hill and buried "all over the place."[183] As in the Philippines, it was critical to bury the

[182] Corporal William T. Goode, *The "Eighth Illinois"* (Chicago: Blakely Publishing Company, 1899), 149-50. For more on the service of Goode and the Eighth Illinois, see Eleanor L. Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917*, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007). For another history written in the period, see Harry Stanton McCard, and Henry Turnley, *History of the Eighth Illinois United States Volunteers*, (Chicago: E.F. Harman, 1899).

[183] Goode, 236.

dead quickly and identification was not a prime concern when handling the Spanish or "enemy" dead. In many cases, crews of Cuban laborers or Spanish war prisoners aided with the burials.

Unsurprisingly, the government and military took greater care in the burial of US dead and the return of bodies to awaiting families in the States. In May 1898, Congress approved an amount of $200,000 (a great sum at the time) for identifying and transporting the remains of soldiers and sailors who had died or were killed in locations outside of the United States.[184] After that, the War Department formed an official Burial Corps that was responsible for the grim task. In August 1900, *The Indianapolis Journal* featured a lengthy story on how the burial corps was established and the progress made thus far in transporting bodies home.[185] According to the report, the burial corps had completed the task of identifying and disinterring all of the soldiers and sailors who died in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and had secured 1,200 bodies from the Philippines. This information aligned with similar reports featured in newspapers across the country. For example, in October 1899, *The Boston Globe* reported that the army burial corps was on its way to the Philippines to conduct the same work it did in Puerto Rico and Cuba the year prior, and would return "with the body of every soldier, sailor, or marine who died there."[186]

Both articles made mention of the Cuban and Filipino laborers who were hired to help the burial corps in their work. The *Globe* article noted that in the Philippines "natives are employed to

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[184] For more on the procedures and politics related to the burial and disinterment of US soldiers who died in wars overseas during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Shannon Bontrager, *Death at the Edges of Empire: Fallen Soldiers, Cultural Memory, and the Making of an American Nation, 1863-1921,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020).

[185] "Official Burial Corps – Body of Men Whose Duty It Is To Bring Home Dead Soldiers," *The Indianapolis Journal*, (Indianapolis, Indiana) August 26, 1900, 13. Interestingly, the article noted that during the Cuban campaign the War Department furnished each man with "a metal tag bearing his number and that of his company and regiment," which was an early precedent to the dog tags still worn by soldiers today.

[186] "Off on their Grim Errand," *The Boston Globe*, October 10, 1899, 4.

do the excavating for the remains." While there are records to support the fact that Filipino laborers were sometimes "employed" or paid to perform such tasks, it is important to understand that many were also not compensated for such labor. This is but one example of the many forms of unseen labor performed by Filipinos under US colonial authority. It also underscores a stark contrast in two types of burial imagery – of Filipino dead and US dead – and the visibility of Filipino labor. Photographs such as Figure 3.13 clearly displayed Filipinos in the act of burying their own dead as a way to signify US authority, I argue, over *both* life and death. However, in photographs depicting US soldiers' graves, of which there were many that circulated in the media and featured in private albums, the Filipino's labor is never seen, purposefully concealed from the camera's view and thus omitted from the visual narrative. This capacity of photography to both reveal and conceal at the hand of imperial-actors is of paramount significance to understanding the photographic legacy of US imperialism.[187]

It is worth noting that the burial of US dead was of great public interest, and not without scrutiny of the military's handling and return of remains to awaiting families in the States. In fact, there was harsh public criticism of the misidentification of US dead in Cuba and Puerto Rico after 1898, which the US military was quick to dispel. Some of this circulated around the burial of dead from the USS *Maine* disaster, who were interred in Havana in Colón Cemetery and later disinterred and reburied in Arlington Cemetery. However, the individual names on the grave markers had washed off and were indecipherable, thus most of the Maine dead remain in "unknown" graves at

[187] For a thoughtful and illuminating discussion of photography's limits concerning vision and sight, and the dynamics of seeing and not seeing, see Shawn Michelle Smith, *At the Edge of Sight: Photography and the Unseen*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

Arlington to this day.[188] In May 1900, David H. Rhodes (1850 – 1932), who was the superintendent in charge of the burial corps, reported that out of 1,150 total disinterred remains from the Philippines that only 15 had been marked as unknown.[189] In his report, Rhodes blamed Filipino revolutionaries for the corps' inability to identify at least seven of those remains, which were found badly decomposed, and that those unidentified men were likely prisoners who had been "murdered" to prevent their escape or rescue. Rhodes is quick to note that the "rebels left them where they lay," suggesting it was an act of "savagery" to treat US soldiers in such a manner.[190] This is again an example of the hegemonic language used by mainland Americans to vilify Filipinos in an effort to signify that they were unfit for self-governance, to claim military and racial superiority, and to justify the forced occupation of the islands.

3.5 Posing with the Dead: The 1906 Massacre of Bud Dajo

The 1906 Massacre of Bud Dajo, also known as the First Battle of Bud Dajo or the Moro Crater Massacre, was one of the bloodiest encounters fought between US forces and a small group of Filipino Muslims, during the fourteen year-long conflict known as the Moro Rebellion (1899-

[188] For more on the confusion regarding identification of the *Maine* dead, see "The Maine Dead – Bodies Taken to Arlington Cemetery Under Escort," *Times Union*, December 27, 1899, 1. For more on the memory of and memorials to the *Maine* in Cuba and the US, see Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination, Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 201-226.

[189] As reported in the *Henry County Democrat*, Clinton, Missouri, May 11, 1900, 9; and the *Evening Star*, Washington D.C., May 14, 1900, 14.

[190] Evening Star, 14.

1913).[191] While President Roosevelt had declared the war in the Philippines over by July 4, 1902, fighting continued in the southern islands as late as 1913.[192] In early March of 1906, Major General Leonard Wood, who was in command of army forces in the Philippines, ordered Colonel J. W. Duncan of the Sixth Cavalry to attack a group of Indigenous Tausūg peoples, known as Moros, who lived in dwellings built inside the extinct volcanic crater of Bud Dajo. A large number of women and children were slaughtered during the massacre, which lasted nearly four days, and caused a sensation in the US press.[193] Only six of the estimated 1000 Moros living in the crater survived. Photographs and firsthand narratives of the "battle," as it was called during the period, circulated widely in the States. This section examines three different photographs that depict US soldiers posing with dead Filipino Moros in the trenches of Bud Dajo, captioned: *After the Battle – Dajo Jolo* (Figure 3.14), *Trench at Bud Dajo* (Figure 3.16) and *Six Weeks After the Battle of Dajo* (Figure 3.17). These images are unique in that they show a chronological progression and the revisiting of the same gruesome scene by differing groups of soldiers eager to obtain their deathly snapshots.

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[191] In December 1913, US military forces in the South were replaced with a civilian government, thus marking the technical end of the Moro Rebellion. There was a Second Battle of Bud Dajo in 1911, which lasted five days with far fewer causalities. For more see, Michael C. Hawkins, "Managing a Massacre: Savagery, Civility, and Gender in Moro Province in the Wake of Bud Dajo," *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 1 (March 2011), 83-105; and his book *Making Moros: Imperial Historicism and American Military Rule in the Philippines' Muslim South*, (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2013).

[192] For more on the US army's campaign against the Moros, see Brian McAllister Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902 – 1940*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 34-46; Also see Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 217-219; 319-320.

[193] "Women and Children Killed in Moro Battle," *The New York Times*, March 11, 1906, 1. For a firsthand account written by a soldier's wife who witnessed the battle from Jolo, see "Illinois Woman's Impression of the Battle of Mt. Dajo," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, (St. Louis, Missouri), April 29, 1906, 17.

Moro is a collective term, of Spanish designation, that referred to the thirteen Islamic ethnolinguistic groups of the islands of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan, situated in the southern archipelago surrounding the Sulu Sea, during the period this region was often referred to collectively as "Moroland." Historians of Filipino history date the arrival of Islam to the islands sometime in the late-13th century, when Tuan Masha'ika Jolo, who is described as an Arab trader, established a Muslim community in the Sulu region.[194] After Spanish colonization of the islands in 1521, the Spanish continually struggled to subjugate the Moro-populated islands, which resulted in the Spanish-Moro Wars that began in 1565 and lasted until the end of Spain's colonial rule in 1898. As Filipino historian Renato Constantino wrote, "It should be a source of pride for the Filipinos to point out that the Muslim South was never fully conquered by Spain."[195] However, Constantino argued that instead the Moro resistance is largely ignored and misunderstood both in US and Filipino history. During the Spanish colonial period, frequent Muslim attacks on the central regions of Luzon and Visayas, which were predominately Catholic, were labelled as "piratical wars" by the Spanish, a characterization of the Moro people that the US quickly adopted after 1898. Like the Spanish, the US failed to gain a strong foothold of power in much of the southern region of the archipelago, though not without bloodshed in their effort.

In the aftermath of the massacre, photographs of the dead at Bud Dajo circulated widely in the US. Among the most popular were shocking views of the Moro dead piled up in a trench that surrounded the crater. One photograph, captioned *After the Battle – Dajo Jolo*, was reproduced in

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[194] For more on the religion and peoples of the southern islands in the Sulu Sea, see Stefan Amirell, "The Sulu Sea" in *Pirates of Empire: Colonization and Maritime Violence in Southeast Asia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 42-95. Also see Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975, 2008) and Peter Gordon Gowing, *Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979), 168-169.

[195] Constantino, A History of the Philippines, 25-27.

countless sources and sold as prints, one of which was included in the Samuel Shera album, discussed in the previous section (Figure 3.14). The photograph shows a close view of the Moro dead piled in disarray on top of one another in a shallow trench. A fallen tree trunk divides the trench with mangled corpses visible on either side. On the right, along the edge of the trench a group of armed US soldiers stand posed with their guns in a very similar composition to the images of Santa Ana discussed in section 3.2.[196] The burned structure of a roof is visible in the background, as well as the edge of the dense forest that surrounded the crater. Shera's album is formatted to display a single photograph per page with transparent leaves to separate images displayed on opposite pages (Figure 3.15). On the preceding page, Shera chose to display a photograph of two soldiers poised behind an Army maxim gun aimed toward the right, which in this arrangement, created the appearance that the gun was aimed at the Bud Dajo trench on the opposite page. Paired together in this sequence the two photographs perform a visual arc or narrative that is suggestive of the actual violence of the battle. In this way, Shera makes use of the album format to envision the narrative that he likely did not witness himself, but would have known through public stories and his own experiences as a soldier in the Philippines.

As noted in the previous chapter, Shera was also a photographer who took many images of the Philippines during his service in the war, and in the years that followed when he began selling his photographs in and around Manila. It is unclear if Shera took the Bud Dajo photograph. However, I would argue that it is unlikely given the distance between Manila, located on the Northern island of Luzon, and Jolo Island in the Southern region of the archipelago. An almost

[196] For a fascinating story about a Confederate gun that was confiscated from a Filipino soldier after the battle, see "Last Confederate Rifle Used in War," *The Times Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), August 1, 1907, 12. The gun remains in the collection of the American Civil War Museum today.

identical copy of the photograph appeared in another soldier's album located at the Charles E. Young Research Library at UCLA (Figure 3.16).[197] In a similar format, the image is featured on a single page with no accompanying handwritten caption. It was likely sold in a series similar to Stratton's boxed sets, as evidence by the number "6" etched into the negative on the lower right side, which suggests that it was part of a larger set.

While this photograph became the most reproduced image of the Bud Dajo massacre, many other photographs were taken and circulated in the US, with some published in newspapers alongside stories of the battle. The *Chattanooga Daily Times*, for example, published a full-page spread with seven images, titled "The Fight in the Crater," that boasted "actual photographs" of the fighting.[198] The narrative was written by Hamilton Wright, a special correspondent who was on assignment in Bud Dajo and provided the photographs. In Wright's dramatic retelling of the events leading up to and after the fighting, he described how "in the trenches the bodies were as many as three, four and sometimes five dead." He also wrote, "The soldiers built a great fire on the hill of Dajo that night and illuminated the ghastly trenches of the dead."[199] Wright noted that the smoke from the fires was seen from miles away, and he claimed that it served as a signal to any nearby Filipinos that US forces had finally taken Bud Dajo, which they long thought impossible. In the weeks following the massacre, nearby soldiers climbed to the top of the crater to see and photograph the trenches and the Moro dead who were slain there.

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[197] Photograph Album, circa 1906, located in the Photograph Album Collection (Collection 94) in Library Special Collections at the Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA in Los Angeles, CA.

[198] Hamilton Wright, "The Fight in the Crater," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, June 3, 1906, 28.

[199] Wright, 28.

The massacre of Bud Dajo was a public relations disaster for the US military. A segment of the public, including many prominent anti-imperialists, expressed outrage at the death of so many women and children. For instance, the author Mark Twain, a well-known opposer to the US's occupation of the Philippines wrote scathing remarks about the incident and displayed his anger over the tragic and unnecessary loss of life. Naturally, military officials and imperialist supporters wrote letters in response to this public outcry and defended the actions taken by the soldiers and commanders at Bud Dajo. There was also a campaign in the press to denounce the stories of the slaughter of women and children as "fake" news.[200] In particular, Captain Edward P. Lawton, who commanded the 19th Infantry during the fight, wrote a letter to the *New York Sun* in defense of the soldiers, which was reprinted and circulated nationwide.[201] Lawton claimed that the officers who engaged in the fight were "ignorant of the fact" that women and children were inside the forts at Bud Dajo "until the fight was practically over."[202] Lawton also described the Moros as "fanatics of the worst kind" and a "cult" who were "determined either to conquer or die."[203] This type of prejudiced, racialized language that characterized Moro peoples as fanatical and without reason was repeatedly used by mainland Americans to vilify and belittle the many diverse Filipino Muslim groups of the Southern islands, whom the US struggled to control after Roosevelt declared the war over in 1902.

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[200] See "General Wood Cries 'Fake,' Says Stories of Slaughter In Dajo Fight Were 'Made Up,'" *The Baltimore Sun*, March, 20 1906, 2.

[201] For one example, see "Bud-Dajo Battle," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 11, 1906, 4. Captain Lawton, in particular, was hailed by many mainland Americans as a "hero" for his actions at Bud Dajo.

[202] Ibid., 4.

[203] Ibid., 4.

A cropped version of the same Dajo trench photograph, titled *Trench at Bud Dajo*, is located in the John J. Pershing papers at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. (Figure 3.17).[204] On this reproduction of the photograph, the words "TRENCH AT BUD DAJO" were etched on the negative to appear as if the words are carved into the fallen tree trunk. On the verso, is written: "Jolo City of memories." The faces of the US soldiers posed along the side of the trench have been cropped out, with only one soldier's face visible in the upper right. The way this image has been cropped emphasizes the Filipino corpses piled in the trench and the fallen tree trunk that marks the site. John Joseph Pershing (b.1860 – 1948) was a graduate of the US Military Academy at West Point with a long history of military service that spanned decades and continents, from the Indian Wars to World War I.[205] From 1889 to 1891, he aided in the campaigns and massacres against the Apache in New Mexico and Arizona and in the Sioux wars in South Dakota. He served with the 10th Calvary in Santiago, Cuba, during the war in 1898, and he was appointed chief officer of volunteers. In 1899, he helped organized the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) and served as the Chief of the BIA until August of 1899 when he was sent to the Philippines to aid in the war efforts. He remained in the Philippines until 1903, where he served as a Captain in the 1st and 15th Calvary and commanded units fighting in the Jolo region. After a few years in the States, Pershing returned to the Philippines to serve as Commander of Fort McKinley, located near Manila, and finally from

[204] John J. Pershing, *Trench at Bud Dajo*, Philippines Mindanao Island Jolo, 1907, Photograph, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. https://www.loc.gov/item/2013649095/.

[205] There are numerous biographies about Pershing and his long military career, see for example, Donald Smythe, *Pershing: General of the Armies*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986). Pershing published his own two-volume memoir in 1931, which won him a Pulitzer Prize in history, see John Joseph Pershing, *My Experience in the World War*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931).

1909 to 1913, he served as the Governor of the Moro Province.[206] While Pershing had taken part in battles on Jolo Island around 1901 and 1902, he was in the US at the time of the Bud Dajo massacre. The US public regarded Pershing as an "expert" on the Moro people, largely due to his position as Governor and commander of the Southern islands, and the military entrusted him with the task of bringing the Moro people under the wing of US empire.

Given this personal connection to the Jolo region, Pershing would have had a unique interest in photographs of the Bud Dajo trench. A second photograph included in the Pershing papers at the Library of Congress, titled *Six Weeks After the Battle of Dajo*, depicts a group of US soldiers at the Dajo trench, presumably taken six weeks after the battle (Figure 3.18).[207] In this image, the soldiers stand posed in a shallow trench with a display of human skulls lined up on a fallen tree trunk. Similar to Figure 3.16, the words "SIX WEEKS after the Battle of Dajo" were etched on the negative to produce the photographic print; in this case, the words were written under the tree trunk in a slight arc that follows the horizontal line of the fallen tree. Fourteen uniformed soldiers are shown standing above and on either side of the skull display, with gazes directed at the camera. At least twenty human skulls are visible in the picture, presumably all of whom were Moro people killed in the crater. The practice of human trophy collecting after war is a gruesome custom with a long history, with examples dating back to the ancient Romans and likely to the very beginning of human history; however, this was the first US conflict in which the camera was readily available to capture the practice, and in turn, allowed photographs to serve as surrogates

[206] For a timeline of Pershing's life and military service, see "Finding Aid" for John J. Pershing Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Finding aid encoded by Library of Congress Manuscript Division, 2013, Revised 2016 July.

[207] John J. Pershing, *Soldiers displaying skulls after a battle in the Philippines*, Philippines, between 1899 and 1913, photograph, https://www.loc.gov/item/2013649094/.

for the real objects of desire – the skulls. This photograph is unmistakably related to the practice of boneyard photography, which I discuss at length in the following chapter.

Today, the horrific legacy of the Bud Dajo massacre persists through these photographs that appear within colonial archives and institutions across the country, as well as their continued circulation in private collections, driven by online auction sites. In 2006, *The Boston Globe* published a story titled "What Happened at Bud Dajo?" by Andrew J. Bacevich a professor of international relations at Boston University.[208] The article commemorated the 100 year anniversary of Bud Dajo, which Bacevich describes as "a forgotten massacre." Two photographs were chosen to illustrate the article: the first, a portrait of General Wood and Theodore Roosevelt posed together in uniform; the second, a copy of the Bud Dajo Trench image held at the National Archives in DC. The photographs of the Bud Dajo trench are unique in that they display a measured passage of time from the first images of soldiers posed with the Moro dead after the battle, to six week later when soldiers returned to collect and pose again with a display of skulls as grisly souvenirs. The images, and their repeated appearance in private albums and collections, demonstrate a sustained interest and practice by US soldiers in revisiting and photographing gruesome scenes for their visual narratives of the war.

While Crane's description of war as a "grim machine producing corpses" holds true for any conflict across the ages, I would argue that it offers a particularly fitting description of US colonialism in the early 20th century. This chapter examined how photographs of Filipino dead strewn on the battlefield and in trenches were consumed by mainland Americans and used to perpetuate imperialist narratives of the war: a critical step toward dismantling their latent potency

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[208] Andrew Bacevich, "What Happened at Bud Dajo: A Forgotten Massacre and Its Lessons," *The Boston Globe*, March 12, 2006, 34.

and problematic place within existing colonial archives and institutional spaces today. In his essay and discussion of the Ashley R. Fareless album, Silvan Niedermeier correctly insists that to contend with this past, historians must first grapple with "the unsettling potential of these albums and their shifting meaning once they reach the realm of the historical archive."[209] The final chapter of this study provides an analysis of their evolving function in that realm, through the lens of the photographic practice I have termed boneyard photography, which developed in the aftermath of 1898.

[209] Niedermeier, "Imperial Narratives," 31.

4.0 With a Skull in Each Hand: Boneyard Photography in Cuba and the Philippines

What are bones if not shadows or echoes of a person. What personal stories and histories lie within those shadows? [210] — Christopher Wright, *The Echo of Things* (2013)

With a skull held in each hand, a US soldier is photographed sitting atop a pile of human bones (Figure 4.1). In a morbid balancing act, he squats clumsily over a small pyramid of skulls with another one balanced on top of his head and two more tucked under each arm. A tangled pile of sun-bleached bones are scattered beneath his feet and spread across a grassy field with fenced enclosures and grave markers in the background. The man in the photograph is Frank M. Rainey (b.1867 – 1950), a US soldier who volunteered as a private in the 1st Ohio Volunteer Cavalry in 1898 and lived in the Philippines around 1900.[211] The human bones he callously disturbed were from a graveyard located near the port of Cavite outside Manila on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. The photograph is one of a dozen similar snapshots that feature Rainey and his friends at the cemetery in Cavite, which were displayed in Rainey's private photograph album that is now located in the archives of the Naval History and Heritage Command (NHHC) in Washington D.C.[212] These images exemplify a popular and macabre practice that emerged in the aftermath of 1898, in which camera-wielding US citizens photographed and plundered cemetery boneyards,

[210] Christopher Wright, The Echo of Things: The Lives of Photographs in the Solomon Islands, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

[211] See California State Library, Sacramento, *The Official Roster of Ohio Soldiers in the War with Spain*; and *Applications for Headstones for U.S. Military Veterans, 1925-1941*, Microfilm publication M1916, 134 rolls, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, National Archives at Washington, D.C.

[212] Frank Rainey's albums are located in the Elizabeth Davis Price Collection at the Naval History and Heritage Command in Washington D.C. Accession number 2014.41.

where thousands of skeletal remains were deposited into large heaps after removal from their original graves. As I demonstrate in this chapter, this morbid photographic custom was normalized and perpetuated through personal snapshots taken and collected as souvenirs or "trophies," and by the extensive commercialization of boneyard images through books, popular magazines, and newspapers, as well as stereographs and postcards. They functioned to satisfy mainland American desires for lurid pictures of the new empire; they also shaped the enforcement of new US colonial policies regarding the business of death and burial on the islands. Distinct from the overt violence displayed in images of executions and battlefield dead, boneyard photographs represent an inherent violence in their making, which involved the disturbing of persons – both living and dead.[213]

4.1 Boneyards and Bone Pits: History and Customs

A sight that would have appeared strange and shocking to most US citizens, cemetery boneyards were commonplace in many Pacific and Caribbean island territories of Spain (which became territories of the US after the war). They were a matter of both cultural and natural geography. That is, what do you do when you have more bodies to bury than land to bury them in? The customary solution was to disinter remains from a grave after a period of years to make way for new "occupants." Sometimes referred to as bone piles, *osarios*, bone pits or even bone valleys, these were designated spaces within or near cemeteries where disinterred, disarticulated human skeletons were piled en masse without identification, either above ground or in an open pit.

[213] A version of this chapter was published in an edited volume, see Krystle Stricklin, "With a Skull in Each Hand: Boneyard Photography in the American Empire after 1898," in Joseph Hartman ed., *Imperial Islands: Art, Architecture and Visual Experience in the US Insular Empire after 1898*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021), 62-81.

The bone piles amassed throughout Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines varied in size and formation, and were commonly located in the corners of a cemetery. The rules and practices for this process varied from one cemetery to the next. In each of these countries, however, the process was largely managed by the Catholic Church in what is best described as a "grave rental system." The custom was for a deceased person's family to "rent" a grave space, sometimes in a crypt or a temporary in-ground plot, for a fixed number of years and with a yearly fee paid to the church.[214] Once the burial "lease" had expired, or if the grave rent was not paid or renewed by the family, the skeletal remains were removed from their crypt and transferred by cart to the bone piles.

Many families could not afford the cost of a burial, in which case, the loved one's remains were sent straight to the pile. For this, the bodies were covered with quicklime to aid in the decomposition process to remove the soft tissue and organs, before the bones were transferred by cart to the bone pit. In the US, where land is abundant, there is little concern about burying people in the ground with individual plots or in lavish tombs; however, for small island countries land is limited and large burial grounds are simply impractical. Even today, many Catholic and Orthodox countries, predominantly in Europe, rely on the practice of disinterment and make use of enclosed spaces, such as ossuaries, catacombs, and charnel houses, to contain and display human skeletal remains.[215] There are, however, few historical or contemporary examples of ossuaries or charnel

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[214] The exact amount owed for a grave space varied by country, city, and cemetery, as did the process of collecting burial "rent." While unpaid graves were often quickly emptied of their remains, in some situations, attempts were made to locate the deceased's family and renew the grave lease. One method used in the Philippines was to display an "unpaid" casket with remains on the side of the road along with the deceased's name and see if someone would claim them. If not, then the remains would go to the bone pile. Descriptions of this practice were abundant in the US, for an example, see *Standard Guide to Havana: complete handbook for visitors, with maps, illustrations, history, and an English-Spanish manual of conversation*, (New York: Foster & Reynolds, 1906), 80-81. For a more contemporary discussion of the practice, see Michaelangelo E. Dakudao, "The Development of Cemeteries in Manila Before 1941," in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* 20, (1992): 133-150.

[215] There are many famous examples of catacombs and bone chambers throughout Europe, for more on this, see Christine, Quigley, *Skulls and Skeleton: Human Bone Collections and Accumulations*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001.) For a fascinating look at a modern example of Fascist ossuaries in Italy from the First World War, see Hannah

houses in England; Protestant burial traditions favor in-ground graves, which is perhaps another reason why the custom never developed in the US.

The geographic scope of boneyard photography was vast, spreading across two oceans, and emerged as a direct result of the wars and the US's rapid and violent territorial projections toward empire on a global scale. In large part, the boneyards of America's new empire attained notoriety through sensationalized stories and images that appeared in the press and popular culture. Capturing the attention of the US public, many expressed horror and shock at what was perceived to be an unorthodox treatment of the dead. Writing home to their families in 1898, US soldiers and sailors repeatedly described the bone piles as "ghastly," "strange," "gruesome," and "horrific" sights, and many journalists likened the "eviction" of bodies from their graves to poorly managed tenement houses.[216] This public shock and disapproval, however, did not deter from the desire to own such images, as evidenced by the multitude of stereographs and postcards published and sold, as well as the private snapshots, such as Rainey's, which as I demonstrate frequently appeared in albums and scrapbooks related to the war.

On April 18, 1898, three days before the official declaration of war with Spain, *The Washington Post* published a story written by Fannie Brigham Ward, a well-known journalist and traveler, in which she described her first sighting of a Cuban boneyard in Havana's famed Cristóbal Colón Cemetery.[217] Working as a special correspondent for *The Post*, Ward stumbled upon the

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Malone, "The Republican Legacy of Italy's Fascist Ossuaries of the First World War," *Modern Italy: Journal of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy* 24, no. 2, Cambridge University Press, 2019: 199–217.

[216] For one example, see George Kennan, "The Regeneration of Cuba," *The Outlook*, Vol. 62, June 10, 1899, 336.

[217] Fannie B. Ward, "Our Sailors' Graves: Visit to the Havana Cemetery Where They are Buried," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 1898, 9. The same account was published in the *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, April 24, 1898, 6. For more on Fannie B. Ward and other female correspondents who reported on the war, see Carolyn M. Edy, *The Woman War Correspondent, the U.S. Military, and the Press: 1846–1947*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 15 – 32.

boneyard while visiting the graves of the US sailors who died onboard the USS *Maine* when it exploded in Havana Harbor on February 15, an event that precipitated the war.[218] Ward, like many US citizens who would visit the cemetery in the following years, commented upon the impressive chapel and marble monuments erected within the cemetery. It is important to note that the bone pits were not the entirety or even the centerpiece of cemeteries, but merely a section of a much larger burial ground that often contained many traditional graves, mausoleums, and tomb monuments. In her narrative for the *Post*, Ward detailed her visit to the "Dead-House" at Colon where corpses were taken to be covered in quicklime and other arrangements were made to prepare remains for the bone pile. Ward wrote of the bone pit at Colón as "a place which few who visit the cemetery ever hear of."[219] This fact changed quickly as a result of the war with Spain and the subsequent Philippine-American War (1899 – 1902). As more boneyard stories and photographs emerged, they continued to be a topic of debate well into the new century.

In October 1898, leading newspapers such as *The Boston Journal* and *The Evening Times* in Washington D.C. published their first stories about boneyards discovered by US soldiers in cemeteries throughout Puerto Rico. By early December, more newspapers and magazines featured similar reports from the Philippines and Cuba, with ever-increasing frequency.[220] The most detailed accounts came from soldier's letters published regularly in regional and hometown papers. In these letters, soldiers wrote of their many new experiences abroad, the challenges of war, and their local regiment's activities. For many US citizens at home, these letters provided the first

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[218] For more on the burial of the sailors who died on the *Maine*, see Shannon Bontrager, *Death at the Edges of Empire: Fallen Soldiers, Cultural Memory, and the Making of an American Nation, 1863-1921*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 119-147.

[219] Fannie Ward, "Our Sailor's Graves," 9.

[220] "Strange Porto Rico," *The Evening Times*, October 12, 1898, 4.

knowledge of places and peoples largely unknown to a mainland US audience, and sightings of boneyards were described often and with great attention. In May 1899, when describing a boneyard in the Philippines, Private Rob C. Blakely from Kansas wrote, "One can see here bodies in all stages of decomposition, some with skin dried up and some the bones merely hang together. There are thousands of bodies in these bone piles."[221] Another solider wrote to his niece in June 1900, "I was down to a Filipino cemetery not long ago and saw them bury a few natives. There is a pile of human bones and skulls where they dump them out to make room for more. I climbed up on the pile and there must have been a thousand person's skulls in the pile […] once seen never to be forgotten. I can see them yet when I shut my eyes."[222] These letters are illustrative of a growing public interest in the new empire's cemeteries, and the coinciding craze for boneyard pictures that arose during the early years of US colonialism.

Together with firsthand descriptions, boneyard photographs served as important visual proof for a broader audience back in the US. They were quickly reproduced as stereoviews and postcards, printed in books and magazines, and displayed in public venues, all of which amounted to a vast constellation of visual objects. Dramatic scenes of tangled human bones stacked in mounds high and wide enough to stand upon made for morbid, yet altogether engrossing photographs. Stereoviews sold by Strohmeyer & Wyman, the Kilburn Brothers, and the Keystone View Company allowed armchair tourists the opportunity to observe the bone piles in the safety of their homes (Figure 4.2). Group portraits and personal snapshots taken at the bone piles functioned both as war mementos and travel souvenirs, and were shared in intimate settings among

[221] Rob C. Blakely, "Letter," *Burr Oak Herald*, May 4, 1899, 1.

[222] "To Miss Ora Carpenter, Another Niece," *The Pleasanton Observer-Enterprise*, June 16, 1900, 1.

family and friends, and displayed in travel albums and scrapbooks. The normalization of boneyard photographs through their commercial sale and private consumption largely obscured the inherent violence in these images, and further perpetuated such dehumanizing acts toward the bones of Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Filipino peoples.

With the development of affordable personal cameras, US citizens traveling to the new territories generated an untold number of photographs of every subject imaginable; yet, pictures of the boneyards often received special attention in the press, with reports of photos mailed home and announcements of their public display, clearly indicating their desirability as objects. In March 1899, *The Charlotte Observer* reported that a Mr. George Fitzsimons had received "several interesting photographs" from Havana, including a snapshot of the wreck of the *Maine* and a scene of "a lot of American ghouls in the bone yard of Cristobol [sic] Colon cemetery."[223] The article mentioned a second photograph taken at Colón that showed "a pyramid of skulls raised upon a coffin."[224] In another example, a furniture store in Carroll, Iowa advertised for visitors to come and see an "excellent collection" and display of war "curios" brought back from Cuba belonging to a young American bugler, who had recently returned home from his station in Havana.[225] The local newspaper provided a detailed list of items on display, many of which were objects taken or stolen from significant sites around Havana, including a brass knob from the governor general's palace, rocks from Morro Castle, and a chip of wood from the scaffold used by the Spanish to

[223] "Havana Pictures," *The Charlotte Observer*, March 18, 1899, 6.

[224] Ibid., 6.

[225] "An Excellent Collection," *Carroll Sentinel*, May 25, 1899, 5.

execute Cuban prisoners.[226] Highlighted on the list was a photograph taken of the famous bone pile at the Cristóbal Colón Cemetery.

4.2 El Cementerio de Cristóbal Colón, Havana, Cuba

In the northeast corner of the Cristóbal Colón Cemetery, so-named for Christopher Columbus, existed the largest boneyard in Cuba and the most notorious for camera-wielding tourists in Havana. In an 1899 article for *The New York Times*, one such visitor, a lieutenant colonel Oliver Ellsworth Wood, described his first sighting of the Colón boneyard as follows:

> One the right of the main entrance and inside the grounds, about two hundred yards from the gate, are to be seen the high stone walls of an enclosure of some sort with no apparent opening. Being on horseback, I was enabled from my height to look over the wall, and there before my very eyes were skeletons complete and in fragments, numberless skulls with the hair still growing on them, and the various bones of the human form – all heaped up and thrown promiscuously into one huge pile![227]

Constructed in the 1870s, Colón Cemetery served as Havana's primary burial ground after city officials recognized a need for a larger burial space, due in part to a devastating cholera outbreak in 1868 and the city's growing population.[228] Prior to that, the Espada Cemetery, founded in 1806 by Spanish bishop Juan José Díaz de Espada, was the first public burial ground in Havana and where the city's first boneyard took shape. An American journalist, who visited the Espada

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[226] Ibid., 5.

[227] Oliver Ellsworth Wood, "Cristobal Colon Cemetery and Its Occupants," *The New York Times – Illustrated Magazine*, August 12, 1899, 4.

[228] In 1987, the Colon Cemetery was declared a National Monument of the Cuban Republic and remains one of the most important funerary sites in the Americas. For a concise history, see Lohania Aruca, Narciso G. Menocal and Edward Shaw, "The Cristóbal Colón Cemetery in Havana," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Vol 22, Cuba Theme Issue, (1996): 36 – 55.

Cemetery in 1843, described seeing "in each of the four corners of the cemetery there is raised a pyramid-like pile of human bones bleached to snowy whiteness."[229] The Espada Cemetery was abandoned soon after the 1876 opening of the larger Colón Cemetery, which covered an area of roughly 504,400 square meters east of the Rio Almendares river[230]

A visit to the Colón Cemetery boneyard was all but mandatory for newcomers to Havana in 1898. Described by one newspaper as a "resort for sightseers," the graveyard was perhaps the most talked about site in all of Havana, and a first stop for many curious onlookers. "The first place we visited was the boneyard in the Cristóbal Colón cemetery," wrote John Nolan, a private in the 160th Indiana Volunteer Infantry, to his parents in 1899.[231] "There are said to be 860,000 skeletons in the pit," Nolan claimed.[232] Similarly, US Navy machinist, Louis P. Lipps, wrote to the editor of his hometown paper:

> The Cristóbal Colón cemetery is about as interesting as Havana itself. About the first question one asks of an acquaintance is 'Have you seen the bone pile?' The bone pile is in an enclosure about fifty feet square, walled about seven feet about the ground and excavated about fifteen feet. […] The enclosure presents a ghastly sight.[233]

Newspapers in the US published countless stories and descriptions of the bone pile at Colón Cemetery, often noting the many photographers who flocked to the site. Many popular images

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[229] *The Daily Picayune*, as cited in Peter B. Dedek, *The Cemeteries of New Orleans: A Cultural History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2017), 31.

[230] Aruca, Menocal, Shaw, Ibid.

[231] From a letter published in the *Steuben Republican*, March 22, 1899, 4.

[232] The number of skeletons contained in the bone pit at Colón was a debated topic in the US. Some reported it was somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000 remains and others, such as Nolan, said it to be as high as 860,000 or more. Various methods were used to estimate the number, including accounting for the years the pit existed and the population of Havana. However, there was never a public consensus or an official count reported.

[233] "The Maine Dead – Their Graves Decorated in the Cemetery in Havana," *The Massillon Independent*, February 28, 1899, 3.

depicted groups of soldiers standing on top of the pile, posing with skulls or crossed bones in their hands (Figure 4.3). One visitor to Colón reported seeing soldiers at the boneyard playing ball "with a skull and a thigh bone" while being photographed.[234] "It was a very cheerful occasion for them," he remarked. "They crawled down on the pile and had fun with it."[235] This account certainly aligns with photographs such as Figure 4.3 that portray groups of US servicemen posed with skulls and bones in hand. In fact, the general frivolity displayed by US tourists to the boneyard affirms that such callous acts of desecration were viewed by many as a normal leisure activity, as well as a unique photographic opportunity.

The Detroit Photographic Company produced a series of photographs from Colón Cemetery that reveal the boneyard's post-1898 paradox as both a functional burial ground for Havana's many inhabitants and a tantalizing tourist sight for US visitors. Founded by Detroit entrepreneur William A. Livingston, Jr. and photographer Edwin H. Husher, the Detroit Photographic Company was a leading publisher of postcards and photographic views in the early 1900s, and one of the largest producers of images related to the war and new territories.[236] Capturing views for the Detroit Photographic Co., two photographers roamed about Colón Cemetery, one dressed in all black and the other in a stark white jacket and hat, sometimes with a lit cigar hanging from his mouth. Treating the cemetery as their photographic playground, the two

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[234] F. S. Pursell, "From the Pearl of the Antilles Comes an Interesting Letter," *The Ohio Democrat*, February 16, 1899, 1.

[235] Ibid., 1.

[236] For more on the Detroit Photographic Company, see Cynthia Read-Miller, *Main Street U.S.A., in Early Photographs: 113 Detroit Publishing Co. Views*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1988). The Colón Cemetery photographs are held in the Detroit Publishing Company collection at the Library of Congress. They were gifted to the Library in 1949 from the State Historical Society of Colorado. While the Library's catalog has dated the images "between 1895 and 1910" I surmise they were made sometime between 1898 and 1902 after the war, but before the government covered over the pile.

men alternated turns with the camera, capturing one another in several clichéd poses, for example, each stood perched atop the pile while gazing contemplatively at a skull in his hands. In a few carefully composed images, the cameraman's shadow appears as a ghoulish black silhouette cast onto a tangled white web of sun-bleached bones. As if deliberate, one of the photographers positioned himself so that his shadowy form appeared headless, cut-off in contrast to his friend, who holds his seemingly "missing" head in his hands (Figure 4.4 and 4.5). In such images, the man's severed shadow cast over a sea of anonymous death seems an inadvertent allusion to the long shadow of empire that loomed over Cuba, as well as the violence it brought about, first with Spain and then the US.

In addition to ominous arrangements of shadows and bone, the Detroit Photographic Co. series unveils how the practice of boneyard photography disturbed the grueling labor of death and the cemetery's occupants, both living and dead. Large straw baskets, which were used as advantageous props for the photographers (Figure 4.6), were in fact valuable tools needed for the transportation of bones from one location to another within the cemetery. As mentioned previously, skeletal remains were removed from their shallow graves after a period of years and deposited at the bone pile, a process that required great physical labor for the cemetery's many Cuban workers. The Detroit photographers documented this work, with pictures of two Cuban workmen using large straw baskets to load and unload an oxcart full of bones (Figure 4.7). In the photograph, a workman throws a large basket of bones over his head and into the oxcart, with wheels as tall as the man, while another worker stands beside him, holding the cart's next occupants. Once full, the workmen would have wheeled the cart to the top of the bone pile to unload the remains. In 1899, a journalist from South Carolina observed, "There is a narrow opening in the wall, through which the newest arrivals are wheeled up on the sea of skulls and there

dumped,"[237] and as Fannie Ward described in her story for the *Washington Post*, "The tracks of wheels over crumbled bones show where horses and carts are driven in over the heap to deposit fresh loads."[238] In another image from the series, the photographer dressed in black stands beside a heap of bones and skulls dumped at the base of a tree, with a Cuban cemetery worker stood on the opposite side of the pile (Figure 4.8). The posed scene was arranged with the Cuban workman's hand placed on top of an overturned basket that rests on top of the pile, clearly indicating the work he has performed. His hands and pants are visibly covered in dirt and a light-colored ash, likely from the continued handling of the bones. In contrast, the man dressed in black appears spotless with his hands casually placed in his jacket pockets, as he stares down at the freshly deposited skulls. With the shadow of the second man in the foreground, the image portrays an uncanny trio of laborer, spectator, and photographer. In another image from this series, one of the Cuban laborers stands near the edge of an open grave or pit, bent over at the waist with his hands in the dirt, revealing the truly backbreaking nature of such work. (Figure 4.9). It is unclear how many, if any, of these photographs were reproduced for the public; however, for a contemporary audience they underscore the intense physical labor that was required to maintain the bone piles.

The practice of boneyard photography largely obscured the presence and labor of Cubans who worked at the cemetery, by omitting them from the photographs and public discourse on death and burials in the new empire. A few notable exceptions are the Detroit photographs mentioned above, and a popular stereograph published in 1899 by Strohmeyer and Wyman, titled *Human Bones exhumed from graves, Havana, Cuba* (Figure 4.10). The view depicts a large mound of

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[237] "Havana's Golgotha," *Yorkville Enquirer*, February 4, 1899, 1.

[238] Fannie B. Ward, "Our Sailors' Graves: Visit to the Havana Cemetery Where They are Buried," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 1898, 9.

disarticulated remains in what appears to be Colón Cemetery, placed among rows of crosses and separate from the larger bone pit at Colón. It is likely that these remains had been exhumed from nearby shallow graves and piled together to be transported by cart to the pit. Three human figures are just discernable in the background. Two are white men, one dressed in a suit and one in a uniform, and are likely US citizens. The other person is a dark-skinned Black or brown man, who is presumably a Cuban cemetery worker. Of the three figures, the Cuban man is stood closest to the foreground and posed behind the mound of bones. Similar to the Detroit Photographic Co. images, the photographer has seemingly positioned the Cuban worker within the scene like a human "prop" within the cemetery, akin to the straw baskets and wooden carts used to transport the bones.

Written accounts from soldiers who visited the cemetery provided the US public with slightly more information about the daily work of the cemeteries. In November of 1902, a J. E. Whipple, writing for *The Gazette* in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, described his visit to Colón Cemetery with friends, and detailed the arduous work he observed: including the digging of graves, the burning of old coffins, and the extensive use of quicklime at the "casa del [sic] muerte" or Dead House.[239] Whipple, who snuck into the cemetery through a hole in the wall because the gates were closed, wrote:

> Not very far from the place in the wall through which we had gained admission to the cemetery we found a large pile of skeletons stacked up beneath a tree, and close to it were a number of workmen engaged in the pleasant and cheerful occupation of disinterring others and adding them to the collection beneath the tree. Nearby a fire composed of rotten coffins burned sullenly and polluted the atmosphere with the fumes of its sickening smoke. We silently stood by and watched the workmen labor at their gruesome task until their shovels brought in view the livid and distorted features of a badly decomposed corpse."[240]

[239] J. E. Whipple, "Story of the Forty-Ninth, Iowa Regiment's History," *The Gazette*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, November 29, 1902, 12.

[240] Ibid., 12.

The scene that Whipple described correlates with the photographs taken by the Detroit Photographic Co. photographers and the above mentioned stereoview.

A similar firsthand account written by Thomas Blount, a soldier who served in the 1st Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers, was published in March of 1899 in *The Daily Journal* of New Bern, North Carolina.[241] In his letter Blount also described the day-to-day labor performed by Cuban workmen that he witnessed at the Colón Cemetery boneyard. He wrote: "Every day the leases are expiring and you can see them [workers] going around with a cart and opening the graves and throwing the bones in the cart, thence to the Bone Yard."[242] He also noted: "There was a photographer going around with his camera, taking snapshots of all these things and once or twice his picture included some of Uncle Sam's boys, as of course wherever there is anything to be seen the blue uniform is on hand."[243] Blount's account, along with his description of cemetery labor, demonstrates the growing popularity for US soldiers to visit Colón and acquire photographs of the bone pile.

The daily labor that Whipple and Blount witnessed and described at Colón was a common sight and occupation in cemeteries and boneyards across Cuba. This is evident in another boneyard photograph taken at a cemetery in Cienfuegos, a city located on the southern coast of the island (Figure 4.11). Taken by an unknown photographer, the snapshot was displayed in a private album that likely belonged to soldier who served in the 6th Ohio regiment; the album is now held at the

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[241] Blount, Thomas. "Our Boys in Cuba," The Daily Journal, March 14, 1899, 4. Blount's letter was dated February 25, 1899.

[242] Ibid., 4.

[243] Ibid., 4.

Seaver Center for Western History Research at the NHMLAC in Los Angeles, CA.[244] The photo portrays a group of men including a few soldiers and several Cuban cemetery workers, who are posed around an open grave. A Cuban man stands inside the grave holding up a shovel, while another is sat to the side with a skull in his hands, and a large basket half-filled with dirt and bones rests beside the opening. Beneath the photograph, a handwritten caption reads: "An everyday occurrence in Cienfuegos Cemetery." The photograph is atypical in its inclusion of the Cuban cemetery workers in the group portrait with US soldiers. The caption further highlights the fact that grave rentals and boneyards were a commonplace practice in Cuba during this period. Yet, the larger system of labor and the cultural significance of this burial practice in Cuba was rarely conveyed in these images for a US audience.

4.3 Control of the Dead: Cemeteries and Catholicism

Despite their appeal to camera-wielding soldiers and tourists, many people in the United States regarded the practice of renting graves and the use of boneyards as paradigms of Spanish "barbarism" and beheld the custom with admonishment, directed largely at the Catholic Church and clergy who controlled the burial system. After the war with Spain, the US was quick to establish a provisional military government in Cuba and relations were openly hostile between the newly appointed US administrators and the Spanish-run Catholic Church. During the Spanish-

[244] Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, cataloged as P-187 Spanish-American War in the Caribbean, Photograph album, photographs, circa 1898. The album may have belonged to a soldier who served in the 6th Ohio regiment. The photographs follow a chronological narrative format, and document a soldier's travel from Knoxville, TN to Cienfuegos, Cuba, and back to Charleston, SC.

colonial period in Cuba, Catholicism became the dominant religion across the island, and the church wielded considerable power over all aspects of Cuban life from births and marriages to death and burial.[245] After 1898, the United States government sought to diminish the church's power with sweeping laws and regulations that promised broad political, economic, and social reform across the island.

John R. Brooke (b.1838 – 1926), the 1st US military governor of Cuba, under advisement from then Secretary of State John Hay, vigorously led the early occupation efforts to safeguard US political and economic interests on the island. On April 12, 1899, Brooke issued the publication of a nine-part decree, or military order, concerning the management of Cuban cemeteries.[246] The aim of the new law, in sum, was to shift control of the highly lucrative burial business away from the church, following the belief that the US's model of separation of church and state should be adapted to Cuba as well.[247] This was a politically and economically strategic move, which aligned with the prevailing US distrust of Cuba's lingering ties to Catholicism, a religion that was perceived by many as distinctly Spanish and undemocratic.[248] This distrust was conveyed often in the press with scathing reports of the church's "for rent" burial system as corrupt and the bone piles themselves as unhygienic, gruesome, and amoral. As such, boneyard photographs, in addition

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[245] See Enid Lynette Logan, "The 1899 Cuban Marriage Law Controversy: Church, State and Empire in the Crucible of Nation," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 2 (2008): 469-94.

[246] John R. Brooke served as Cuba's military governor from January 1, 1899 to December 23, 1899, after which the position was held by Leonard Wood until May 20, 1902. For a full text of the decree, see *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U. S. Army, Military Governor, Island of Cuba*, (Cuba: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), 33.

[247] For more on the new decree, see "Ill Feeling in Havana," *The Gazette*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 12, 1899, 6.

[248] For more on Catholicism and photography in the Philippines after the war, see J.M. Mancini's essay, "The Pacific World and American Art History," in John Davis, Jennifer A. Greenhill, and Jason David LaFountain, *A Companion to American Art*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 228-245, and Katherine D. Moran, "Catholicism and the Making of the U.S. Pacific," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 12, no. 4 (2013): 434–74.

to their value and desirability as souvenirs and war mementos, were treated as evidence of the perceived need for such vast overhauls of civic and religious institutions on the island.

To that end, Brooke ordered the closure of Colón Cemetery's boneyard in mid-1899, and implemented guidelines to halt the practice across the island. Brooke's mandate to close Colón's boneyard was also an effort to stop US soldiers from stealing skulls and bones from the pit. Among soldiers in Havana, skull-collecting became such a problem that General Fitzhugh Lee, who was sent to Havana to establish order in January 1899, issued a command to all soldiers that they were no longer permitted to keep human skulls and bones in their tents.[249] The widespread theft of skulls and bones from the bone piles was a topic of great concern in the US, with such reports stating, "soldiers returning to this country have brought with them a skull or two, or a tibia, or a grilled rib."[250] Other headlines read: "American Soldiers Had Too Many Bones About Their Tents," "Skulls and Bones Barred," "Can't Keep the Skulls," and "Soldiers Fondled Skulls."[251] And when the theft of bones continued, guards had to be placed at cemetery entrances to keep soldiers out, and eventually the bone pits were covered over to prevent the further removal or addition of remains. By September 1899, it was reported that the government "has at last filled over the ghastly 'bone pit' and the days of 'luncheon on skulls' are past."[252]

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[249] While John R. Brooke was the military governor of Cuba, Fitzhugh Lee was a major general who was put in command of the Seventh Army Corps. Lee and his troops arrived in Havana in January 1899 and soon after he was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers. For more see "Soldiers Collected Bones," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, January 24, 1899, 2.

[250] "Havana's Golgotha – Skeletons of Cuba's Dead at Last Covered Over by Americans," *The Marion County News*, September 28, 1899, 7.

[251] "American Soldiers Had Too Many Bones About Their Tents," *The St. Joseph Herald*, January 24, 1899, 1; "Skulls and Bones Barred," *Portage Daily Democrat*, January 24, 1899,, 1; "Can't Keep the Skulls," *Buffalo Weekly Express*, January 26, 1899, 2; and "Soldiers Fondled Skulls," *The St. Joseph Herald*, January 24, 1899, 1.

[252] "Havana's Golgotha," *The Daily Herald*, September 27, 1899, 7.

While these laws and restrictions forever changed burial practices on the islands, they did little to lessen interest in collecting boneyard photographs or the ongoing theft of skulls as souvenirs, a practice that continued well into the first decade of the twentieth century. And yet, the closure of the bone pit at Colón was widely reported in the US as an achievement for the US colonial administration, and the news reached as far as London, England.[253] In September 1899, London's *The Church Weekly*, an Anglo-Saxon Protestant religious weekly, published an article announcing the closure of the boneyard at Colón, and conveyed approval of the uS government's move to stop the practice across the island, signifying public support on the issue from Protestant groups in the US and abroad.

Similarly, across the Pacific Ocean in the Philippines, the Catholic Church exerted considerable power over daily life and social customs – particularly in the northern island of Luzon, including control over funerals and cemeteries. At the time of the Philippine-American War and subsequent occupation of the islands, the foremost Catholic orders and friars were among the richest and most influential segments of Filipino society, and ongoing tensions mounted between those friars who maintained loyalty to the Spanish government and Filipino friars who supported the nationalist movement and Filipino independence.[254] This situation posed a number of problems for the US when, as in Cuba, the military government imposed new laws adhering to the strict separation of church and state, including an overhaul of the lucrative grave rental business. From 1898 to 1902, while the Philippine-American War was fought between US troops and the revolutionary forces of the nascent First Philippine Republic, a series of military governors

[253] "A Human Bone Pit," *The Church Weekly*, (London, England), September 22 1899, 18.

[254] For more on Catholicism in the Philippines, see Steven Shirley, *Guided by God: The Legacy of the Catholic Church in Philippine Politics*, (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2004).

were appointed to rule the islands, as well as devise and enforce the new policies. Thus many Filipinos abruptly faced the new colonial regime's aggressive regulations concerning the burial of their dead.[255]

During the war and early years of occupation, public discourse about the boneyards intensified in the US press, and particularly, boneyards in the Philippines aroused more condemnation than those in Cuba or Puerto Rico. The push to abolish boneyards in the Philippines was largely influenced by a US-imperialist agenda that hinged on the belief that Filipinos were incapable of self-government and a growing hostility toward the Catholic Church. Protestant missionaries working in the Philippines wrote letters and newspaper articles voicing their indignation at the sight of the bone pits, in an effort to arouse public support to end the burial custom. A few missionaries even attempted to halt the practice by buying land for in-ground burials that would be kept beyond the reach of the Catholic clergy. For example, in June 1899, American chaplain Charles C. Pierce wrote from the Philippines to his friend back home in Lincoln, Nebraska, "The first great necessity is a cemetery where these people can be buried […] We must have one!"[256] While proselytizing in villages and towns near Manila, Pierce conveyed his horror at his first sight of a boneyard, and in his letter published in the *Lincoln Nebraska State Journal*, he outlined a plan to raise money for a public cemetery, which he would eventually transfer to the Protestant church that he hoped to establish there.[257] The chaplain's concerns aligned with a large

[255] For a history of the military operations of the Philippine-American War see, Brain McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War: 1899-1902*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000).

[256] "Missionary Work – Former Lincoln Pastor Finds Plenty to Do," *Lincoln Nebraska State Journal*, June 12, 1899, 6.

[257] Ibid., 6.

segment of non-Catholic religious communities in the US that strongly supported the government's efforts to weaken the influence and power of Catholic clergymen in the Philippines.

To be sure, photographs played a decisive role in America's efforts to upend the Catholic Church's authority in the new empire. As mentioned previously, art historian J. M. Mancini has written in depth on the visual and material culture of the Philippine-American War, and deftly argues that photographs showcasing the destruction of Catholic sites and symbols during the war, including churches, architectural ornaments, and sacred religious objects, triumphantly celebrated the US use of force to control the changing political landscape in the Philippines.[258] The success of the new US regime required a literal and visual collapsing of the former Spanish regime, which as Mancini suggests, was "sold" in part through images of destruction and the aggressive enforcement of US ideals. Further, the United States had a vested interest in normalizing the size, scope, and ambition of its emergent empire. Rather than hiding that fact, photographs were used to make US imperial agendas highly visible. In so doing, they helped shape a plain-to-see narrative that might convince citizens of the value in the United States' rapid and violent territorial projections toward empire on a global scale. In this context, certain photographs can be read as reinforcing the government's attempt to regulate the burial practices of foreign peoples as part of a larger agenda designed to subjugate and control the bodies (both living and dead) of colonial inhabitants.

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[258] For more on this, see J. M. Mancini, *Art and War in the Pacific World: Making, Breaking, and Taking from Anson's Voyage to the Philippine-American War*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 147-211. For more on photography and visual culture in the Philippines generally, see Enrique B. De la Cruz and Pearlie Rose Baluyut, editors, *Confrontations, Crossings, and Convergence: Photographs of the Philippines and the United States, 1898-1998* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1998), and Benito M. Vergara, *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995).

This is evident in a photograph of a Filipino funeral from José de Olivares and William Smith Bryan's influential two-volume book, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil* (1899). Appearing in the 2nd volume, the photograph titled *A Filipino Funeral Under American Auspices* (Figure 4.12) includes the following caption:

> The Spanish style of depositing corpses temporarily in a vault, and after a few months or years throwing the bones in a common heap has been discontinued under American influences. But the prejudices of the people were so firmly fixed that in some instances it was necessary to send an armed guard to enforce the rules of the authorities.[259]

On the far left in the photograph, an American guard stands with his head bowed and both hands placed firmly on a rifle poised between his legs. With a crowd of somber mourners behind him, the armed-guard gazes down at the work of a gravedigger who is shoveling dirt from inside a grave. This scene reveals the armed intrusion of US imperialism into Filipino cemeteries, and also highlights how Filipino burial and mourning practices were openly exposed to mainland American eyes – and cameras. The purpose here is twofold – to offer viewers both a denunciation of the barbaric "Spanish style" of boneyard burials and to show how Filipinos were resisting US "civilizing" efforts. Yet, a closer look at the photograph tells a different story. None of the funeral attendees appear in any way defiant or in protest of the burial. Instead, and contrary to the caption's claim, the women seated around the edge of the grave look appropriately grief stricken, some with handkerchiefs held up to their faces, quietly mourning for the unnamed deceased. Resistance here is not necessarily to the "civilizing" efforts of the United States. In this case, the mournful scene embodies the new realities of death and dying in the aftermath of war and a changing colonial regime.

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[259] José de Olivares and William Smith Bryan, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil,* (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Pub. Co, 1899), 719.

During the Philippine-American War, cemeteries and boneyards were not only sights of fascination and horror, but actively used spaces of war. Many Catholic churches and graveyards were utilized by American troops as strategic hideouts, for places to rest on long marches, and for the burial of their own dead. For one example, in July 1899, private Frank S. Brown of the 4th US Infantry wrote of a night he spent camped on top of a bone pile while on his march to fight in Northern Luzon. In his letter, published in *The Daily Times New Brunswick*, Brown described "an old Filipino graveyard" located about eight miles north of Manila, where he and his compatriots "put up our shelter tents and slept on top of bones in the grave yard." [260] He further surmised that "many victims of Spanish crimes and murders lie buried in the graveyard."[261] Whether truthful or not, the language of his letter and the assignment of Spanish blame for the bone piles' many occupants is indicative of an oft-repeated sentiment expressed in many such letters sent home by soldiers. Without any proof of how the bones he slept on came to the pile, perhaps it was merely an attempt to assuage his mind as to why he was fighting in a war 8,000 miles from home. Far from neutral spaces, church cemeteries and boneyards across Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines were transformed by the war and US colonial occupation into sites and sights of the changing colonial regime.

[260] Frank S. Brown, "A Soldier's Views," *The Daily Times New Brunswick*, August 29, 1899, 5.

[261] Brown, "A Soldier's Views," 5.

4.4 Visits to the Boneyard: US Journalists and Cemetery Tourism

The most visited and photographed boneyard in the Philippines was at Paco Cemetery in the capital city of Manila, just south of the Pasig River and adjacent two of the city's most important historical sites, the *Intramuros* and Luneta Park. Originally built by Spanish colonizers for the burial of their dead, by the end of the nineteenth century Paco Cemetery was a place of great significance to the Philippine independence movement as the initial burial spot of José Rizal, the beloved revolutionary politician and poet whom the Spanish had executed in 1896. The proto-nationalist writings of Rizal inspired the Philippines Revolution against Spain that same year, which concluded with a tense resolution of non-aggression, the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, in 1897.[262] When the United States declared war against Spain in 1898, pro-nationalist rebels in the Philippines first sided with US forces. However, after US soldiers opened fire on Filipino insurgents in what would be called the Battle of Manila in February 1899, the revolutionaries would declare war against the US government, thus beginning the Philippine-American War.

Coincidentally, on February 4, 1899, the same day as the start of the war, *Harper's Weekly* published an article written by their most prominent correspondent in the Philippines, John F. Bass, telling of a nighttime visit to the Paco Cemetery boneyard, including a conversation he heard between a Filipino man and a US soldier who desired a souvenir skull.[263] For some US citizens, a trip to the boneyard meant leaving not only with a token photograph, but with stolen skulls and other bones as trophy souvenirs. Accompanied by a small group of friends and with his camera in

[262] For more on the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, see Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2008), 188-192.

[263] John F. Bass, "Our New Possessions – The Philippines," *Harper's Weekly*, February 4, 1899, 119 – 121.

tow, Bass toured the entire cemetery to provide a detailed report for the readers of *Harper's Weekly* on the "curious" burial customs of the Filipino people, a topic that endlessly captivated the US public. Upon reaching the bone pit, he writes:

> A rather pretty Filipino girl, nonchalantly smoking a cigarette at the edge of the pit, gave a light to one of our party. Her escort, climbed down into the bone-yard, and picking up a skull muttered something in Tagalog. The relic-hunter among us asked the man, in Spanish, to give him the skull to take home as a memento. 'Oh, señor,' answered the Tagalo, 'if you take it home, it will jump about at night, and give you no rest until you either break it or bring it back here!'[264]

Upon hearing the Filipino's response, the unnamed "relic hunter" in Bass' party suggested that a "splash of holy water" on the skull might keep it from "jumping about at night." The story was featured along with Bass' own photograph of the Paco Cemetery bone pit, captioned "A Valley of Dry Bones," (Figure 4.13) and this particular excerpt of his story was reprinted and circulated widely in newspapers across the country.

The encounter certainly raises a few interesting questions. The first, regards the identity of the Filipina girl or woman and her Tagalog-speaking "escort." Who were they and why were they at the cemetery near the bone pile that night? While the "who" remains impossible to verify, one clue as to "why" might be found in the precise date of Bass' visit, which was during the middle of *Allhallowtide*, specifically on the night of November 1st on All Saint's Day.[265] As Bass described for his readers, the following day, All Soul's Day (November 2), "is the only day in the year when souls in purgatory have a chance to get out."[266] The cemetery that night would have been full of people visiting the graves of loved ones to light candles and say prayers, and it was one of the few

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[264] Bass, "Our New Possessions – The Philippines," 119.

[265] *Allhallowtide* referrs to the three-day religious observance of All Saints' Eve (October 31), All Saints' Day (November 1st), and All Souls' Day (November 2).

[266] Bass, "Our New Possessions – The Philippines," 119 – 121.

nights of the year when women were allowed to enter the cemetery. It may also explain the warning of the haunted skull. Bass' story goes on to tell that the suggestion of holy water was scoffed at by the Filipino man, who insisted that it would do no good. One can only speculate if this warning was based on a sincere belief that removing skulls from the pit would incur such a haunting, or if he was merely trying to scare off the would-be relic hunter. In any case, his story demonstrates the popular desire for such gruesome tales, as well as stolen relics, from the new territories.

In Cuba and Puerto Rico, similar social restrictions barred women from attending funerals and visiting cemeteries, and as in the Philippines, those restrictions were lifted during the observance of *Allhallowtide*, which to this day remains an important time for remembering the dead. Historian Luis Martínez-Fernández has argued that women in nineteenth-century Havana faced harsh social restrictions and segregation due in part to societal issues of class and race, wherein the Cuban elite desired to "protect" elite white women – and their whiteness – from the predominantly black and *mulatto* population of Havana.[267] These gender restrictions, however, did not keep some intrepid women from visiting the boneyards. In addition to Fannie Ward's account from 1898, journalist Dorothy Stanhope visited and wrote about the boneyard at Colón. While working for *The New York Times*, Stanhope made at least two trips to the cemetery – one in February 1899 and again in November 1902.[268] Like Frank Bass in the Philippines at Paco Cemetery, Stanhope visited Colón during *Allhallowtide* on All Saint's Day or All Soul's Day, otherwise known as Decoration Days in Cuba. Writing in 1902, she recalls:

[267] Luis Martínez-Fernández, "Life in a "Male City": Native and Foreign Elite Women in Nineteenth-Century Havana," *Cuban Studies* 25 (1995): 27-49.

[268] Dorothy Stanhope, "Cuba's Decoration Day in Winter," *New York Times*, November 16, 1902, 35.

> I well remember that on my first visit to Colón in February of 1899, I saw many little heaps of human bones all about, waiting for the cart to carry them to the others in the far corner. Today nothing of the kind is to be seen, and the osario is no longer open to the public.[269]

In fact, Stanhope's first visit to Colón would have coincided with the mounting pressure on US military officials to restrict access to the boneyard and stop soldiers from stealing the remains.

Yet, as late as 1907, US tourists were still visiting, photographing and robbing skulls from Cuban and Filipino boneyards. Early that year, Mrs. Charles R. Miller, a prominent Baltimore photojournalist, traveled to Cuba on a mission to dispel the numerous and vague rumors circulating in the States that it was unsafe for US citizens, particularly women, to travel outside of Cuba's larger cities.[270] Miller quickly disproved this notion, reporting back of the ease with which she travelled alone from Havana to Santiago de Cuba, declaring it "absolutely safe" for any man or woman. That June, *Leslie's Weekly*, whom Miller had worked for since 1898, published her story on Cuban funerals and cemeteries, along with four of her photographs.[271] In the article, Miller described the funeral and burial practices she saw at Colón Cemetery, as well as a trip she took to Camagüey to see the boneyard of "Cristo Cemetery."[272] Her visit to Camagüey was made on the recommendation of a man, who approached her in a café one afternoon. Hearing that she was in Cuba working for *Leslie's*, the man suggested that she travel to Camagüey. Of the conversation, she writes:

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[269] Ibid.

[270] Miller wrote of her ability to travel alone throughout the interior of the island without any harm, and even when she went looking for trouble, found none. See "Women Safe in Cuba," *The Salina Daily Union*, April 26, 1907, 3; and *Evening-Times Republican*, July 2, 1907, 5.

[271] Miller published stories as "Mrs. C. R. Miller," seeing her husband's name as her protection. For more see, "Perilous Camera Trips of Woman Photographer," *The Baltimore Sun*, December 22, 1907, 14; For her article on Cuba see, Mrs. C. R. Miller, "Cuba's Queer Funeral Customs," *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, June 6, 1907, 10.

[272] Although unclear in the article, it is likely that the "Cristo Cemetery" Miller visited is the Necropolis de Camagüey located beside the Iglesia de San Cristo del Buen Viaje.

> 'Well,' he continued, "if your nerve is good go out to the cemetery and get some pictures of the bones. See, I've been there," and he drew from his pocket a human skull and several teeth, which he laid on the table before me. Then he added, "I think I'll have an inkstand made of the skull, and the teeth I'll just keep for souvenirs." [273]

Upon seeing the relics, Miller writes of her disgust and disbelief that a "civilized American" could be "such a degenerate." Yet, despite her apparent revulsion, the very next morning she set out for Camagüey, a nearly seven-hour trip, to see the boneyard for herself. When she got to the boneyard, she described seeing bones "scattered about like leaves in autumn," as she was guided around by a man described only as "the old care-taker," presumably a Cuban cemetery worker, who is pictured in one of the four photographs chosen for the article. Miller does not admit to taking any photographs of the boneyard, though it seems likely that she would have done so, given the opportunity. However, her story does demonstrate that the closure of the Colón Cemetery boneyard in 1899 did not, in fact, put an end to the US practice of trophy-taking, as it had been widely reported in the US. As well, Miller's story provides another example of boneyards as spaces where US visitors encountered, or more accurately interrupted, the laborious work of death in island cemeteries, such as the case with the Detroit Photographic series.

The boneyard visits and stories written by John Bass, Dorothy Stanhope, and Mrs. Charles R. Miller are just a few examples of many similar accounts published for a US audience that remained popular in the US from early 1899 to around 1913, when the country's attention largely turned to global events in Europe leading up to World War I. Alongside privately owned boneyard photographs, these public narratives offered context and additional insight to mainland Americans who desired lurid images and stories of the new territories.

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[273] Ibid.

4.5 A Stolen Skull Display: The Frank Rainey Albums, ca. 1900

This brings us, finally, back to the photograph of Frank Rainey sitting in a boneyard surrounded by the skulls and bones of Filipinos who were interred at a cemetery near Cavite (Figure 4.1). The photograph is one of many that belonged to Rainey which are now located in the archives of the NHHC in Washington DC. The collection contains three of Rainey's personal photograph albums that have been disassembled from their original binding for archival and conservation purposes. The albums together contained hundreds of photographs depicting scenes of Rainey's life in Cavite from the early 1900s. The albums' outer bindings have not survived, however the pages remain intact and are made of standard grey cardstock typical of albums of this period, as discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation. Many of the photographs are approximately 8 by 5 inches and fixed to the pages with standard adhesive.[274] Without the original cover it is difficult to determine the precise arrangement of images within each album. However, the photographs have been kept in order according to the album in which they were displayed. As such, we know that Rainey's boneyard photographs were displayed in two of the three albums. Other photographs in the albums depicted typical scenes of naval personnel in villages and at the base in Cavite, photographs of US ships, including the USS *Rhode Island*, USS *Constitution*, and USS *Vermont*, among others, images of Spanish ship wrecks, a naval hospital and marine railways, and various portraits of officers and crewmembers. The first album, which contains six boneyard photographs, also includes images of the larger cemetery at Cavite, separate from the boneyard.

[274] In the third album there are smaller photographic prints, including several blue cyanotype prints, collaged onto a single leaf. This page was likely located at the back of the album, as I have observed in my extensive viewing of albums that it was common to have smaller images and portraits fixed to the last leaves of an album.

Rainey's boneyard photographs were not novel in their conception; indeed, as I have demonstrated in this section, these images permeated the visual culture of this period. Yet they are exemplary for a number of reasons. First, the photographs are unique in their variation and repeated occurrence within his albums, which suggests their personal significance to Rainey. Going beyond the routine "tourist" snapshot, Rainey and his friends took numerous single portraits and group shots, and spent time "setting the scene" by arranging bones and skulls in pyramids and acting out different poses using bones and skulls as props (Figure 4.14, Figure 4.15, and Figure 4.16). One group portrait shows Rainey and three friends each holding a skull; Rainey also holds a femur bone in his right hand as he playfully stares down at a skull in his other hand (Figure 4.14). This "Hamlet pose" was a common theme for boneyard portraits, as examined previously with Figure 4.4 and 4.5 of the Detroit Photographic series. Also similar to the Detroit boneyard series, a straw basket is used as a prop and placed directly in front of Rainey and his ghoulish group. Another photograph shows Rainey's friend holding a skull with his finger humorously inserted into the skull's mouth to appear as if biting his finger (Figure 4.17). In short, Rainey's boneyard photographs exemplify the type of playful sociality or wartime tourism that emerged out of the violence of US imperialism in the aftermath of 1898.[275]

Other photographs in the album show Rainey's participation in what appears to be a military fraternal organization called "The Exiles of the Earth." Despite extensive research, I have been unable to locate historical records or information on this particular club; however, similar types of military "boys clubs" were popular during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with more well-known examples including the Military Order of the Carabao (Philippines), the

[275] For more on wartime or dark tourism, see Glenn Hooper, and J. John Lennon, eds, *Dark Tourism: Practice and Interpretation*, (Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2016).

Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba (Cuba), and The Manila Army and Navy Club.[276] The stated purpose of these fraternal groups was to record the history and conserve the memory of the events of the wars; however, they were fundamentally social organizations with private events for members including lavish parties, dinners, parades, and other social excursions. Rainey's snapshots depict the frivolity of such events, including a costume party and a parade float bearing the organization's name and a lizard, which served as its mascot. It is possible that the friends who accompanied Rainey to the boneyard were also members of this fraternal organization.

Though Rainey enlisted in the 1st Ohio Calvary in April 1898, he never fought or served overseas as a soldier. As a young man, Rainey worked as a railroad engineer before enlisting in the volunteer army in April of 1898, possibly inspired by the rallies for war that followed the explosion of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor just two months prior. His unit remained in camp in the US, training and anticipating their call to fight, but were mustered out in November of 1898.[277] This was not altogether uncommon, since many volunteer units were formed in the early weeks of the war, yet with the major battles finished after a few months, some volunteers never left their camps in the US. In fact, many soldiers died in the training camps from disease and illness that was rampant due to their poor management and sanitation.[278] According to newspaper reports, Rainey and the rest of the 1st Ohio were packed and ready to leave their camp at Chickamauga Park, Georgia in early July; however, no transport ships were available to take them to Cuba.[279]

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[276] For more see *The United States Army and Navy Journal and Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces*, (New York: Army and Navy Journal, Inc., 1863); and *The New Orient*, (Manila: New Orient Pub. Co, 1898).

[277] The Official Roster of Ohio Soldiers in the War with Spain 1898-1899, (Columbus: E. T. Miller Co, 1916), 798.

[278] This fact received considerable coverage in the press, for example see "Typhoid at Camp Alger," *The Boston Globe*, July 24, 1898, 4; Also, "Harvest of Disease in Camps," and "List of Dead by States, Partial Record of Soldiers Who Have Died in Pestilent-Ridden Army Camps," *Chicago Tribune*, September 2, 1898, 1.

[279] "Unpacked, and Again Resigned Themselves to Humdrum Camp Life," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 2, 1898, 4.

At Chickamauga, Rainey would have spent his time training how to march and fight, how to set up camp and perform the daily tasks of a soldier's life, such as cooking, cleaning, handling weapons, and following commands. From his photographs, it is obvious he lived in the Philippines at some point after 1898; although, his exact reason for being there is unclear. Most likely, he worked in a civil or commercial job, which was not uncommon for former soldiers who wished to remain overseas. At some point he married. In 1905, his wife filed for divorce on the grounds of "habitual drunkenness and gross neglect of duty," and she was granted a temporary restraining order.[280] In 1928, he was admitted into the Pacific Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, in Sawtelle, Los Angeles, where his infirmities were listed as rheumatism and bladder trouble.[281] He died on June 23, 1950 at the age of 82, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in Zanesville, Ohio, with a veteran's headstone.[282]

Rainey took many photographs at the cemetery in Cavite, posing with his friends in all manners of disregard for the human remains they disturbed; he displayed his photographs in albums, as well as in his home alongside a stolen skull. The most astonishing photograph from Rainey's albums, and from the whole of my research, depicts a display of personal objects and images in his home, including two boneyard photographs tacked to the wall and a stolen human skull (Figure 4.18). It is probable that Rainey stole the skull from the same graveyard in Cavite to keep as a souvenir along with his snapshots. The skull is placed at the center of a table or dresser

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[280] "Lizze Rainey vs Frank Rainey," *Cambridge Jeffersonian*, Cambridge, Ohio, May 11, 1905, 1.

[281] *Historical Register of National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, 1866-1938*; Series: M1749. Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[282] "Frank Rainey Rites," *The Times Recorder*, Zanesville, Ohio, June 26, 1950, 7; Frank M. Rainey, *U.S., Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1963*, National Archives and Records Administration.

that is covered in a tattered cloth or towel, and the other objects include an arrow, a clock, an unidentified type of tropical flora, and an ornamental carabao horn. The carabao, also known as the swamp or water buffalo, is a domestic animal native to the Philippines and images of the animal were very common within photographic histories of the colonial occupation.[283] The animal's sickle-shaped horns and adaptableness to swamps make them ideal creatures for farming in hot climates. Their horns, another type of bone, were frequently obtained as souvenirs by US soldiers in the Philippines and brought back to the US for "scientific" and ethnic displays, such as those seen at world's fairs.[284] In the photograph, Rainey's stolen skull is placed on top of the carabao horns, and the clock is positioned to the far left of the display. The arrow is placed pointing upward behind the skull and the leafed plant is placed to the right. The arrow, an obvious symbol of war, was another popular souvenir for US soldiers, along with other traditional Filipino weapons such as bolo knifes. The objects in Rainey's display are carefully curated, and if viewed as war relics perhaps signal an attempt to fashion himself as a "war veteran" despite his lack of service overseas.

One of the two boneyard images tacked on the wall, located at the bottom left, is a photograph also displayed within his album (Figure 4.19). The image is another version of Figure

[283] The carabao is also the national animal of the Philippines. For more on the economic and cultural significance of carabaos to Filipino history, see Arleigh Ross D. Dela Cruz, "The Philippine Carabao through the Lens of American Colonial Scientists: Dean Worcester and the Bureau of Agriculture's Scientific Reports on the Bubalus Bubalis Carabanesis (Philippine Water Buffalo) during the American Occupation of the Philippines, 1899-1928," paper presented at *Old and New Worlds: the Global Challenges of Rural History*, International Conference, Lisbon, ISCTE-IUL, January 27-30, 2016.

[284] For a comprehensive overview of empire and world fairs, see Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). For primary source information and an overview of the various Philippine exhibits see, Louisiana Purchase Exposition and M. J. Lowenstein, *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, April 30th to December 1st, 1904*, By Authority of the United States of America, St. Louis: Official Guide Co. 1904; *The St. Louis Exposition August Number 1904*, (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904) and Louisiana Purchase Exposition, *The World's Work. Vol. 8, No. 4 Vol. 8, No. 4*, (New York: Doubleday, 1900).

4.1, with Rainey sat in almost the same location, except with a femur bone in one hand and a skull in the other. The second boneyard photograph on the wall is not one located in the albums at NHHC, and depicts Rainey in the same seated position with a skull on his head, but in this version a friend is stood next to him on the right. Two other photographs are tacked to the wall. The first depicts a family portrait with a mother, father and two children (likely Rainey's family); the second, depicts a group of Filipino villagers standing in front of a thatched roof building, likely taken somewhere near Cavite. The remaining images visible on the wall are all depictions of women, including a screen print with a Japanese-styled geisha holding a fan, a portrait of a woman wearing a lavish dress and hat, an illustration of a reclining Japanese woman dressed in a kimono, and a local advertisement for the opening of a market in Cavite that features a women's portrait surrounded by decorative flowers. In addition to personal souvenirs and wartime trophies, many US travelers stole skulls and human remains under the guise of "scientific" study and tutelage. In his 1903 book, *History and Geography of the Philippine Islands*, Oscar William Coursey, a US Army major who served in the Philippines, wrote of the bone piles he visited and how "…being a teacher, [he] selected a well-shaped Filipino skull from one of these piles and brought it home."[285] Back home, Coursey used the skull as a visual aide in his public lectures titled, "The Philippines and Filipinos," and for what he called "concrete instruction in Physiology."[286] These types of lectures were common from self-proclaimed "experts" who had returned from fighting or touring in the new territories, and were often extensively illustrated with photographs and stolen objects. Likewise, in 1901, soldier Leslie N. Collins, wrote in a letter published in *The Christian-*

[285] Oscar William Coursey, History and Geography of the Philippine Islands, For General Reading and Use in Our Public Schools, (Mitchell: Educator School Supply Co, 1903), 137.

[286] Ibid., 137.

Evangelist, "I have a little Filipino skull which was taken from one of these bone-piles, which I purpose to keep as a relic, and when I get home I shall exhibit it as proof of the truthfulness of the statements contained in this letter."[287] For Collins, it would seem, photographs and words alone were unsatisfactory "proof" of what he described as the "inhumane practice" of a "Catholic burial in the Philippines."[288]

It is not surprising that so many soldiers like Rainey and Collins felt justified in stealing skulls and other skeletal remains since the US government supported the possession and removal of human bones from the Philippines to bring to the US. Again under the guise of scientific exploration, numerous skeletons were acquired by colonial agents working for the US government, and many were brought to the Smithsonian for study.[289] Most news stories on the subject conveyed views of scientific racism and argued that the skeletons brought back from the Philippines were important artifacts to understanding human prehistory as evidence of a primitive stage of development. The language used to describe the bones of Filipino populations was openly racial and certainly reinforced racialized perceptions of the era. As many museums and institutions sought to build their collections of skeletal remains, so did many private citizens and self-proclaimed "experts" like Coursey, who hoped to profit from their travelling lecture series. Always eager for new and shocking stories from the islands, the US public attended such lectures and flocked to view displays of skeletal remains in museums and at city and state fairs.[290]

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[287] Leslie N. Collins, "Letter from the Philippines," *The Christian-Evangelist*, April 25, 1901, 523.

[288] Collins, "Letter from the Philippines," 523.

[289] See Samuel J. Redman, *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 78-80, and "Uncle Sam's New Islands," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 7, 1900, 34.

[290] For more on anthropological displays at world fairs, see Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

Rainey's boneyard photographs, and the many others discussed in this chapter, exemplify the dehumanization of foreign remains that occurred in the making, taking, and circulating of boneyard images and relics during this period of US colonialism. While absent from most histories of photography, these types of photographs are not so far removed from our nation's collective memory, nor is the practice of human trophy-collecting during wartime, particularly with US soldiers in the Pacific as witnessed during World War II in Japan and the Philippines, and later in Vietnam and Korea.[291] Boneyard photographs depict the visual progression of imperial violence, where the overt physical violence of colonialism is transformed into a kind of playful sociality or, put otherwise, wartime tourism. Rainey's posed photographs taken atop the bones of deceased Filipinos speak to the soldier's participation, whether wittingly or not, in US imperial agendas. His photographs convert a space resonant with Spanish colonialism, US violence, and Filipino national history into a site of amusement for US soldiers. Such a gesture is far from inconsequential. The photographs offer a means of devaluing the nationalist discourse of the Philippines while also defanging the history of violence that undergirded the United States' global empire.

At large, the bones found in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were seen as objects of display for US soldiers and tourists, as grisly comic props divorced from their original human origins. This use of the deceased human body as a source of amusement is a violent gesture, not uncommon in the United States history of war and in the nation's treatment of Black, Brown, Indigenous, and non-white bodies. Following the writings of Puerto Rican philosopher Nelson Maldonado-Torres on the coloniality of being and the concept of the Imperial Man, we might thus

[291] For a discussion of US soldiers collecting Japanese skulls during World War II, see Simon Harrison, "Skull Trophies of the Pacific War: Transgressive Objects of Remembrance," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12, no. 4 (2006): 817–36.

view Rainey's photographs and the commercialized boneyard images discussed above as products of a social body oriented by the non-ethics of war.[292] That is, these photographs constitute visual objects which were deployed to construct a narrative of justified warfare in the aftermath of 1898. When considered today through the lens of history, these images reveal their underpinnings as artifacts of state-sponsored violence, dependent on the dehumanization of a wartime enemy and, as in many cases in the history of the United States, foreign peoples.

[292] Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On the Coloniality of Being," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007): 247-260.

5.0 Epilogue

Moving into the present, important questions loom over this material and that held in other archives of US colonial and imperial photography of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. A key question is how should archives and museums handle these photographs today? Should they be displayed as reminders of this violent past or kept hidden from view to deny the perpetuation of the colonialist gaze? A more disturbing problem is the commercial circulation of violent images available today through online auction websites such as eBay and other online platforms dedicated to vintage ephemera. The photographs discussed in this study remain largely hidden from public view, but are accessible in archives and libraries across the United States. Difficult questions arise with the study and display of images of both past and present colonial death and violence, particularly when that violence is manifested in subtle, obscured or hidden ways. "Colonial photographs seem like trophies of conquest. And to see them – even today – is to come in contact with this violence," writes Vicente L. Rafael in his 2000 book *White Love: and Other Events in Filipino History*.[293] The research and writing of this dissertation required prolonged contact with the violence displayed in each image. The photographs discussed in these pages are shocking and problematic objects from this country's violent colonial past. They were created in a different, albeit all too familiar era when US politics, economic interests, and public perceptions were shaped by paternalistic ideologies, colonial desires, and xenophobic mentalities toward peoples of differing races, religions, and geographies. Important lessons from this period remain to be learned.

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[293] Vincente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 77.

Numerous contemporary artists have created artworks that address the long-lasting consequences of US imperialism and the centuries of amnesia surrounding this history. Filipino American artist and curator Alejandro T. Acierto's work and scholarship is largely influenced by legacies of colonialism and human encounters with technology and material culture, particularly related to the US military occupation of the Philippines.[294] His 2018 installation work, *In the absence of sight*, brings attention to the erasure of Filipino people by US colonizers during the early 1900s. Acierto investigates and makes use of archival materials, including photographs, postcards, and other ephemera, to create artworks that address the violent history of colonialism in the Philippines. A segment of his 2020 photographic work, *to remove is to save,* depicts the artist's gloved hand holding a photographic postcard of an execution that took place in Jolo, Philippines around 1911, deliberately blocking the view of the scaffold and the men being executed (Figure 5.1). At the bottom left of the postcard, a notation reads: "No. 8 Execution of Moros, Jolo, P.I. Jul. 21 11."[295] The postcard is part of a set and one of many similar images that the artist himself purchased online from auction websites, such as eBay. For Acierto, the act of buying and removing these objects from circulation is an essential part of his process and another means of negating the violence displayed in the images and their value as collectible objects.[296] His work

[294] A scholar, artist, musician, and curator, Acierto has exhibited his work in group and solo shows in Chicago, IL, East Lansing, MI, Chattanooga, TN, San Francisco, CA, and others. For a recent published essay, see Alejandro T. Acierto, "Aram Han Sifuentes: Protest Banner Lending Library", *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas* 4, 3 (2018): 338-341.

[295] This work is part of an ongoing project, "Archive of Constraint," in which the Acierto traces the legacies of carceral systems from colonial occupations and images that depict various forms of constraint.

[296] From author's conversations with the artist. For a thoughtful analysis of similar postcards and other images depicting mechanism of breath constraint, see Alejandro Acierto's chapter "Sustained Constraint: Locating Corporeal Control through Archived Images of the Breath in the Philippines after 1898," in *Imperial Islands: Art, Architecture, and Visual Experience in the US Insular Empire after 1898*, ed. Joseph Hartman, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021), 82-100.

centers on difficult, yet critical questions about the conditions of looking and the never-ending circulation of ephemera and colonial material culture.

Born in the Philippines and residing in Oakland, California, Stephanie Syjuco (b. 1974) is a mixed-media artist who works in photography, sculpture, and installation. Using an array of materials from archival images to handmade fabrics, Syjuco's practice centers on "mining archives of empire" and creating works that both confront and disallow the colonial gaze.[297] Like Acierto, many of Syjuco's works draw attention to the troubling legacy of colonial archives held in institutions and museums across the country. In early 2020, I meet Syjuco by chance in the photograph research room of the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives in Suitland, Maryland. Syjuco was there working on a new archival excavation project as a Smithsonian Artist Research Fellow based at the National Museum of American History in D.C., and I was there conducting research for this dissertation. We sat across from one another the entire day and I watched her comb through box after box of documents and photographs with the meticulousness of a senior scholar. The outcomes of Syjuco's Smithsonian fellowship include her recent photo-based artworks and installation pieces, such as her *Pileups* series, and other works on view in her 2022 "Latent Images" exhibition at the Ryan Lee Gallery in New York City.[298] In her work, Syjuco metaphorically "blows up" the archive by enlarging photographs and editing, cropping, and layering fragments of archival texts and pictures taken in the archives. Syjuco's 2019 work, *Block out the Sun*, is a photo-based intervention in archived ethnographic displays of Filipinx at the 1904

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[297] For a recent review of Syjuco's work, see Ekalen Hou, "Stephanie Syjuco: Native Resolution," *The Brooklyn Rail*, April 2021, https://brooklynrail.org/2021/04/artseen/Stephanie-Syjuco-Native-Resolution. Also see Sarah Archer's essay "Stephanie Syjuco: Pattern Recognition," in *Renwick Invitational 2018: Disrupting Craft*, (Washington DC: Renwick Gallery of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2018), 81- 97.

[298] See Press Release, "Stephanie Syjuco: Latent Images," Ryan Lee Gallery LLC, New York, NY, January 8 – March 12, 2022. https://ryanleegallery.com

St. Louis World's Fair (Figure 5.2). Like Acierto, Syjuco uses her own hands to disrupt the colonial gaze. In her own words, Syjuco explains, "By physically blocking the images with my hands, I attempted a direct way of intervening with an archive, and thwarting the viewer's ability to fully consume the people and faces on display."[299] By blocking out the subjects with her own hand, Syjuco challenges how representations of colonial bodies and faces are circulated and consumed. "Over a century after the original photos of the Filipino Village were taken, my own body, sitting in the archives, becomes both a temporary shield and a marker of defiance, while at the same time acknowledging that the images still remain," Syjuco explained.[300] *Block Out the Sun* provides a thoughtful counter-narrative to the historical record of colonialism, such as the images examined in this dissertation, by acknowledging the existence of colonial photographs in institutional archives, while at the same time thwarting the viewer's ability to consume the bodies and faces depicted in those images.

A final contemporary example is the work of Filipina American media artist, educator, and curator, Angel Velasco Shaw (b. 1963), who in 2002 co-edited with Luis Francia, *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899 - 1999*, an incredible anthology of artists and scholars responding to the history of US colonialism in the Philippines.[301] Shaw writes in the introduction to *Vestiges of War*, "The subtle violence of war haunted me more than I ever imagined it would."[302] In 1995, Shaw traveled to the National Archives in Washington,

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[299] See Press Release, "RLWindow, Stephanie Syjuco, Block Out the Sun," Ryan Lee Gallery LLC< January 14 – March 12, 2022.

[300] Ibid.

[301] Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis Francia, Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of An Imperial Dream: 1899-1999, (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

[302] Angel Velasco Shaw, "Introduction: Exquisite Betrayal," *Vestiges of War*, x.

DC to conduct research for a documentary film project on Filipinos in America. It was there that she came across thousands of photographs of the Philippine-American War and decades of occupation, including one image of American soldiers "standing on human bones," which she used in her 1998 documentary film, titled *Umbilical Cord*.[303] The entire script of the film is reproduced in *Vestiges of War*; the film itself presents a montage of personal and historical photographs, as well as clips of interviews that Shaw conducted with strangers on the streets of Manila. In one section of the film, flashes of images from the war play on the screen with her own voice narrating the following words: "A war written in indelible ink. Not in American history books, only as paragraphs here and there in Philippine history books, yet there are images of American soldiers standing on mounds of skulls and bones piled up in mass graves…evidence of betrayal…250,000 Filipinos dead…the official count..."[304] It is clear that Shaw encountered boneyard photographs, likely ones of Paco Cemetery, while conducting her research at the National Archives. In the same film, Shaw speaks of her personal history, describing how her grandmother was only five-years-old when the nationalist leader José Rizal was executed by a Spanish firing squad in 1896, and eight-years-old when the Philippine-American War broke out. Shaw's work importantly addresses the cultural amnesia about legacies of war and the half century of US colonial occupation of the Philippines. Acierto, Syjuco, and Shaw represent a vital cohort of artists, writers, curators, and scholars who are doing the important work of interrogating historical constructions in United States art and culture.

[303] Shaw, Vestiges of War, 413.

[304] Ibid.

This dissertation examines how narratives of US colonialism relied on both private and public photographs that allowed mainland US citizens the ability to "see" and "possess" the dead bodies and bones of the nation's perceived enemies. Photographs of violence and death and the disregard for human life are not easy to look at, nor should they be. Yet these prejudiced mentalities and images of violence, whether overt or obscured, including scenes of war and conquest, operate as an ever-present reminder of this country's violent history. It is my hope that this dissertation serves as a reminder of the importance of how we treat all persons – both living and dead.

Appendix A - List of Figures

Note: The following figures have been redacted for publication.

Chapter 2: Gallows of Empire: Public Executions in the Philippines

Figure 2.1. A. G. Eames, "First American Military Execution in the Philippine Islands," newspaper text with six photo reproductions, dimension unknown, The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Published May 27, 1900, p 26.

Figure 2.2. Harry Kizer Album, *No-4 – Hanging Filipinos for the Murder of an American Soldier*, Harry J. Kizer Collection, circa 1898, photo print fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Figure 2.3. Harry Kizer Album in the Harry J. Kizer Collection, circa 1898, four photo prints fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Figure 2.4. Harry Kizer Album, Harry J. Kizer Collection, circa 1898, two photo prints fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Figure 2.5. Album of Philippine-American War photographs, circa 1899 to 1902, two photographs depicting executions in the Philippines fixed in album with handwritten text, dimensions unknown, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 2.6. *Bangan – Luzon*, Album of Philippine-American War photographs, circa 1899 to 1902, photograph of wooden gallows in the Philippines, dimensions unknown, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 2.7. *Hanging two prisoners at Urdaneta Pangasinan Luzon*, Album of Philippine-American War photographs, circa 1899 to 1902, three photographs of execution in the Philippines fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 2.8. (Detail) *Hanging two prisoners at Urdaneta Pangasinan Luzon*, Album of Philippine-American War photographs, circa 1899 to 1902, photograph, dimensions unknown, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 2.9. Philippines and Japan photograph album SC 907, circa 1900-1910, three photographs fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Figure 2.10. Philippines and Japan photograph album SC 907, circa 1900-1910, Composite image of village and execution in the Philippines, dimensions unknown, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Figure 2.11. Philippines and Japan photograph album SC 907, circa 1900-1910, five photographs depicting an execution fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Figure 2.12. (Detail), Philippines and Japan photograph album SC 907, circa 1900-1910, photograph depicting an execution fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Figure 2.13. Philippines and Japan photograph album SC 907, circa 1900-1910, four photographs depicting an execution fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Figure 2.14. (Detail), Philippines and Japan photograph album SC 907, circa 1900-1910, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Department of Special Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Figure 2.15. Samuel Shera Album, photograph album from the early years of the American colonization of the Philippines, circa 1900 to 1906, two photographs fixed in album, album 18 x 27 cm., Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 2.16. *Hanging De La Cruz S. F. Malabon 144*, Samuel Shera Album, photograph album from the early years of the American colonization of the Philippines, circa 1900 to 1906, image 12 x 18 cm., photograph fixed in album, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 2.17. *Giving the Water Cure*, Samuel Shera Album, photograph album from the early years of the American colonization of the Philippines, circa 1900 to 1906, image 12 x 18 cm., photograph fixed in album, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Chapter 3: Death in the Trenches: The Grim Machine of US Empire

Figure 3.1. Alexander Gardner, *A contrast! Federal buried, rebel unburied, where they fell at the Battle of Antietam* (front image), September 1862, albumen silver print on card mount, 11.5 x 15 cm, Brady's Album Gallery No. 551, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C.

Figure 3.2. Alexander Gardner, *Ditch on Right Wing, where a large number of Rebels were killed at the Battle of Antietam* (front image), September 1862, albumen silver print on card mount, 11.5 x 15 cm, Brady's Album Gallery No. 553, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C.

Figure 3.3. Trager and Kuhn, *Burial of the dead at the Battle of Wounded Knee, S.D*, photograph print, copyright 1891, 15 x 21 cm, mount 23 x 28 cm, Lot 11347, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

Figure 3.4. C. F. O'Keefe and John Bass, "Fighting in the Philippines – The Revolt," printed page of photographs and captions, dimensions unknown, *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XLIII, April 8, 1899, 334-335.

Figure 3.5. *A Sacrifice to Aguinaldo's Ambition - Behind the Filipino Trenches after the Battle of Malabon, P.I.,* circa 1899, photograph, dimensions unknown, retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2004682813/.

Figure 3.6. Unidentified photographer, *Trench of Filipino Dead near Santa Ana*, circa 1899, photograph, album is 11 x 13.75 in., 13th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Philippine Islands, Courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society.

Figure 3.7. General Harrison Gray Otis Album, *Dead Filipinos in trench after battle and Dead Filipinos on field after battle*, Philippines, circa. 1899, two photographs fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

Figure 3.8. General Harrison Gray Otis Album, *Dead Filipinos on battlefield*, Philippines, circa. 1899, photographs fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

Figure 3.9. Leadabrand Album, (disassembled), *Work of Kansas Boys*, circa 1899, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

Figure 3.10. Frank Tennyson Neely, *Burying the dead at Santa Ana on February 6, 1899*, 1899, photomechanical print, 6 x 8 in, published by Frank Tennyson Neely in *Fighting in the Philippines*, (New York: F. Tennyson Neely, 1899).

Figure 3.11. Perley Fremont Rockett, Burial of the Enemy, 1899, photomechanical print dimensions unknown, published in *Our Boys in the Philippines*: *A Pictorial History of the War and General Views of the Philippines*, (San Francisco: P. Fremont Rockett, 1899).

Figure 3.12. Ashley R. Fareless, *Philippino [sic] trench filled in over the dead*, circa 1899, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, albums of Ashley R. Fareless, Spanish

American War Survey Photograph Collection, 1895–1960, US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.

Figure 3.13. Ashley R. Fareless, *Insurgent casualties*, circa 1899, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, albums of Ashley R. Fareless, Spanish American War Survey Photograph Collection, 1895–1960, US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.

Figure 3.14. Samuel Shera Album. *After the Battle – Dajo, Jolo,* photograph album from the early years of the American colonization of the Philippines, circa 1900 to 1906, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 3.15. Samuel Shera Album, *Army Maximum Gun*, photograph album from the early years of the American colonization of the Philippines, circa 1900 to 1906, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Photograph Album Collection 94 in Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 3.16. Unidentified photographer, *After the Battle – Dajo, Jolo*, Marine Grave Album, circa 1906, photomechanical print, Photograph Album Collection 94, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 3.17. Unidentified photographer, *Trench at Bud Dajo*, 1907, photographic print, dimensions unknown, John J. Pershing papers, 1882-1971, Lot 8850, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C.

Figure 3.18. Unidentified photographer, *Soldiers displaying skulls after a battle in the Philippines* (Bud Dajo), 1906-1907, photographic print, dimensions unknown, John J. Pershing papers, 1882-1971, Lot 8850, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C.

Chapter 4: With a Skull in Each Hand: Boneyard Photography in Cuba and the Philippines

Figure 4.1. *Frank Rainey with Human Skulls at Cavite Cemetery*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Figure 4.2. B. L. Singley. Keystone View Company, *A Spanish Bone-pit, Havana, Cuba*, 1900, stereograph, dimensions unknown, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

Figure 4.3. *American troops at the Colón Cemetery bone yard, Havana, Cuba*, 1890 – 1899, photograph, University of Miami Library, Cuban Heritage Collection, Cuban Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.4. Detroit Publishing Company, *A Heap of bones in the Cemetery [Necropolis Cristobal Colon], Havana*, circa 1898 – 1902, photograph, 8 x 10 in., Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.5. Detroit Publishing Company, *A Heap of bones in the Cemetery [Necropolis Cristobal Colon], Havana*, circa 1898 – 1902, photograph, 8 x 10 in., Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.6. Detroit Publishing Company, *Heap of bones in cemetery, Necropolis Cristobal Colon, Havana*, circa 1898 – 1902, photograph, 8 x 10 in., Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.7. Detroit Publishing Company, *Workmen in the cemetery [Necropolis Cristobal Colon], Havana*, circa 1898 – 1902, photograph, 8 x 10 in., Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.8. Detroit Publishing Company, *A Workman in the cemetery Necropolis Cristobal Colon, Havana*, circa 1898 – 1902, photograph, 8 x 10 in., Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.9. Detroit Publishing Company, *Heap of bones in cemetery, Necropolis Cristobal Colon, Havana*, circa 1898 – 1902, photograph, 8 x 10 in., Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Figure 4.10. *Human bones exhumed from graves, Havana, Cuba, c*irca 1899, stereograph, dimensions unknown, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

Figure 4.11. Unknown photographer, *An everyday occurrence in Cienfuegos Cemetery*, circa 1900, photograph fixed to album, dimensions unknown, photo album at the Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Figure 4.12. *A Filipino Funeral Under American Auspices*, circa 1898 – 1899, photograph, dimensions unknown, José de Olivares and William Smith Bryan's *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*, 1899, Vol II, p. 719.

Figure 4.13. John F. Bass, *A Valley of Dry Bones*, circa 1898 – 1899, photograph, dimensions unknown, *Harper's Weekly*, New York City, February 4, 1899, Vol. XLIII, p. 121.

Figure 4.14. *Frank Rainey and Friends at Cavite Cemetery*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Figure 4.15. *Frank Rainey and Friends at Cavite Cemetery*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Figure 4.16. *Frank Rainey and Friends at Cavite Cemetery*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Figure 4.17. *Cavite Cemetery*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Figure 4.18. *Frank Rainey's Skull Display*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Figure 4.19. *Frank Rainey at Cavite Cemetery*, circa 1900s, photograph fixed in album, dimensions unknown, Elizabeth Davis Price Collection, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Chapter 5: Epilogue

Figure 5.1. Alejandro Acierto, *To remove is to save*, 2020, archival inkjet print, dimensions unknown, © The artist.

Figure 5.2. Stephanie Syjuco, *Block Out the Sun*, 2019, thirty archival pigment prints, 8 x 10 in., mounted on aluminum and displayed in custom vitrine, © The artist.

Appendix B Archives Consulted

Charles E. Young Research Library UCLA, Los Angeles, CA

UC Santa Barbara, Special Collections, Santa Barbara, CA

Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA

The Huntington Library, Art Collection, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, CA

Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

National Anthropological Archives, Washington D.C.

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.

Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington D.C.

Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Washington D.C.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN

Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OR

US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA

Independence Seaport Museum, Philadelphia, PA

John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, RI

Appendix C Newspapers Consulted

Tucson Citizen, Arizona

The San Francisco Call, California

The San Francisco Chronicle, California

The Los Angeles Times, California

The Chicago Tribune, Illinois

The Pentagraph, Illinois

Angola Herald, Indiana

The Indianapolis Journal, Indiana

The Advance Hustler, Indiana

Des Moines Tribune, Iowa

Sioux City Journal, Iowa

The Leavenworth Times, Kansas

The Beloit Weekly Times, Kansas

The Weekly Star and Kansan, Kansas

The Republican Citizen, Kansas

Topeka State Journal, Kansas

Lawrence Daily News, Kansas

The Belleville Telescope, Kansas

The Iola Weekly Record, Kansas

The Olathe Mirror, Kansas

The Coffeyville Daily Journal, Kansas

The Courier-Journal, Kentucky

The Boston Globe, Massachusetts

Henry County Democrat, Missouri

St. Louis Post Dispatch, Missouri

Frank Leslie's Illustrated, New Yok

Harper's Weekly, New York

Life Magazine, New York

Collier's Weekly, New York

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, New York

The Alamance Gleaner, North Carolina

The Times Recorder, Ohio

The Pittsburgh Press, Pennsylvania

The Philadelphia Inquirer, Pennsylvania

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The Chattanooga News, Tennessee

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