EMPIRE OF SYNCOPATION:

MUSIC, RACE, AND LABOR IN COLONIAL ASIA'S JAZZ AGE

By

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Introduction

Re-visiting "Jazz Latitude"

In February 1922, the Japanese singer Nobu Hara returned home after a year working abroad, performing opera in the U.S. and Europe. Disembarking from her ship, she was greeted by a scrum of reporters in Yokohama's harbor who prodded her with questions about her experiences. Apart from her tales of appearing in the great houses of the land, what stood out for many was her bold prediction about the future of music in East Asia: "I believe that Japan, China and other countries will soon by conquered by [the] syncopated rhythm [of jazz]."[1] Hara arrived at this conclusion after observing the popularity of jazz in the U.S. England, France, and Italy. It seemed to her that the dance music captivating audiences on both sides of the Atlantic would surely make its way across the Pacific. Significantly, this seemingly bold pronouncement on Asia's musical future, however, was met not with skepticism but amusement. Just three days after her arrival, an article in Yokohama's English-language newspaper, *The Japan Advertiser*, delighted in pointing out that Hara's claim was actually not much of a prediction at all. In fact, Hara's vision of the conquest of syncopated rhythm had actually already happened. As an unnamed writer noted, "[Hara] will…no doubt be surprised to find that it has already been adopted by a circle of enthusiastic 'jazzers' among the Japanese, and that everybody is learning how to dance here nowadays."[2] The journalist was exaggerating only slightly. At the time of Hara's prognostication in 1922, jazz had not fully "conquered" Japan. Although American jazz bands were visiting Japan by the summer of 1919, the syncopated dance music was still limited primarily to the hotels and social

clubs of the foreign community and the private homes of upper class Japanese youth.[3] Nonetheless, the popularity of jazz was increasing at such a rate that Hara's observation seemed already a matter of fact.

While Hara's forecast about the global spread of jazz may have seemed quaint to many locals, the views of another passenger on a trans-Pacific steamer – indeed, perhaps even one of Hara's shipmates – would prove far more influential. Hara's trip home across the Pacific could have coincided with the beginning of the American journalist Burnett Hershey's around-the-world tour (Fig. 0.1), a trip that also began with a voyage from San Francisco to Yokohama. In an essay published in *The New York Times* in June 1922, Hershey described his observations during this journey, focusing in particular on his encounters with jazz as he traveled westward from California across the Pacific to the major port cities of Asia, continuing on through the Suez Canal to Europe, and back

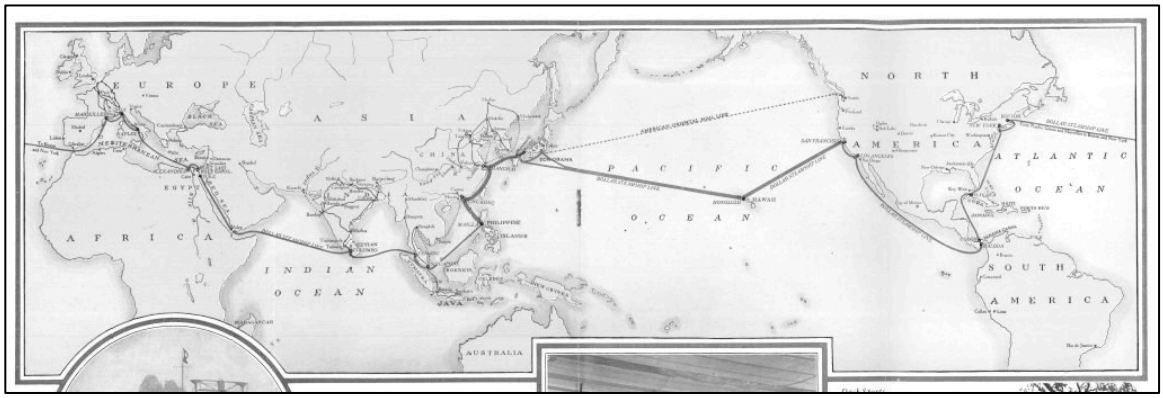


Figure 0.1: Map of an around-the-world cruise (with suggested inland excursions), from a Dollar Steamship Lines promotional brochure, c. 1924.[4]

across the Atlantic.[5] Hershey noted with surprise that jazz was present practically everywhere he went. "Every stop at a port," he wrote, "is punctuated by the syncopation of jazz."[6] Similar to Hara, Hershey characterized this profusion of U.S. popular music as a form of conquest. The ubiquity of U.S. popular song formed a Tin Pan Alley

"meridian" constituting what he called "Jazz latitude." This latitude, Hershey continued, "is marked as indelibly on the globe as is the heavy line of the equator."[7]

Hershey's turn of phrase, as well as his concise descriptions of jazz around the world, has been attractive to many scholars interested in the global spread of U.S. popular music. His article is commonly cited to provide evidence for the extensive presence of jazz in the early 1920s, just as his metaphor of a "latitude" has also proven influential.[8] This notion warrants closer attention. For I would suggest that "Jazz latitude" is far from simply an innocent cartographic metaphor. Hershey's idea of a meridian of jazz also represents a distinctive way to think about the world. In his article, Hershey imagines a singular world of jazz, a global coherence created by a musical force that "follows the flag" of U.S. military and economic power.[9] The entire world, he proposes, was subsumed within this all-consuming tendency. Just as Hara suggested, jazz became a kind of conquering force or occupying power, whose becoming was intimately intertwined with U.S. colonial presence and capitalist expansion. Some of Hershey's contemporaries echoed his thinking, but in a more explicit manner. In 1925, Hershey's colleague at *The New York Times*, P. W. Wilson, argued that jazz bands were among the various cultural agents of what he called a "subtle" yet "effective" form of American imperialism. Wherever jazz went, Wilson wrote, "the world… discover[ed] itself absorbed, soul, mind and body, by the United States."[10] Jazz latitude, in this sense, was a part of an informal U.S. empire, imbued with transformative powers to remake the world in the image of American popular culture.

There is another way to interpret Hershey's idea of "jazz latitude"; it suggests a form of narrative. In this sense, "jazz latitude" as a narrative form is related to what

Timothy Brennan calls "imperial jazz." It is a way of crafting a story about U.S. popular music that willfully ignores the myriad musical influences that informed the creation of a music that has become a national representation of the U.S.[11] Similarly, I am suggesting, then, that we imagine Hershey's notion of latitude as an imperfect metaphor for the ways in which we tell stories about jazz. In this view of jazz historiography, standard narratives of U.S. jazz form a kind of equator, a central meridian that becomes both a model for the music's progression and a constant point of reference for cartographers seeking to map out the rest of the jazz world. Just as lines of latitude on a map are identified by their degrees north or south of the equator, stories of jazz tend to be in constant reference to the degree to which they are distant from a central meridian of U.S. jazz. The narrative form of jazz latitude proposes a singular set of values for stories of jazz, collapsing a diverse world into a single set of standards that form a universal measuring guide. Jazz latitude, in other words, perpetually relegates non-U.S. expressions of jazz to the periphery, where they stand as lesser models of an originary expression located at the meridian of the U.S. In this way, the narrative of jazz latitude proposes that other nations can only mimic the original sound in modified form, musically enacting and realizing a grand imperial gesture.

I suggest that most contemporary stories of jazz still remain trapped within jazz latitude. The narrative endures, despite the emergence of the "New Jazz Studies" in the 1990s, a progressive critical turn that offered careful critiques, in part, of the ways in which a belief in American exceptionalism has informed jazz scholarship. As Tony Whyton points out however, this new scholarship "has arguably failed to engage with the global spread of jazz and the intercultural exchanges that have occurred in the music

since its inception."[12] Whyton's critique is striking because it comes nearly ten years after E. Taylor Atkins's germinal call for a global history of jazz. While the past decade has seen a dramatic flourishing of interest in global circulations of jazz, the answers to Atkins's call rarely escaped Hershey's narrative model.[13] These works have tended to offer histories of jazz on a national scale and often explore the ways in which jazz became a medium for national expression.[14] Despite his reservations about the quality of global jazz scholarship, Whyton along with Catherine Tackley celebrated the increase in what they described as "transnational" jazz scholarship in the 2000s. They used this term, however, to depict a body of work that has not focused primarily on border crossings or on broader global circulation. Instead, they observed that the field of jazz scholarship had grown "to the point where researchers from around the world can now draw on research into how the music works within specific national settings."[15] It is, of course, profoundly important to examine jazz in "specific national settings" or different regions of the world – I do that myself in this dissertation. These studies of jazz outside the U.S., as we commonly call them, have made significant contributions to knowledge about popular music, providing valuable insight about local scenes, musicians, music, and audiences, as stories of jazz and the nation. By repeatedly focusing on national borders, however, they have also perpetuated the notion that jazz remains a singular, universal musical form that ultimately functions in a similar manner in each national setting.

We need to put to rest the lingering dominance of jazz latitude. This narrative approach too often assumes non-U.S. practices as peripheral to a U.S.-centered approach, and perpetuates models of histories that primarily value jazz as a medium of the male genius musician. These tend to be stories of master artists that valorize improvisation as

both a heroic act and a matrix for expressing a broader sense of the nation. Expanding the scope of jazz scholarship beyond the U.S. brings the possibility of challenging the enduring aesthetic tendencies of so many U.S. jazz histories. But merely charting out the histories of new regions or nation-states does not in itself dislodge us from the narrative of jazz latitude. As historians such as Micole Siegel have argued, attempts to challenge Eurocentric or American exceptionalist histories merely by exploring other regions may allow for "greater depth of coverage," but, as Seigel writes, they offer "little disruption of Eurocentric assumptions."[16] It is telling that we often speak of the need to study "jazz outside the U.S.;" the phrase itself implies that we ought to challenge the area the jazz narrative covers.[17] Yet it also tends to perpetuate a lingering commitment to an approach in which the U.S. remains at the center of our concerns. Part of our task, then, is to challenge the narrative itself.

* * *

My dissertation tells a story of 1920s popular music that is not aligned to jazz latitude. It does not take as its starting point the common values that drive most historical accounts of the music. In order to try to challenge the imperial presuppositions of jazz latitude, I attempt to offer instead a history of global popular music that begins with one of Hershey's passing observations: namely, the presence of Filipino jazz musicians performing throughout colonial Asia. Many Filipinos grew familiar with western musical practices while under Spanish colonial rule. By the late nineteenth century, musicians from the Philippines were already well established in colonized parts of Asia as premier performers of European and American musical traditions.[18] Their numbers increased

dramatically in the decade after World War I when an increased demand for dance bands drew Filipinos to venues in cities from Bombay to Surabaya to Tokyo. Centering a story on these Filipino jazz musicians – as well as their peers writing popular songs and working as professional dance partners – immediately prompts us to rethink the common stories in which jazz has commonly been promoted as representative of U.S. democracy, a form of American exceptionalism made audible.[19] The broad jazz economy of colonial Asia was made possible in large part through the labor of a class of musicians who were formal colonial subjects to U.S. rule heralding from what Hershey describes as "our own Philippine islands."[20] They helped contribute to the pervasive movement of jazz across much of the globe, a phenomenon that constituted what I call an "empire of syncopation."

It is precisely the contours and workings of this empire of syncopation that I seek to examine. By bringing into alignment three analytical orientations – musical circulation, racial ideologies, and musical labor – I argue for an approach to jazz in 1920s colonial Asia as an anarchic imperial force, whose unpredictability so often maps out patterns of contradiction. That is, I explore how jazz becomes both a force of U.S. empire yet also a medium of possibility in the production of multiple social forums and fields. Through a series of five chapters, I examine different facets of this empire of syncopation to reveal the various cultural contradictions that emerged from the circulation of jazz in colonial Asia. I seek to show how jazz was both dominating yet enabling, neither solely a music of anticolonial revolution nor a musical force that only perpetuated U.S. empire. Recognizing and parsing out the ambiguous, unstable nature of imperial pop is critical for understanding how jazz acquired meaning in colonial Asia. I suggest that it is only by

unveiling the contradictory workings of jazz that we can begin to grasp the significance of its performance and experience as a modern musical practice.

This dissertation is ultimately concerned with revealing the ambiguous qualities of imperial pop in colonial Asia's jazz age, but I contend that to do so we need to escape from jazz latitude. A story of popular music in which Filipino musicians such as Nicanor Amper, composers such as Benito Trápaga, and hundreds of Filipina professional dancers stand alongside American musician stars such as Louis Armstrong and Fletcher Henderson might require a rethinking of the entire value system typically governing studies of jazz. We would need to reconsider what is important to "jazz history" as such, to the point of reconsidering its principal valuative determinations, which have tended to give favor to aesthetic measures over social and cultural significance. This would not mean setting aside measures of musical taste, but rather situating musical standards within a broad-based consideration of jazz music's socio-political emergence as part of the imperial effects of American musical presence. It also would mean bypassing attempts to trace jazz origins, and focusing on matters of social and political power, including the rise of a world entertainment industry based on the exploitation of international musician labor. And, finally, we might focus instead on jazz as a form circulated by U.S. capitalism and then standardized as a cultural practice within the regimes of U.S. and European imperialism. In effect, I am calling for a study of jazz that does not stand on musical or aesthetic grounds, for that grounding inexorably pulls us back into affirming jazz latitude. I am advocating for, instead, a study of jazz as a socially constituted, cultural formation inextricably linked to the greater forces of capitalism and empire. I do so in order to imagine an exploitative and dominant jazz industry that also

enabled new experiential possibilities, new affective regimes, in which Filipino musicians, composers, and dancers could find opportunities as professionals and artists.

Critiquing "jazz latitude" is important for one additional reason: it reorients the very narrative beginning as it recalibrates jazz music's point of origins. For, as noted earlier with reference to Hara, had Hershey taken his trip a few years earlier, he still would have found much the same thing as he had discovered in 1922. By the late 1910s, one could purchase the latest American records and sheet music in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, dance to jazz bands in Buenos Aires, encounter British travelers enoying fox-trots on their gramophones in Borneo, or watch movies featuring New York's jazz bands in New Zealand.[21] Along with the musical elements rather nebulously associated with jazz, other practices were also circulating widely, including bobbed hair, new fashions of "jazz" clothing, changes in social dancing, and the accompanying moral outcry against these changes.[22] In the years following World War I, jazz circulated globally primarily via the forces of U.S. industrial transport and the commercial arm of the British Empire, which together created a world-spanning network in which white settlers' love of social dance generated a demand for jazz bands, American records, and sheet music from Tin Pan Alley. While much of jazz mythology celebrates the Mississippi Riverboat and the "northbound train" as critical vehicles for the spread of jazz, we also need to pay attention to another type of vessel whose history not only paralleled but preceded New Orleans origins tales: the steamships on the Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian oceans that were spreading popular music throughout much of the world along trade routes connecting far flung empires.[23]

Music and musicians moved rapidly in part because they traveled well-established pathways that are often obscured by stories of nation-states. In Asia and throughout the Pacific, musicians commonly toured along an entertainment circuit loosely aligned with the shipping trade routes that carried Hershey around the world. The history of maritime travel and exchange in the Pacific and Indian oceans far precedes the nineteenth century.[24] But these routes began to take on a distinct form following the gold rush in mid-nineteenth century Australia, when American and European entertainers began to establish what Matthew Wittman describes as a "Pacific Circuit" stretching from California to Australia.[25] During the final decades of the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of American and European performers traveling in circuses, minstrel troupes, opera companies, and variety shows also began to tour along the Asian littoral.[26] In the first decade of the twentieth century, the British entrepreneur Maurice Bandmann began formalizing this circuit even further by building a string of theaters stretching from British India to Japan and sending off groups from England along the "Bandmann Circuit."[27] Other entertainment companies attempted to profit from the increasing stable infrastructure for travel across the Pacific. The Keith vaudeville company in the U.S. sent agents abroad to search for new acts while the managers of the Orpheum circuit contemplated extending their theaters across the Pacific to Asia and Australia.[28] By the late 1910s, jazz musicians from England, Australia, the U.S., the Philippines, and Hawaii traveled between cities from Bombay to Yokohama along a route whose contours had been formed decades earlier.

The ships that carried musicians from port to port also carried jazz in material form. Music stores from Calcutta to Hong Kong to Yokohama had been stocking Tin Pan

Alley sheet music even before the U.S. colonized the Philippines in 1898.[29] By the late 1910s, these retailers regularly offered musical works that listeners widely identified as jazz. Songs traveled at the speed of the steamship: customers in Manila could expect to purchase selections that had been printed in the U.S. only four weeks earlier. Next to these latest sheet music, leaders of local ensembles could also find stock dance band arrangements such as "I Want My Mammy" or "Old King Tut" from major New York publishers.[30] There is extensive evidence that, during the 1920s, jazz musicians in many parts of the world, including Cuba, Cairo, Leningrad, Tokyo, and Manila, read from the exact same arrangements that white, African American, and Asian-American jazz musicians employed for their performances in the U.S.[31] Even though many recent studies of the early global recording industry focus on the movement of recordings of non-American performers, by the late 1910s, music stores in colonial Asia –along with a variety of other retailers – also offered a continually updated repertoire of jazz recordings from the U.S. and Europe.[32] Their selection of popular dance records featured ensembles of white Americans, or occasionally white English musicians, performing carefully arranged dance numbers with little or no improvisation. Thanks to these recordings, bandleaders such as Paul Whiteman, Art Hickman and Jack Hylton defined the sound of jazz in Asia. It was not until the early 1930s that recordings by African American performers began to circulate in any significant number.[33]

New technologies also helped to spread the sounds of jazz beyond urban centers. Within a year of Hershey's trip, many major cities across Asia, including Calcutta, Manila, and Hong Kong, began to broadcast American dance records, as well as live bands, from newly established radio stations.[34] In this era of short wave technology and

relatively little interference, radio programs could travel incredible distances: Calcutta's stations reached listeners 800 miles away, while Shanghai's broadcasts stretched to listeners in Korea and Japan.[35] In one case, British tourists on safari in East and Southern Africa used their shortwave to tune in to jazz band broadcasts from London while they ate dinner around their campfire.[36] Radio, along with musicians, recordings, and sheet music, helped to amplify the spread of jazz so quickly that it took many by surprise, not just Nobu Hara. When, in January 1921, another American reporter discovered that jazz was already popular on the island of Tahiti, he proclaimed with astonishment: "jazz is some traveler!"[37] By the late 1910s, the distinctive sounds, repertoire, and arrangements of U.S.-based jazz were circulating widely throughout much of the colonial, forming what we might imagine as an empire of syncopation.[38]

Imperial Pop in the Tragic Mode

My approach towards thinking about jazz as an imperial form according to a logic of contradiction and ambiguity is deeply informed by the work of the anthropologist David Scott. In the manner of Hayden White, who examined meta-narratives of the historian's practice, or James Clifford, who noted the allegorical nature of ethnographic writing, Scott challenges the narrative forms of postcolonial scholarship.[39] He argues that the present moment and visions of the future deeply inform the questions we ask about the past. Much of the scholarship appearing under the rubric, "postcolonial," Scott argues, has come from a place that imagines a future based on "the modern longing for total revolution," one that yearns for an anticolonial utopian future.[40] But this future demands one to depict the past through a specific narrative form which he characterizes

as romance. Postcolonial romances, Scott writes, "have tended to be narratives of overcoming, often narratives of vindication; they have tended to enact a distinctive rhythm and pacing, a distinctive direction and to tell stories of salvation and redemption."[41] Romantic narratives focus on "demonstrating the colonized's agency in resisting or overcoming these conditions [of colonialism]."[42] By focusing on the ways in which people have overcome and resisted the forces of empire, scholars have crafted histories leading to a future emancipated from the oppressive force of colonialism.

But Scott argues that this future of an "anticolonial utopia" never arrived. Instead, he acknowledges the failed promise of sovereignty and emancipation following decolonization, a failure that generated in him a sense of "disenchantment" towards the "postcolonial project."[43] If the world of anticolonial utopia that romantic narratives lead towards never emerged, Scott argues, we need new narrative approaches to think about the past. He proposes the form of tragedy because it demands a new set of questions and strategies for interpretation. In tragedies, Scott writes, "the relation between past, present, and future is never a romantic one in which history rides a triumphant and seamlessly progressive rhythm, but a broken series of paradoxes and reversals in which human action is ever open to unaccountable contingencies."[44] A past written in the form of tragedy better matches the realities of the postcolonial future.

The tragic mode is also well suited to explore the ways in which empire is deeply contingent, ambivalent, and unstable. "What is distinctive about the perspective of tragedy," Scott writes, "is the way it reflects upon the inversions and reversals that constitute the relationship between mastery and chance, between invulnerability and fragility."[45] In other words, instead of seeking to demonstrate how colonial subjects

fought off and resisted colonial rule, tragic forms prompt us to explore the ambivalent nature of imperial life, the ways in which empire can be simultaneously enabling and disabling. Scott stresses the need to think about empire in this manner: "It seems to me that rethinking the postcolonial present requires less an either/or and more a both/and approach."[46] We must seek out not simply patterns of domination or resistance, but examine the ways in which empire can be both a force of domination while also giving rise to new, unanticipated possibilities.

Scott is ultimately interested in exploring how our view of the future informs our sense of the past, but his call for studies of colonialism in tragic form can also be situated in relation to a longer critique of how to think about colonial subjects, the subaltern, and the marginal. In particular, Scott's work can be aligned with other anthropologists and cultural critics who have warned against succumbing to the "romance of resistance."[47] In anthropology, these critiques emerged in the early 1990s as a response to scholars who, inspired by Foucault's study of power, seemed to seek out almost instinctually evidence of resistance. In response, several anthropologists called for a more empirically grounded exercise without the a priori assumption that "resistance" is always in play and always the same. Finding resistance everywhere, Michael Brown argued, threatened to flatten and diminish the term to the point where it lost any significant meaning.[48] Walter Johnson's work in the field of history serves as an important companion to these social science critiques. Writing about the scholarship on slavery in the U.S., Johnson argues that the large body of work focusing on giving "the slaves back their agency" ultimately "overcodes [historians'] complex discussions of human subjectivity and political organization and presses them into the background of a persistently mis-posed question:

African-American slaves: agents of their own destiny or not?"[49] In other words, if we assume that we should chronicle everyday acts of resistance, or attempt to identify the agency of colonial subjects, we are not simply following a romantic narrative leading to a future that never arrives. We also obscure and distort the unevenness of colonialism, and risk missing the interesting and important ambiguities that mark daily life.

Scholars of music should be familiar with these sorts of romantic narratives about the inherently resistant qualities of music. They often promote "music exceptionalism," a notion that Timothy Taylor describes as "the idea that music occupies a more important place in our culture than other forms of expression or cultural production."[50] As Taylor argues elsewhere, the repetition of the narrative of music as a medium of resistance is also itself a kind of violent, limiting imposition of a singular narrative: it threatens to drown out the real nuances and intricacies of why music really does matter.[51] Numerous ethnomusicologists have felt the need to write against the tendency to romanticize the political insurgency of musical practice. Ingrid Monson, for example, has called for scholars to pay closer attention to the contradictions and multiple meanings of African diasporic music. She does so while acknowledging that "the revelation that an African diasporic music or political movement has been anything less than 'resistant' to Western hegemony is disappointing to those who view African diasporic cultural values as offering a possible model for a utopian redemption of humankind."[52] Similarly, Andy Fry has critiqued what he describes as "a utopian impulse…in writings on global jazz, one I find difficult to reconcile with even a cursory examination of economic and political power relations."[53] When he carefully critiques the myth that jazz in France was a medium to challenge the German occupation, Fry recognizes how his analysis might

prompt an uncomfortable reckoning: "Although the evidence for it is remarkably slim, the 'feel good' factor of the resistance narrative is difficult to give up."[54]

My interest in thinking about musical practices through the frame of Scott's tragic mode does not simply reflect a perverse aversion to happy endings. Tragedy allows for questions and analysis that follow the twists and turns that emerge from historically based, ethnographic inquiry. It enables us to reveal the complex and occasionally uncomfortable ways in which music matters and is made meaningful. Challenging the assumption that we need to chart the rise of anticolonial resistance permits us to explore what Maureen Mahon described as "the dialectic of resistance and complicity that is often present in the work of cultural producers."[55] This dialectic is at the core of my examination of imperial pop along the coasts of colonial Asia. Jazz, especially as a form of labor, came to embody the doubleness and ambiguous nature of empire. Tragedy allows us to focus on this ambiguity.

Ethnomusicology, Ethnography and the Global Turn

My interest in the tragic mode emerged as a way to make sense of the varied experiences of the historical actors I encountered as I accumulated an archive of colonial Asia's jazz age. As I approached sources with an anthropological intent, striving to listen to historical voices with an ethnographic ear, I came upon a world whose complexities could not be portrayed merely in terms of domination and resistance. The world depicted in the archives demands a new narrative form that rejects the neat progression of romance. But it also requires imagining frames for inquiry that do not adhere to national or colonial boundaries. In short, the story of colonial Asia's jazz age must be situated in

relation to the questions about global enmeshment, movement, and immobility that have characterized a broad multi-disciplinary "global turn." This tragic narrative of imperial pop also builds upon a "New Imperial Histories" that has emerged alongside questions about global circulation and new scales for inquiry and that has cast important light on the incomplete, anarchic nature of empire. I seek to situate my anthropologically-minded historical inquiry of colonial Asia in relation to these two approaches.

Hershey's notion of "jazz latitude" may have proven highly problematic as a narrative form, but his article serves as an important example of how different frames of analysis allow us to ask new questions about global circulation. Hershey does not map the world according to national or colonial borders. Rather, he envisions the movement of jazz according to the major mode of transport in the early twentieth century: the steamship. Hershey's observations show that, as numerous scholars have demonstrated, what might seem to be a disparate set of histories from the perspective of dry land takes on new connections when viewed from the deck of a ship or from the harbor of a port.[56] If we follow Filipino musicians along the Asian littoral just as we have trailed Hershey during his journey, we might come to understand their movement as part of a vast, interconnected web in which Manila serves as a central node (Fig. 0.2).[57] Ironically, it is precisely by framing our story from Hershey's ship-board perspective that we might escape from the nation-oriented narrative of jazz latitude. Doing so reminds us to focus on the myriad ways that historical actors experienced and imagined their movements.[58] After all, as Ann Stoler argues, "research that begins with people's movements rather than with fixed polities opens up more organic histories that are not compelled by originary narratives to show the 'natural' teleology of future nations, later republics, and

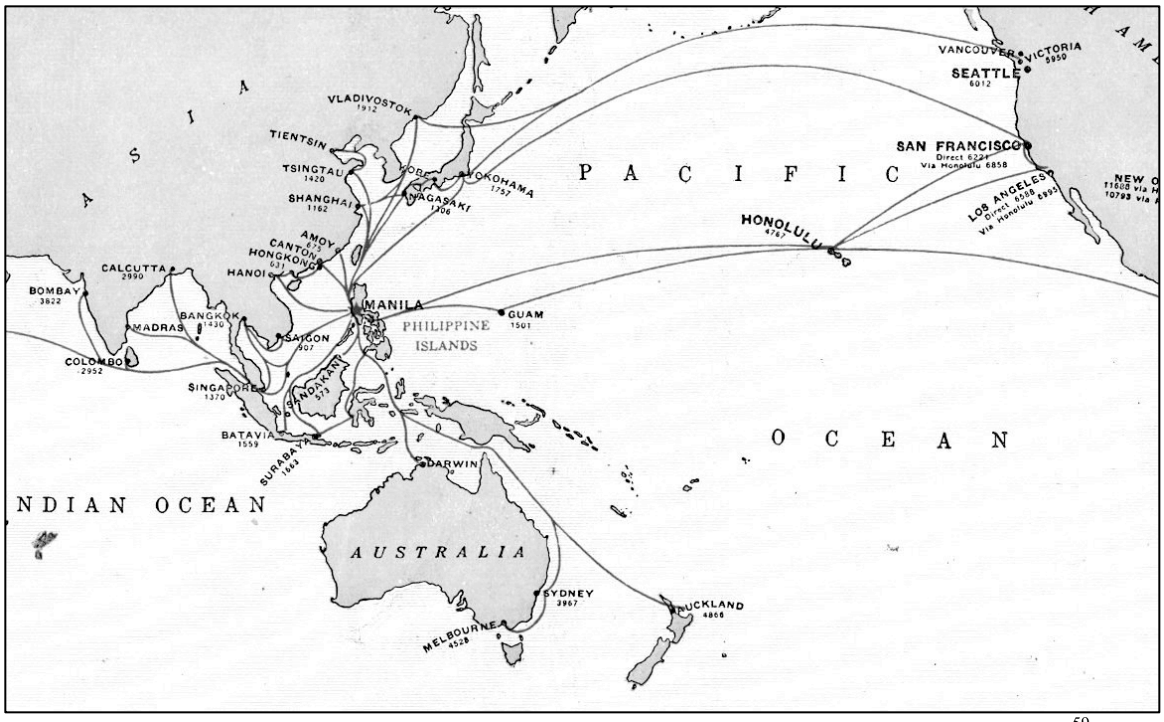


Figure 0.2: Manila as a critical node. Detail of a 1920 map showing trade routes from Manila.[59]

future states."[60] The movements of Filipino musicians enable us to imagine the global circulation of popular music through a vast inter- and intra-imperial entertainment circuit that stretched along the Asian littoral.

Focusing on Filipino musicians also requires us to engage historically with the matters of circulation, movement, and immobility that have been central to the global turn. Ethnomusicologists began asking questions on a global scale in earnest in the early 1990s when the emergence of "World Music" appeared as a symptom of a seemingly new order of globalization.[61] World Music, which presented non-western sounds in an exoticized yet palatable form for audiences in the U.S. and Europe, helped spur the rise of a body of work that Martin Stokes describes as focusing on "music in the global order," an approach to thinking about music that acknowledged the limitations of a Malinowski-styled ethnography presuming a world in which cultures and people were largely stationary.[62] Other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities also increasingly

came to pursue questions on global or transnational scales. Anthropologists responded to James Clifford's germinal call for the study of global enmeshment, scholars of American Studies embraced a transnational approach, while, in geography, a "new mobilities paradigm" has spurred scholars to focus on how people, goods, and ideas move – or do not move – around the world.[63] This widespread interest in matters of global interaction and circulation is not merely applicable to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as ethnomusicologists tend to claim. On the contrary, as Jonathan Friedman points out, "social life has always been globally enmeshed."[64] Indeed, ethnomusicologists' questions about the intersections between the global movement of capital, the migration patterns of musicians, and the workings of multi-national record companies are also relevant to early twentieth century colonial Asia, where music and musicians moved throughout a vast web-like world.

It is important to historicize this circulation, however, for these were not simply "global" webs – they were, by and large, imperial ones. One of the fields that emerged in relation to the global turn, the New Imperial Histories, seeks to address the distinctive ways in which the infrastructures and forces of empire allow us to think about phenomenon on near-global scales. Some scholars in this field have also focused on the contradictions and ambiguities of empire, offering examples of an imperial history in a tragic mode.[65] This approach builds in part from the germinal work of Amy Kaplan, who investigates what she calls the "anarchy of empire." Kaplan argues that this phrase "suggests ways of thinking about imperialism as a network of power relations that changes over space and time and is riddled with instability, ambiguity, and disorder, rather than as a monolithic system of domination that the very word 'empire' implies."[66]

This ambiguity and disorder emerges from the quotidian realities of colonialism. As Partha Chatterjee argues, "empire was not just about power politics, the logic of capital, or the civilizing mission but instead was something that had to be practiced, as a normal everyday business …by real people in real time."[67] Indeed, as various scholars have shown, the dance hall, the hotel, and the body itself, became critical sites for experiencing, maintaining, and challenging imperial rule on a daily base.[68]

Part of the reason that sites of leisure or "everyday" practices became spaces to engage with empire was the pervasive and inescapable centrality of racial ideologies in imperial logic. U.S. and European colonial projects, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, drew on evolutionary racial science to justify violence against non-white colonial subjects even as these colonial encounters generated new racial hierarchies.[69] Non-white colonial subjects struggled to challenge this belief in white superiority. But white colonizers also suffered a deep anxiety about maintaining the appearance of their supposed racial supremacy. This anxiety was due to the fact that, as Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler write, "the otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained."[70] This matter of definition and maintenance was no easy matter for, as Paul Kramer and others have demonstrated, racial categories are not simply exported to new places. They have to be remade and maintained anew.[71] American and Europeans' insecurity about race intensified even more because imperial "whiteness" was not simply based on skin color alone: it was also a category based on wide range of variables, including class, manners, and leisure practices.[72] What emerges from this body of work about the "everyday" maintenance of and challenge to colonial rule, especially in regards to racial ideologies, is

a clear sense that the practice of performing, purchasing, composing, dancing to, and listening to popular music could also be a way to engage with the anarchy of empire.

Recasting everyday practices as space where empire is experienced also allows us to rethink the significance of labor. It is here where I propose an intervention to escape jazz latitude. We need to consider jazz, and popular music more broadly, as more than simply a musical form or an audible phenomenon. I do not simply mean that we need to acknowledge the various historical meanings of "jazz," a word in the late 1910s and 1920s that referred to dance, drum sets, a dazzling pattern of alternating colors, or a general attitude about life, among other meanings.[73] Rather, I suggest that we have much to gain by exploring the various ways in which jazz also came to be a form of labor. The circulation of U.S. popular music generated demand for new and particular types of workers. Across colonial Asia, the spread of jazz cannot be separated from transformations of markets and increased workers in a number of professions: the jazz musician, the professional female dance partner, and the popular songwriter. Countless individuals sought to make a living from the new opportunities of a leisure industry and commercial music market reshaped by the dissemination of U.S. popular song. They sought to profit from the promises of a new jazz economy.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that much can be gained by examining the ways in which musical performance can also be a type of work. This scholarship challenges the ways in which cultural work – the act of making music, films, plays, paintings – has been too often depicted as distinct from other forms of labor.[74] Thinking about the emergence of musical "professionals" or the experiences of musicians as workers helps us grow closer to understanding the meanings and significance of music in

everyday life.[75] Paying attention to matters of money in musical scholarship can also, as Martin Stokes argues, allow us to challenge the common "teleological, historicist assumptions about the inevitably dominating 'incursion' of money into musical worlds."[76] The widespread discourse in colonial Asia and the U.S. about jazz as a "business," as a form of wage-earning work, also leads us to new sets of questions, away from concerns about the expressive qualities of improvisation to queries about contracts, wages, labor conditions, and the possibilities of a jazz economy. As various scholars have also shown, focusing on workers can also give us new insights into the ways in which imperialism is maintained and experienced.[77]

To tell the story of imperial pop in colonial Asia, I sought to accumulate an archive of historical voices that suggested tendencies toward certain kinds of interpretations. To search for these multiple voices, I engaged in several years of archival work in the U.S. and Southeast Asia and examined a broad range of sources. I began my research in January 2011 in Madison. With the support of a Mellon Fellowship for Dissertation Research in Original Sources, I then conducted archival research for eight months in metro-Manila, two weeks in Hong Kong, and one month in Singapore during the academic year of 2012-2013. I continued my research in the U.S., concluding the bulk of my work in Spring 2015. Some of the most important sources I examined were historical newspapers and travelogues. Thanks to my research abroad, inter-library loan, and an astonishing range of freely accessible digitized newspapers online, I was able to draw upon over 140 newspapers published in four different languages (English, Tagalog, Spanish, Dutch) from the major cities of the Asian circuit as well as urban centers in the U.S., Europe, South America, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.[78] Digitized sources

made it possible for me to follow the movements of specific songs or individual musicians over great distances, yet they also only tended to reveal precisely what I was looking for. Thus, while it was far more time consuming, I found more voices from the past by conducting systematic microfilm searches of newspapers from Calcutta, Penang, Malacca, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and especially Manila.[79] In addition to these periodicals, I also examined over 60 English-language travelogues about journeys throughout Asia from the early 1800s to the early 1930s.[80]

While I examined numerous Spanish and Tagalog-language periodicals from Manila that were produced by Filipinos for Filipino readers, the archive I came to accumulate was skewed in favor of those who left written records preserved by the imperial state. I had to think carefully about what sorts of questions I could ask from sources that were predominantly created for and by the white European and American communities that made up only one to three percent of the population of colonial Asia's major cities.[81] I used these sources to track the movements of musicians and the availability of sheet music and recordings, but I also sought to follow Ann Stoler's strategy of seeking to find a "colonial common sense" from the writings of white authors. By thinking about the act of writing and surveying as a critical part of an imperial project, and by paying attention, as Stoler urges, to both what was written, and what was "not written," I strove to uncover the ways in which jazz fit into larger anxieties and discussions about colonial governance, race, and daily life.[82] But the archive I accrued came to contain a multiplicity of voices that resisted the grand narratives of jazz latitude. These varied sources became my informants. They represented the voices of historical

actors and historical sounds that "spoke" not a unified tale of domination or struggle but a multivoiced contradictory and calamitous carnivalesque of sound and ideas.

A critical dimension of this archive of historical voices came from a wide range of sources in addition to newspapers and travelogues. During my time in Manila, I scoured several archives of sheet music to gather nearly 500 compositions that were available in Manila before 1930. These included typical Tin Pan Alley compositions and dance band arrangements published in the U.S., as well as sheet music and hand-written arrangements for dance bands that originated in Manila. In the Oral History collection of Singapore's National Archives, I listened to actual voices of Singaporeans who had been active as dancers and musicians in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In addition to examining other forms of print material – including shipping maps and timetables, carnival programs, passports, court cases, and music instruction books – I managed to locate the children of several Filipino musicians who had been active in the 1920s. They generously shared both memories and documents such as photographs and music manuscripts. Finally, despite examining two of the largest collections of historic recordings in Manila, I was disappointed by the difficulty in locating Filipino commercial recordings from the decade after World War I.[83] The dearth of recordings from the 1920s should not be too surprising, however, considering the near complete destruction of Manila during the extensive bombing of World War II, the city's humid climate, and the general lack of funding for historical preservation in the city.

The historical voices I encountered revealed a world of contradictions and ambiguity but they only allowed me to tell a certain set of stories. The vast amount of sources I examined enabled me to compile a database with nearly 8,000 entries of

articles, advertisements, musical compositions, and travelogues. I can thus follow the travels of prominent musicians from city to city, note the publication of syndicated dance instruction columns in various ports, or compare the size of dance halls in Calcutta, Singapore, and Manila. This archive, however, is marked by what Adria Imada describes as an "incompleteness" that accompanies historical research about colonial subjects.[84] In her own research on traveling hula performers in the early twentieth century, she notes the ironic tension between the visibility and invisibility of the touring Hawaiian women who danced across the U.S. "Despite the hypervisibility and overexposure of their bodies," she writes, "[they] left but faint traces in Hawaiian and American archives."[85] The archive of colonial Asia's jazz age is similarly haunted by faint traces and inaudible sounds. The archive is short on the varied voices of Filipino, Goan, Chinese, or Japanese musicians, professional Filipina dance partners, and working class Filipinos who spent their spare time at the local cabaret or spent their wages on the latest recordings. Yet while my commitment to primary sources might reveal vast silences, it has also allowed me to avoid repeating the romantic myths that seem particularly endemic to stories about jazz. The historical informants I encountered depict a world that bears little resemblance to the world of jazz latitude.

The archive I accumulated also demonstrates the critical need to historicize the varied meanings and sounds that came to be called "jazz." In 1920s colonial Asia – as in the U.S. and Europe – "jazz" generally referred to a repertoire of Tin Pan Alley tunes performed as highly-arranged, lightly syncopated dance music with novelty instrumental effects and little or no improvisation.[86] We need to take seriously the idea that, for most listeners around the world in the interwar period, Paul Whiteman really was the king of

jazz. I stress this point because the dominant strain of jazz historiography since the early 1930s has explicitly tried to remedy what became seen as the major scandals of 1920s jazz: the music's explicit commercialism and the popularity of white bandleaders who appropriated African American musical forms. Scholars have regularly been dismissive about jazz discourse of the 1920s, expressing dismay that the denizens of the jazz age were "concerned only with the Charleston and the fox trot, not with the musical worth of individual improvisations."[87] It is common to find histories of jazz that ignore or barely mention some of the most popular and influential musicians of the interwar period because they did not perform a music that fits current definitions of jazz.[88] This continued practice of applying post-WWII values of jazz to the post-WWI moment – of valuing improvisation over the ability for a song to inspire dancers – has prompted seemingly obvious reminders. In 2003, Bruce Johnson found he needed to critique this trend in scholarship. "Rather than dismissing such statements as 'vague' or misguided," he wrote "it is useful to try to respect and understand these definitions on their own terms."[89] Johnson's prompt is especially important when we examine sources in regions distant from the U.S. where the discussions and debates about the meanings, definitions, and origins of jazz do not always fit within a narrow, post-WWII, American narrative about jazz as an improvised music from African Americans. It also demonstrates the powerful lure of jazz latitude, a pull that has seemed nearly inescapable in studies of jazz as an aesthetic form.

My concern for taking the participants of colonial Asia's jazz age seriously is deeply informed by ethnomusicology's commitment to ethnographic inquiry, even though the voices of my informants and interlocutors are mediated through a range of

historical sources. While ethnomusicologists have long defined their discipline through a shared commitment to ethnographic fieldwork – a methodology that Timothy Cooley defines as an "observational and experiential portion of the ethnographic process during which the ethnomusicologist engages living individuals in order to learn about music-culture" – we can also pursue the questions of fieldwork in historical archives.[90] As numerous scholars have shown, ethnomusicologists can still undertake musical anthropology through historical inquiry or seek to undertake what Ann Stoler describes as "ethnography in the archives."[91] Thus, while I have sought to chronicle the circulation of music and musicians between colonial ports through historical primary sources, I am dedicated to what Sherry Ortner describes as an "ethnographic stance." This approach, she writes, is "first and foremost a commitment to what Geertz has called 'thickness,' to producing understanding through richness, texture, and detail."[92] Despite the general emphasis on ethnographic fieldwork in ethnomusicology, there is actually a long tradition of taking this ethnographic stance to the archives, a practice that has become increasingly visible in recent years.[93] Anthropological approaches to historical inquiry can offer important interventions into the discipline, especially in regards to thinking the global circulation of popular music, a phenomenon that too often is considered a product of the late twentieth century.[94] Part of my goal in uncovering the contradictory meanings of popular music circulation in colonial Asia is to demonstrate the critical importance of historical archive work in ethnomusicological scholarship.

Chapter Summaries

My dissertation explores the contradictory nature of imperial pop in colonial Asia's jazz age. I focus much of my attention on Filipino musicians and Manila but this is

not a story of "Pinoy" jazz or jazz in the Philippines.[95] Instead, I seek to depict Manila as a critical node in an intra- and inter-imperial entertainment circuit where Filipinos emerged as primary laborers in a vast jazz economy. The long decade following the end of World War I is a particularly fascinating period to examine the workings of jazz in Asia. Syncopated music from the U.S. was traveling rapidly around much of the globe in the late 1910s, moving so quickly as to catch observers such as Nobu Hara by surprise. At the same time, while European powers were recovering from the horrors of the war, the U.S. was quickly becoming a prominent political and cultural force not merely in the Philippines but throughout colonial Asia.[96] The emergence of jazz on a global scale also coincided with an important period in the Philippine struggle for nationhood. In 1916, the year before sheet music notating "jazz" appeared in Manila, U.S. congress passed the Jones Law, promising independence for the Filipinos "as soon as a stable government can be established."[97] This vague wording of the law's preamble meant that, until the foundation of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935, Filipinos anxiously sought to demonstrate to Americans and to the world that they were not merely the "little brown brothers" of the U.S. but were capable of self-rule. Jazz began to circulate throughout colonial Asia as a force of U.S. cultural and political influence precisely at the moment that Filipinos struggled to claim a newly promised yet unfulfilled independence. This tension serves as an important backdrop for the larger movement of music and musicians along the Asian littoral. For imperial pop became a medium that simultaneously served to enforce colonial rule and U.S. cultural influence and also generated new forms of labor and opportunities that enabled Filipinos and other colonized subjects to claim a position in a new jazz economy.

I begin challenging the narrative of jazz latitude by focusing on the circulation of an early example of imperial pop. In chapter one, I trace the global movement of the American two-step "Hiawatha," a composition that captured the attention of much of the world between the summer of 1903 and the end of 1904. Building from Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma's work, I employ the idea of circulation as a culturally generative force, one that allows us to think about the global spread of popular song without falling into the trap of jazz latitude.[98] For, while many stories of global jazz continual refer back to an origin of U.S. jazz, the concept of circulation eschews origins; it calls to mind simultaneous, multi-directional movement that far exceeds any simple reference to a central meridian. Thus, even though "Hiawatha" peaked in popularity more than ten years before jazz began to travel around the globe, its circulation demonstrates how the cultural contradictions of colonial Asia's jazz age were rooted in a longer history of popular song's imperial circulation.

By charting "Hiawatha's" movement through the U.S., Europe, and colonized parts of Africa, Asia, and Central America, I seek to show how the song became both a colonial force and also a medium for expressions that threatened to challenge imperial logic. I argue that the song's ceaseless repetitions and circulations, as well as its invocation of imperial nostalgia through the subject matter of Native American genocide, rendered the two-step as a kind of imperial force: it dominated soundscapes, ushered listeners into a new, uncomfortable relationship with commercial music, and perpetuated ideas of evolutionary racial science that served to justify the violence of imperialism. At the same time, however, I show that "Hiawatha's" imperial repetitions also enabled listeners and performers to hear the song in multiple and myriad ways. In some cases,

listeners even came to hear the song as deeply unsettling to the ambitions of U.S. and European imperialists. Through "Hiawatha," I show that imperial pop is constituted through the doubleness of anarchic empire.

In the second chapter, I explore the cultural contradictions of jazz as a form of imperial labor. I focus loosely on the career of the Filipino trombonist Nicanor "Nick" Amper and the rise of a class of Filipino professional dance band musicians who worked in hotels, cabarets, private clubs, and cruise ships in the region between India and Japan. I argue that the emergence of the professional Filipino jazz musician was based on a series of contradictions that were central to a new jazz economy: in particular, I show how the possibilities of jazz as a form of labor in colonial Asia have to be paired with the devastating impact of U.S. trade policies in the Philippines. Similarly, the infrastructures of empire not only enabled Filipino musicians to access new modes of mobility and opportunity but also exposed them to new forms of immobility and oppression. Furthermore, the Filipino semi-monopoly on musical labor in Asia that brought many Filipinos a sense of political pride, was made possible by a set of racial hierarchies that served to undermine the rhetoric for Philippine anticolonial nationalism. As a form of labor in colonial Asia, jazz was deeply contradictory and it is only by recognizing these contradictions that we can begin to understand the ways in which jazz was meaningful in the lives of Filipino musicians.

I turn to another type of musical laborer in chapter three: popular songwriters in Manila. By following the varied experiences of Benito Trápaga – a Manila-based composer, music-store manager, and song publisher – I examine the imperial tensions of Manila music market, a market that had been transformed through the influx of U.S.

sheet music, recordings, and the musical language of jazz. I explore how Manila's popular music composers of the 1920s grappled with the imperial circulation of U.S. popular music as a force that was simultaneously dominating and enabling. Songwriters such as Trápaga troubled Filipino elites by perpetuating the spread of American musical forms while focusing, at least in part, on profits from the commercial music market. Yet Trápaga and others also reworked these forms to include revolutionary messages or crafted new genres entirely that exceeded the narrow limits of U.S. pop. More critically, by staking a claim in Manila's music market, the city's composers entered into competition with U.S. and European record and publishing companies whose products had transformed Manila's popular music market.

In the fourth chapter, I explore the racial politics of jazz dance in Manila's cabaret. These dance halls were also among the few spaces for a semi-public display of inter-racial intimacy, for they ran on the labor of Filipina *bailarinas*, professional dancers who partnered with white or Filipino patrons for a small fee. I argue that the bailarinas' work reveals yet another set of contradictions that constituted imperial jazz. By dancing with white male patrons, these young Filipinas enabled their partners to claim and perform a sense of imperial whiteness – a category not only of race, but also of class, and gender – that seemed to perpetuate a general sense of white superiority. By dancing with both white and Filipino men for money, bailarinas were also widely denigrated by Filipino elites for spreading an image of Filipinos as racially inferior, immoral, lascivious, and ultimately unfit for self-rule. Even as the practice of jazz dance in Manila's cabarets seemed to undermine the quest for Filipino independence, however, the demand for fox-trotting generated a new opportunity for a class of young, Filipina

women facing economic hardships resulting from U.S. colonial trade policies to claim a spot in Manila's jazz economy.

In chapter five, I focus on the drummer and bandleader Jack Carter to argue that African American musicians in colonial Asia sought to perform blackness in ways that matched the particular expectations of predominantly white audiences. In doing so, they perpetuated stereotypes about racial hierarchies even as their command of high wages and favorable contracts enabled them to challenge these same hierarchies, which were based on class as well as race, in their daily lives. Carter's Asian career began in Manila in November 1924, included a roughly three year stay in Shanghai, and concluded with a six month-long tour along the Asian littoral. During Carter's tour, he and his mostly African American troupe performed for predominantly white patrons who had particular ideas about what it meant to perform blackness through music. Audiences expected Carter's group to perform in a style that was informed both by the long legacy of black-face minstrelsy in Asia and also by the sounds of white American musicians whose recordings defined jazz in the region. By catering to this particular notion of blackness – by embracing the nickname "The Paul Whiteman of the East" – Carter helped to maintain racial ideologies about black natural musicality and, implicitly, their inferiority to whites. By pleasing white audiences across Asia, however, Carter enjoyed widespread financial and social success that allowed him and his band members to live in ways that seemed to unsettle the very racial hierarchies his performances perpetuated.

In each of these chapters, I seek to examine the various facets and cultural contradictions that constituted an empire of syncopation. My interest here in the idea of syncopation is twofold: As Nobu Hara suggested, syncopation and syncopated music

seemed inescapable in the years after World War I. By the end of the decade, American musical instrument makers marketed their products in cities such as Singapore by celebrating the spread of new rhythms: "The whole world is dancing to the syncopating rhythm of American Jazz," one ad read in a Singapore newspaper, "but only a Conn saxophone can truly express its fascinating tunes."[99] Countless ensembles of American, British, Australian, African American, Hawaiian, and Filipino musicians adopted monikers featuring variations of "syncopators" to tap into the cache and power of the word.[100] Sycnopation was such a buzzword of the age that, in 1923, it even appeared in Manila as a solution to a crossword puzzle in one of the city's American daily newspapers. The clue: "Process applied to music to make it jazz."[101]

Yet while this discourse of syncopation alerts of to the extensive presence of U.S. pop, it can also serve as a metaphor to think about the uneven and disjointed nature of imperialism, a quality that can best be told in a tragic mode. This metaphor would require us to part ways from Gunther Schuller, who argued that the syncopation of "swing" brought about a "'democratization' of rhythmic values" because, as he explained, the "so called weak beats… are brought up to the level of strong beats."[102] Syncopation can also means rhythmic instability, unexpected accents, and a general tension between a regular, underlying beat and another layer, or layers, of rhythms sounding out quite another sense of time. Despite this irregularity, though, unexpected accents do not always disrupt or break a song apart. Syncopation is also precisely the musical quality that makes jazz and so many examples of imperial pop so appealing and exciting. In an empire of syncopation, then, we might imagine a similar sense of tension and struggle in the everyday realities of colonial life, a tension that might generate anxiety and hope but that

does not necessarily tear the empire apart. By listening for this rhythmic interplay, by recognizing the contradictions of domination and possibility that marked the circulation of jazz, we might gain a new understanding of the circulation of imperial pop in colonial Asia.

A Note on Naming and Spelling:

As is standard practice in historical scholarship, I describe cities and political regions with the historical names employed by those in political power.[103] Thus, I write of Batavia instead of Jakarta, Calcutta instead of Kolkata, Peking instead of Beijing.[104] While these names privilege colonial mis-hearing and reinscribe the violence of imperial cartography, these specific representations also reflect political realities of the early nineteenth century and do not map a twenty-first century world onto the past.[105] Writing about a city called Mumbai in the 1920s instead of Bombay is akin to using the names of Indonesia or Malaysia in the first decades of the twentieth century. These names refer to political entities that did not emerge until after World War II.

Notes to Introduction

[1] "Jazz Now Conquering World, Says Japanese Opera Singer," *The Japan Advertiser* (15 February 1922), 1.

[2] "The Modern Dance in Japan: Achi-Kochi," *The Japan Advertiser* (17 February 1922), 2.

[3] In June 1919, for example, the San Francisco Columbia Park Boys Club came to Yokohama with a jazz band. For early accounts of jazz in Japan see: "Columbia Park Boys Welcomed," *The Japan Advertiser* (1 June 1919), 2, "Many Celebrities Aboard the China," *The Japan Advertiser* (17 January 1920), 8, "Julian Eltinge ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (18 January 1920), 6.

[4] The tour included stops in San Francisco, Honolulu, Yokohama (every other ship), Kobe, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore, Penang, Colombo, Port Said, Alexandria, Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, Boston, and New York. The connection between Singapore and Batavia on the map shows a suggested excursion from Singapore and was not part of the regular tour. Map from the Dollar Steamship Line brochure, "Round the World by way of the Orient" (c. 1924), 12. Author's collection.

[5] Burnet Hershey, "Jazz Latitude," *The New York Times Book Review and Magazine* (25 June 1922), 8-9; Reprinted in Robert Walser, ed., *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 25-31.

[6] Hershey, "Jazz Latitude," *The New York Times Book Review and Magazine* (25 June 1922), 8.

[7] Hershey, "Jazz Latitude," 8.

[8] E.g., Shannon Steen, *Racial Geometries of the Black Atlantic, Asian Pacific and American Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Bruce Johnson, "The Jazz Diaspora," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*, eds. Marvyn Cooke, David Horn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33-54; G. Carole Woodall, "'Awakening a Horrible Monster': Negotiating the Jazz Public in 1920s Istanbul," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, no. 3 (2010): 574-582.

[9] Hershey, "Jazz Latitude," 8.

[10] P. W. Wilson, "Few Worlds Left for Us to Conquer," *New York Times* (4 January 1925), SM7.

[11] Timothy Brennan, *Secular Devotion: Afro-Latin Music and Imperial Jazz* (New York: Verso, 2008), 213-246. See also Jairo Moreno, "Imperial Aurality: Jazz, the Archive, and U.S. Empire," in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano, Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 135-160; Micol Seigel, "The Disappearing Dance: Maxixe's Imperial Erasure," *Black Music Research Journal* 25, 1/2 (2005): 93-117.

[12] Tony Whyton, "Europe and the New Jazz Studies," in *Eurojazzland: Jazz and European Sources, Dynamics, and Contexts*, eds. Luca Cerchiari, Luarent Cugny, Franz Kerschbaumer (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 367.

[13] E. Taylor Atkins, "Towards a Global History of Jazz," in *Jazz Planet*, Atkins, ed. (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003): xi-xxvii.

[14] E.g., Atkins*, Blue Nippon*; Catherine Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880-1935* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2005); Jeffrey Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Matthew Jordan, *Le Jazz: Jazz and French Cultural Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

[15] Catherine Tackley and Tony Whyton,"Editorial: Transnational Perspectives on Jazz," *Jazz Research Journal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 109.

[16] Micol Seigel, "World History's Narrative Problem," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2004): 433.

[17] E.g., Bruce Johnson, "Jazz Outside the U.S.," in *Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, eds. Jon Shepherd et al (forthcoming). Whyton also writes about "Jazz outside of American contexts," in "Europe and the New Jazz Studies," 367.

[18] D. R. M. Irving *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Frederick Schenker, "Manila Bandsmen," article in preparation for *Asian Music*.

[19] E.g., Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958); Ralph Ellison, "The Charlie Christian Story," in *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison*, ed. John F. Callhan (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), 266-277; Robert G. O'Meally, "Introduction to Part 2: One Nation Under a Groove, or, the United States of Jazzocracy," in *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture*, ed. O'Meally (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 118.

[20] Hershey, "Jazz Latitude," 8.

[21] "Laurence & Cope ad," *The Bulawayo Chronicle (*15 August 1919), 4; "Variedades," *La Vanguardia* (20 November 1919), 7; Norden Hermann, *From Golden Gate to Golden*

Sun: A Record of Travel, Sport and Observation in Siam and Malaya (London: H. F. and G. Witherby, 1923), 20-53; "An Even Break," *Auckland Star* (17 November 1917), 16.

[22] E.g., Alys Eve Weinbaum, et al, eds., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[23] E.g, William Howland Kenney, *Jazz on the River* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005); Court Carney, *Cuttin' Up: How Early Jazz Got America's Ear* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009).

[24] E.g., Geoff Wade, "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900-1300 CE," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2009): 221-265; D. Graham Burnett, "Hydrographic Discipline Among the Navigators: Charting an 'Empire of Commerce and Science' in the Nineteenth-Century Pacific," in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 185-260.

[25] Matthew Wittman, "Empire of Culture: U.S. Entertainers and the Making of the Pacific Circuit, 1850-1890," PhD Diss. (University of Michigan, 2010).

[26] Wittman, "Empire of Culture"; Michael R. Booth, Pamela Heckenberg, "Touring the Empire," *Essays in Theatre* 6, no. 1 (1987): 49-60.

[27] "Theatrical Enterprise in India," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (19 December 1906), 1; Michael B. Leavitt, *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management* (New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1912), 671; "New Theatrical Venue," *North China Daily News* (5 April 1924), 16.

[28] E.g., "Mr. H. F. Mondorf," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (28 November 1923), 1862; "Orpheum Circuit May Extend Here," *The Manila Times* (30 September 1919), 5. Nothing seemed to come of the plan to expand the Orpheum Circuit across the Pacific.

[29] See Chapter 1.

[30] The National Library of the Philippines' Raymundo C. Bañas Collection includes dozens of U.S.-published dance band arrangements sold in Manila stores. Its holdings include the two songs mentioned above: Louis Breau, Russell Bennett, arr., "I Want My Mammy" (New York: Belwin, Inc., 1921); Harry von Tilzer, Ted Eastwood, arr., "Old King Tut" (New York: Tilzer Music Pub. Co., 1923).

[31] Alejandro L. Madrid and Robin D. Moore, *Danzón: Circum-Caribbean Dialogues in Music and Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 143; Richard Roger, "Albert Nicholas," *Storyville* 57 (February/March 1975), 91; S. Frederick Starr, *Red & Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1985), 66-68; Atkins, *Blue Nippon*, 63; Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, eds., *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The*

Story of Jazz Told by the Men Who Made It (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 172; George Yoshida, *Reminiscing in Swingtime: Japanese Americans in American Popular Music, 1925-1960* (San Francisco: National Japanese American Historical Society, 1997), 8.

[32] E.g., Karl Hagstrom Miller, "Talking Machine World: Discovering Local Music in the Global Phonograph Industry," *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 157-186.

[33] See Chapter 5.

[34] "Broadcasting in Calcutta," *The Statesman* (13 September 1925), 7; "Broadcasting," *Hongkong Daily Press* (3 August 1923), 5; "The 'Radio' Has Hit Manila," *Philippines Free Press* (22 July 1922), 2, 6, 7; Harry J. Novotney, "The Growth and Advancement of Radio," *Philippine Education Magazine* (March 1928), 553-554. See also Chua Ai Lin, "'The Modern Magic Carpet.': Wireless Radio in Interwar Colonial Singapore," *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 167-191.

[35] "Broadcasting in Calcutta," *The Statesman* (15 September 1925), 15; "Hotel Parisien ad," *The China Press* (15 June 1924), 14. Listeners in Manila could tune in to Macao ["Manila Listened In," *The Singapore Free Press* (20 August 1924), 8.] and early experimenters with radio in Bangkok heard stations from Calcutta, Manila, and Saigon ["Wireless in Siam," *The Straits Times* (27 July 1925), 10.] Short-wave aficionados also managed to secure trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific reception: "Wireless Marvel," *The Statesman* (12 April 1925), 15; "For the First Time," *The Straits Times* (5 February 1925), 8.

[36] "Duke's Safari," *The Singapore Free Press* (25 December 1928), 13.

[37] "Jazz is Some Traveler!" *The Wichita Beacon* (2 January 1921), 3, Section C.

[38] Michael Denning argues that Hershey's article is "misleading." He suggests that historians have overstated the rapid spread of U.S. jazz because they have failed to recognize the wide range of music that fell under the category of "jazz." As I show in note 30, however, many musicians in colonial ports were actually performing a shared repertoire of Tin Pan Alley songs in similar styles and arrangements to white American dance bands. Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2015), 88-93.

[39] E.g., Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 98-121.

[40] David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 6. In an otherwise complimentary review, Harvey Neptune notes several scholars who already avoid this romantic narrative. "Scott," he writes, "might be issuing a call to which some have already responded." Harvey Neptune, "Review Essay: Romance, Tragedy, and, Well, Irony: Some Thoughts on David Scott's *Conscripts of Modernity*," *Social and Economic Studies* 57 (2008): 179.

[41] Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 7-8.

[42] Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 6.

[43] Scott explained that he experienced this "disenchantment" firsthand while growing up in post-independence Jamaica: Stuart Hall and David Scott, "David Scott," *BOMB* 90 (2004/2005): 56.

[44] Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 13.

[45] Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 176.

[46] Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 178.

[47] E.g., Lila Abu-Lughod,, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 1 (1990): 41-55; Marshall Sahlins, *Waiting for Foucault, Still* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002 [1993]); Sherry Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 1 (1995): 173-193.

[48] Michael Brown, "On Resisting Resistance," *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 4 (1996): 729-735.

[49] Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003), 114.

[50] Timothy Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 2; Jayson Beaster-Jones, "Beyond Musical Exceptionalism: Music, Value, and Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 58, no. 2 (2014): 334-340.

[51] Timothy Taylor, "Strategies of Resistance," in *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 69-98.

[52] Ingrid Monson, "Introduction," in *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*, ed. Monson (New York: Routledge, 2003), 14.

[53] Andy Fry, *Paris Blues: African American Music and French Popular Culture, 1920-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 19.

[54] Fry, *Paris Blues*, 184.

[55] Maureen Mahon, "Music, Power, and Practice," *Ethnomusicology* 58, no. 2 (2014): 329.

[56] E.g., Catherine L. Phipps, *Empires on the Waterfront: Japan's Ports and Power, 1858-1899* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Leila T. Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, eds., with Robert Ilbert, *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Jonathan Hyslop, "Steamship Empire: Asian, African and British Sailors in the Merchant Marine c. 1880-1945," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 44, no. 1 (2009): 49-67; Janet Hoskins, Viet Thanh Nguyen, eds., *Transpacific Studies: Framing an Emerging Field* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014; Michael N. Pearson, "Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (2006): 353-373; Epili Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands,* eds. Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, Hau'ofa (Suva, Fiji: University of South Pacific, 1993), 2-16.

[57] For in-depth information about other Asian port cities, the other nodes in this web, see Allister MacMillan, ed., *Seaports of the Far East: Historical and Descriptive Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources*, third edition (London: W. H. & L. Collingridge, 1926).

[58] Tim Bunnell, "Routes of Identity: Malay Liverpool and the Limits of Transnationalism," *Pacific Affairs* 83, no. 3 (September 2010): 459-479.

[59] *Yearbook of the Philippine Islands: 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), 112. Used with permission from Ateneo University Library's American Historical Collection. For other useful shipping maps see: E. Mowbray Tate, *Transpacific Steam* (New York: Cornwall Books, 1986), inside front and back covers; *Beautiful Philippines: A Handbook of General Information* (Manila: Manila Bureau of Printing, 1923); Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 36-37.

[60] Ann Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 862.

[61] E.g., Veit Erlmann, "The Politics and Aesthetics of Transnational Musics," *World of Music* 35, no. 2 (1993): 3-15; Steven Feld, "Pygmy POP. A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 1-35; Veit Erlmann, "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s," *Public Culture* 8 (1996): 467-487; Jocelyne Guilbault, "Interpreting World Music: A Challenge in Theory and Practice," *Popular Music* 16, no. 1 (1997): 31-44; Taylor, *Global Pop.*

[62] Martin Stokes, "Music and the Global Order," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 47-72. See also Johann Kroier, "Music, Global History, and Postcoloniality," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 43, no. 1 (2012): 139-186.

[63] E.g., James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," in *Cultural Studies*, eds. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, Paula A. Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1991), 96-116; Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Shelly F. Fishkin, "Crossroads of Cultures: The Transnational Turn in American Studies," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2005): 17-57; Brian Edwards, Dilip P. Gaonkar, eds., *Globalizing American Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Tim Cresswell, "Mobilities I: Catching Up," *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 4 (2010): 550-558; Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, John Urry, "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings," *Mobilities* 1, no. 1 (2006): 1-22.

[64] Jonathan Friedman, "Global Systems, Globalization, and Anthropological Theory," in *Frontiers of Globalization Research: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches*, ed. Ino Rossi (New York: Springer, 2008), 115.

[65] See, e.g., Paul Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *American Historical Review* (2011): 1348-1391; Durba Ghosh, "Another Set of Imperial Turns?" *American Historical Review* 117, no. 3 (2012): 772-793; Stephen Howe, ed., *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (New York: Routledge 2010); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

[66] Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 14.

[67] Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), xi-xii.

[68] Maurizio Peleggi, "The Social and Material Life of Colonial Hotels: Comfort Zones as Contact Zones in British Colombo and Singapore, ca. 1870-1930," *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 1 (2012): 125-153; Tony Ballantyne, Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[69] Paul Kramer, "Race, Empire, and Transnational History," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred McCoy, Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 199-209.

[70] Ann Stoler, Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Stoler and Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7.

[71] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006). See also, Manfred Berg, Simon Wendt, eds., *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (New York: Berghalm Books, 2011); Kamari Maxine Clarke, Deborah A. Thomas, eds., *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

[72] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Caroline Elkins, "Race, Citizenship, and Governance: Settler Tyranny and the End of Empire," in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Elkins, Susan Pedersen (New York: Routledge, 2005), 203-224.

[73] For "jazz" in reference to a costume or pattern of color, see "Galle Face Hotel Fancy Dress Dance," *Ceylon Observer* (18 August 1920), 1248; "Millinery modes for the East," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 August 1929), 4. For "jazz" as a drum set, see: "Grand Charity Show," *The Malacca Guardian* (29 October 1928), 11; "Costa Music Co., ad," *South China Morning Post* (13 November 1924), 7.

[74] E.g., Special issue on "Audio Work" *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 24, no. 4 (2012); Marina Peterson, "Sound Work: Music as Labor and the 1940s Recording Bans of the American Federation of Musicians," *Anthropological Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2013): 791-823; Andrew Beck, ed., *Cultural Work: Understanding the Cultural Industries* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[75] Donna A. Buchanan, "Metaphors of Power, Metaphors of Truth: The Politics of Music Professionalism in Bulgarian Folk Orchestras," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 3 (1995): 381-416; Charles Hughes, *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

[76] Martin Stokes, "Marx, Money, and Musicians," in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, ed. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (New York: Routledge, 2002), 139.

[77] E.g., Daniel E. Bender, Jana K. Lipman, eds., *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism* (New York: New York University Press, 2015); Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Harvey R. Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Dorothy B. Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[78] Wikipedia has a page that lists digitized newspapers available on the internet: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:List_of_online_newspaper_archives Accessed March 21, 2016.

[79] I was most thorough with microfilmed Manila periodicals from 1919 to 1929. In Madison, for example, I went page-by-page through roughly 2,000 issues of *The Manila Times* (a daily newspaper for Manila's American community) and close to 500 issues of *The Philippines Free Press* (a weekly magazine in English and Spanish that featured a sizable Filipino readership).

[80] Most of the volumes I accessed were in the University of Wisconsin-Madison Memorial Library "Cutter Collection," but many are available through Google Books.

[81] In early 1930s Shanghai, white American and European residents made up about 3.7% of the city's 3.3 million people although just over 20% of this group consisted of Russian refugees. In the Straits Settlements, as well as Batavia, Surabaya, Bombay, and Calcutta, Europeans made up closer to 1% of the population. Manila's white American and European population was closer to 2% in 1918. Outside of urban centers, this percentage was even lower. In British Malaya as a whole Europeans comprised only about 0.04% of the total population during the 1920s. See *All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983 [1935]), 33-37; R. L. German, *Handbook to British Malaya*. London: Malay States Information Agency, 1927), 38; *Uitkomsten Volkstelling, Vol. II, A: Java en Madoera* (Batavia: Drukkerijen Ruygrok & Co., 1922), 3; J. H. Hutton, *Census of India, 1931. Vol. I – India* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933), 50-53, 425-429; Census Office of the Philippine Islands, *Census of the Philippines Islands: 1918, Vol. II* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920). 32-45,141.

[82] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 3. For more on reading colonial travelogues, see Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[83] Gus Vibal allowed me examine his collection of nearly 1,000 Filipino-produced records but the earliest items I found came from the 1940s. I also met with the collector Nestor Vera Cruz, but his system of organization and willingness to work with researchers made it difficult to determine the extent of his holdings. For more on his collection see Renato B. Lucas, "A Preliminary Annotation of Selected Discography by Filipino Artists, 1913-1946," *Journal for the Arts, Culture, and the Humanities: The Official Publication of the Centre for Intercultural Studies, University of Santo Tomas* 3, no. 1-2 (2004): 75-106.

[84] Adria L. Imada, "Transnational *Hula* as Colonial Culture," *The Journal of Pacific History* 46, no. 2 (September 2011): 17.

[85] Imada, "Transnational *Hula* as Colonial Culture," 17.

[86] For a discussion of the issue of improvisation in 1920s jazz, see Lawrence Gushee, "Improvisation and Related Terms in Middle-Period Jazz," in *Musical Improvisation: Art, Education and Society*, eds. Gabriel Solis, Bruno Nettl (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 263-280.

[87] Richard Hadlock, *Jazz Masters of the Twenties* (New York: Collier Books, 1965), 10; See also Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 64.

[88] E.g., Carney, *Cuttin' Up*; Hilary Moore, *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation and Class* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[89] Johnson, "The Jazz Diaspora," 50.

[90] Timothy J. Cooley, "Casting Shadows in the Field: An Introduction," in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, eds. Gregory Barz and Cooley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4. See also Gilbert Chase, "A Dialectical Approach to Music History," *Ethnomusicology* 2, no. 1 (1958): 1-9; Alan Merriam, "Ethnomusicology: Discussion and Definition of the Field." *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 3 (1960): 107–114; Bruno Nettl, "A Harmless Drudge: Reaching for the Dictionary," in *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-Three Discussions* (Third Edition) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015): 3-18.

[91] Ann Laura Stoler, E. Valentine Daniel. "Interview: Ann Stoler," *Public Culture* 24, no. 3 (2012): 505. See also David Zeitlyn, "Anthropology in and of the Archives: Possible Futures and Contingent Pasts. Archives as Anthropological Surrogates," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 461-480; Maarten Walraven, "History and its Acoustic Context: Silence, Resonance, Echo and Where to Find Them in the Archive," *Journal of Sonic Studies* 4, no. 1 (May 2013), http://journal.sonicstudies.org/vol04/nr01/a07 Accessed March 24, 2016.

[92] Sherry Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 1 (1995): 174.

[93] In 2015, the co-winners of the Society of Ethnomusicology's Alan Merriam prize for best monograph were both books that exclusively employ historical methodologies: Ana María Ochoa Gautier. *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); James Revell Carr. *Hawaiian Music in Motion: Mariners, Missionaries, and Minstrels* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014). See also Jonathan McCollum and David G. Herbert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (New York: Lanham Books, 2014); Richard Widdess, "Historical Ethnomusicology," in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers

(New York: Norton, 1992), 219-237; Philip Bohlman, "Fieldwork in the Ethnomusicological Past," in *Shadows in the Field*, 139-162.

[94] For a critique of this tendency, see Miller, "Talking Machine World."

[95] E.g., Richie Quirino, *Pinoy Jazz Traditions* (Manila: Anvil, 2004).

[96] Foster, *Projections of Power*.

[97] Pedro Guevara, "The Philippine Problem," in *South East Asia: Colonial History*, vol. IV, ed. Paul H. Kratoska (New York: Routledge, 2001), 120.

[98] Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma, "Cultures of Circulation: The Imaginations of Modernity," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 191-213.

[99] "Conn ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (27 July 1929), 13.

[100] E.g., Pentney's Syncopated Orchestra: "Raffles hotel ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (20 March 1923), 1; Hawaiian Syncopators: "The New Ambassador Theater," *The Manila Times* (1 October 1923), 9; "London Syncopating Orchestra," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (12 March 1924), 265; "Philippino Syncopating Orchestra: "Programme dance, *The Statesman* (17 May 1925), 12; The New York Singing Syncopators: "Daily Wireless Programmes," *The North China Herald* (15 May 1926), 302.

[101] "Crossword," *The Manila Times* (9 January 1923), 8.

[102] Schuller, *Early Jazz*, 8.

[103] The Indian author Amitav Ghosh also explained how he tried to shift between "Kolkata" and "Calcutta" depending on historical context during a talk I attended at the National University of Singapore in November 2012.

[104] With one major exception: during the 1920s, Hong Kong was commonly written as "Hongkong." Unless referring to specific institutions such as the Hongkong Hotel or the newspaper *The Hongkong Daily Press*, I employ the modern spelling simply because "Hongkong" always appears to be a typo, not an intentional spelling.

[105] For more on mapping and empire, see Akerman, ed., *The Imperial Map*.

Chapter One

"A Circuit Tour of the Globe": "Hiawatha" and the Double-Stake of Imperial Pop

On November 26, 1904, the steamship *Zofiro* docked in Manila after a two-day journey from Hong Kong. The ship carried 1,100 tons of cargo, a deck full of cattle, and 78 cabin passengers, including a Philippine provincial governor, American military officers, and a British couple listed by the name of Mr. Campbell Dauncey.[1] Over the next nine months, Dauncey worked with other British merchants in the central Philippine sugar port of Iloilo while his wife jotted down observations of her time living abroad. One of the things that fascinated Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, as she identified herself in the diary she published in 1906, was the pervasive repetition of a song she had first heard back in England: an American two-step originally published in 1901 called "Hiawatha."[2] Dauncey mentioned the song a dozen times in her book: a Filipino pianist played it in an Iloilo movie theater on a "cracked old piano with astonishing dexterity;" a Filipino string band performed the song during a boat ride in Iloilo's harbor; fishermen on the neighboring island of Guimaras whistled the tune as they worked; and, on the religious festival of Palm Sunday, she observed "a procession…going about of all sorts of people carrying palm branches, headed by a *banda de musica* playing 'Hiawatha.'"[3] Filipino bands, according to Dauncey, "play 'Hiawatha' on the slightest provocation."[4] The catchy, syncopated, ragtime composition became an inescapable part of her social life in the Philippines: "no entertainment of any sort can come off without it," she wrote.[5]

Dauncey's encounters with "Hiawatha" are not particularly surprising, for she arrived in the Philippines during a moment in which the song was captivating audiences

throughout much of the world. Between the summer of 1903 and early 1905, "Hiawatha" traveled rapidly throughout much of the colonized world via the routes of imperial steamship trade, the itineraries of touring vaudeville troupes, and the global expansion of U.S. and European commercial music industries. Over the course of roughly eighteen months, "Hiawatha" completed what one of the song's main promoters, the bandleader John Philip Sousa, accomplished several years later with his 1911 around-the-world excursion. Through a combination of sheet music, phonograph music, and live performances, "Hiawatha" carried out "a circuit tour of the globe."[6] During this tour, the two-step sped from city to city in the manner of telegraph messages that had been circulating throughout much of the British empire for nearly three decades. As Mark Twain wrote in the mid-1890s, a telegram from Australia to California "has to halt along the way a good many times and be repeated; …but little time is lost."[7] "Hiawatha" also spread through this process of repetition. But while telegrams traveled great distances aided by the amplification and reiterations of relay stations, "Hiawatha" circulated through the generative force of countless performances by instrumentalists, whistlers, and phonographs. Its melody grew stronger and traveled farther with each sounding.

But "Hiawatha's" innumerable performances were also quite different from relayed telegraph messages. Rather than strengthening a kind of singular, stable meaning, the song's repetitions also generated and accumulated a new array of meanings as it came to take on new life in diverse settings. As Dauncey's travelogue reveals, she began to hear "Hiawatha" in varied and strange ways that occasionally seem to alter her view of Filipinos as racially inferior "children" undeserving of freedom from U.S. colonial rule. These multiple hearings of "Hiawatha" suggest a kind of polysemy in U.S. popular

songs' circulation throughout much of the world via the capitalist expansion of the commercial music industry and the infrastructures of U.S. and European colonialism, a phenomenon I will be calling "imperial pop." In particular, I seek to show how, through its circulation and repeated hearings, "Hiawatha" became both a kind of colonizing force and also a medium that disturbed ideas about racial hierarchies and nationhood that served to justify U.S. and European colonial rule. The tune, I would argue, exhibited imperial tendencies: it saturated soundscapes throughout much of the world and, as part of an emerging form of new musical commodities, it coaxed listeners into recognizing their shifting status from auditors to consumers.

To many, "Hiawatha" was not only a colonizing force, but also a medium that sounded out the imperial process itself. The song was laden with symbolic violence through a nostalgic view of Native Americans that was also widespread throughout much of the colonial world. The very qualities that made "Hiawatha" a colonizing song, though, especially its repetitious ubiquity, also complicated and increased the complexity of its meaning as it circuited the globe. As "Hiawatha" became incorporated into local vernaculars in disparate regions, the song took on a range of new significance. Listeners such as Mrs. Dauncey seemed to hear in the song as something other than the signature of conquest. Instead, she heard an accumulation of meanings and possibilities that seemed to exceed the forms of U.S. imperial pop. Throughout her diary, Mrs. Dauncey described hearing the song in ways that seemed to challenge, even if only momentarily, her long-held beliefs about racial hierarchies and the beneficence of empire.

By exploring how "Hiawatha's" circulation seems to reveal a contradictory impulse in the global spread of U.S. popular song, I seek to bring together some

prominent themes from cultural studies and scholarship on empire. In some sense, this chapter builds from foundational work of Stuart Hall, who explored "the double-stake in popular culture, the double movement of containment and resistance."[8] Hall's interest in what he calls the "deeply contradictory" nature of popular culture is not quite the same as recognizing the inherent polysemy of musical performance, the ways in which music can mean in multiple and even incompatible ways.[9] Instead, Hall describes popular culture as a "battlefield," a result of the ongoing tension and struggle between the force of the culture industries and the work of consumers who can remake popular culture in unexpected ways."[10]

Recent approaches in studies of empire recognize a related tension in the process of imperial conquest. Historian Amy Kaplan and anthropologist Ann Stoler, for example, recognize the very real violence of colonial endeavors but also explore the incomplete and anxious qualities of imperialism.[11] Kaplan, for example, argues for "thinking about imperialism as a network of power relations that changes over space and time and is riddled with instability, ambiguity, and disorder, rather than as a monolithic system of domination."[12] Stoler offers a succinct overview of these tendencies while also noting the critical recognition that empire transforms the metropoles as well as the colonies. "Critical colonial studies, or the 'new imperial history,'" she writes, "starts from the premise that colonizing bodies and minds was a sustained, systemic, and incomplete political project in colonial regions *and* in Europe."[13] Historian Paul Kramer employs a similar line of thinking in his call to explore "the multiple and contradictory ideological, practical, and institutional expressions of U.S. imperial power over time."[14] While postcolonial critics have long recognized the contradictory nature of the imperial project,

especially in terms of perpetuating racial difference while promising social uplift, I seek to explore how these imperial contradictions also emerge from the doubleness of popular culture.[15]

Critical to the "double-stake" of imperial pop are the concepts of the circuit and circulation. These terms are critical in Marxian political economy but the idea of a "circuit" can be employed in countless ways.[16] In one sense, the notion of circuits is useful to think about the movement and travel of people, goods, and ideas. Scholars exploring empire and world systems regularly rely on the term to open up their lens through which to view the world.[17] As Lara Putnam shows, scholars can tell different sorts of stories by focusing on "circuits of movement rather than national or imperial boundaries."[18] The idea of viewing the world in terms of circuits of movement is also one that would be historically appropriate to explore "Hiawatha's" own travels. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, performers in circuses, minstrel troupes, acting groups, and musical ensembles regularly traveled from performance to performance through a system of connected theaters they described as a "circuit." These "circuits," which included the Keith Circuit in the U.S., the "African Theatres, Ltd." circuit in South Africa, or the Tivoli Circuit in Australia, existed on regional, national or colonial scales.[19] But they also exceeded national and imperial boundaries: the early twentieth century Bandmann Circuit consisted of theaters from Japan along the coast of Asia to India and, in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the far less centralized "Pacific Circuit" and variations on "Routes Around the World" attracted enterprising entertainers ambitious enough to brave the risks of long tours.[20] What these circuits reveal, however, is not merely that imperial and national borders might not always from impermeable barriers.

They also show that songs such as "Hiawatha" likely also traveled in a kind of fragmented, uneven manner from city to city, and from node to node.

The idea of a "circuit" is helpful for framing "Hiawatha's" movement, but circulation also allows us to think about the power of the song's repetitions. Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma have argued for the need to explore what they call the "cultures of circulation." They suggest that "if circulation is to serve as a useful analytic construct for cultural analysis, it must be conceived as more than simply the movement of people, ideas, and commodities from one culture to another."[21] Instead, circulation must be viewed as realm where meaning is made. As Dilip Gaonkar and Elizabeth Povinelli put it, circulation is a "generative matrix."[22] David Novak has offered a particularly helpful way to explore how we might think about the cultures of circulation in studies of music. In his book about "Japanoise," Novak employs an extended metaphor of circulation to write about music that is born from both process of movement between Japan and U.S. and also from the distorted sounds of electro-musical feedback.[23] Building from Lee and LiPuma, as well as Anna Tsing's idea of "friction," Novak shows how processes of circulation and repetition can generate new meanings, ideas, and sounds. In particular, Novak explores the distortion and deformation created by constant movement. "Some cycles cannot endure the erosion of repetitions," he writes, yet "people discover other meanings in culture as it unravels, disconnects, and folds in on itself."[24] While "Hiawatha's" circulations throughout much of the colonial world may not have generated obvious audible distortion – although at one point Dauncey describes hearing a Filipino "playing 'variations'" based on Hiawatha – the song began to accrue new meanings as it repeated over and over in new and different settings.[25] With each repetition of

"Hiawatha," Dauncey came to hear the song in new ways. Its repeated performances came to generate multiple and occasionally conflicting meanings for listeners who heard the song in countless familiar and unfamiliar situations.

I explore the ways in which "Hiawatha's" circulations reveal an ambiguity in imperial pop in two broad sections. In the first portion of this chapter, I examine the various ways in which we might consider "Hiawatha" a kind of colonizing force. By this, I mean that the song was itself akin to an agent of empire as it dominated soundscapes and sounded out the transformations of capitalist expansion. I begin by tracing the song's progress as it moved rapidly through much of the colonized world between the summer of 1903 and early 1905. Listeners quickly took note of the song's spread. I show how their discussion of "Hiawatha" as a "pest" represented the often-uncomfortable encroachment of a commercial music industry whose global expansion along imperial trade routes was transforming listening and consumption practices around much of the world. I also demonstrate that marketing strategies of Tin Pan Alley based on endless repetition could also be found in the song itself, for the work features various layers of repetition designed to capture new listeners. Finally, I show how the song's associations with Native Americans generated a mood of what Renato Rosaldo calls "imperialist nostalgia" based on an evolutionary anthropological racial science that deeply informed U.S. and European imperial ambitions in colonial Asia.[26]

In short, "Hiawatha's" wide circulation was not merely a byproduct of the infrastructure of the British and American empires. Rather, the song was a constitutive part of the colonial project, a force that saturated soundscapes, prompted a crisis of listening, and sounded out imperialist nostalgia. In the second section of this chapter, I

explore how the very qualities that helped "Hiawatha" attain imperial force – namely its wide circulation and endless repetition – also came to generate meanings that did not always fit neatly into the racialized colonial logic of U.S. and European rule. In addition, "Hiawatha" came to accumulate a dense polysemy through its repeated performances and circulation, an accumulation of meanings that were not always compatible. I explore the ambiguity of this polysemy by focusing on several particular performances of "Hiawatha" including those where Dauncey hears "Hiawatha" in a rather startling ways and several in Singapore where the song finds a home in the Chinese and Malay communities. I also turn to the account of a different American traveler who describes in detail her strange encounter with another popular Tin Pan Alley song in the Philippines in 1901. In many of these moments, the listeners reveal that the continued circulation and repetition of "Hiawatha," and other popular songs, helped contribute to an overwhelming accumulation of meanings through which the tunes of Tin Pan Alley might even seem to challenge imperial racial hierarchies or express anti-colonial sentiment.

"Hiawatha's" Circuit Tour of the Globe

Mrs. Dauncey arrived in the Philippines in late 1904 just as "Hiawatha" was completing its imperial circulation throughout much if the world. This catchy two-step first appeared in 1901, when the composer Charles N. Daniels published the composition under the pseudonym Neil Moret. At the time of "Hiawatha's" publication, Daniels was an aspiring young songwriter and publisher working in St. Louis. In 1898, at the age of 20, he had sold nearly 300,000 copies of his song "Margery" after John Philip Sousa took a liking to the song and helped to publicize it. Over the next two years, Daniels became

deeply involved publishing ragtime compositions for the Hoffman firm in St. Louis, where he helped to publish Scott Joplin's first work. Daniels' experiences in the music publishing business doubtless informed both his compositional technique as well as his promotional instincts. "Hiawatha" had only moderate success until Daniels approached Sousa with the two-step. Sousa helped spur further sales for "Hiawatha" when he incorporated an instrumental version of the song into his band's repertoire as they began preparations for their 1903 tour of Europe.[27] As "Hiawatha's" popularity increased following Sousa's endorsement, the Detroit publishing company Whitney Warner saw even more potential for the composition. Up to this point, Daniels' song was a ragtime instrumental that he claimed was inspired by a train-ride through the town of Hiawatha, Kansas. Whitney Warner, however, believed that adding Indian-themed lyrics would help boost the song's sales so, at the end of November 1902, they offered Daniels a position in their firm and paid him $10,000 for the rights to "Hiawatha," reportedly the most ever paid for a pop tune at the time. They hired a lyricist to add words to the melody and began an extensive marketing campaign for it.[28]

Thanks to Whitney Warner's marketing and Sousa's mark of approval, "Hiawatha" became practically inescapable across the U.S. during the summer of 1903. In New York City, brass bands played the two-step in public concerts while street buskers such as Antonio Ferratti performed "Hiawatha" on a piano harnessed to his horse.[29] Over the course of 1903, "Hiawatha" was featured at high school commencements in Indiana, band recitals in Kansas, and at benefit concerts in Minnesota.[30] In Los Angeles, brass ensembles presented the song in their shows while player-piano salesmen used the two-step to help sell their wares.[31] According to Edward

Gardner's extensive study of popular songs in the U.S., "Hiawatha" was one of the two most popular songs in the U.S. for nearly six months, from April until August 1903, and remained prominent through December.[32] Record companies seeking to cash in on "Hiawatha's" popularity also contributed to its ubiquity: over the course of 1903, six different groups recorded the song for Victor before Sousa himself finally made a version.[33]

Soon, "Hiawatha's" circulation would no longer be confined to the contiguous U.S. The dynamic rhythms of Daniels' composition began to radiate outwards in all directions. It quickly sailed westward across the Pacific Ocean. When Dauncey noted the song's presence in the Philippines upon her arrival in late 1904, local Manila music stores had already been stocking popular song published by Whitney Warner for several years. Many of their 1903 selections sold in Manila, including "Under the Rose," "Sunrise in Georgia," and "Dixie Girl," devoted their inside covers to advertisements for "Hiawatha" that included the first 28 measures of the song.[34] As it steamed towards the Philippines, "Hiawatha" first stopped in Hawaii, where brass bands in Honolulu were already incorporating the song into their repertoire by April 1903.[35] "Hiawatha" also traveled southward throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. In Mexico City, the song became such a staple of Mexican bands that local companies referred to the phenomenon in their advertisements.[36] In Panama City, public bands were performing the two-step in their concerts by July 1903.[37] Over the course of the year, Daniels' hit song also traversed the Caribbean, where brass ensembles in Jamaica picked up its tune.[38] Not surprisingly, as "Hiawatha" circulated beyond the edges of the U.S., it also made its way north of the

border. Audiences in small cities such as Medicine Hat, Alberta, enjoyed hearing the song in public concerts during the height of its popularity in the U.S.[39]

In the manner of most American popular songs in the early 1900s, "Hiawatha" also raced eastward across the Atlantic.[40] In early 1904, *The New York Times* warned that Americans who "fled" to London "to get away from the thing ["Hiawatha"] will have to pack up and go somewhere else." In London, the article stated, "The bands play it, the boys whistle it, the hand organs grind it out, and the hawkers of pirated music sell it on the street."[41] By the summer of 1904, "Hiawatha" also made its way into Ireland and across the English Channel.[42] It became a regular feature of Dutch bands band and also enjoyed popularity in Paris.[43] As one report that originated in London claimed during these months, "'Hiawatha' has penetrated to every corner of the Continent."[44]

When "Hiawatha" reached London, listeners there assumed that the song would continued to circulate throughout the British Empire. As one London writer mused in February 1904: "By now, doubtless, that bewitching, tantalizing tune 'Hiawatha' will have found its way out to the Straits [Singapore], where it will meet with the same grudgingly-accorded popularity that it obtained here."[45] Indeed, just as "Hiawatha" leapt across the Atlantic Ocean, so too, it also spread around the globe via the shipping routes connecting Europe to ports in colonized parts of Asia and the Pacific. From London, "Hiawatha" slipped through the Suez Canal to British India, where, in early 1904, it appeared in band concerts in Ceylon and sold as sheet music in Bombay.[46] Just as our unnamed writer assumed above, the two-step quickly reached Singapore, where musicians played the song at a prominent government party and on the theater stage.[47] The song continued its travels along the coast of Asia, appearing in a celebration for King

Edward's birthday in Shanghai later in 1904.[48] The two-step's circulation was not limited to the boundaries of the British and U.S. empires, however. By February 1905, and likely earlier, "Hiawatha" emerged in the Dutch East Indies during a special soirée in Batavia.[49] Daniel's two-step also appeared to the south of the Dutch archipelago, although its origins here can likely be traced to a trajectory originating in San Francisco. By late 1903, the song had already debuted in New Zealand and was becoming a regular military band feature in Australia by early 1904.[50] In May 1904, a music store in Hobart, Tasmania, advertised a sheet music version of the song by describing it as "the craze of Australia."[51]

"Hiawatha's" "circuit tour of the globe" also continued southward from Europe, where it spread throughout parts of Africa via sheet music, recordings, and touring performers. In 1904, Harry Johnston, the British explorer who was hugely influential in the European conquest of Africa, observed that "well-to-do natives" in Monrovia, Liberia were enamored with phonographs and the latest records from the U.S. and Europe. During his time in this independent African nation, Johnston complained that he had to endure endless repetitions of the latest hit records, including "Hiawatha."[52] In addition to attaining popularity among African listeners, "Hiawatha" was also a favorite of Europeans living in colonial Africa. In the Southern Rhodesian city of Bulawayo, the local Constabulary band featured it in their September 1904 program while, by early 1905, "Hiawatha" was already well-known enough in Mafeking, South Africa, to appear as a crowd-pleasing encore during one of the local Orchestra Society's concerts.[53] Touring performers also helped to aid the circulation of Daniels' two-step across southern and eastern Africa. From late 1904 into early 1905, the British troupe "The Russell-St.

John Society" included "Hiawatha" in their variety shows alongside operatic performances, blackface minstrelsy, and other popular songs. They featured the two-step on a tour that took them from Cape Town, South Africa, through Southern Rhodesia – with stops in Bulawayo, Gwelo, and Salisbury – to the port city of Beira, Mozambique, and the British East African cities of Mombasa and Nairobi.[54]

Roughly a year-and-a-half after Sousa began promoting Daniels' two-step, "Hiawatha" completed a "circuit tour of the globe" (Fig. 1.1). It had raced across what

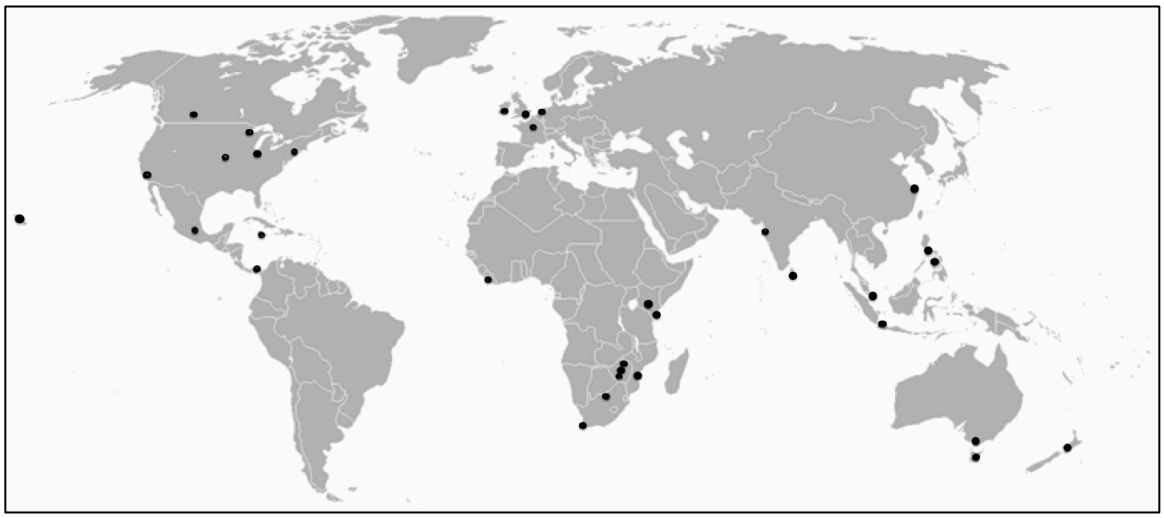


Figure 1.1: Performances of "Hiawatha" between 1903-1905 mentioned in Chapter 1.[55]

Michael Denning has described as an "archipelago of colonial ports" that were "part of a maritime network that moved the products and people of empire around the globe."[56] Daniels' work also traveled by steamship and railroad routes commonly traversed by entertainers who had been embarking on grand tours of the colonial world since at least the 1860s.[57] To draw on a metaphor employed by several scholars of the British World, "Hiawatha" moved through a system of nodal-like cities that formed a vast web of colonial exchange.[58] This notion of a web is useful for it highlights connections that can be unstable, incomplete, and continually in flux.

"Hiawatha's" movements, moreover, may be deemed imperial, but by traveling between the British, Dutch, and U.S. empires, among others, the song also showed how these webs bridge formal colonial boundaries.[59] Just as "Hiawatha" moved to markets beyond the boundaries of U.S. and British Empire, so too did imperial pop reach colonial Asia even before Commodore George Dewey famously steamed into Manila Bay in May 1898 to the tune of Sousa's "El Capitan" march.[60] Sousa's marches and songs from U.S. blackface minstrel shows were beginning to circulate in the Philippines by the late 1880s and early 1890s.[61] Perhaps more revealing, though, was the presence of music stores in colonial Asia selling U.S. and European popular sheet music in the 1890s. By 1895, one of Batavia's music stores was stocking early Tin Pan Alley hits "After the Ball" and "Daisy Bell (Bicycle Built for Two) while, right around this time, Robinson's Piano Company advertised a large selection of sheet music at their stores in Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai.[62] In the first years of the 1900s, even before "Hiawatha" made its appearance, music stores in Bombay and Manila were offering local customers a wide variety of popular sheet music from England and the U.S.[63] "Hiawatha's" circuit, then, followed the contours of European and U.S. empire, but its circulation was also deeply shaped by the uneven currents of global capitalism. It was an imperial song in the broadest sense of the word.

"It Maddens, But Allures"

Mrs. Dauncey made it seem as though "Hiawatha" was practically inescapable during her nine months in the Philippines. While she never spoke ill of the song itself – at one point she admitted that "it is not a bad tune" – she grumbled about its ubiquity,

describing the song as "inevitable."[64] Part of the reason the tune was unavoidable, she suggested, was simply because musicians played it over and over. She describes one event on a small ship in the Iloilo harbor where a Filipino string band entertained the passengers. As they left the dock, she writes, "the musicians struck up 'Hiawatha' and when they had got through it they began again, and again, and again – and I have no doubt they would have played that air contentedly the whole way out and back, and probably fully intended to do so, if they had not been implored to stop."[65] In Dauncey's account, Daniel's song seemed to inspire two conflicting reactions: on the one hand, the musicians clearly enjoyed playing yet another cycle of the enjoyable melody while, on the other, the reiteration of "Hiawatha's" theme led at least one listener to desperately plead for a change of tune. The pairing of these two responses – of the desire for repetition and the need for this repetition to cease – is a critical element of the circulation of "Hiawatha" and imperial pop. An anonymous British composer came to a similar conclusion when he offered his opinion about the popularity of "Hiawatha." The song, he wrote, "maddens, but allures."[66] The composer here identified precisely the paradox of "Hiawatha" and imperial pop: their circulation grew from a repetition that simultaneously infuriated and attracted listeners.

The tension between "Hiawatha's" maddening and alluring qualities quickly inspired a series of hyperbolic conceits that gave form to a genre of news story about the song's repetitions. In January 1904, English-language readers in Singapore might have seen a story reprinted from England about a group of young men in Virginia. They were reportedly so annoyed by the song that they formed an "Anti-'Hiawatha' Club" whose members promised not to sing the composition, visit any girls who played the tune, and

to leave any event where the two-step was performed.[67] Later that summer, these same readers in Singapore learned of a Philadelphia man who "was so sickened with the constant repetition, that this song made his life a burden to him" that he attempted to burn down a record pressing plant in order to prevent further manufacturing of "Hiawatha" records.[68] The extreme reactions to "Hiawatha's" over-saturation gave shape to a funny trope. A brief comic article from *The New York Times*, printed after the song's summer popularity is a case in point:

> Judge – You say you got that black eye as the result of a blow by the defendant?
> Prosecuting Witness – Yes, Sir.
> Judge – Tell me the circumstances under which he struck you.
> Prosecuting Witness – This man met me as I was coming along Calvert Street whistling "Hiawatha," and –
> Judge – That'll do. The prisoner is dismissed.[69]

A story from London also builds on the idea that listeners might respond in strange, excessive ways to the sounds of "Hiawatha." In an essay about the nuisance of London's barrel-organ, L. F. Austin offers a hypothetical account of one woman's reaction to hearing a street-performance of "Hiawatha" from inside her apartment: at the first hint of the song's rhythms, she helplessly begins "violently prancing," to the point where plaster falls from the ceiling and the dancer collapses in exhaustion.[70] Daniels' two-step, these stories suggest, was so attractive that listeners wanted to hear the song again and again. At the same time, though, these repetitions famously might also inspire madness and violence.

These stories about "Hiawatha's" repetitions contributed to the song's power as a force of U.S. empire. Rumors about "Hiawatha" contributed to the song's meanings because sound and discourse, after all, were inseparable. News

of "Hiawatha's" repetitions preceded, followed, and circulated alongside the movement of the song itself. When "Hiawatha" reached Singapore, the English-language readership there had been anticipating a "bewitching, tantalizing tune" whose ceaseless performances led listeners to react in comically exaggerated ways.[71] Similarly, multiple newspapers in Tasmania printed a story about how "Hiawatha" had become a "pest" that was an inescapable part of England's soundscape: "Apart from two or three towns (names furnished on application), the United Kingdom is over-run with the pest."[72] Dutch-language readers in Batavia also learned of the song's presence in European cities such as London and Paris.[73] We can observe the spread of these stories alongside performances of "Hiawatha" as part of a "circulatory system," a kind of feedback loop between in which, as Matt Sakakeeny writes, "people, places, and music are entangled with their representations in media in discourse."[74] I would go farther and propose that the circulation of "Hiawatha" as a sound form attached to a broader discourse network assumed the status of legend. Stories of the song's irresistible, maddening popularity contributed to its maddening allure. Audiences in the U.S., Canada, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand, regularly urged public bands to include "Hiawatha" in their programs "by request," perpetuating the repeated performances that seemed to spark such passionate reactions – reactions that appeared to be according to pre-established responses. "Hiawatha" became known as a song that repeated itself, it had a reputation as a tune that had been continuously amplified and reiterated throughout the globe.

"Hiawatha's" repetitious, maddening allure was not simply a symptom of the song's success, however. Rather, it was a critical factor in the song's meteoric rise. When Daniels approached Sousa to help promote his song, he was embracing a strategy employed by music publishers across the U.S. In the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, publishers increasingly believed that the more a song sounded in public the more sales it would generate. In 1906, the same year that Dauncey published her Philippine diary, the Tin Pan Alley songwriter Charles Harris advised ambitious novice songwriters that they should engineer to have their song performed numerous times in multiple settings. As he explained, "the more it is hummed, or discussed, the closer it gets towards that much desired goal – Popularity."[75] Harris continued to emphasize the importance of this mode of marketing later in his guide, explaining that, with enough repetition, popular songs could essentially sell themselves: "if the piece has merit and you contrive to have it sung and played at every conceivable opportunity, it will spread rapidly, news of it will be carried to other towns and cities, some one will sing it there…and a sort of endless chain is set in motion."[76] As David Suisman argues, Harris's strategy was the "fundamental law that guided the industry's development: the more music people heard – the more the air was 'filled with music' – the better it was for business."[77] "Hiawatha's" inescapable repetitions represented not an anomalous phenomenon but rather the fulfillment of an innovative marketing strategy developed by U.S. music publishing firms in the early twentieth century. The Filipino musicians Dauncey heard performing the tune in the Philippines had effectively become part of the same "endless chain" that Harris described, a chain that Sousa himself had helped to "set in motion" in the summer of 1903.

"Hiawatha's" controversial reception hints at a dramatic shift taking place in the popular music industry. Around the turn of the century, American music publishing companies pioneered marketing strategies to systematically saturate public spaces with new songs. While these companies made the "mass exposure and repetition" of popular music seem "commonplace," as Suisman argues, their strategy for reaching the ears of the public was "actually radical and extraordinary."[78] Their efforts contributed to a wholesale reshaping of the aural environment and informed new practices of listening. "The soundscape itself became a field of marketing," Suisman writes, in which "songs literally were advertisements for themselves."[79] In effect, publishers sought to transform listening audiences into consumers of new products of popular music by inundating them with an endless barrage of ads.[80] By fundamentally transforming the audible realm, popular music companies played a critical role in what Timothy Taylor describes as "the production of consumption," the ways in which individuals became capitalist consumers.[81] While listeners clearly had multiple and varied reactions to this sonic onslaught, music publishers hoped that the endless repetition of hit songs would, as Theodor Adorno bemoaned, lead "the listener to become enraptured with the inescapable."[82] In other words, one might consider the entire project of imperial pop to rest on the idea of creating songs that "madden, but allure." Indeed, the strong reactions to "Hiawatha" were representative of similar complaints across the U.S. about the unsettling and overwhelming experience of hearing the same song everywhere. As one of these new musical commodities, "Hiawatha" was strategically deployed to capture new listeners, to extract financial gain from untapped markets.

Most studies of Tin Pan Alley remain focused on the domestic market, but "Hiawatha's" circulation shows how this industry also created what might be considered imperial pop. By using this term, I mean to suggest that "Hiawatha" became an example of a music that had the similarly ambiguous properties of empire itself: it became a medium of both conquest and unexpected possibility. It is not much of a stretch to consider the emergence of the commercial music industry in relation to broader imperial expansion. There is a striking similarity between the aspirations of music publishers trying to transform new consumers and the goals of American business leaders who viewed U.S. empire as a means to expand markets for their products. Matthew Fry Jacobson explores how U.S. imperial ambition in the late nineteenth century was deeply informed by the notion that reaching new consumers and workers in Asia – especially in China – would help solve American economic woes.[83] Business leaders hoped, he wrote, that "foreign peoples would keep the American economy afloat as both auxiliary consumers in a vast, worldwide export market, and as auxiliary workers in an ever-expanding domestic labor market."[84] As Jacobson shows, backers of U.S. empire anticipated that the spread of U.S. products would bring untold numbers into new practices of consumption.[85] Similarly, Anne Foster examines how, over the following decades, American industrialists and bureaucrats continued to believe that the spread of U.S. consumer goods would not only "transform Southeast Asians into modern consumers," but would also spread a friendliness to the United States, a friendliness she describes as an "empire of mind."[86] This practice of employing imperial structures as a means towards reaching new consumers and workers was a general tendency of empire.

Giordano Nanni shows how various British and Dutch colonial policies were also "intended to transform 'natives' into producers and consumers of commodities."[87]

So, while U.S. music publishers at the turn of the twentieth century did not take the same steps as record companies to divide the world up into different markets, their products were nonetheless circulating throughout much of the colonial world.[88] The repetition of songs such as "Hiawatha" in Singapore, Bombay, and Manila represented the expansion of Tin Pan Alley's aural marketing. In this sense, "Hiawatha" can be heard as a colonizing force, one that brought a new class of listening consumers into relation with an emerging imperial popular music industry.

"Hiawatha's" strategic ubiquity was not due only to the number of times the song was performed. The musical construction of the composition also featured various layers of repetition that helped the song lodge into listeners' ears. Given Charles Daniels' experience with song publishing, it is not surprising to find that "Hiawatha" had important musical characteristics that contributed to its success.[89] When he wrote his two-step, Daniels was well-versed not only in the science of song promotion but also in identifying the elements that might help turn songs into "pests," or what Peter Szendy describes as another kind of "musical parasite," the "earworm": "one of those songs you hear by chance…that, from that moment on, refuses to let you go."[90] "Hiawatha" featured many of the musical characteristics of songs that might pass for "earworms" in the early twentieth century. Indeed, despite the song's exotic title, "Hiawatha" was a fairly typical ragtime two-step that, as William Schafer and Johannes Riedel point out, "has the characteristic march-like lilt and structure of the cakewalk."[91] The song bore little resemblance to the compositions produced by the so-called "Indianist" art music

composers of the period who drew on ethnographic transcriptions of Native American music.[92] It was also devoid of the stereotypical musical markers that signified what Philip Deloria has called "the sound of Indian," a set of musical characteristics that include "a tom-tom beat, a droning accompaniment of open fifths and minor chords, and certain melodic characteristics," including a "short-long" rhythmic pattern in the melody.[93]

While marketing and repeated performances helped "Hiawatha" spread throughout much of the world, its catchiness was also due in part to the various layers of repetition within the work itself. "Hiawatha's" melody practically insists upon sticking in one's consciousness due to the repetitious nature of the song's form. Daniels' two-step is essentially constructed out of a series of two eight-measure phrases, one that repeats in the song's A section, and another that repeats in the B section. Due to the reiterations of these phrases, "Hiawatha" doubles the standard AABA form of most two-steps. Broken into eight measure phrases, "Hiawatha" effectively has an AAAABBAA form, one in which the song's initial melodic phrase is repeated six times over the course of a single cycle. In Sousa's recording of the song, for example, his band performs these six repetitions in little more than a minute. The song proves easy to remember in part simply because it sounds out similar phrases again and again.

Daniels' first eight measure phrase reinforces this inclination for repetition by forming a loop that seems to lead right back to its own beginning, a kind of ragtime uroboros. "Hiawatha's" main theme begins with a series of seven sixteenth notes that ascend a major third in step-wise motion before marching downwards, with only one small intervallic leap, landing a major sixth below the phrase's peak. Over the next three measures, the melody repeatedly sounds out the bottom note of this phrase – the

dominant (Bb in the march version) – a full eight times, before plunging farther downwards, ending a major ninth below the phrase's apex (Fig. 1.2). Over the next four measures, however, the melody works its way back upwards, again in step-wise diatonic motion, although with a few steps backwards here and there (Fig. 1.3). It concludes on the same note that served as the apex for the first half of the melody, setting up the melody to turn back around for another descent. This cyclical feeling generated by this up-and-down motion is reinforced by the song's harmonic movement during these measures: //: I / I / V7 / V7 / V7 / V7 / I / I ://. This chord sequence was not unusual among pop songs of the early twentieth century but it was a simpler progression than some of the other popular songs Whitney Warner offered the customers in 1903.[94] This back and forth movement between two chords only strengthened the melody's sense of inevitable repetition.

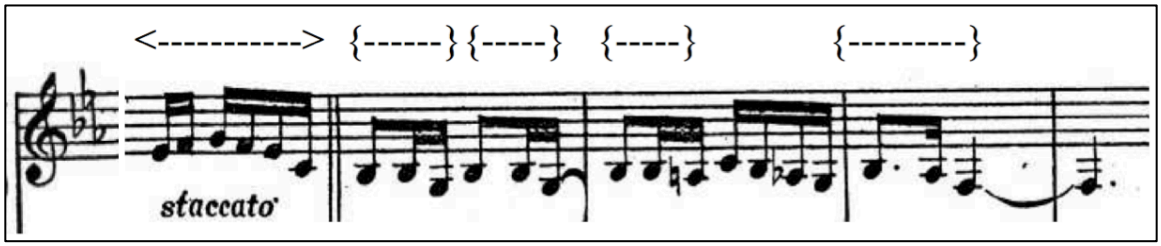


Figure 1.2: First four measures of "Hiawatha's" "A" melody. Note the eight repetitions of Bb and the four repetitions phrases from Bb to a lower note, marked {---}.[95]

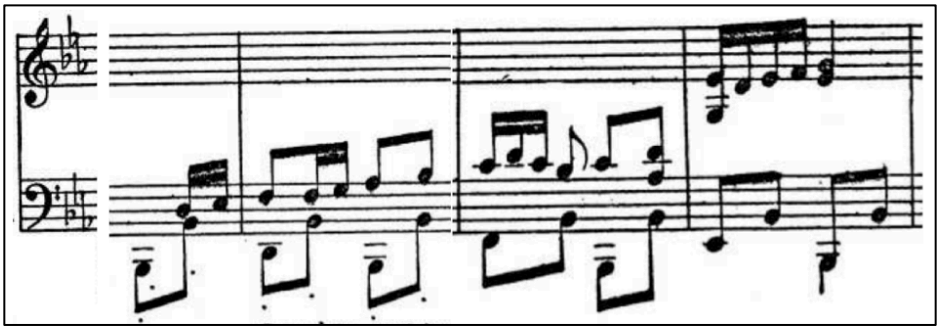


Figure 1.3: The second four measures of "Hiawatha's" "A" melody ascend back upwards.[96]

In addition to writing a cyclical melody that repeats six times over the course of the song, Daniels also employed a more subtle kind of repetition by drawing on the A phrase to construct the melody of the song's B section. The eight-measure repeated phrase that constitutes the song's second section is essentially a rhythmically augmented version of the A phrase's first four measures. Both share three ascending and four descending notes that begin on the tonic (Eb) and move in step-wise diatonic motion before landing on the dominant tone (Bb). The melody in the B section then mirrors the A melody by proceeding with eight repeated soundings of the dominant tone (Bb) (Fig.1.4).

The rhythmic augmentation of this process might partially disguise the similarities between the A and B sections, but the main melody of "Hiawatha" still echoes through the song's bridge. In some ways, "Hiawatha's" B section might inspire in listeners what Adorno later described as a "vague remembrance" of a familiar melody, in this case, the A section of the song.[97] Generating this sense of melodic familiarity, as Charles Harris advised aspiring popular songwriters in 1906, was one technique to increase a song's marketability. Composers, Harris wrote, might strive to write melodies that inspired "the untrained listener" to "feel that he or she has 'heard something that began like that before.'"[98] But while both Harris and Adorno refer to works that sound like other popular songs, the B section of "Hiawatha" potentially inspires listeners to reminisce back to the song's familiar-sounding A section. It is little wonder, then, that the composition's promotion resulted in its rapid repetition throughout much of the globe. With its quick, main theme that repeats six times a cycle, and that continues in a disguised form through

the B section, Daniels' two-step seems well designed to perpetuate its own repetitions and to capture new listeners.

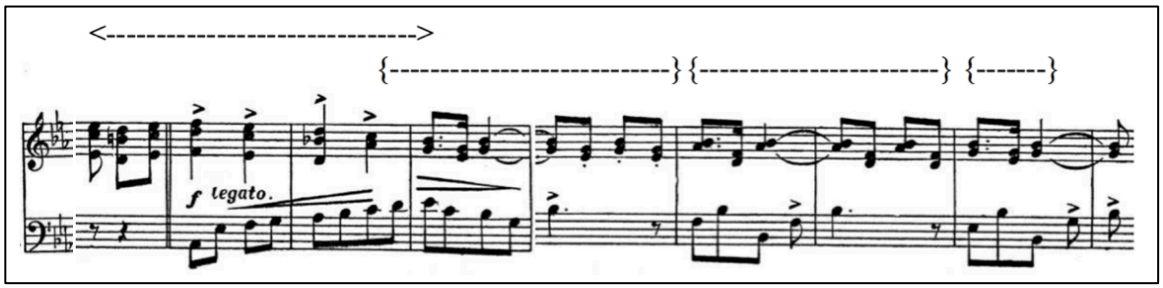


Figure 1.4: First eight measure of "Hiawatha's "B" section. The measures included within "<---->" rhythmically expand the first measure of "A," also marked "<---->" in Fig. 1.2. Measures 3-8 of this excerpt also rhtyhmically augment the phrases from section "A" identified here and in Fig. 1.2 as "{---}".[99]

But "Hiawatha" exhibited imperial tendencies even beyond its wide presence and repetitive insistence. Many listeners also heard the two-step as sounding out the imperial process itself, specifically the U.S. government's violent actions against Native Americans. The 1903 "song" version of Daniels' composition, for example, recast the two-step as a trite marriage plea from Hiawatha to Minnehaha, his "Indian bride."[100] By situating the song's narrator in a "little birch canoe" on a stream surrounded the "forest glade," and "rustling leaves," lyricist James O'Dea perpetuated an image of the Noble Savage, a figure who existed outside of modernity and ultimately vanished in the face of U.S. "civilization." It is important, however, not to place too much weight on O'Dea's lyrics, for "Hiawatha" primarily circulated as an instrumental. Dauncey describes Filipinos performing the song in brass bands, on piano and "penny flute," or by "whistling" the tune.[101] At one religious festival she described how a Filipino string band of "mandolins, guitars, and violins twiddled and thumped steadily at 'Hiawatha.'"[102] Dauncey's observations are echoed in other sources, where "Hiawatha" was rarely, if ever, performed by singers. This is not particular surprising. After all, Sousa helped

popularize the instrumental version of the two-step. Furthermore, O'Dea's 1903 lyrics are quite difficult to sing in time to the rapid sixteenth-note melody.

Even without the addition of these stereotypical lyrics, however, many audiences still seemed to associate "Hiawatha" with Native Americans. The song's title alone appeared to be enough to inspire listeners to hear Indian themes In August 1904, for example, a composer in London offered a musical analysis of "Hiawatha" that concluded that the song "weeps for the poor Indian, and afflicts the whole white race."[103] His musical analysis is suspect – he apparently could not tell the difference between major and minor keys – but it is striking that he heard in "Hiawatha's" melody as referring to Native Americans, especially since the song lacked any stereotypically musical markers of Indian-ness.

The title of Daniel's work was likely enough to inspire numerous listeners to associate the song with a highly stylized idea of the Native American as Noble Savage. The figure of "Hiawatha" and the Noble Savage had circulated widely in the decades before Daniel's song began its tour of the globe. As Kate Flint has shown, for example, representations of Native Americans, and Native Americans themselves, had moved back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean since at least the eighteenth century in the form of visual art, popular fiction, music, and plays.[104] The spread of the character of "Hiawatha" can be traced more directly to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1855 poem "The Song of Hiawatha." Longfellow's work was hugely popular in the Anglophone world of the nineteenth century and underwent a revival around 1900.[105] Longfellow's poem also inspired "dozens of musical settings" in both the U.S. and England by the turn of the century, of which Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's celebrated composition "The Song of

Hiawatha" is certainly the most famous.[106] The story of "Hiawatha" also appeared in a new pageant form that featured Native American performers who performed a dramatic version of the poem in the U.S. and Europe at the same time that Daniels' two-step traveled over much of that same territory.[107] William "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Shows in the U.S. and Europe were also widely influential in contributing to representations of Native Americans in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.[108]

While much of the work on representations of Native Americans focus primarily on the U.S. and Europe, "Hiawatha" and the Noble Savage were not confined to the transatlantic. In 1889, for example, a group of young Filipino elites studying in Europe, including José Rizal, one of the most important figures for spurring a burgeoning Philippine nationalism, famously drew inspiration from Buffalo Bill's Parisian show before they returned home.[109] Characters from Longfellow's poem also circulated throughout Europe's colonies. In Shanghai, one enterprising Chinese named his racehorse "Hiawatha" in the early 1900s, even as Daniels' song was rapidly approaching the city.[110] In short, when audiences in much of the world heard a song titled "Hiawatha," they likely associated the composition not with Daniels' purported inspiration – a small town in northeastern Kansas – but with the representations of "Indian-ness" circulating widely throughout much of the Anglophone world in the late twentieth-century.

Recognizing that the title of "Hiawatha" alone might spur associations with Longfellow's poem or other images of Native Americans is important because Daniel's song circulated during a moment in which the popularity of an Indian theme was directly linked with what Renato Rosaldo has called "imperialist nostalgia."[111] Rosaldo argues that this concept "revolves around a paradox: a person kills somebody and then mourns

his or her victim."[112] Recasting the violence of imperialism as a kind of peaceful yearning is central to the character of "Hiawatha." In Longfellow's poem, Hiawatha is a tragic "Indian brave" who commits symbolic suicide by departing at the end of the poem, a literary transformation of the decades of violent "Indian removal" in the U.S.[113] Hiawatha's departure was critical for the popularity of the poem since, as Philip Deloria argues, the power and appeal of Indian-ness in the popular imagination "necessarily went hand in hand with the dispossession and conquest of actual Indian people."[114] As various scholars argue, the rise of the nostalgic "Indian Intermezzos" that Daniel's two-step inspired, as well as the movement of "Indianist" art music around the turn of the century, cannot be separated from the contemporary belief that Native Americans were a dying race.[115] This belief, of course, was bolstered by continued efforts of the U.S. federal government not only to take over Indian lands but also to limit and silence Native American cultural practices, including musical performance.[116] It is not coincidental, then, that when Daniel's two-step reached England in England in late 1903, Buffalo Bill was touring the country with a show that, as Kate Flint argues, had taken a more "elegiac tone."[117] "Hiawatha" circulated in England amidst a growing recognition that the Noble Savage of the Wild West was largely now a figure of the past.

There is a deep irony that so many Filipino musicians performed a song that seemed to inspire feelings of "imperialist nostalgia" among white American and British listeners. According to the prevailing theories of racial science, Filipinos and Native Americans shared a common bond. In some ways this connection was quite superficial and based on older ways of thinking: Spaniards described Filipinos as "*indios*," a term that English-speakers in the Philippines translated as "Indians."[118] More significantly,

however, the supposed similarities between Filipinos and Native Americans emerged during the crucible of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Filipino revolutionaries and civilians faced the violence of U.S. soldiers and bureaucrats who appeared in the Philippines after participating in the project of Indian removal in the U.S. While Paul Kramer shows that "Indian policy" ultimately proved to be a useless model to apply to the Philippines, Americans regularly attempted to make comparisons between Filipinos and Native Americans based on some of the prevailing theories of evolutionary racial science.[119]According to this line of thinking, all races were following a shared path towards "civilization" but progressing at different rates. Different races, then, represented different stages and points in history of human evolution, with white Europeans and Americans claiming the spot as most evolved. As anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor wrote in 1871, "the savage state in some measure represents an early condition of mankind, out of which the higher culture has gradually been developed or evolved."[120] Social scientists who followed this model believed that both Native Americans and Filipinos were not simply racially inferior to whites: in some ways, these two groups also shared a position in an imagined evolutionary past. Thus, when Americans described Filipinos as their "Little Brown Brothers," or dismissed Native Americans as child-like, they were employing a language of racial and societal evolution, in which the brown-skinned peoples of the Philippines and the indigenous peoples of North America were akin to children who had yet to grow and reach the fully civilized state of adulthood achieved by white America and Europe.

The imagined similarities between Filipinos and Native Americans informed anthropological musical study even as "Hiawatha" circulated throughout the globe.

During the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, the song collector Frances Densmore drew on her extensive ethnographic studies of Native American musicians to study the groups of Filipinos who were effectively on display for fair-goers.[121] Densmore approached her study anticipating parallels between Filipino and Native American cultural expressions because she initially believed that both groups occupied a similar stage of human evolution. As Densmore explained, "I have been a student of Indian music and expected to find some similarity between the music of the two races."[122] Densmore's expectation makes sense according to the anthropological racial science of the time. Just as Native Americans and Filipinos supposedly represented an earlier, more primitive version of European civilization, social scientists believed that their music was a kind of ancient ancestor from which European classical music evolved. It is worth noting, though, that while Densmore's basis for comparing Native Americans and Filipinos came from thinking in the social sciences, even non-academics made comparisons between these groups. On the other side of the Pacific Ocean just a few months before Densmore began her study of Philippine musical practices in St. Louis, a group of non-Christian, highland Filipinos staged a special performance of war rituals for a group of American women in Manila. Several of these observers remarked "that their dances and songs bore a marked resemblance to those of the Apache Indians."[123]

I wanted to stress this racially based sense of connection between Native Americans and Filipinos because it adds an important dimension to the weight of "Hiawatha's" as a colonial force: the nostalgia of "Hiawatha" built on the same racial logic that inspired imperial violence in the regions where the song circulated. Those who suggested similarities between Native Americans and Filipinos were helping to

perpetuate a sense of white supremacist racial hierarchy that came to justify violent acts against brown-skinned people. Krystyn Moon, for example, argues that Densmore's study of Filipino music was a distinctly imperial venture. Densmore employed an evolutionary sense of racial science that, Moon points out, was used to "justify the colonization of the Philippines and legitimated arguments that Filipinos needed to be uplifted before they could be a free and independent people."[124] In effect, Moon suggests, by comparing Filipinos to Native Americans, Densmore was perpetuating the very same logic at the core of Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden," President William McKinley's "benevolent assimilation," or what Vicente Rafael calls "white love": a logic through which, as Rafael describes, "Filipinos were infantilized as racial others in need of nurturance and tutelage in the fundamentals of Anglo-Saxon democracy to turn them into a self-governing people, separate from but equal to white civilization."[125] As the first of a genre of "Indian Intermezzos" that depicted a romanticized view of U.S. brutality against Native Americans, "Hiawatha" was a song ostensibly about the imperial process itself. "Hiawatha," then, can be heard as a colonizing force not only because its broad circulation and endless repetition saturated soundscapes in the colonial world and prompted an uncomfortable change in listeners' relations to the capitalist expansion of the commercial music industry. Through its nostalgic "Indian" theme, "Hiawatha" also hinted at the racial ideology used as justification for the violence of American and European colonialism.

Dispersion and Accumulation

Many of the same qualities that made "Hiawatha" a colonizing song, though, also generated a deep ambiguity as it accumulated multiple meanings during its circulation

throughout the colonial world. The two-step's seemingly endless repetitions also led to countless moments where listeners heard the song in unexpected ways. As a musical commodity that was widely consumed and repeated, "Hiawatha" was also remade by non-European performers who incorporated the work into a variety of different settings. Precisely as Novak shows, listeners such as Mrs. Campbell Dauncey began to hear "Hiawatha" in new ways with each performance, to the point where she even began to imagine the Indian Intermezzo as a rather startling force, one that could contest racial hierarchies or challenge U.S. imperial ambition. The "endless chain" that Harris imagined did not grow stronger with each new link. As I show in this section, through repetition and circulation, "Hiawatha" came to accrue a multiplicity of meanings that overwhelmed the apparent coherence of its musical circuit tour. I examine the significance of this growing density of meanings through a series of specific moments. Two of these moments come from Dauncey herself: her diary includes several occasions where she seems to hear "Hiawatha" in entirely new and unusual ways. While Dauncey's journal is invaluable for showing the specific ways in which a listener might experience "Hiawatha's" endless repletion, I also note how the song appeared in Singapore's Chinese and Malay communities. Finally, I turn to yet another travelogue to explore how a listener encountered the circulations of an earlier composition of imperial pop in colonial Asia. Taken as a whole, these moments begin to hint at the ways in which the broad spread of U.S. popular song has to be understood as both a kind of colonial force and also a medium for generating new possibilities and meanings. The repetitions of imperial pop gave birth to countless unexpected moments that did not merely perpetuate the project of U.S. and European empire.

In her diary, Dauncey includes a long passage that is marked by a dramatic transformation caused by a Filipino performance of "Hiawatha." This passage describes Dauncey's activities in Iloilo on the evening of the fourth of July, 1905. After watching a long parade and various celebrations of U.S. Independence Day throughout the city, Dauncey attended a dance sponsored by the city's Spanish Club. The ball included a mix of American and well to do Filipino patrons who danced to the music of the Iloilo Philippine Constabulary band, a group affiliated with the military force tasked with driving out remaining anti-American resistance.[126] After watching the dancers in the main hall, Dauncey walked to the balcony, where the twenty-five piece male band of "all brass and two flutes" performed on a raised platform.[127] The band's members were clearly exhausted from a day parading in the hot sun. Dauncey noted that there were only "two or three music-stands" among the musicians. Most ignored the printed music entirely and simply "sat and blew…wherever they pleased." Dauncey describes their various postures in detail: some of the musicians were "lying almost full length on one elbow," while one man "lay on the steps…gazing at the ceiling, and playing his cornet in one hand." To describe their various states of repose, Dauncey fell back onto a common stereotype comparing Filipinos to their evolutionary ancestors: "some huddled up with their chins on their knees, looking exactly like performing monkeys."[128] After surveying the room full of tired, lounging musicians, Dauncey concluded that their musical performance drew on a seemingly natural and innate ability: "They seemed to be playing instinctively while thinking of other things." This instinctive quality was especially evident in a trumpeter near her who was "fast asleep, with his fingers still moving up and down."[129]

While we might simply read Dauncey's account here as a description of a group of tired musicians, her writing builds from a broader worldview that, I suggest, is later interrupted by the sound of "Hiawatha." In a sense, I want to follow Bennet Zon's approach to examining musical representations in travelogues and offer a translation of this passage "into an anthropological code."[130] Dauncey's portrayal of the Filipino musicians – as well as her entire diary – is deeply informed by the same evolutionary racial science informing Frances Densmore's own studies of Filipino performance in St. Louis. Similar to Densmore, Dauncey depicts these bandsmen as "childlike," lazy, and lacking the higher capacity to make musical performance an intellectual, artistic expression. Dauncey and Densmore actually share some of the same tropes to make sense of their observations When Densmore writes about Filipino Negritos – a group of highland indigenous non-Christians that she described as "one of the most primitive tribes in the Islands" – she also compared them with primates: "Here is to be found the music of a people in whom the human seems absolutely blended with the animal life…they draw themselves up by their arms like monkeys."[131] Similarly, Densmore believed that the Negritos' musical performances were devoid of any higher thought. For these Filipinos, Densmore writes, "song… [is] an instinctive form of expression."[132] While Dauncey does not attempt to make any broader scientific claims from her observations, her depiction of the Iloilo Constabulary band is clearly informed by particular understanding of race that served to justify imperial violence.

Dauncey's thinking about race, empire, and Filipinos informs much of her book, including her belief in Filipino instinctual or natural musicality. In some cases, Dauncey's racism is front and center. At various points in the book, she questions

Filipinos' readiness for independence and describes them as the "infinitely lower development of the human race," "ignorant half-breeds," and "stumpy, stupid, little Filipinos."[133] Dauncey also employs a nearly ubiquitous trope found among European and American visitors to the Philippines to describe Filipino musicality: she writes that "the Filipinos have a natural gift for music."[134] While many Filipinos from the early twentieth century to the present moment have celebrated this widely shared sentiment, it is critical to recognize that Dauncey's comment here, and her comment about the band's "instinctive" musicality, are similarly racialized.[135] Studies of African American "natural" musicality have shown how the concept of innate rhythm or musical ability can be based on a racially-based division between body and mind, nature and intellect.[136] In short, in this line of reasoning, "natural" musicians lack the intelligence and self-discipline that transforms music-making into an artistic, intellectual, and original endeavor, qualities that purportedly mark European musical performance.

Indeed, many accounts of Filipino "natural" musicality actually reinforce stereotypes of Filipinos as overly emotional and lacking rationality and discipline. A general information book about the Philippines from 1900, for example, includes a section titled "Music and Superstitions." This pairing alone hints at the notion that musicality might be considered akin to irrational, emotional, backwards practices. This account of Filipino musicality perpetuates the image of the eternally child-like Filipino: "The special birthright of the Filipino is his musical talent…children six or seven years old play on the family instrument as if by instinct."[137] A travelogue published in 1904 echoes this theme in its description of Filipino musicians: "many boys and girls…can pick up any tune by ear, or soon learn to play any instrument, musical talent being inborn

in the race."[138] In these and many other accounts, Filipino musicality is the innate, untrained ability of children, of a people who seem to rely so little on their intellect to produce music that, as Dauncey suggests, they can even perform in their sleep.

Let us return to Dauncey's dinner ball and the somnolent Filipino musicians. After Dauncey's racially tinged descriptions of Filipino laziness and natural musicality, she makes a dramatic shift when concluding her statement about a stately Spanish *rigodon* dance. Following this selection, she wrote, "A bandsman suddenly sprang up from a recumbent position on the steps and tootled the first few bars of 'Hiawatha,' which they all struck into with a swing."[139] The song, she reported, had a transformative effect on the lounging musicians: "some of the sleepers opened one dull eye." More noticeably, the man who had been lying fully reclined on his back "was suddenly galvanised into walking up and down to the tune – a sort of dancing walk – in front of the bandstand."[140] This is a startling moment in a travelogue that largely adheres to the standard tropes of imperial white supremacy. The performance of "Hiawatha" prompts Dauncey to shift from a depiction that begins with a racialized view of Filipinos as child-like and lazy, possessing natural musicality and "monkey"-like qualities to one where they awaken from their "monkey-like" state as a result, apparently, of the song's primal impulses. Dauncey employs a string of decisive, fast-acting verbs to describe the repercussions of "Hiawatha": with musicians springing up and striking into the song. The tune appears to rouse them from their slumber and inspire them into strong, focused action.

I read Dauncey's observations as a subtle, and perhaps unconscious, recognition that the repetitions of "Hiawatha" have facilitated a form of racial border crossing. In

particular, with their "tootling" of "Hiawatha" the members of the Philippine Constabulary Band momentarily cross or test the boundaries of what W. E. B. Du Bois calls the Color Line. While Du Bois introduced this concept in 1903, he would expand upon it in 1906, the same year Dauncey published her travelogue. In a short article titled "The Color Line Belts the World," Du Bois defined the Color Line as an ideology of white supremacy that imperialists try to spread as they colonize the world.[141] The Color Line, in effect, circuited the globe in a similar manner to "Hiawatha": it spread by way of the "territorial, political and economic expansion" of "the great nations of the day." The racial trouble of the U.S., Du Bois argued, was merely "a local phase of a world problem."[142] In this article, Du Bois offered a revision to his earlier use of the term to suggest that the Color Line is a line that can be crossed or even broken.

Du Bois was prompted to write this essay because such a crossing had just occurred in a dramatic manner. Between early 1904 and late 1905, a period that overlapped with "Hiawatha's" imperial circulation, the Japanese army was decisively engaging and defeating Russian troops in what became known as the Russo-Japanese war. This was a momentous occurrence, for it marked one of the first times a modern "white nation" had been defeated in military conflict. As Etsuko Taketani shows, news of the battles between Russia and Japan riveted whites and African Americans in the U.S. who saw a larger message about struggles against white supremacy.[143] The war also captured the attention of concerned European and American colonists in Asia. In the months before Dauncey's arrival in Manila, the latest news about Japans triumphs dominated the front pages of Manila's American paper *The Manila Times*.[144] Du Bois found great significance in the results of the war. Due to Russia's defeat by Japan, he

wrote, "the magic of the word 'white' is already broken, and the Color Line in civilization has been crossed in modern times as it was in the great past."[145] Du Bois saw nothing short of a global racial revolution spurred by the Japanese victory: "The awakening of the yellow races is certain…the awakening of the brown and black races will follow in time."[146] In other words, Du Bois believed that the Color Line would soon be tested if not entirely disrupted.

I want to bring Du Bois into this conversation not only because his notion of a global "Color Line" covers much of the ground "Hiawatha" covered in its circuit tour of the globe, but also because both Du Bois and Dauncey employed a similar language of "awakening" to talk about broader societal transformation. Du Bois argued that the result of the Russo-Japanese war would bring about "the awakening of these sleepy millions," namely the non-white races who were subdued. While Du Bois depicts the spread of colonialism and racial hierarchies of white supremacy as a kind of sleep-inducing force that non-white people of the world must struggle to shake off, Dauncey herself used a metaphor of sleep and awakening in a starkly different manner. In one passage, she describes a conversation with an American official who explained that the U.S. government would help Filipinos "wake up *and* flourish."[147] Imperial benevolence, in this case, is recast as a kind of paternalistic alarm clock summoning Filipinos to take part in the fast-paced world of western civilization. Notably, Dauncey seems well accustomed to this metaphor but is skeptical of the American official's mission. She argues that Filipinos were not sufficiently advanced to benefit from the transformative changes promised by U.S. imperial governance. After all, she asked, "why should the Filipinos wake up?"[148] Against the backdrop of Du Bois, Dauncey's statement here, and her

description of the Fourth of July ball take on far greater significance. “Hiawatha” quite specifically spurs a group of Filipino musicians to wake up, to open their eyes, and transition from their monkey-like positions to more dignified postures. Dauncey may not believe that Filipinos should “wake up,” but, in this particular performance of “Hiawatha,” she clearly observes how its repetitions can spark an awakening, one that seems to challenge the basic racial logic through which she understands the world.

During Iloilo’s Fourth of July ball, Dauncey observed how “Hiawatha” might have a transformative effect that disrupts her racialized view of the world, but its endless repetitions also led her to entertain surprisingly subversive thoughts about the song. Four months after she arrived in the Philippines, Dauncey attempted to make sense of the frequency with which Filipino performed “Hiawatha.” They play it so often that, she writes, “[the tune] seems to have become a sort of Filipino National Anthem.”[149] While Dauncey does not reflect much of this comment, her conclusion is quite curious, for it shows that repetition could come to generate meanings that might even be considered dangerous or subversive. It is especially surprising to find Dauncey writing of a Philippine national anthem given her opinions about Filipinos and U.S. imperialism. Throughout her diary, Dauncey repeatedly mocked the Americans’ purported mission to bring democracy to the Philippines. She regularly made it clear that she believed Filipinos were unfit for self-rule. When she observed the hundreds of Filipinos taking part in the Iloilo Fourth of July parade, for example, Dauncey considered the entire display “comical.” She did not think the Filipino participants were capable of sensing the irony in celebrating U.S. independence from England: “I don’t suppose one in twenty of the ‘little brown bothers’ …would think the commemoration of the removal of a yoke of

foreign bad government and taxation was something to do with their own everlasting struggle for independence."[150] We could read Dauncey's description of "Hiawatha" as a Philippine national anthem as similarly demeaning: she would be continuing a long-running discourse denying Filipino originality by suggesting that they had to turn to a popular American two-step to give voice to their nationalist sentiments.[151]

Even as a joke, however, the idea that Dauncey heard "Hiawatha" as possible theme for a Philippine nation needs to be properly historicized. Dauncey's comment occurred during a period where, between 1901 and 1907, the American government passed a number of laws banning what they considered to be seditious acts, including the display of the Philippine flag.[152] During these years, Filipinos could and did face fines, imprisonment, and worse, for displaying any objects associated with Filipino nationalism, for performing nationalist musical compositions, or by staging theatrical plays that seemed to promote the idea of a Philippine nation independent from U.S. colonial rule.[153] In the early part of the decade, while Filipinos were continuing their armed resistance against Americans in the southern islands and the countryside, Filipino musicians were imprisoned for performing music that might be considered akin to a Philippine national anthem.[154] The actual Philippine national anthem was driven underground. As Dauncey reflected on the inescapable presence of "Hiawatha," she came to suggest, perhaps inadvertently, the presence of an incipient Philippine nation, a nation that had briefly come into existence in 1898 but that was violently transformed into a formal American colony. Instead of hearing "Hiawatha" as a colonizing force, Dauncey dangerously suggests that it can also be heard as a song that brings Filipinos together in a way that is directly at odds with the U.S. imperial project.

Furthermore, while there is no evidence to suggest that Filipinos were actually using Daniel's two-step as a secret theme to subvert American rule, the notion that Filipinos might turn to a work of imperial pop associated with Native Americans is actually not entirely far fetched. During the years of "Hiawatha's" circulation and in the decade before it was published, Filipino elites attempted to challenge both Spanish and American racial ideologies that perpetuated their colonial subjugation by strategically reworking their supposed connection to Native Americans. One of the more famous examples of this strategy comes from 1889, when the Filipino nationalist José Rizal, a member of the elite *ilustrado* class of Filipinos pursuing education in Europe, attended the Paris Universal Exposition. He and several of his Filipino friends attended Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and were famously inspired by the daring actions of the Native American performers. Rizal found some subversive humor in naming his group of colleagues "*los indios bravos,"* a play on Buffalo Bill's Indian Braves and the Spaniards' tendency to describe all Filipinos as "indios."[155] While Rizal reclaimed the title of "indios" as he and his friends began to challenge Spanish rule in the late nineteenth century, Filipino elites continued to resist the American colonial regime in the following century by alternately challenging or embracing their supposed connection to Native Americans.

The historian Paul Kramer also describes several cases where Filipino elites pointed out the hypocrisy of the American claim of benevolence by disputing their similarities to Native Americans.[156] In one instance, elite Filipinos pointed to the non-Christian highland people of the Philippines, including the various groups Densmore studied in St. Louis, to argue that, as Kramer put it, "Filipinos could not be Indians…

because they had 'their own' Indians."[157] Kramer also notes a case where Filipinos critiqued American policy by showing that, while the U.S. government claimed to be protecting the Philippines for its powerless, indigenous peoples, Americans were violently suppressing Native American claims for sovereignty and political power.[158] During the moment in which Dauncey briefly imagined "Hiawatha" as a Filipino national anthem, a class of Filipinos was already thinking critically about the ways in which they might capitalize upon the legacy of U.S. Indian Removal and imperialist nostalgia to assert their own claims for independence.

Similarly, Filipinos were also employing banal U.S. pop songs as media for political protests. One of the more compelling examples of this process comes from nearly two decades after "Hiawatha's" peak popularity, but it is still relevant for showing how the repetitions of imperial pop can spin out in unusual ways. In the early 1920s, the American journalist Kate Mayo published *The Isles of Fear*, a book that was much maligned by Filipinos for spreading propaganda that might delay their bid for independence.[159] In one of the less controversial moments of her book, Mayo describes a curious protest she encountered in Zamboanga, a city on the southern island of Mindanao. She writes that a local official who had grown unpopular with the city's populace was named "Saguin," a name that sounded quite similar to the word for "banana" in several Filipino languages.[160] During the city's 1923 Rizal Day parade, an event celebrating the Philippine's martyred national hero, three local Filipino community leaders turned to the latest American pop song sweeping across the colonial world to protest Saguin's policies. Mayo describes how they rode in a car in the parade, singing: "Yes, we'll have no bananas / We'll have no bananas to-day." In response to this

repurposing of the hugely popular song "Yes, We Have No Bananas," Saguin reportedly imposed a nine peso fine upon anyone who sang the song.[161] Dauncey did not claim a similarly direct sort of reworking of "Hiawatha" when she imagined it as a Filipino national anthem. But what I seek to demonstrate is that its incessant repetitions led her to imagine the two-step in a new, subversive way. What is more, her off-hand comment was also not entirely outrageous: the circulations and repetitions of imperial pop could and generate new meanings and possibilities that had the potential to destabilize its colonizing tendencies.

Dauncey's descriptions of "Hiawatha" in the Philippines begin to demonstrate the ways in which the song came to acquire new and multiple meanings as it circulated throughout the colonial world. In Singapore, Daniels' two-step continued to sound in different settings and on various stages. While we may lack the commentary of audiences who might help us understand the ways in which "Hiawatha's" numerous soundings could generate meaning, I still want to briefly note its presence in both the city's Chinese and Malay communities, even if just to document how far its circulation spread. In late 1904, a group of amateurs from Singapore's Straits Chinese community formed an ensemble called the "Cornwall Minstrels."[162] After many months rehearsing, the group gave one of their first performances in September 1905 during a Chinese wedding with 200 guests. For their act, they adopted English names such as S. H. Stanley, C. P. MacPhabett, and W. H. Kellard, and offered a repertoire comparable to European amateur minstrel shows. The show began with a banjo feature and included popular songs such as "I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen," a polka, Sousa marches, and, of course, a version of "Hiawatha" performed as a cake-walk.[163] Two months later, the Minstrels

performed a similar program at the city's Town Hall, a much larger and more prestigious venue that attracted both Straits Chinese and European attendees. They once again included "Hiawatha" among their selections and received short yet favorable notice from the city's English-language press.[164] Unfortunately, we do not have specific commentary about how audience members heard the Cornwall Minstrels' performance of Daniels' two-step. The historical record does not reveal the myriad ways in which the diverse audience may have interpreted a performance in which Straits Chinese performers took on the personas of white Englishmen in order to don blackface and sing a song of imperialist nostalgia about Native Americans. We might assume, however, that, just as Dauncey came to hear "Hiawatha" in ways that seemed to undermine its imperial tendencies, these audiences likely also listened to Daniels' two-step in ways that the composer might find unexpected or unusual.

Later that following year, in June 1906, "Hiawatha" appeared in another Singapore venue, this time a popular Malay theater. One of Singapore's more popular performance troupes in the early twentieth century was the Indra Zanibar Royal Theatrical Company of Singapore, a Malay theater troupe also known as "Wayang Kassim." The group featured Malay, Javanese, and Eurasian performers and toured throughout the Dutch East Indies and the Malay Peninsula.[165] When they were in Singapore, their Malay-language plays regularly attracted European audiences, as well as a large portion of the city's Malay population.[166] In June 1906, they began featuring a performer named "Charlie Joseph" – perhaps an American, Englishman, or Australian – who performed coon songs and cakewalks in the breaks between the troupe's main acts.[167] It was apparently common for entertainers such as Joseph to appear in the Malay

theater. Half a year after Joseph's debut, the Scottish traveler William Black described a similar phenomenon when he attended Wayang Kassim's Malay version of "Merchant of Venice." Black described how "at intervals the action of the play stopped altogether and two weird children came on to sing an American coon song."[168] During Joseph's first week with Wayang Kassim, though, he turned to a song likely already familiar with much of the audience: he featured his cake-walk version of "Hiawatha" between acts of the troupe's Malay performance of the play "Prince Sabar."[169] We are again left wondering about the myriad ways in which the diverse audience reacted to Joseph's performance. When Black attended a Wayang Kassim show, he clearly did not know what to think when he encountered American coon songs interspersed between the acts of a Malay Shakespeare play. The residents of Singapore who attended Wayang Kassim's shows, however, were certainly used to this sort of juxtapositions. Indeed, the wide circulations of popular songs such as "Hiawatha" come to seem natural and even inevitable in countless different situations. While we need to view this ubiquity as the result of violent imposition, of the forceful repetitions of imperial pop, "Hiawatha" also seems to have taken on new and multiple meanings with each repetition.

While this chapter has focused primarily on "Hiawatha," an unusually popular and ubiquitous song, other works of imperial pop were also circulating widely and repeating endlessly. In early 1900s Philippines, travelers regularly wrote about Filipinos who had picked up American military songs popular among soldiers, including compositions such as "Marching Through Georgia."[170] These observers were especially fascinated by the ways in which Filipino brass bands seem to have adopted "A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" as a tune for funeral parades.[171] Other visitors noted Filipinos

performing a range of U.S. popular songs in the early 1900s, including "Just One Girl," "After the Ball," and "My Old Kentucky Home."[172] While Filipinos took up imperial pop with facility due to their long history with western music from the era of Spanish colonialism, these songs were circulating throughout other colonial port cities in Asia (Fig 1.5). In the early 1900s, U.S. popular songs also greeted travelers in Colombo, the first stop in Asia for Europeans not destined for Bombay.[173] A tourist at Colombo's Galle Face hotel in January 1906 noted the hotel band's performance of "Under the Bamboo Tree."[174] That same year, a visitor to Colombo's other large European inn, the Grand Oriental Hotel, noted a "native hotel band, led by a wandering European" performed a repertoire that included "Sousa's marches," "Hiawatha," and "Tammany," another Indian Intermezzo from 1905.[175]



Figure 1.5: An American traveler photographed an Indian band performing Stephen Foster's "Old Folks at Home (Suwanee River)" in Agra in 1912.[176]

"Hiawatha's" repetitions were unusual in that they became the subject of a genre of news story, but the vast circulation of other compositions from Tin Pan Alley also revealed the ambiguity inherent in imperial pop. I want to briefly examine another moment of listening in the Philippines, this time to a song other than "Hiawatha." This

example comes from the travelogue of Florence Kimball Russel, another woman in the Philippines who arrived roughly four years before Dauncey.[177] Russel also penned a diary of the time she spent accompanying her husband. Russel, however, was aboard a ship that left Manila in December 1900 to install underwater telegraph cables connecting the southern Visayas and Mindanao to the Philippine capital. Manila was not yet linked to the U.S. via cable – the trans-Pacific line would be not be completed until 1903 – but the U.S. government considered it strategically important to create a communication systems joining the Philippine islands together.[178] Over the next several months, Russel's trip took her past Dumaguete, down to Misamis, Mindano, and then back again towards Cebu. As the ship pulled into Cebu's port, Russel notes they were greeted with a sight common to many harbors: small boats, or *bancas*, full of children raced out to ask the ship's passengers for coins. The children would jump out of their boats to dive after the money raining down around them.[179]

It is during this scene of acrobatic and amphibious begging that Russel encountered an unexpected sounding of imperial pop. While the small *bancas* surround Russel's ship, she describes how some of the Filipino children "sang a song so swinging in measure that it appealed to me instantly as one that would be immensely taking were it sung in an American music-hall."[180] Just as the Filipino youth were chasing after money falling down around them, Russel immediately began to dream about the potential fortune one might earn from the song should it make its way to the U.S. "I found myself humming it delightedly," she writes, "At the end of the second verse I was so carried away by its possibilities that, turning to a group of people talking near the rail, I remarked that with rag-time words, it would be vastly popular in American vaudeville."[181] In other

words, Russel recognized the song as a cousin of "Hiawatha," a song that might become a ubiquitous, profitable, musical "pest."

Russel soon realized, however, that what she was hearing not a quick source of fortune but the sounds of the unexpected circulations of imperial pop. After her comment to her American companions, Russel describes their response:

> Everyone stared incredulously for a moment, until one of the number, realizing the situation, managed to explain, between gasps of laughter, that 'Hello, my Baby, Hello, my Honey' was in its dotage in the United States. Then the laughter became general, for all were more recent arrivals from America than I, and it was hard for them to understand how so elderly and decrepit a ditty could be unfamiliar to any one.[182]

Russel listened closer to the singing of the Filipino children and realized that, sure enough, "these Cebu natives," as she called them, were actually singing the melody and lyrics to "Hello! Ma Baby," a wildly popular 1899 coon song, written by the hit making duo Joseph E. Howard and Ida Emerson and published through the powerful New York publishing firm T. B. Harms and Company.[183] Russel had recognized the song as a potential work of imperial pop, yet one that had a possible Philippine source, not one that originated from the factories of New York's commercial music industry.

Russel's inability to recognize the song, though, shows the curious and unexpected ways in which popular song could circulate and repeat. It is deeply ironic that Russel learned Howard and Emerson's composition from a group of Cebuano children. After all, she was quite literally part of a group tasked with improving the circulation of messages throughout the Philippines. She accompanied a team of U.S. soldiers charged with building an infrastructure for communication, a task of technological "civilizing" that, as Dauncey later noted, Americans viewed as a "token of progress" of their imperial enterprise in the Philippines.[184] Yet Russel found that the circulations of imperial pop had

passed her by, they had not precisely followed the imperial infrastructure her shipmates were building. It is even more ironic that Russel realized the uneven and unpredictable ways in which a work of popular song might move throughout the world through the soundings of an ode to modern telecommunications: "Hello! Ma Baby" is a song in which the narrator sings about talking to his lover on the telephone, asking her to "send me a kiss by wire."[185] Russel's story here demonstrates precisely the strange and messy ways in which circulation and repetition can generate unanticipated moments and meanings. Russel is forced to confront here a deeply embarrassing and anxiety-inducing reality: that she was behind the times compared to Cebu's harbor choir. The repetitions of "Hello! My Baby" somehow passed her by, and as a result, the relationship between Russel and Cebu's singing youth seemed momentarily inverted. It was the Filipinos who had a direct line to the latest messages of U.S. modernity, not her.

As these various examples suggest, "Hiawatha's" repeated soundings, and the circulation of imperial pop more broadly, could generate an accumulation of new and unexpected meanings. To be clear, the accrual of multiple meanings created by performance after performance was not always immediately apparent or recognizable. Dauncey herself did not seem to acknowledge the ways in which she came to hear "Hiawatha" in diverse and potentially subversive ways. The last sentence of Dauncey's book comes as she happily loses sight of the Philippines on the horizon. Fittingly, it is about repetition. "We saw and did and heard the same things so often," she writes, "that I am left with an impression of as many years as we have been there months."[186] Yet, while Dauncey writes that they "heard the same things so often," the individual account of each specific moment of hearing reveals that the meanings of these performances did not

remain static. On the contrary, while some of her dozen mentions of "Hiawatha" fall in line with the depiction of the song as a "pest" and a kind of imperial force, she also clearly shows that Daniels' two-step could generate new meanings as it appeared in different situations throughout her stay. Similarly, in Singapore the song seemed to become part of the city's musical vernacular, a composition adapted to both a Chinese entertainment scene and the Malay theater. As Russel's story shows, the circulation of other examples of imperial pop also caused moments of that generated imperial anxiety, again in unexpected ways. It is was precisely because "Hiawatha" was so successful as a colonizing force, however, that it soon began to sound out other possibilities, such as crossing the Color Line or a kind of nationalism through popular song. Indeed, "Hiawatha" was neither wholly an imperial tune nor one that only disturbed imperial logic. Rather, it was only possible to be both. Through its circulation via constant repetition, "Hiawatha" came to reveal the ambiguity and contradictions inherent in imperial pop.

Conclusion

"Hiawatha" almost came to circulate throughout the world with the help of a prominent personal escort. In 1902, the year that John Philip Sousa likely began to help popularize Daniels' song in the U.S., the popular bandleader was also planning a round-the-world tour.[187] Sousa mapped out a journey for his ensemble that would follow the routes of imperial steamships and countless other entertainers who had traveled the world along an entertainment circuit that took them across the Pacific, along the coast of Asia, through the Suez Canal to Europe, and back across the Atlantic to the U.S. Sousa's

proposed 1903 tour would have taken him to Europe, India, the Philippines, China, Japan, and Hawaii, among other stops.[188] When legal logistics interfered with his plans, however, Sousa instead embarked on his third tour to Europe. From January until early August 1903, Sousa performed 362 concerts in 133 towns in Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany.[189] According to the Sousa researcher Paul Bierley, Sousa's band played "Hiawatha" repeatedly on this tour, and continued to do so when they returned to the U.S.[190] Sousa only completed a slightly different around-the-world tour in 1911, when he and his band performed in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii.[191] While Sousa cancelled his 1903 world tour, however, "Hiawatha" went ahead and followed Sousa's proposed itinerary, with a few additional stops, without him. The song did not require Sousa to chaperone it throughout the world. Instead the two-step was quickly ushered around the globe through the help of a vast and diverse group of performers that included Filipino fishermen, Chinese minstrels, and touring English actors.

"Hiawatha's" seemingly endless repetitions marked it as a composition of imperial pop. In its wide circulation, Daniels' two-step became a kind of colonial force on multiple fronts. The song's sheer ubiquity was itself an act of violent aural domination, a result of the two-step's ability to drown out other melodies as it repeated throughout the colonial world. In its regular public reiterations, "Hiawatha" also sounded out the radical transformation wrought by the emergence of a new commercial music industry intent on transforming listeners into consumers and remaking the soundscape into a space for inescapable advertising. As Tin Pan Alley products circulated via the infrastructure of imperial trade, songs such as "Hiawatha" began to inspire strong

reactions among listeners who found themselves attracted to compositions whose constant presence deeply disturbed them. Furthermore, with its nostalgic reference to Native Americans, "Hiawatha" also perpetuated the spread of ideas about racial development and imperial violence that served to justify colonial projects in much of the world, including the Philippines. But while "Hiawatha" took on imperial tendencies through its continual repetition, its wide circulation also led to an accumulation of meanings that rendered the song a highly ambiguous phenomenon. As Mrs. Campbell Dauncey revealed in her travelogue, "Hiawatha" could inspire listeners to entertain a startling range of ideas and notions. Indeed, Dauncey herself came to imagine moments of racial border crossing and subversive Filipino nationalism through performances of the song. The more the song circulated, the more "Hiawatha" came to accrue new meanings. For Singapore's Straits Chinese or Malay communities, "Hiawatha" may have spun out entirely from its imperial trajectory. Imperial pop became a colonial force through its circulation and repetition, but this same circulation also resulted in a dense and ambiguous polysemy. "Hiawatha" was simultaneously both an imperial force and a two-step of colonial disruption as it sounded out the deeply contradictory processes of empire.

"Hiawatha" was far from the only product of Tin Pan Alley to circulate throughout the colonial world in the first decades of the twentieth century. Nor was it the only work through which the contradictions at the heart of imperial pop reverberated. The U.S. and European commercial music industries expanded their global ambitions over the following decades. While World War I brought a temporary standstill to the global circulation of recordings, the mass movement of soldiers led to new movements of music, including the spread of British war anthems and an American syncopated dance music

known as jazz.[192] After the war, songs and new genres continued to circulate rapidly throughout the colonial world. As the newspaper magnate Lord Alfred Northcliffe discovered during his travels in 1921 and 1922 throughout the British empire, the popular WWI song "Tipperary" was nearly ubiquitous not only in Australia and New Zealand, but also in Manila, Java, Japan, and Fiji. Northcliffe described the song's presence throughout his tour as "one of the curses of travelling."[193] "Hiawatha" was one of many compositions that later came to be described, in only slightly hyperbolic terms, as the "hit of every country on the globe."[194] The circulation of jazz also continued to perpetuate the contradictions of imperial pop. Just as the dominating syncopated repetitions of "Hiawatha" inspired listeners to hear moments of subversive possibility, so too did the circulation of jazz come to generate contradictory possibilities that simultaneously perpetuated and challenged U.S. and European imperial ambitions.

Notes for Chapter One

[1] "Port of Manila," *The Manila Times* (26 November 1904), 5; "Port of Manila," *The Manila Times* (28 November 1904), 7; "Passengers Arrived," *The Manila Times* (28 November 1904), 7; Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (London: John Murray, 1906), 1.

[2] Neil Moret [Charles Daniels], "Hiawatha: A Summer Idyll" (Detroit: Whitney Warner Publishing Co., 1902).

[3] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 97, 162-163, 223, 193.

[4] Dauncey*, An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 52.

[5] Dauncey*, An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 162.

[6] "Music: Sousa as an Institution," *New York Times* (19 September 1920), X4.

[7] Twain refers to messages that would travel from Australia to India, England, and on to the U.S. The transpacific cables that linked the Philippines to California were not completed until 1903. Mark Twain, Roy Blount, Jr., ed., *A Tramp Abroad, Following the Equator, Other Travels* (New York: The Library of America, 2010 [1897]), 534.

[8] Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the 'Popular,'" in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (Boston: Routledge, 1981), 228.

[9] E.g., Louise Meintjes, "Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning," *Ethnomusicology* 34, no. 1 (1990): 37-73.

[10] Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the 'Popular,'" 233.

[11] E.g., Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[12] Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 14.

[13] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 10.

[14] Paul Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *American Historical Review* (2011): 1374.

[15] E.g., Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[16] In Marxist political economy "circuits" describe how capital changes form through the process of exchange. For a helpful analysis of Marx's concept of the "circuit," see John Fox, *Understanding Capital Volume II: A Reader's Guide* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1985). For an example of another approach to circuits, see Andrew Jones, "Circuit Listening: Grace Chang and the Dawn of the Chinese 1960s," in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano, Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 66-93.

[17] E.g., Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[18] Putnam, *Radical Moves*, 11.

[19] E.g., Arthur Frank Wertheim, *Vaudeville Wars: How the Keith-Albee and Orpheum Circuits Controlled the Big-Time and Its Performers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); "The Variety World," *The Era* (18 August 1926), 13; Richard Waterhouse, *From Minstrel Show to Vaudeville: The Australian Popular Stage, 1788-1914* (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1990). For an attempt to explore a regional circuit, see Charles Chamberlain, "Searching for 'The Gulf Coast Circuit': Mobility and Cultural Diffusion in the Age of Jim Crow, 1900-1930," *The Jazz Archivist* XIV (2000): 1-18.

[20] For the Bandmann circuit, see: "Theatrical Enterprise in India," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (19 December 1906), 1; Michael B. Leavitt, *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management* (New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1912), 671-676; "New Theatrical Venue," *North China Daily News* (5 April 1924), 16. For the "Pacific Circuit," see: Matthew Wittman, "Empire of Culture: U.S. Entertainers and the Making of the Pacific Circuit, 1850-1890," PhD Diss. (University of Michigan, 2010). For this early "Round-the-World" circuit see Harry Miner, ed., *Harry Miner's American Dramatic Directory for the Season of 1884-85* (New York: Wolf and Palmer Dramatic Publishing Company, 1884). Thanks to Gillian Rodger for this citation. See also Michael R. Booth and Pamela Heckenberg, "Touring the Empire," *Essays in Theatre* 6, no. 1 (November 1987): 49-60.

[21] Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma, "Cultures of Circulation: The Imaginations of Modernity," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 192.

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[22] Dilip Gaonkar and Elizabeth Povinelli, "Technologies of Public Forms: Circulation, Transfiguration, Recognition," *Public Culture* 15, no. 3 (2003): 390.

[23] David Novak, *Japanoise: Music at the Edge of Circulation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

[24] Novak, *Japanoise*, 18-19.

[25] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 97.

[26] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 107-122.

[27] While Sousa's role in helping to popularize "Hiawatha" is widely noted, the timing is slightly unclear. For Sousa to play a role in disseminating the song throughout the U.S. he had to have included it in his repertoire by the summer of 1902. Paul E. Bierley exhaustively researched book on Sousa, however, only notes that he performed the song repeatedly during his 1903 tour of Europe from January to early August: Paul E. Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 384.

[28] Information from this paragraph draws on the following sources: David A. Jasen, *Tin Pan Alley: An Encyclopedia of the Golden Age of American Song* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 97-98, 213; William J. Schafer and Johannes Riedel, "Indian Intermezzi ('Play It One More Time, Chief!')," *The Journal of American Folklore* (Oct-Dec, 1973), 382-7; Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 163-165, 384, 445; Edward Foote Gardner, *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century: Vol. 1 -- Chart Detail and Encyclopedia, 1900-1949* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2000), 48, 49, 152. For an example of Whitney Warner's marketing, see "Whitney-Warner Ad," *The Ladies' Home Journal* (October 1903), 49.

[29] "Concerts in the Parks," *The New York Times* (21 June 1903): 8; "Concerts in City Parks." *The New York Times* (10 August 1903), 6; "Obeyed Old-Style Conductor," *The New York Times* (7 April 1904): 9.

[30] "The 15th Commencement," *Williamsport Warren Republican* (7 May 1903), 4; "Band Program for Tonight," *Iola Register* (1 May 1903), 3; "Popular Benefit Concert," *The Duluth Evening Herald* (28 February 1903), 2.

[31] "Park Band Music," *Los Angeles Times* (8 February 1903), C3; "Free Pianola Recital Tonight," *Los Angeles Times* (27 June 1903), 3.

[32] Gardner, *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 48, 49, 152.

[33] For a listing, visit http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php and search "Hiawatha." To listen to Sousa's recording, visit http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/recordings/detail/id/222 Accessed 12 February 2016.

[34] Despite searching through several of the largest collections of Manila's sheet music from this period, I was unable to find a copy of "Hiawatha." Given the presence of other songs from Whitney Warner, however, I would be quite surprised if local stores were not also stocking "Hiawatha." For examples of sheet music advertising "Hiawatha" from the Raymundo C. Bañas Collection at the National Library of the Philippines, see H. B. Blanke, "Under the Rose" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1903); Sheppard Camp, "Sunrise in Georgia" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1903); and J. Bodewalt Lamp, "Dixie Girl" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1903).

[35] "Emma Square Concert," *Evening Bulletin* [Honolulu] (20 April 1903), 2.

[36] An ad for cigars in an English-language paper included the following: "It makes me awful homesick to hear dese Mexican Bands play 'Hiawatha.' De way dose guys play does me heart good. In fact dere's only one ting in dis whole bloomin country dat beats de band, and dat's 'El Valle Nacional' cigars." "G. W. Johnson," *Mexican Herald* (11 October 1904), 7.

[37] "Retreta que ejecutará…," *La Estrella de Panama* (19 July 1903), 8

[38] "Black River Concert," *Kingston Gleaner* (22 June 1904), 5.

[39] "Civic Holiday Concert," *Medicine Hat News* (30 July 1903), 14.

[40] For more on the trans-Atlantic movement of U.S. popular song around the turn-of-the-century, see Catherine Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain: 1880-1935* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005).

[41] "Bits of British Life," *The New York Times* (28 February 1904): 4. London music stores were also advertising recordings of the song: "Columbia Gramophone," *Illustrated London News* (22 October 1904), 599.

[42] "Spring Show" *Irish Examiner* (9 April 1904), 7.

[43] "Stadsnieuws," *Rotterdamsch nieuwsblad* (20 June 1904), 17; "Het Engelsche Opera-Gezelschap, III," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (30 June 1906), 4.

[44] "The 'Hiawatha' Pest," *The Examiner* [Launceston, Tasmania] (1 July 1904), 3.

[45] "London Letter," *The Singapore Free Press* (20 February 1904), 4.

[46] "Nuwara Eliya races," *Ceylon Observer* (12 February 1904), 254; "S. Rose & Co. ad," *The Times of India* (20 January 1904), 2. See also Frederic Courtland Penfield, *East of Suez: Ceylon, India, China and Japan* (New York: The Century Co., 1907), 43.

[47] "At Home at Government House," *The Singapore Free Press* (4 June 1904), 5; "Malle Vivianne Dagmar," *The Straits Times* (13 September 1904), 1.

[48] "The St. George's Ball," *The North China Herald* (11 November 1904), 1086.

[49] "Planten- En Dierentuin," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (8 February 1905), 6.

[50] "Local and general," *The Wanganui Chronicle* (25 November 1903), 4; "International Cricket," *The Argus* [Melbourne] (2 January 1904), 16.

[51] "Hiawatha ad," *The Mercury* [Hobart] (7 May 1904), 2.

[52] "[Liberia]," *The Singapore Free Press* (27 October 1904), 2.

[53] "S. R. Constabulary," *The Bulawayo Chronicle* (10 September 1904), 4; "Orchestral Society's Concert," *The Mafeking Mail and Protectorate Guardian* (27 February 1905), 2.

[54] "Variety Entertainment," *The Rhodesia Herald* (26 January 1905), 5; "The Russell-St. John Society Entertainers," *The Beira Post*, 22 February 1905, 2; "Local and Personal," *The Beira Post* (22 February 1905), 3; "The Society Entertainers," *The African Standard* [Mombasa] (25 March 1905), 7; "The Society Entertainers," *The African Standard* (25 March 1905), 9.

[55] 1912 world map template from Wikipedia commons, accessed 27 January 2016.

[56] My attempt to trace the broader dispersal of "Hiawatha" has been limited by time, language ability, and access to archival sources. I am inclined to believe that the song was present at least throughout other parts of the Anglophone empire. It likely also appeared in many cities beyond the English-speaking regions of the globe. Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2015), 41.

[57] E.g., Wittman, "Empire of Culture"; Booth and Heckenberg, "Touring the Empire."

[58] E.g., Jonathan Hyslop, "Steamship Empire: Asian, African and British Sailors in the Merchant Marine c. 1880-1945," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 44, no. 1 (2009): 49-67; Simon T. Potter, "Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire," *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 3 (July 2007): 621-646; Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, "Bodies,

Empires, and World Histories," in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, eds. Ballantyne and Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-15.

[59] For a particularly useful study that demonstrates the need to think beyond formal colonial boundaries, see Dwayne R. Winsek and Robert M. Pike, *Communication and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[60] "Narrative of Colonel George A. Loud," *The Century Illustrated Monthly* 56 (1898): 612.

[61] For two examples, see Joseph Earle Stevens, *Yesterday in the Philippines* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 19, 45, 186; Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and their People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), 290-292.

[62] "Vouwbare Ijzeren Muzieklessenaars," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (11 September 1895), 7; "W. Robinson & Co.," *The Singapore Free Press* (17 February 1897), 2.

[63] "S. Rose & Co. ad," *The Times of India* (4 September 1903), 1. A version of John Philip Sousa's 1898 "The Charlatan March" found in the Bañas Collection has a stamp on the cover from Manila's La Lira store. The stamp is dated 1 October 1901.

[64] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 163, 59.

[65] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 162-163.

[66] "Hiawatha The Pest," *The Mercury* [Hobart, Tasmania] (15 August 1904), 6.

[67] "Topics of the Week," *The Singapore Free Press* (9 January 1904), 1.

[68] Amok on the High Seas," *The Singapore Free Press* (16 June 1904), 5.

[69] "Nuggets," *The New York Times* (3 September 1903), 6.

[70] L. F. Austin, "Our Note Book," *Illustrated London News* (11 June 1904), 868.

[71] While there are no recorded performances of "Hiawatha" in Singapore until June 1904, the song quite likely reached the city sooner. The two-step was already being performed in Ceylon in early February 1904 and the island was only a five to six steamship ride away: "Nuwara Eliya Races," *Ceylon Observer* (12 February 1904), 254.

[72] "Hiawatha The Pest," *The Mercury* [Hobart, Tasmania] (15 August 1904), 6; The "Hiawatha" Pest, *The Examiner* [Launceston, Tasmania] (1 July 1904), 3.

[73] "Het Engelsche Opera-Gezelschap, III," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (30 June 1906), 4.

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[74] Matt Sakakeeny, "New Orleans Music as a Circulatory System," *Black Music Research Journal* 31, no. 2 (2011): 293.

[75] Charles K. Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song* (New York: Charles K. Harris, 1906), 23.

[76] Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song*, 52.

[77] David Suisman, *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 11.

[78] Suisman, *Selling Sounds*, 15.

[79] Suisman, *Selling Sounds*, 14, 60.

[80] Suisman, "Making Hits," *Selling Sounds*, 56-89.

[81] Timothy Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3.

[82] Theodor W. Adorno with George Simpson, "On Popular Music [1941]," in Richard Leppert, ed., Susan H. Gillespie, trans., *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 447.

[83] See also, Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893-1901* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967).

[84] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 13.

[85] Jacobson uses the example of an O'Henry short story about a crafty shoe salesman who prompted demand for his wares by spreading an invasive thorn bush onto an island populated by barefoot foreigners. Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 55.

[86] Anne L. Foster, *Projections of Power: The United States and Europe in Colonial Southeast Asia, 1919-1941* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 93, 74.

[87] Giordano Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2012), 18.

[88] Christina Lubinski, "The Global Business with Local Music; Western Gramophone Companies in India Before World War I," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 51 (Fall 2012): 72; Denning, *Noise Uprising*.

[89] For all the complaints about "Hiawatha's" ubiquity, few attempted to attribute its popularity to its musical qualities. The British composer who wrote of the song's maddening, yet alluring qualities, offered a melodramatic, brief, and ultimately unhelpful analysis. It begins as follows: "This monstrosity from the bounding West begins with a decadent symphony indicative of the destruction of all peace and happiness." "Hiawatha The Pest," *The Mercury* [Hobart, Tasmania] (15 August 1904), 6.

[90] Peter Szendy, *Hits: Philosophy in the Jukebox*, Will Bishop, trans. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 1.

[91] Schafer and Riedel, "Indian Intermezzi," 382. In contrast, Kate Flint points out that Longfellow's poem "Hiawatha" actually faced much critique for sounding inspired by Native American drumming: "Hiawatha's repetitive meter was notorious from the poem's publication onward." Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 129.

[92] E.g., Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Tara Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the 'Indianist' Movement in American Music," *American Music* 15, no. 3 (1997): 265-284; Kara Anne Gardner, "Edward MacDowell, Antimodernism, and 'Playing Indian' in the 'Indian Suite,'" *The Musical Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (2004): 370-422; Michael Pisani, "From Hiawatha to Wa-Wan: Musical Boston and the Uses of Native American Lore," *American Music* 19, no. 1 (2001): 39-50; Philip J. Deloria, "The Hills Are Alive…with the Sound of Indian," *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 183-223.

[93] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 14, 194.

[94] Sheppard Camp's "Sunrise in Georgia," another two-step published by Whitney Warner in 1903, still moves between a I and V7 chord but includes several passing chords. The harmonic progression of the first eight measures of the song's "A" section go as follows: // C A- / C A- / C G7 / C / C A- / C A7 / G D7 / G7 //.

[95] Excerpt from the march version of Neil Moret's "Hiawatha (A Summer Idyll)" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1902).

[96] Excerpt from the march version of Neil Moret's "Hiawatha (A Summer Idyll)" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1902).

[97] Adorno, "On Popular Music," 453.

[98] Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song*, 23.

[99] Excerpt from the march version of Neil Moret's "Hiawatha (A Summer Idyll)" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1902).

[100] Neil Moret [Charles Daniels], James O'Dea, "Hiawatha" (Detroit: Whitney-Warner, 1903).

[101] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 97, 223.

[102] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 237.

[103] "Hiawatha The Pest," *The Mercury* [Hobart, Tasmania] (15 August 1904), 6.

[104] Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian.*

[105] Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*; Michael D. McNally, "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in "Song of Hiawatha" Pageants, 1901-1965," *American Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (March 2006): 105-136.

[106] Pisani, "From Hiawatha to Wa-Wan," 41; Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 133.

[107] McNally, "The Indian Passion Play." See also Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

[108] Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[109] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 76.

[110] "The Mafoos' Race," *The North China Herald* (14 May 1903), 941.

[111] Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia." See also William Bissell, "Engaging Colonial Nostalgia," *Cultural Anthropology* 20, no. 2 (2005): 215-248.

[112] Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia, 108.

[113] McNally, "The Indian Passion Play."

[114] Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 182.

[115] E.g., Schafer and Riedel, "Indian Intermezzi."

[116] John W. Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

[117] Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 255.

[118] For examples of Americans describing Filipinos as "Indians," see [Anonymous] "Remarks on the Philippines Islands, and on their Capital Manila, 1819 to 1822, by an Englishman [Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1828]," in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, Volume LI: 1801-1840* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1952), 73-181; Harriet Hillard, Katharine Hillard, ed., *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829-1834* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900), *passim;* B. L. Ball, *Rambles in Eastern Asia* (Boston: James French and Company, 1856), *passim*; Henry T. Ellis, *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon, in the Philippines Isles, in the Year 1856* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1859), *passim*; Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 77, 180.

[119] Paul Kramer, "Transits of Race: Empire and Difference in Philippine-American Colonial History," in Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt, eds., *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (New York: Berghalm Books, 2011), 163-191.

[120] Edward Burnett Tylor, quoted in "Primitive Culture, 1871," in *Social Thought: From the Enlightenment to the Present*, ed. Alan Sica (New York: Pearson, 2008), 261.

[121] While "Hiawatha's" popularity was on decline in the U.S. at the time, Densmore might have caught one of the song's four official performances at the fair. Perhaps she attended one of the concerts by Dennison Wheelock's Haskell Indian band, a Native American group from Lawrence, Kansas that included the two-step in their repertoire. The Philippine Constabulary band did not appear to include "Hiawatha" in their repertoire at the fair. Richard I. and Iris J. Schwartz, *Bands at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904: Information, Photographs, and Database* (Self-published, 2003). For more on the fair, 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).

[122] Frances Densmore, "The Music of the Filipinos," *American Anthropologist* 8, no. 4 (1906): 611.

[123] "Society," *The Manila Times* (1 February 1904), 6.

[124] Krystyn R. Moon, "The Quest for Music's Origin at the St. Louis World's Fair," *American Music* 28, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 193.

[125] Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 54.

[126] The Constabulary ensemble in this case was not the famed Manila-based brass band led by Walter Loving that had performed in the St. Louis World's Fair the previous year. Loving's group was busy performing in a parade in Manila that same day: "Nation's 129th Birthday fittingly observed in Manila," *The Manila Times* (5 July 1905), 1, 2.

[127] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 281.

[128] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines,* 281.

[129] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines,* 282.

[130] Bennett Zon, *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 28.

[131] Densmore, "The Music of the Filipinos," 614-615.

[132] Densmore, "The Music of the Filipinos," 617.

[133] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 93, 222, 342.

[134] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 52. European and American writers of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century practically always include some mention of Filipino "natural" musicality, often describing musicians learning tunes by ear, in their accounts of the Philippines. For a small sampling, see: "Remarks on the Philippines Islands…," 101; Ellis, *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon,* 236; Adjutant E. Hannaford, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines* (Springfield, OH: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co., 1900), 34; A. Henry Savage Landor, *The Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel Among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1904), 39; Captain Henry Du R. Phelan, *The Peoples of the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Dettner-Travers Press, Inc., 1906), 23; Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 79-80; Mack P. Cretcher, *A Tenderfoot in the Tropics* (Topeka, KS: Crane & Company, 1918), 95-96; E. W. Howe, *Daily Notes of a Trip Around the World* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1927), 129.

[135] In 1931, Francisco Santiago wrote that "the Filipinos as a people are endowed with a natural gift for music":*The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1957 [1931]), 1. More recently, Antonio Hila has written that Filipinos are "innately musical": Antonio C. Hila, *Music in History: History in Music* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing, 2004), 1. For accounts that explore how contemporary Filipino musicians and performers employ this idea of natural performance ability see: Lee Watkins, "Minstrelsy and Mimesis in the South China Sea: Filipino Migrant Musicians, Chinese Hosts, and the Disciplining of Relations in Hong Kong," *Asian Music* 40, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 72-99; Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, *Puro Arte: Filipinos on the Stages of Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Anjeline De Dios, "Western Music by its Others: Overseas Filipino Musicians and the Geographies of Migrant Creative Labor," PhD Diss. (National University of Singapore, 2015).

[136] E.g., Ronald Radano, "Hot Fantasies: American Modernism and the Idea of Black Rhythm," in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, eds. Radano and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 459-479; Jeffrey Magee, "Ellington's Afro-Modernist vision in the 1920s," in *The Cambridge Companion to Duke Ellington*, ed. Edward Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 85.

[137] Hannaford, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 34.

[138] Landor, *The Gems of the East*, 39.

[139] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 282

[140] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 282.

[141] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Color Line Belts the World" in *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Holt, 1995), 42-43 [*Collier's Weekly* (Oct 20, 1906)]; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Fawcett Publications, 1961 [1903]).

[142] Du Bois, "Color Line Belts the World," 42.

[143] Etsuko Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth University Press, 2014), 18-19.

[144] E.g., "Russia's Sea Power Broken," *The Manila Times* (15 August 1904), 1. The Russo-Japanese War also became the subject of a film shown in Manila the following summer: "Grand Oriente Theatre & Cinematograph ad," *The Manila Times* (12 June 1905), 7.

[145] Du Bois, "Color Line Belts the World," 43.

[146] Du Bois, "Color Line Belts the World," 43.

[147] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 133. Emphasis in original.

[148] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 134.

[149] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 162.

[150] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* 275.

[151] For a classic example, see José Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*, trans. by Leon Ma. Guerrero (Manila: Longman Group, Ltd., 2009 [1891]), 169-170.

[152] Bienvenido Lumbera, "Splintering Identity: Modes of Filipino Resistance Under Colonial Repression," in *Philippine Studies: Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis?*, ed. Priscelina Patajo-Legasto (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2008), 90.

[153] Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule," *Philippine Quarter of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (2006): 11-32; Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio, *The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation* (Manila: Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines, 1972).

[154] E.g., "Pedro Castro and His Band," *Musical Record and Review* [Boston] 471 (1 April 1901), 86.

[155] Sharon Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner: One Hundred Years of America in the Philippines* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004); Stephen Hong Sohn, "Los Indios Bravos: The Filipino/American Lyric and the Cosmopoetics of Comparative Indigeneity," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 547-568; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 76.

[156] Kramer, "Transits of Race."

[157] Kramer, "Transits of Race," 173.

[158] Kramer, "Transits of Race," 180.

[159] Katherine Mayo, *The Isles of Fear: The Truth About the Philippines* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924). For an example of the reaction against Mayo's book, see: "When Quezon Spoke for Freedom Before Enthusiastic Chicago Filipinos," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 January 1928), 10-11.

[160] In Tagalog, Cebuano, and Chavacano (the language many speak in Zamboanga), the word for banana is "saging."

[161] Mayo, *The Isles of Fear*, 315. The song was a huge hit in Manila and around much of the world in late 1923. In Manila, Borromeo Lou used the song in his vaudeville shows, American audiences at the Manila Hotel demanded repeat performances of the composition, and, in December, an American recording of the song was one of the most popular records in the city: "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (25 July 1923), 11; "At the Manila Hotel," *The Manila Times* (27 August 1923), 11; "This Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (2 December 1923), 13. See also "No Bananas in London," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 20.

[162] "Straits Chinese" was the contemporary term for the group later known as Peranakans. For more on Straits Chinese and the Cornwall Minstrels, see Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967), esp. 378-379. For more on Peranakan minstrels in Singapore, see the oral

history of Cheng Hoe Ong in the Oral History Collection of the Singapore National Archives, accession number 000728.

[163] "Pretty Chinese Wedding," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (28 September 1905), 3.

[164] "The Town Hall," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (27 November 1905), 2.

[165] For more about the group, see: Matthew Isaac Cohen, *The Komedie Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891-1903* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Research in International Studies, 2006); "The Indra Zanibar…," *The Straits Times* (19 December 1902), 5; "The Indra Zanibar…," *The Straits Times* (22 December 1902), 5.

[166] "The Wayang Kassim," *The Straits Times* (9 June 1903), 5.

[167] "Wayang Kassim ad," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (11 June 1906), 2.

[168] William Black, *Winter Days in India and Elsewhere* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908), 53-54.

[169] "Wayang Kassim," *The Straits Times* (18 June 1906), 5. For one possible depiction of the play's content, see "Prince Sabar," in A. K. Ramanujan, ed., *Folktales From India: A Selection of Oral Tales from Twenty-two Languages* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 159-168.

[170] Louis H. Lisk, "In the Days of Empire," in *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines*, eds. Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 82-83; Albert G. Robinson, *The Philippines: The War and the People* (New York: McClure, Philippins & Co., 1901), 176.

[171] For examples of commentary about Filipino performances of "Hot Time" see Hannaford, *History and Description of the Picturesque Philippines*, 34; Robinson, *The Philippines*, 176; John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines: or Life in Our New Possessions* (New York: American Tract Society, 1905), 136; William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in The Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 94; Florence Kimball Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1907), 56; Hamilton M. Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1907), 56; Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 197; John White, *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands*. New York: The Century Co., 1928), 121.

[172] Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 78, 197, 216; Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines*, 56, 116, 117.

[173] *Ceylon, Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* (Colombo: Plate Limited, 1924).

[174] E. W. Howe, *Daily Notes of a Trip Around the World* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1927 [1907]), 181. "Under the Bamboo Tree" also enjoyed wide circulation. James Weldon Johnson, the composer of the song, recalls with pleasure hearing it performed in Paris around this time: James Weldon Johnson, *Along this Way* (New York: The Viking Press, 1935), 210. "Under the Bamboo Tree" also became part of a Cuban *danzón* titled "La Patti Negra." See Alejandro L. Madrid, Robin D. Moore, *Danzón: Circum-Caribbean Dialogues in Music and Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 134-139.

[175] Frederic Courtland Penfield, *East of Suez: Ceylon, India, China and Japan* (New York: The Century Co., 1907), 43. Gus Edwards, Vincent Bran, "Tammany" (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1905).

[176] Edgar Allen Forbes, *Twice Around the World* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912), 122.

[177] Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines*.

[178] For more on the global telegraph communication system, see Roland Wenzlhuemer, *Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World: The Telegraph and Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[179] Dauncey describes a similar scene in Cebu four years later. Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 10. Anecdotal evidence from friends suggest that this is still a common sight in many Philippine harbors.

[180] Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines*, 116.

[181] Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines*, 116.

[182] Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines*, 116.

[183] Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines*, 117.

[184] Dauncey*, An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 129.

[185] Joseph E. Howard, Ida Emerson, "Hello! Ma Baby" (New York: T. B. Harms & Co., 1899).

[186] Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, 346.

[187] For more on the problem of historicizing Sousa's connection to "Hiawatha," see footnote 24.

[188] Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 27.

[189] Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 27.

[190] Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 384.

[191] For details of Sousa's tour, see Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 28-29, 89-127.

[192] E.g., Gilbert, Elliott, Jr., "The Doughboy Carries His Music With Him," in *Jazz in Print (1856-1929): An Anthology of Selected Early Readings in Jazz History*, ed. Karl Koenig (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 136-138. Originally published in *The Music Review* (August 1919).

[193] Lord Northcliffe, *My Journey Round the World: 16 July 1921-26 Feb. 1922*, eds. Cecil and St. John Harmsworth (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923), 182.

[194] "'Sal-o-may' Now the Song Hit of Every Country on the Globe," *Metronome* (September 1921), 125.

Chapter Two

"Filipino Seekers of Fortune": Contradictions of Imperial Jazz Labor

In June 1921, the Shanghai-based Filipino journalist Ramon Navas posted a seemingly incidental report for *The Philippines Free Press* on Filipinos living abroad.[1] The essay began provocatively, with Navas recounting his conversation with the Prince of Siam during one of the prince's recent visits. Over the course of their conversation, Navas asked the Prince if there were any Filipinos in Siam, to which the prince responded, "'Yes, sir, musicians, sir.'" Navas then proceeded to elaborate on the prince's comment for a full paragraph, proudly noting the presence of Filipino performers working throughout Asia: "As in Siam, so is it throughout China and the South Seas." At exclusive hotels in Singapore, Batavia, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and elsewhere, "visitors…trip the light fantastic to the strains of music by Filipinos." Filipino musicians, readers learned, were ubiquitous across metropolitan Asia. "Throughout important China's outports [sic] and leading South Pacific cities," Navas explained, "one can nearly always find one or two or more representatives of the Philippines."[2] Navas was hardly exaggerating, despite his boastful tone. Filipino musicians were among the premier performers of a wide range of U.S. popular dance songs generically known across Asia as "jazz." Their appearances were, in fact, so widespread that, a decade or so later, the American jazz performer Claude Lapham would observe that "the Filipino musicians…almost inundate the East."[3]

Rather than buying into the argument among Filipino elites lamenting the spread of U.S. popular music by musicians who purportedly lacked creativity and originality,

Navas depicted jazz musicians from the Philippines as a class of workers vying for positions in a broad, new labor market that stretched from Bombay to Yokohama. These "Filipino seekers of fortune," as he called them, were laborers actively pursuing new opportunities enabled by the appeal of dance band entertainment.[4] His focus on their search for "good money" abroad encourages historians to think anew about both the significance of jazz in colonial Asia as well as the place of the Filipino musician in histories of jazz and popular music. The real importance of jazz in colonial Asia, Navas seems to suggest – intentionally or not – lies in its qualities as a form of labor, which in turn proved to have consequence in the determination of aesthetic value. For Filipino musicians, jazz was a medium beset with internal conflict and ambiguities indicative of their experiences navigating the infrastructures and ideologies of colonial Asia.

The figure of the Filipino "seeker of fortune" opens an avenue of investigation by which we can explore the cultural contradictions of jazz in its relation to colonial regimes. By following the careers and experiences of hundreds of Filipino jazz musicians active across Asia in the late 1910s and 1920s, I examine the various ways commercial jazz performance, as labor, was a practice of ironic doubling: while jazz was an enabling force economically and politically for Filipinos, it was also an imperial force, perpetuating racial exploitation and giving rise to new modes of immobility. While we cannot know the multiple, various motivations of hundreds of musicians whose thoughts passed by largely unrecorded, it was highly likely that many musicians were attracted to jazz not simply because they liked to play it – although one can assume many did – but rather because they saw in jazz an arena of possibility, in multiple forms. At least in part, jazz became a means through which they might face the economic hardships of U.S.

imperial rule. At the same time, other Filipinos came to see musicians as important figures to demonstrate their societal and racial progress, thus proving their readiness for independence from the U.S. These opportunities and possibilities of jazz labor, however, were paired with devastating imperial trade policies favoring western powers, restrictive work contracts, and social hierarchies consistent with an enduring commitment to white supremacy. The value of jazz as an aesthetic form in colonial Asia cannot be separated from this contradictory, ambiguous nature of jazz labor.

Navas's framing of Filipino musical labor offers us a way to re-orient a story of the global circulation of jazz in which Filipino musicians have thus far appeared only as peripheral characters.[5] Their marginality in the growing literature on so-called "global" jazz primarily reflects the challenges of researching a class of musicians who are poorly represented in the historical archives scattered across dozens of cities in Asia – Manila, Singapore, Jakarta, Kolkata – and rarely show up on sound recordings.[6] As I explore in this chapter, however, I want to suggest that their general absence from this literature also reflects ways in which their experiences require a re-centering or re-valuing of global jazz. Casting the Filipino musician as a "seeker of fortune" allows us to take the critical step of imagining jazz not merely as a genre of music, an art form, or even a mass-mediated cultural form, but also as a form of labor whose sound-oriented performance played a generative role in the making of colonial and metropolitan sociality. In particular, focusing on labor offers one way to address the problem Filipino jazz musicians pose for a prominent strain of scholarship depicting jazz as an autonomous art music.[7] Relying upon standards of measure that privilege the Great Artist, histories of style, or improvisational originality would in itself be inadequate for making sense of the

significance of early Filipino dance band musicians. As would be the case among many performers laboring in hotel or cabaret bands, most Filipino musicians of this era rarely made music that affirmed the standards of conventional musical judgment.[8] What is more, celebrating stylistic originality at the neglect of labor has meant that we have a tendency to glorify jazz practices and culture. Ironically, by arguing for the significance of jazz only as a form of music, we risk downplaying its social and cultural significance and thereby miss the ways in which its aesthetic value took shape in ways that were deeply entangled with the social practices of urban places and imperial networks.[9]

My call for thinking of jazz as labor builds upon a recent current in ethnomusicological and cultural-music studies that focuses on the distinctive characteristics of music-based work. Two facets of this challenge to what Jesse Shipley and Marina Peterson describe as the "autonomy [that] haunts the anthropology of art and music" are especially important.[10] The first is what Karl Hagstrom Miller calls the "work behind the sound." Miller explores how discourses of musical effortlessness have masked the embodied nature of performance, the "dedication, discipline and physical exertion" of music-making.[11] He points to the importance of the corporeal, mental, and social energies involved in performing, traveling, rehearsing, and practicing. Miller's focus on this aspect of work builds upon Martin Stokes' suggestion to pay attention to "the material struggles" of performers, especially "the ways in which musicians get paid for producing music."[12] This issue of payment is central to the second approach towards musical work, examining the unusual nature of musicians as wage earners. A number of scholars have theorized the character of musical work, particularly in relation to the rise of new, post-Fordist labor categories in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century and the

increasing prevalence of immaterial labor.[13] What emerges from this scholarship is an understanding that, while musical work may share many qualities with forms of material labor, it also possesses distinctive characteristics specific to its mode of performance. Unlike many laborers, whose work is dedicated to the production of exchangeable, material things, musicians create an ephemeral product that is difficult to commodify; it is in fact their *performance* of sound and not the sound itself that enter into exchange. They also frequently occupy what Nicole Cohen describes as a "contradictory class location" by engaging in work that others might not recognize as "work."[14] This is particularly the case of musicians performing in nightclubs and dance halls of a nascent jazz entertainment industry, whose performances could easily seem like something more akin to a form of play. Music-making often tends to be imagined as having greater symbolic value than other types of labor, to the point of exceeding the category of labor altogether, even though the musicians themselves often face exploitation and difficult working conditions.

Audiences in the Philippines, for example, depicted the work of Filipino jazz musicians abroad as a distinctive mode of employment. Filipino musicians commonly earned better pay and experienced better work environments than many other Filipinos employed abroad. And, while Filipino musicians engaged in wage labor, they were not manufacturing or harvesting a material commodity from which their labor could be abstracted. Moreover, observers in the Philippines clearly thought of musicians in a different light than workers in Manila's cigar manufacturing industry or agricultural workers in Hawaii and California, two of the largest areas of employment for Filipinos in

the 1920s.[15] Their act of laboring was one that garnered sustained debate and controversy in the Philippines in ways not afforded to other migrant workers.

But jazz was not merely a form of labor. It was also a distinctly imperial form of work. By proposing jazz playing as an economic category, I seek to set up jazz labor in a particular way. In one sense, I want to underscore a fundamental, but crucial point: that jazz labor was structured both within an economy of formal colonialism – akin to many other professions that arose through imperialism and military interventions – and as part of the global ambitions of the U.S. commercial music industries.[16] By employing "imperial" in this manner, however, I do not mean to suggest that jazz labor was part of a dominating, totalizing force. It cannot be reduced simply to "an arm of U.S. empire," nor did it fit neatly into the machinery of global capitalism. Rather, I draw on the "new imperial studies," which depicts empire, as Ann Stoler writes, as "a sustained, systemic, and incomplete political project in colonial regions *and* in Europe [and the U.S.]."[17] While a major contribution of the scholarship on the imperial turn has been to reassess the impact of empire on Europe and the U.S., it has also drawn a new focus on what was incomplete in the practice of imperialism while still striving to stay attuned to, as Adele Perry puts it, "the very real power of imperialism."[18]

What emerges from this body of work is a view of imperialism as an anarchic, contradictory, and paradoxical process. Imperialism, for example, purports to civilize while perpetuating colonial difference.[19] It also enables the rise of infrastructures through which colonial subjects could "forge new networks" that, as Elleke Boehmer argues, "paradoxically facilitated the rise of cross- or transnational resistances."[20] I seek to explore how jazz labor both contributes to and is a product of this incomplete, unstable

process, for, as Steven Feld points out, it is precisely this "embrace of oxymoron and contradiction" that enables us to "grapple with…the unsettling ironies of uneven experience."[21] In other words, examining jazz as an anarchic form of imperial labor allows us not only to position Filipino musicians in a broader context of empire and global capitalism, but also reveals how their experiences informed the value and meaning of jazz.

In this chapter I examine how Filipino musicians grappled with the ambiguous nature of imperial jazz labor in colonial Asia. After a brief case study of trombonist Nicanor "Nick" Amper, I explore the workings of three contradictions of jazz labor. First, I argue that the rise of the Filipino jazz musician in Asia was a result of two intertwined phenomena: a growing demand for dance band musicians abroad and the onset of a massive economic depression in the Philippines generated by U.S. colonial trade policies. Second, I show that while the rise of the Filipino jazz professional opened new opportunities for travel and work outside the Philippines, these new opportunities came with new contractual restrictions and professional obligations, both on the bandstand and off. Third, I examine a certain tension resulting from Filipino domination of the musical markets of Asia. While the ubiquity of Filipino musicians across Asia seemed to demonstrate racial progress – to the point where the musicians came to be seen by other Filipinos as ambassadors for independence – their popularity and status was due in in large part to racialized pay scales that perpetuated the very hierarchies that local pundits and critics had hoped these entertainers would disrupt. By focusing on these three contradictory aspects of jazz labor, I seek to craft a story a global jazz centered on Filipino musicians.

"The Musical Tramp"



Figure 2.1: Nicanor "Nick" Amper, Shanghai 1926.[22]

The career of the Filipino trombonist Nicanor "Nick" Amper (Fig. 2.1) helps give us insight into the experiences of hundreds of other Filipino musicians engaged in the field of jazz labor. Unlike most of his peers, Amper's participation in several high-profile groups enables us to follow his travels for roughly a decade, offering a rare opportunity to see how at least one Filipino performer pursued a life in music across Asia and the U.S.[23] Amper was born on March 9, 1900 in Hinunangan, Leyte, and by the mid-1910s had made his way to Manila to study at the newly established music conservatory at the University of the Philippines.[24] By November 1921, he was employed as a featured soloist in the famous Philippine Constabulary Band, a position he held until at least July 1923.[25] With this large, world-renowned Filipino brass band, he performed a mix of classical music, marches, and popular songs from the U.S. during regular weekly public concerts in Manila.[26] In addition to performing with the Constabulary band, Amper also worked in the city's vibrant popular music scene, appearing occasionally in Luis F. Borromeo's weekly Wednesday night vaudeville shows at the Olympic Stadium. With

"Borromeo Lou," as the impresario was known, Amper was billed as "The Musical Tramp," and appeared playing the latest Tin Pan Alley tunes alongside jugglers, boxers, and other entertainers from both the Philippines and the U.S.[27]

Amper's nickname proved prescient, for his musical career took him far from Manila over the next decade. Some time between mid-December 1923 and early 1924, Amper likely left Manila for Shanghai, where he joined the band of James "Jimmy" Lequime, an American saxophonist and trumpeter who had performed at Manila's Lerma Cabaret from January 1921 until late 1923.[28] Lequime's ensemble proved so popular entertaining white dancers with the latest jazz songs from the U.S. that the managers of Calcutta's Grand Hotel lured Lequime's group to India on an attractive contract that began on May 14, 1925.[29] In both Shanghai and Calcutta, Amper was the only Filipino playing alongside Lequime, even when the ensemble expanded to include the South African banjo player Al Bowlly in mid-September 1925.[30] Right around this time, Lequime's ensemble also became one of the first in India to record two peppy jazz numbers for the Gramophone Company, which had a pressing plant in the city. Amper plays a prominent role on their record, which was first advertised in Calcutta on December 1, 1925 and was available elsewhere in India within weeks.[31]

After twelve months in Calcutta, Amper embarked for Shanghai with Lequime's group. Their voyage was delayed, however, when a two-night performance in Singapore turned into a six-month engagement at the Raffles Hotel, from March 27 to October 8, 1926.[32] It is likely during Amper's time in Singapore that he received notice that the African American drummer Jack Carter wanted him for his new band at Shanghai's Plaza Hotel.[33] Amper stayed with Lequime to finish their engagement in Singapore, but joined

Carter's group soon after their debut at the Plaza on October 1, 1926.[34] In Shanghai, Amper was once again the only Filipino member in his ensemble, although this time his band-mates included African American performers such as Teddy Weatherford, Albert Nicholas, and Valada Snow.[35] At Shanghai's Plaza Hotel, as in Calcutta and Singapore, Amper was a featured performer, playing the latest Tin Pan Alley songs to entertain predominantly white dancers.[36]

After November 1928, though, Amper and Carter went separate ways. Carter formed a new band for a seven-month tour along the Asian littoral while Amper made his way across the Pacific Ocean. Amper traveled the U.S. and Canada on a 10-month tour of the Keith Vaudeville Circuit as a prominent member of an all-Filipino act starring Lucio and Simplicio Godino, a pair of conjoined twins.[37] He remained in New York City after the tour ended and formed his own dance band called "The Filipino Stompers."[38] Amper's group performed for dancers at Chin Lee's restaurant near Times Square and appeared two to three times a week on the radio station WRNY from August 1931 to August 1932.[39] In September 1931, Amper's group also recorded two jazz pieces for Victor records for the Philippine market.[40] Amper's trail in the archives runs cold after 1938, when he divorced his wife and left New York for Florida. He eventually passed away in Mobile, Alabama in 1972.[41]

While Amper's conspicuous presence in the archival record and presence on early studio recordings are unusual compared to other Filipino musicians of his era, his experiences as a migrant worker entertaining white dancers across Asia were not. Amper was likely one of over 1,000 male instrumentalists from throughout the Philippines who worked on a contractual basis in movie theaters, hotels, social clubs, amusement parks,

and cabarets across metropolitan Asia between 1910 and 1930.[42] Since many Filipinos were fluent in the language of Tin Pan Alley and European classical music – thanks not only to formal training, as in Amper's case, or to the musical learning taking place in the Catholic Church, but also through a variety of modes of enculturation – they attempted to translate their musical abilities into employment opportunities in Asia's growing dance industry.[43] Filipinos were employed in a variety of ensembles: musicians such as Amper worked alongside white and African American musicians, while others were part of Filipino ensemble directed by a bandleader from the U.S., Europe, or Australia.[44] Most, however, performed in all-Filipino groups that might spend anywhere from a few months to a few years abroad, working from contract to contract. The initial demand for Filipino dance band musicians came from white audiences in racially exclusive venues, but, as the decade progressed, Filipinos also began to perform for a more diverse, non-European audience in movie theaters and amusement parks.[45]

As Amper's experiences reveal, Filipino musicians traveled both within and beyond colonial borders, primarily along shipping routes connecting various cities with large populations of European or American settlers.[46] Most Filipinos performers worked along a littoral zone bounded by British India on the west, Japan on the east, and the Dutch East Indies to the south. Some Filipino musicians traveled more widely, however, reaching inland Asian cities or leaving Asia entirely.[47] Entertainers from the Philippines toured Hawaii and the west coast of the U.S. while others set off in different directions, making their way as far into British India as Lahore, or continued on to Europe or Australia.[48] Filipino musicians also took to the sea in late 1910, when the Pacific Mail Steamship Company first began hiring Filipino string bands for their four transpacific

ships, a practice soon taken up by other shipping lines.[49] During the decade after WWI, Filipinos formed a class of "musical tramps," seeking their economic and political fortunes via a form of musical labor that was inseparable from the anarchic colonial rule governing much of Asia.[50]

Jazz as Imperial Labor

The rise of the Filipino jazz professional in the late 1910s represented a response to the circulation of U.S. popular culture that transformed leisure practices in colonized parts of Asia and helped contribute to a dramatic re-ordering of the Philippine economy. After working part-time in Manila's cigar manufacturing industry in the late 1920s – where he earned three centavos for each wrapper he made – the Filipino trombonist and composer Felipe Padilla de Leon saw an opportunity for a better life by auditioning for the Malayan Orchestra, a locally famous dance band.[51] He resolved to master the skills necessary to secure what was widely seen as an attractive form of work: "I decided that I must learn jazz," he recalled. "I had to learn it. I needed the money."[52] De Leon's quotation reveals a central tension in Filipino jazz labor: while the circulation of U.S. popular culture throughout colonized parts of Asia helped give rise to a new market for dance band musicians, a similar glut of U.S. imports in the Philippines resulted in a massive economic depression lasting nearly the entire decade. Buoyed by a widespread discourse about music-making as an easy way to earn money and compelled by the decimation of the Philippine economy, hundreds of Filipinos found that jazz was not merely a desirable form of employment, but also a necessary one. As De Leon noted, he "had" to learn jazz.[53]

In the years immediately following the end of World War I, a new class of worker emerged across colonized parts of Asia: the professional Filipino jazz musician. The rise of this professional figure was in direct relation to the changing leisure practices of white settlers living and working in Asia. Upon the conclusion of the Great War, Europeans and Americans across the globe were eager for a diversion and resumed with a vengeance the "craze" for social dance that swept through much of the globe in the 1910s.[54] In an essay reprinted across colonial Asia, a London reporter described how, after the horrors of WWI, "the Jazz [sic] filled its role admirably – it made us forget."[55] White settlers and tourists abroad attempting to stay abreast of the latest fashions and leisure activities of London and New York joined the fox-trotters of Europe and the U.S. as a massive post-war resurgence in the circulation of American musical recordings and sheet music flooded the urban centers of Asia.[56] Within the span of two weeks in the summer 1919, for example, Manila's Erlanger & Galinger department store received two shipments totaling 32,000 new Victor records.[57]

In the face of this heightened interest in social dance in the late 1910s and early 1920s, venues in Asia catering to white audiences began adding an astounding number of new opportunities for dancing. Managers of hotels, social clubs, and cabarets from Yokohama to Bombay oversaw a fever of construction, renovation, and expansion of their ballrooms and dance floors, creating enormous dance halls capable of holding thousands of dancers. The Adelphi Hotel in Singapore boasted space for up to 1,000 people while, after renovations in December 1921, Manila's Santa Ana Cabaret claimed a capacity of at least four times as many dancers on its 25,000 square foot dance floor.[58] Similarly, the European and Oriental Hotel in Penang built a new 3,200 square foot ocean

front ballroom in 1922, while the following year the Repulse Bay hotel in Hong Kong renovated its rooftop dance floor.[59] Managers of dance halls and hotels also began adding new opportunities for dancing: Calcutta's Firpo's Restaurant offered daily tea dances from 5:00-7:30 p.m. and dances each night until midnight (five nights a week) or 1:00 a.m. (twice a week). Singapore's Europe Hotel featured three night dances and two tea dances each week.[60] There were so many dances available in the early 1920s that weekly social calendars for the white community in cities such as Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Manila commonly featured multiple dances each night.[61] While social jazz dances began by catering to white audiences – with the exception of the Philippines, where Filipinos were regular patrons of cabarets by the late 1910s – over the course of the decade increasing numbers of Asian jazz fans shifted from dancing in private to joining the public spectacle.[62]

The boom in social dance had a transformative effect on the demand for musicians, especially those capable of reading western music notation and performing the latest hits of Tin Pan Alley. While small social clubs might satisfy dancers with "gramophone parties" or radio broadcasts, large venues needed live music.[63] In order to find musicians capable of performing what dancers demanded – namely, the most recent jazz tunes in a style similar to recordings of white American bands – managers of dance halls and movie theaters cast a wide net for performers.[64] Singapore's newspapers, for example, published advertisements from Calcutta's 1923 Exhibition, Rangoon's Gymhkana Club, and the Sempiterne Club – an organization located on a Dutch island just south of Singapore – that requested jazz bands willing to travel for work opportunities.[65] Managers of venues in cities such as Surabaya, Calcutta, Singapore,

Manila, and Shanghai searched widely for attractive bands, recruiting performers from Hawaii, England, Australia, and the U.S.[66]

Many managers found, however, that employing musicians from Europe and the U.S. was not a viable strategy. For numerous venues, it was simply too expensive to recruit white and African American musicians who commanded high wages and required complimentary transportation.[67] In order to fill the need for performers familiar a repertoire of Tin Pan Alley hits and staples of western classical music, dance halls and movie theaters turned instead to a pool of workers that was both closer and more affordable: musicians from the Philippines and the Portuguese province of Goa. This strategy had a long precedent. European communities throughout Asia began recruiting Filipino and Goan musicians in the 1880s to staff newly formed municipal brass bands because both groups had a long history of familiarity with western music due to sixteenth century colonization by Roman Catholic European nations.[68] By the late 1910s, both groups of musicians had a widespread reputation for musical ability that contributed to the increased demand for Filipino musicians, in particular, in the period after WWI.[69]

Filipinos did not come to dominate these markets simply because there was a new demand for this type of labor, however. Many Filipinos had a considerable incentive to look abroad for employment. The circulation of U.S. products – including the sheet music and recordings that helped fuel the popularity of jazz among European and American audiences in Asia – was a symptom of imperial trade policies and exploitive business practices that also led to a massive slump in the Philippine economy from 1920 to 1929. This depression arose as a result of the "economy of special relations" between the U.S. and the Philippines, an arrangement of tariffs and trade policies that secured the

Philippines as a market for American goods and made the Philippines overly reliant upon the U.S. economy.[70] While this arrangement worked to the Philippines' advantage between 1917 and 1919, when Philippine exports supplemented a U.S. market focused on the needs of World War I, whatever economic growth they enjoyed took a dramatic turn when the U.S. economy reverted back to peacetime conditions in late 1919. By 1920, the market for Philippine exports collapsed, prices for crops plummeted – sugar prices dropped 30% – and U.S. imports, including cultural products such as movies and music, flooded the Philippine market.[71] This shift was catastrophic for Filipinos. The Philippine National Bank nearly collapsed, thousands of workers in Manila were laid off in 1920 alone, and the local economy did not fully recover until 1929. During this period, tens of thousands of Filipinos found that their best option was to seek work abroad, with well over 36,000 departing as migratory agricultural laborers in Hawaii and the U.S.[72] At the same time, likely as many as a thousand Filipinos traveled abroad as dance band musicians.

It is not particularly surprising that Filipinos such as De Leon turned to jazz during this moment of pervasive unemployment. In the Philippines, as in much of the world, jazz was commonly presented as a medium through which a moderately skilled performer might make "big money."[73] The connection between jazz and financial gain typically took two related forms. The first was the near ubiquitous critique of jazz as a crass, overly commercial form of music created by greedy hacks. As one reporter claimed in Singapore in 1926, for example, "I have an uneasy suspicion that the jazz band was originally invented and exploited for no other purpose than that of enabling 'duffers' to earn a living."[74] This sentiment was widespread, serving as the basis for a humorous

exchange printed in a Batavia newspaper in late 1919: One woman tells another that her husband has a new highly-paid job. When her companion asks what it is, she explains that he has only recently learned how to play saxophone and already has a job with a jazz orchestra.[75] This discourse about the commercial nature of jazz also informed jazz criticism in the U.S. throughout the decade, and prompted the rise of critical jazz scholarship in Europe in the early 1930s.[76]

By denigrating jazz because of its link to the markets for popular music, however, critics regularly – and perhaps unwittingly – cast jazz as an attractive form of work. When the classical violinist Laszlo Schwartz performed in Manila in 1929, for example, he offered a very good reason for Filipinos to pursue jazz even while he disparaged it. "Jazz is the most intensively commercialized and exploited form of music ever concocted by man," he wrote. "It has made millionaires out of musical nonentities."[77] While Schwartz seems to frown upon commercialism, others echoed his claim that jazz could help create "millionaires," albeit with a slightly different emphasis. Retailers intent on selling musical instruments regularly promoted jazz as a medium through which even novice musicians could earn extra cash. This was especially true in advertisements for saxophones and drum sets, instruments that were used almost exclusively for jazz dance bands. Music stores throughout colonial Asia – as in the U.S. – promoted musical instruments as lucrative investment.[78] As one Manila store proclaimed, "a music band is a good paying business."[79] These advertisements were rarely subtle. Manila's Lyric Music House (Fig. 2.2) marketed Ludwig drum sets with a lengthy description of how minimal practice could result in a new source of income: "If you have a sense of rhythm – if you

tap your feet keeping time to music – you can learn to play trap drums – and make easy money in your spare time!"[80]



Figure 2.2: Detail from a Manila music store ad showing jazz as a way to make "easy money."[81]

Musicians, and those thinking about becoming musicians, were clearly informed by the claims that jazz, as a form of labor, could improve one's livelihood.[82] For example, V. P. Maddela, a Filipino missionary and music teacher in Sumatra, explained that the growing demand for dance band musicians abroad provided important financial possibilities for Filipinos. As he noted in 1921, "the whole Netherland East Indies…is in need of 'Musical men.'" This need, he continued, provided an opening for Filipino musicians who "wish to try [their] fortune in Sumatra."[83] Performers expressed similar opinions about the enabling opportunities of jazz. The saxophonist Dominador B. Ligon, who worked in the S.S. Empress of Canada dance band before joining the Santa Ana Cabaret band in late 1924, noted that the need for jazz musicians helped ensure his financial future: "It makes me proud to be able to say that with my saxophone I can

employ myself wherever good music is appreciated."[84] While certainly not all Filipino musicians turned to jazz out of economic desperation, it is clear that there was a pervasive discourse about jazz as an appealing form of work during a moment in which Filipinos were grappling with a serious economic depression.[85]

While it is doubtful any Filipinos really became millionaires by joining dance bands, jazz really did offer musicians a chance to earn a decent wage.[86] Even within Manila, musicians could be paid a daily rate ranging from ₱2.31 to ₱13.46, a wage comparable to skilled laborers such as hat and shoemakers, butchers, furniture designers, and electricians.[87] Riches were reserved for a few music stars, such as the Santa Ana Cabaret band leader Juan Tolentino: in 1923, his monthly salary of ₱500 reportedly made him the highest paid musician in the Philippines.[88] For most musicians, though, they could earn substantially more outside of the depressed economy of the Philippines. While the forty members of the Philippine Constabulary band earned monthly salaries ranging from ₱40 to ₱80 (in Philippine Pesos) – the latter being the pay of featured soloists such as Amper – many band members left for opportunities abroad where, according to Navas, they could easily "make at least double" their wages from Manila.[89] Filipino musicians at the Hongkong Hotel, for example, earned the equivalent of ₱300 a month, those in Sumatra received ₱117 to ₱522, and performers in French Indo-China and Java worked on monthly contracts from ₱75 to ₱200 that also included room, board, and the opportunity to supplement their income with private engagements.[90] Performers who found work in municipal bands in cities such as Shanghai might receive medical benefits and a retirement account while those employed by non-Filipino bandleaders could see a higher pay than their compatriots in all-Filipino bands.[91] Musicians who could develop an

act for vaudeville and tour Asia or the U.S. might, on rare occasions, even earn over ₱1,000 a month.[92] Reporting from Shanghai, Navas explained that the difference in wages between the economically stagnant Philippines and other parts of Asia was a major factor in the migration of Filipino musicians: "Earning a precarious livelihood in the homeland, here he draws what to him is princely pay."[93] Furthermore, by working abroad, Filipino musicians were able to take advantage of other possibilities, including teaching music, opening up businesses, or developing other professional skills.[94]

In the late 1910s, jazz emerged as a new way to make a living, enabling prime opportunities for Filipino musicians familiar with western music to escape the depressed conditions of the Philippines. The extensive demand for dance bands across Asia enabled Filipinos with even a modicum of musical ability to secure employment, including those such as a Mr. A. Garland, who, upon failing to find work as a lawyer in Singapore in the early 1920s, began working instead as a musician.[95] Jazz labor was attractive not only for the novelty and excitement of performing music, but also for its relative high pay. In 1929, for example, the Ilocano agricultural worker Gervasio C. Bagasao and eleven of his friends quit their jobs in the U.S. to form a band (Fig. 2.3). They not only wanted to escape the grueling demands of their work, but also found that "going from one place to another playing music much more profitable than working as laborers on California farms."[96] At least in part, however, the rise of the Filipino musician was a response to the economic havoc wrought by U.S. colonial trade policies. The two phenomena represent different sides of the same imperial processes transforming the economies and labor practices of colonial Asia.



Figure 2.3: Gervasio Bagasao and his friends quit agricultural work in California to form a dance band.[97]

Mobility and Immobility

The emergence of jazz labor enabled Filipinos greater mobility, both in terms of physical movement and class advancement, but it also generated new forms of immobility. As the Filipino band on the Pacific Mail Steamship *Venezuela* discovered in 1919, by becoming dance band musicians, they suddenly had to endure new contractual restrictions and professional obligations. Much to their dismay, the musicians found that their legal classification as "regular seamen" subjected them to the same rigorous ship discipline and work requirements as other ship employees, duties that went well beyond performing music four hours each day.[98] The experiences of the *Venezuela*'s band is representative of a larger phenomena: as Filipino musicians became engaged in the practice of jazz labor, they were exposed to an entire new set of legal restrictions and audience expectations that came to inform and regulate both their acts of music-making

and also their attempts to seek employment. With each new opportunity promised by jazz labor, in other words, Filipino musicians also encountered new forms of limitation.

In order to recognize fully the nature of this contradictory aspect of imperial jazz labor, it is critical to challenge the tendency to privilege mobility as inherently disruptive or emancipatory, especially in relation to colonial governance. Geographer Alan Blunt urges scholars to resist the inclination to "celebrate mobility as necessarily transgressive or resistant, or invoke it in largely abstract or metaphorical terms."[99] Part of the reason for this caution, as other geographers are keen to point out, is that mobility is a relational term that cannot be separated from immobility.[100] As Peter Merriman argues, "new connectivities and mobilities produce geographies of exclusion, disconnection, inequality, and immobility."[101] Lara Putnam and Fiona Ngô both explore cases of this seemingly paradoxical process in their examination of U.S. immigration: just as the increased circulation of migrants in the U.S. led to new exclusionary immigration laws, their physical gestures in dance halls provoked new practices of restrictive policing that limited their future movements.[102] Similarly, as Steven Feld has shown, performers who find access to international markets might discover that they are exposed to an entirely new set of problems.[103] Thus, when Filipinos engaged in jazz labor to negotiate the everyday realities of colonial rule, they did not enter into a world of free, unhampered travel or limitless artistic expression. While they took advantage of imperial infrastructures for their own uses and sought out positions in music as a more profitable and more enjoyable alternative to other forms of employment, Filipino musicians also experienced a new set of restrictions, stemming in particular from contractual obligations and professional demands.

As the musicians on board the *Venezuela* discovered, the prevalence of contractual labor regulated and restricted the movements of jazz musicians across Asia.[104] By signing contracts that typically covered a period from six months to two years, musicians could protect their rights as workers and ensure a specific pay.[105] These same contracts, however, also became the source of legal trouble for musicians who felt constrained by clauses preventing them from pursuing other work or from ending unfavorable positions.[106] The Filipino trombonist Angelo Jimenez – Amper's replacement in Jack Carter's group – experienced one of these contractual disputes when he and his bandmates arrived in Calcutta on December 15, 1928 following successful performing in Hong Kong and Singapore.[107] After extended negotiations between Carter and the manager of Calcutta's Grand Hotel failed to result in a satisfactory contract, Carter signed on with Firpo's restaurant. Upon learning of this development, the hotel manager sued Carter for breaking his contract and filed an injunction against the group.[108]

While, in Jimenez's case, the judge ruled in favor of the musicians, not all performers emerged from the litigious world of the leisure industry unscathed. In February 1921, for example, the Filipino drummer Teodoro Lindayag left Manila's Santa Ana Cabaret band to perform with the ensemble at the Manila Hotel. Since this act constituted a breach in his contract, John Canson, the Santa Ana's proprietor, took Lindayag to court and actually had him imprisoned.[109] As these examples suggest, the world of Filipino musical labor was not one of complete freedom of movement. Filipino musicians could not simply come and go as they pleased, for if they joined or left ensembles on a whim they could face loss of work, significant fines, or jail time.[110] One result of this system was the need for Filipino musicians to strategize their movement. If

musicians did attempt to leave one position for another, they had to prepare for possible legal ramifications. In December 1922, for example, when Luis Borromeo recruited the violinist and vibraphonist Andres "Prof. Baki" Baclig to leave the Lux Theatre and join his vaudeville troupe, he assured Baclig that he would help with legal support should they be sued for breaking Baclig's contract. Sure enough, Borromeo had to keep his promise.[111]

Furthermore, while the ubiquity of formal contracts regulated the ways in which Filipino musicians traveled from job to job, these legal documents were not always enough to prevent exploitation.[112] Despite the presence of Filipino social organizations in many cities abroad, Filipino musicians found that they were often in positions with little power to defend themselves against dishonest managers or recruitment agents.[113] Unlike Filipino industrial workers in Manila and or agricultural laborers in Hawaii who struck repeatedly through the 1920s for higher wages and better working conditions, there is little evidence that Filipino musicians – either abroad or at home – engaged in similar acts of unionizing or organized labor until the early 1940s.[114] Only a limited number of cases concerning the exploitation of Filipino musicians were discussed in the Philippine press, but they were apparently common enough to spark a formal response in Manila. After one particularly well-publicized case in China in the middle part of the decade, when a group of Filipino entertainers claimed that their manager had run off with their money, the director of the office of labor in the Philippines announced that any performer contracted to work abroad should stop by their office first, so they could provide legal advice.[115] This caution likely reflects a growing wariness about the difference between propaganda geared towards many Filipino migrant laborers and actual working

conditions abroad.[116] By entering into the world of jazz labor, Filipino musicians faced a system of regulations and restrictions that governed precisely how they came to access and experience the growing demand for dance band musicians.

In addition to the legal conditions that shaped the careers of performers, the professional demands of dance band musicians also informed the ways in which they made music. Unlike Filipino performers on the U.S. vaudeville circuit, who garnered attention through novelty and acts that might actually be billed as "Filipino jazz," Filipino musicians in dance bands across Asia earned their wages by satisfying the demands of their dancing audiences.[117] Musicians did not have – and likely did not expect to have –an unfettered license for complete artistic freedom or the liberty to sound out a form of jazz based upon Filipino music genres. Instead, white, Filipino, and African American bands in Asia all proclaimed their ability to stay up-to-date with the newest songs from the U.S. and England. In order to appease audience demand for keeping up with the newest fashions of New York and London, musicians ordered shipments of sheet music, rapidly transcribed the latest popular records from the U.S., and purchased stock dance band arrangements from the U.S. sold in local music stores.[118] It was common for dance venues to announce, as Calcutta's Palais de Dance did in 1926, that their house band had just received the "latest dance music from England by mail!"[119] A sampling of over thirty dance programs printed from Ceylon to Penang to Shanghai reveal that, while there was some local variation in repertoire, dance bands across Asia regularly performed fairly similar programs of recent Tin Pan Alley hits from the U.S. for white dancers.[120]

A 1921 photograph of José "Joe" Fernandez's ten-piece Filipino band at the Oriental Hotel, in Kobe, Japan (Fig. 2.4) reveals the importance of the professional

obligation to providing a pleasing repertoire.[121] Fernandez's band is centered on a raised stage framed by a proscenium with fourteen different banners. The banners feature the names of recent U.S. Tin Pan Alley songs such as "Japanese Sand Man," "Nobody to Love," "Avalon," and "Rose of Washington Square," while the central banner tells dancers to "choose your favorite."[122] These banners suggest an ecology of the dance floor in which performers are careful to be attuned to the demands of audience members accustomed to approaching the group to request the latest hit songs.[123]

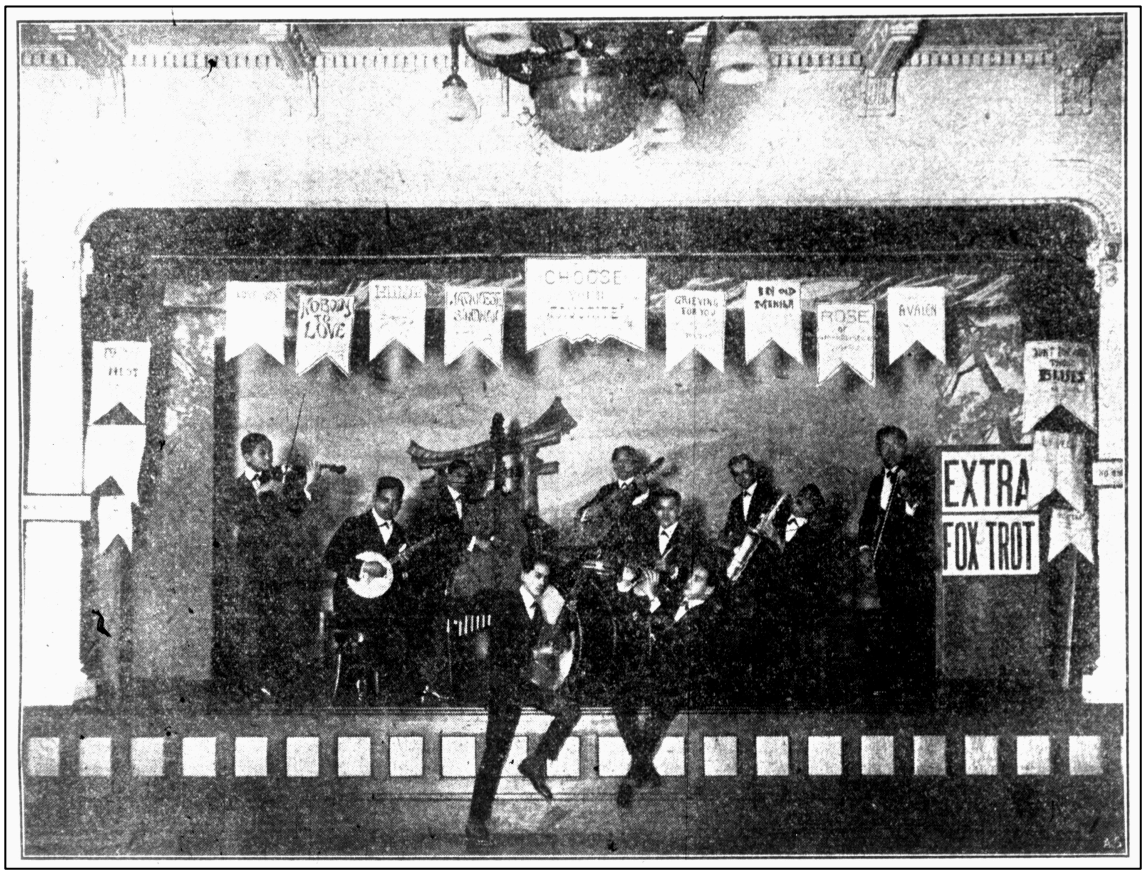


Figure 2.4: José "Joe" Fernandez's Oriental Hotel Band, 1921.[124]

In order to work in this emerging market for musical labor, however, musicians were not only compelled to provide a repertoire that met the expectations of audiences. They also needed to master a particular musical language of U.S. jazz, both as ensembles

and as individual musicians. Filipino bandleaders, for example, employed arrangements of fox-trots, waltzes, and one-steps that drew explicitly on the style of U.S. white dance bands. Music directors drew at least a portion of their arrangements from music stores across Asia that not only hawked sheet music published in the U.S. but also sold scores of stock dance band arrangements from major U.S. publishing firms such as Leo Feist, Mills Music, Irving Berlin, and Harms, among others.[125] The prevalence of these arrangements suggests that, despite the tendency in much of music studies to seek out musical differences between disparate communities, we need to acknowledge that it seems likely that many ensembles across Asia actually performed the exact same dance band arrangements used by countless dance bands in the U.S.[126] Notably, while a collection of seventy-six dance band arrangements in Manila's Raymundo C. Bañas collection shows heavy use and occasional minor rearrangements of endings and repetitions, none indicate any major reworking of the arrangements or reveal space for improvisation.[127] Similarly, even when bandleaders made their own arrangements, it is likely that they tended to do so in a manner faithful to either sheet music or recordings. The Filipino bandleader Nicanor Abelardo's handwritten arrangement of the World War I song "Oui, Oui Marie" essentially re-orchestras a popular recording of the song for his dance band at Manila's Lerma Cabaret.[128]

In order to secure employment, musicians also found it necessary to draw on the techniques and practices of popular recorded American performers for their own individual performance style. Amper, for example, was complimented by his African American bandmates for sounding similar to a sweet-styled white American trombonist. As Amper's bandmate Albert Nicholas recalled in an interview from 1975, Amper was "a

good trombone player…he sounded like Tommy Dorsey."[129] Indeed, in the two carefully arranged 1925 recordings with Lequime, Amper demonstrates a mastery of the requisite language of jazz at the time: he blends in nicely during ensemble passages, performs carefully controlled glissandos during breaks in the melody, and uses a wide variety of timbres, including growling for effect. On "The House Where the Shutters are Green" Amper performs the melody with a precise pitch and clear tone. He is a capable member of the ensemble, and his technical expertise is not surprising given his extensive training in Manila. While these two songs represent perhaps the only extant documentation of Filipino instrumentalists performing jazz from this decade, it seems likely that they represent, in general terms, a style typical of many other Filipino musicians who managed to turn musical ability into a source of employment.[130] They also reveal the informing influence of Paul Whiteman's style on the jazz musicians of colonial Asia.

The professional demands of Filipino dance band musicians served to regulate and inform their acts of making music, we need to be careful to historicize what musicians might anticipate from a life playing music. Unlike in later decades, when critics and musicians commonly invoked the notion that jazz was a medium of "freedom of expression" allowing musicians to give voice to personal experiences, or when dance band musicians disparaged their audience of "squares," there is little evidence suggesting that dance band musicians in the late 1910s and 1920s expected their work to allow them flights of creativity or improvisation.[131] As Lawrence Gushee points out, for example, the act of improvising was not always valued as an important or meaningful skill.[132] For Filipino jazz musicians, professionalism and competency, not originality or creativity, were the markers of value that informed repertoire and stylistic decisions. It was critical

to take these professional demands seriously, for performing an appropriate repertoire in a style favored by dancing audiences was a major factor in securing employment.

Fernandez and his ensemble discovered the importance of adhering to audience's expectations shortly after their contract ended at Kobe's Oriental Hotel in July 1921. The hotel's management hired a group of Japanese musicians, led by a Mr. Kabachi, to replace the Filipinos. The change was not successful. Even though Kabachi's group was accustomed to performing for white dancers, they could not match the musical ability of the Fernandez ensemble. Soon after Fernandez left, the hotel patrons began to complain about the quality of the Japanese band. "Having been accustomed to music of highly experienced Filipino musicians," one article reports, "[Kabachi's band] was a matter of disappointment." As a result, the hotel management fired Kabachi and promptly rehired Fernandez less than a month after he returned to Manila.[133] Filipinos in other cases experienced a similar connection between adhering to musical expectations and enjoying employment opportunities.[134] It was precisely this ability to meet a fairly narrow, restricted set of musical expectations that enabled Filipinos to access a world of multiple opportunities and mobility.

Life as a dance band musician, though, was governed at least in part by the disciplining force of contractual obligations and professional demands. This was clearly not a world of endless mobility or "easy money," despite what the instrument ads said. To be clear, performing fox-trots in a tuxedo at a fancy hotel was hardly comparable to the grueling physical demands of agricultural or factory workers. For Filipino day laborers such as Bagasao and his peers who quit their work in California's fields or Hawaii's plantations to form dance bands, music offered an escape from truly terrible

working conditions.[135] Still, while the weariness of playing trumpet or beating on drums may have been negligible compared to the pains of endlessly cutting asparagus, we should not ignore the physical dimension of musical labor.[136] There is a bodily dimension to musical practice that is often forgotten in accounts that focus solely on musical aesthetics, an omission that perpetuates the notion that perpetuates the divide between music-making and labor.

Perhaps the most detailed account of the demands of dance band jobs comes from an article written by James Staley, an American musician in Shanghai in the mid-1930s.[137] Ten other American musicians in the city endorsed Staley's description of the Shanghai music scene, but he did not simply provide an unbiased overview of the city's music scene. Rather, his essay served as a rebuke to Claude Lapham's earlier article encouraged American musicians to come to Shanghai.[138] Staley challenged Lapham's statements point by point in order to prevent other American performers from seeking their fortune across the Pacific, perhaps out of fear of competition for his own job. He repeatedly emphasized how musicians in the early and mid-1930s practiced a kind of mechanical, grueling labor. They had to endure what he portrayed as "the killing grind of…dance mills."[139] Staley offered a lengthy, downbeat description of work conditions in the city:

> The working hours are from 7 to 9 hours nightly continuous playing, or even longer in many of the Chinese ballrooms…. At present there are over 40 in the city, doing the bulk of all this dance dispensing, grinding them out ruthlessly, with an inhuman disregard for the feelings of the unfortunate musicians, who bereft of any sort of a labor union… and fair treatment, is forced to swallow his professional pride and keep right on the job for the long hours and wages that have descended to a lower level than was ever dreamed of five years ago."[140]

Even in the U.S., patrons of dance halls noted that the long hours required of musicians could be exhausting. As one sociologists noted in his description of a Chicago cabaret band at the end of a long night in the early 1930s, performing music could become a "matter of physical endurance."[141]

Staley's tone may have been dramatic, but the details he provides reveal how musicians in an otherwise highly desirable job still faced working conditions that, at the very least, transformed music-making into a monotonous form of work. Colonial Asia's cabarets and hotels were venues where managers sought to create a work environment where musicians could produce songs at an efficient, steady pace. These were not sites for musicians to pursue flights of creative fancy. During Shanghai's tough times of the mid-1930s, Staley explains, contracts stipulated only short, infrequent breaks and could even dictate the number of songs the band played per hour. This latter point had long been a critical part of cabarets, where rapid turnover of songs was the primary way to generate profit from dancers who paid a small fee for each dance.[142] Accounts of musicians from similar dance venues in the U.S., known there as taxi dance halls, describe how their jobs might require them to perform for seven hours straight with strict limits on breaks, playing songs only ninety seconds long, or only "a chorus or a chorus and a half," as a New York guitarist recalls.[143] It seems quite likely that these descriptions would also serve as an insight into the cabarets of cities such as Shanghai and Manila, where dance halls were based on U.S. models and where managers demanded unceasing music, even if there was a disturbance on the dance floor.[144]

These contractual stipulations meant the jazz musicians quite likely faced work environments that diverged from the depiction of "easy money" portrayed in musical instrument ads. Yes, performing music was an "easy" job compared to most forms of physical labor, but it still required physical and mental effort. On occasion, patrons of venues where Filipino musicians worked noted how they were clearly tired from a long night of performance. Soon after Filipino musicians began working on transpacific ships, for example, an energetic young American dancer described her trip on board the Pacific Mail Ship *Mongolia.* She describes how her eagerness for dancing eventually wore out the ship's band: "we danced until the Filipino orchestra gave out and could not play any more."[145] This article is meant to be a comical and hyperbolic account, but it shows that musicians answered to work expectations that might genuinely result in unpleasant and tiring situations.

What I seek to suggest by calling attention to the physical and mental toll of work as a professional dance band musician is not to claim that music-making is hard labor. The reason some Filipinos became musicians was that physical demands of the job were quite low compared to other options. But while the position of the professional jazz musician gave Filipinos new opportunities for mobility and profit, it was still a form of work that disciplined the actions and bodies of performers across colonial Asia. Managers pushed musicians to work long hours and engage in a highly repetitive practice that doubtless became grating and mind-numbing night after night. While the demand for jazz musicians afforded Filipino musicians chances to travel abroad and earn wages through music, the practice of jazz labor also generated new forms of immobility through

restrictive contracts, professional demands, and work conditions that sought to maximize the value of their labor.

Musical Ambassadors

As prominent performers of modern dance music, Filipinos claimed a new kind of credibility and power in Asia's markets for jazz labor. Due to the ubiquity of their compatriots, Filipinos at home began to imagine these musicians, as well as those performing in the U.S., as unofficial advocates for Philippine independence.[146] In 1929, for example, a Filipino in San Francisco reported that the Filipino musical act led by the conjoined Godino twins on the U.S. Keith Vaudeville circuit – an act that featured Nicanor Amper – was more effective than Filipino politicians in "securing incomparable advertising for our country." The twins, he wrote, demonstrated that "Filipinos have musical ability and talent" and "are doing a great bit of work for the Philippines."[147] Journalists such as Navas expressed a similar pride in Filipino musicians working in Asia: "the Filipino 'troubedours' [sic]," he observed, "have made a name for themselves and their people."[148]

As with other aspects of imperial jazz labor, however, there was a contradiction at the heart of the symbolic power of Filipino musicians. During this critical decade for the Filipino independence movement, Filipino musicians had the potential to demonstrate the social and racial progress of all Filipinos by dominating the markets for western music performance and by demonstrating their mastery of a language of U.S. modern popular culture. The logic for this supposed racial progress, however, rested uneasily upon the racial hierarchies that informed the Asian market for musical labor, resulting in a

paradoxical promotion of racial progress through the perpetuation of white supremacist racial hierarchies.

Filipinos were especially concerned about the opinions of the U.S. and the international community following the passage of the 1916 Jones Law. It promised Philippine independence once Filipinos demonstrated they were capable of self-rule. It was not entirely clear how to prove this ability, however. The law contained what one observer described as "many ambiguous clauses," enabling American politicians to prevaricate until Philippine independence suited them.[149] In the face of this ambiguity, Filipino politicians and other elites attempted to demonstrate to the world in general, and the U.S. in particular, that they were no longer "little brown brothers" in need of U.S. guidance. Instead, they sought to establish that Filipinos had advanced sufficiently, both in terms of race and society, to warrant freedom from U.S. colonial control.[150] Dozens of Filipino delegates went to the U.S. over the decade to state their case to Congress, while Filipino elites at home tried to promote and cultivate respectable images of the Filipino and Filipina to contribute to their cause.[151]

Filipinos seeking independence envisioned that all of their compatriots abroad, especially those in the U.S., could serve as potential ambassadors for the Philippines. As I. I. Exconde urged in a letter to the editor of *The Independent*: "Wherever we go and whatever people we meet and happen to come in contact with let us not fail to show up the true characteristics of the Filipinos." "Otherwise," he continued, "we will not be able to wipe out the most hideous idea that the Filipinos are not fitted to stand free as a free nation."[152] Prominent politicians echoed Exconde's exhortation. During a speech in Chicago, for example, Philippine Senate President Manuel Quezon declared it "the

solemn duty" of all Filipinos to try to counter the widespread "malicious propaganda" depicting Filipinos as unsuited for self-rule.[153]

Music was one medium through which Filipinos attempted to demonstrate their capacity for independence. Through its association with racial and societal evolution, music has long played an important role both in justifying and challenging the racial logic of imperial conquest and white supremacy.[154] As Krystyn Moon argues, for example, Frances Densmore's scientific study of Philippine music at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair helped to perpetuate a logic of racial evolution justifying U.S. imperialism in the Philippines.[155] Similarly, as Mary Talusan has shown, Filipinos sought to employ ensembles such as the Philippine Constabulary Band to display mastery of cultural skills otherwise associated with a more evolved race.[156] Despite the ambiguous manner in which Americans might understand Filipino musicality – not necessarily as a sign of racial advancement but rather as a sign of the success of U.S. imperial tutelage – musicians continued to play an important symbolic role in the push for Filipino independence.[157] While many Filipino elites worried that the rise of jazz would mean an erasure of more traditional forms of Filipino music, others viewed the increasing ubiquity of Filipino musicians a critical means to improve the reputation of Filipinos abroad.[158]

In particular, Filipinos hoped that musicians of all genres could demonstrate that Filipinos were not racially inferior to whites. When the Filipina singer Honorata "Atang" de la Rama stopped to performed in Yokohama in 1926 en route to Hawaii, for example, one of her fans reportedly proclaimed that her performances of *kundiman* challenged white supremacist views of Filipinos: "Continue your trip to show other nations and whites our capacity for all classes of occupations, and that we are also artists, so we can

be proud of ourselves."[159] Similarly, Filipino audiences hoped that Luisa "Isang" Tapales and Jovita Fuentes, two prominent Filipina opera singers in Europe, could counter racist claims by excelling in a musical form more associated with Europe. Many Filipinos expressed anger at the missed opportunities that arose when Tapales and Fuentes were billed as Japanese, not Filipinas, when they performed in Europe. One Filipino businessman in France was so upset by Tapales that he wrote a letter to *The Philippines Free Press*. He argued that it was a "great pity and a great loss to the Philippines" that she pretended to be Japanese: "What a great service she could render to the Philippines in advertising to the world the fact that Filipinos are highly educated!"[160]

Filipino jazz musicians also held the potential for demonstrating racial progress, because musical ability and experience put them in positions to lead white musicians or serve as arbiters of musical excellence. As one proud journalist noted in 1929, the Filipino jazz musician Jose S. Felix was directing an ensemble of white musicians in northern Europe: "even among the Nordics, your Pinoy is leading his own jazz-band."[161] The reporter compared Felix and N. Estoiste, a Filipino performing alongside Germans in Hamburg, with the better-known Filipina opera stars: "With Jovita Fuentes and Luisa Tapales winning laurels on the operatic stage, the Philippines has just cause to feel proud of her sons and daughters abroad."[162] The writer celebrates what seems to be a kind of racial inversion, in which Filipinos and Filipinas demonstrate mastery of European musical forms and lead white musicians. In other cases, the experience Filipino musicians gained during years working abroad earned them prestige and respect, even from white communities in Asia. In Batavia, for example, professional Filipino musicians organized

a jazz competition in 1934 featuring some of the city's amateur white and Eurasian bands and served as the event's judges.[163]

This journalistic discourse may seem merely the opinions of a select few reporters, but the controversial case of Matilde Salming reveals the extent to which Filipinos took the representational possibilities of musicians abroad seriously. In late 1924, Harry F. Mondorf, a talent agent scouring Asia for acts for the U.S. Keith vaudeville circuit, arrived in Manila and attended one of Borromeo's vaudeville shows.[164] He was so taken with Matilde Salming's act – in which she dressed up as an "Igorot violinist" and played Tin Pan Alley songs (Fig. 2.5) – that he offered her a contract for a U.S. tour.[165]

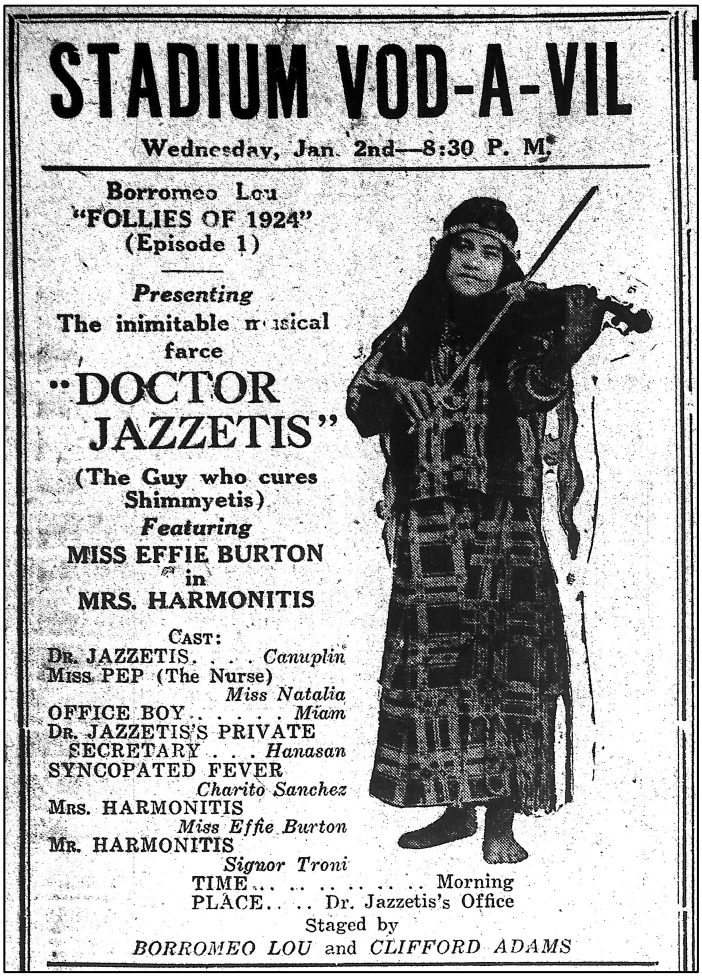


Figure 2.5: A 1924 ad for a Borromo Lou program showing Matilde Salming in costume.[166]

Filipino politicians took notice of Salming's offer. They warily discussed the harm she might do to the cause of Filipino independence by appearing in the U.S. as a member of the non-Christian, mountain-dwelling group who were infamously chosen to represent Filipinos at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.[167] As one article reports, the politicians "say these are bad times for a showing like that – presidential campaign elections, you know. Salming might hurt the Philippine cause."[168] While it is not clear if Philippine officials exerted any pressure on Salming to change her act before she left for the U.S. in August 1924, it is striking that this event even prompted a reaction from elected officials.[169] It speaks to the symbolic importance of Filipino musicians in the quest for demonstrating the racial progress of the Philippines.

While Filipino musicians might serve as the effective ambassadors in changing the opinion of the American people by reaching the U.S. public directly, Filipino journalists expressed a similar pride in Filipinos working in Asia. In over two-dozen articles throughout the 1920s, Filipino journalists for the weekly magazine *The Philippines Free Press* celebrated the diaspora of their musical compatriots by employing metaphors of military and imperial conquest to portray the circulation of Filipino musicians outside of the Philippines. They described Filipino dance musicians winning a battle of music against the Chinese, "invading" and "conquering" Tokyo, "dominating" Hongkong, and coercing Hanoi to surrender to Filipino musicians making "the city their own."[170] Filipino musicians were even depicted as a kind of military force heading against their colonial masters in a growing "invasion of the United States."[171] For these journalists, the power of Filipino musicians lay in their ubiquity. By dominating musical

markets across Asia, they suggested, Filipinos became a kind of political force alerting the world to Filipino progress.

This was ambiguous political work at best, however. In Asia, the logic through which Filipino musical labor became a performance of racial progress was contradictory from the start. This imagined empire of Filipino musicians was enabled in large part through an expansive system of racially-based exploitation that also regulated many other forms of labor.[172] Filipino musicians in Asia were commonly subject to a hierarchical system of pay in which they were paid less than white and African American musicians but more than Chinese and Japanese performers. Even though the "princely pay" Filipino received abroad might be two or three times higher than the waves they might make in Manila, their earnings were typically much lower than salaries commanded by musicians who could offer a similar level of musical ability. To be clear, in some cases Filipino musicians strategically accepted lower wages to undercut their competition while, at other times, Filipino musicians lost their jobs when lower-paid Chinese and Japanese musicians replaced them. In 1928, for example, a report noted that the number of Filipinos in the Shanghai Municipal Band had decreased due to "the competition of other musicians accepting lower wages."[173] However, with the exception of Hawaii, where they were in higher demand than white musicians, Filipino musicians were an attractive option in Asia not only because of their reputation as able performers of western dance music, but also because their willingness to work at a competitive rate.[174] Indeed, Filipinos were well known throughout Asia as reputedly possessing musical ability available for low wages. When Henrique Valdez floated the idea of establishing a band as a new business venture in Macau in 1924, he proposed "hiring some Filipino musicians" because they

were "excellent individuals at low cost."[175] Proprietors of venues in other cities employed similar reasoning.[176]

Thus, while Filipino musicians heard of the wealth and fortunes awaiting them abroad, part of their success in dominating markets and conquering cities, was due to their status as a source of competitive labor. Not infrequently, in fact, managers and bandleaders would replace white or African American musicians with Filipinos in order to increase their own profits. In June 1922, for example, the United States Shipping Board decided that they would "replace all the American jazz bands of five musicians with a Filipino band of six pieces" on their Pacific ships. The reason, the author guesses, is "to cut down the expenses of the vessels."[177] Over a decade later in Shanghai, the African-American trumpeter Buck Clayton faced a similar economic decision when a sudden drop in the value of Shanghai's currency made his contract – which was tied to a fixed gold rate – much more costly. The Chinese managers who hired him staged a racially-motivated fight at the Canidrome Ballroom to claim that Clayton's band voided the "no disturbance" clause in their contract. They fired Clayton's group and hired a lower-paid Filipino ensemble.[178] Filipino musicians commanding lower wages came to displace so many better-paid white performers in Shanghai that musicians such as James Staley and Claude Lapham grew frustrated.[179] Staley described the city's music scene in the mid-1930s as one of "racial competition," in which Filipinos secured jobs by working on a salary "beneath that of the white musician."[180] Similarly, Lapham complained that, throughout Asia, "no American nor European jazz band has appeared to give [Filipino musicians] competition." As a result, he complained, "they have become arrogant."[181]

This "arrogance" is at the heart of the contradictory nature of jazz labor as a medium for demonstrating racial progress. Filipinos dominated the Asian market for jazz to such an extent that, by the mid-1930s, Lapham appears irritated at the inability of white musicians to find a place in Asia's jazz scene. Yet Lapham himself does not observe this situation as the result of the racial advancement of Filipinos. It is a result, instead, of the willingness of Filipino musicians to engage in labor for a salary that is unappealing for white or African American musicians. This tension between demonstrating racial progress or advancing financially by way of engaging with racially hierarchical scales of pay reflects a contemporary phenomenon facing Filipino migrant workers. Filomeno Aguilar argues that Overseas Filipino Workers, as they are commonly called today, seek to improve their class status in the Philippines by "joining the global working classes and undergoing a demotion in personal status overseas." Such a move results in what he calls "feelings of transnational shame."[182] While a similar sense of shame may not be readily apparent in the historical archives, the political potential of jazz labor is based upon a similar premise. If the proof that Filipino musicians perform racial progress is based upon their ubiquity and dominance of Asia's music markets, a result due in large part to their willingness to work on a racially-hierarchical pay scale, than their performances also perpetuate the very hierarchies they supposedly disrupt.

Conclusion

For some observers, the rise of the Filipino jazz laborer might represent the culmination of a U.S. and European colonial project. As Matthew Frye Jacobson argues, American imperial expansion was heavily influenced by the desire among American

officials and manufacturers to try to create new consumers and new workers for U.S. industry. They hoped that, by transforming overseas populations into consumers through colonial policies and the circulation of U.S. products, "foreign peoples would keep the American economy afloat as both auxiliary consumers in a vast, worldwide export market, and as auxiliary workers in an ever-expanding domestic labor market."[183] As a result, Americans engaged in a wide scale project to create Filipinos who would labor effectively within the reaches of a U.S. capitalist economy. They attempted to waken Filipinos from what they saw as their state of natural "laziness" and transform them into able workers.[184] American bureaucrats experimented with how Filipinos might be "properly managed" so as to be productive while American teachers sought to teach their Filipino students "respect for the dignity of labor."[185]

As premier practitioners of a new form of musical labor, Filipino jazz performers must be understood in relation to this ambitious, violent, and incomplete imperial process. Indeed, their successful domination of markets for live music across Asia suggests that Filipinos were not merely consumers of U.S. popular culture, but also workers taking part in the circuits of global capital. De Leon's claim of *having* to earn a wage, for example, reveals how jazz labor became a way into capitalism, both economically and ideologically. As Michael Denning writes, "capitalism begins not with the offer of work, but with the imperative to earn a living."[186] As Kathi Weeks argues, the notion that "one must work to 'earn a living'" represents "a social convention" of the seemingly natural domination of capitalism.[187] The emergence of a demand for jazz labor across Asia certainly represented this "offer of work." Moreover, as I have shown, the rise of markets for dance musicians cannot be separated from the imperial forces

wreaking the Philippine economy and compelling Filipinos to seek new sources of employment.

Hundreds of Filipinos sought to grapple with the economic transformations of the Philippines through the possibilities of jazz labor. As Filipinos pursued opportunities shaped by the uneven flow of capital, they also came to face new restrictions and regulations governing their movements and musical choices. At the same time, though, by adhering to the expectations required of jazz performers, Filipinos were able to access possibilities of financial gain that were unavailable to them in the Philippines. The ironic doubling of jazz as a form of labor had another element, as well. Filipino journalists at home came to view their musical compatriots abroad as ambassadors for the cause of Filipino independence. Through their musical mastery and their ability to secure positions entertaining dancing audiences across Asia, Filipino musicians appeared to demonstrate the racial and societal progress of all Filipinos. This was an ambiguous form of political progress however, for part of the power of the Filipino musician lay in their willingness to work for competitive wages. Since the ubiquity of Filipino performers was due in part to the nature of Asia's musical market – organized according to a logic of white supremacy – their pervasive presence was one born of both musical ability and of the perpetuation of a racial hierarchy in which Filipinos were still inferior to white Americans and Europeans.

I seek to demonstrate that, by examining the multiple facets of jazz as a form of labor, we can craft a story of jazz in which Filipinos musicians such as Nicanor Amper, Felipe De Leon, Joe Fernandez and Gervasio C. Bagasao are no longer at the margins. In order to understand the value of jazz in colonial Asia, I suggest that we pay attention to

its contradictory nature as a form of imperial labor. For many Filipino musicians, jazz, as a form of labor, offered opportunities through which they might negotiate the economic and political struggles of colonial life. These opportunities were contradictory, however. Similar to the anarchic project of U.S. imperialism, inherently incomplete and paradoxical, jazz labor was beset with cultural contradictions, yet it is precisely these contradictions that gave jazz its meaning.

Notes for Chapter Two

[1] Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5. *The Philippines Free Press* was a popular Manila-based weekly magazine printed in English and Spanish that favored Filipino independence without being overtly anti-American. For more, see Sylvester Marquardt, *Before Bataan and After: A Personalized History of Our Philippine Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 61-83; *Philippines Free Press: 1900-2000, The Philippine Century.* Manila: Philippine Free Press, 2001[?].

[2] For a sense of the presence of Filipino musicians in Asian ports, see Appendix A.

[3] Claude Lapham, "China Needs American Bands," *The Metronome* (July 1936), 13.

[4] Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune …," 5.

[5] The exception to this includes studies of Filipino jazz musicians as Asian Americans: e.g., Kevin Fellezs, "Silenced but Not Silent: Asian Americans and Jazz," in *Alien Encounters: Popular Culture in Asian America*, eds. Mimi Thi Nguyen and Thuy Linh Nguyen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 69-108. There are also several studies of Filipino migrant musicians, some of whom perform jazz: Lee Watkins, "Minstrelsy and Mimesis in the South China Sea: Filipino Migrant Musicians, Chinese Hosts, and the Disciplining of Relations in Hong Kong," *Asian Music* 40, no. 2 (2009): 72-99; Stephanie Ng, "Performing the 'Filipino' at the Crossroads: Filipino Bands in Five-Star Hotels Throughout Asia," *Modern Drama* 48, no. 2 (2005): 272-96; Anjeline de Dios, "Western Music by its Others: Overseas Filipino Musicians and the Geographies of Migrant Creative Labor," Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Singapore (2015); Lydia N. Yu-Jose, *Filipinos in Japan and Okinawa, 1880s – 1972* (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2002). Richie Quirino's three books offer a popular history of jazz in the Philippines: *Pinoy Jazz Traditions* (Manila: Anvil, 2004); *Mabuhay Jazz: Jazz in Postwar Philippines* (Manila: Anvil, 2008); *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines: 1970 to the Year 2010* (Manila: Anvil, 2011).

[6] E. Taylor Atkins argues that a historical study of Filipino jazz musicians in Asia is long overdue: Patrick Jarenwattananon, "How Japan Came to Love Jazz," *A Blog Supreme* (30 April 2014) http://www.npr.org/sections/ablogsupreme/2014/04/30/308275726/how-japan-came-to-love-jazz Accessed 13 September 2015.

[7] Scott DeVeaux, "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography," *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (Autumn, 1991): 525-560

[8] E.g., Gunther Schuller, "Sonny Rollins and the Challenge of Thematic Improvisation," *The Jazz Review* (November 1958), 6-9, 21.

[9] There are several notable early critiques of studying jazz as art music: e.g., Francis Newtown, *The Jazz Scene* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1960); LeRoi Jones, *Blues People* (New York: Perennial 2002 [1963]).

[10] Jesse Weaver Shipley and Marina Peterson, "Introduction: Audio Work: Labor, Value, and the making of Musical Aesthetics," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 24, no. 4 (2012): 402.

[11] Karl Hagstrom Miller, "Working Musicians: Exploring the Rhetorical Ties Between Musical Labour and Leisure," *Leisure Studies* 27, no. 4 (2008): 428.

[12] Martin Stokes, "Marx, Money, and Musicians," in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, ed. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (New York: Routledge, 2002), 139.

[13] This is an emerging scholarship on music as work, particularly in relation to Marxist notions of value, productive labor, and immaterial labor. For a brief sampling of this scholarship, see Maurizio Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, eds. Paulo Virno and Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 133-147; Andrew Beck, ed. *Cultural Work: Understanding the Cultural Industries* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Gavin Steingo, "Musical Economies of the Elusive Metropolis," in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 246-268; Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Special issue on "Audio Work" *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 24, no. 4 (2012); Marina Peterson, "Sound Work: Music as Labor and the 1940s Recording Bans of the American Federation of Musicians," *Anthropological Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2013): 791-823. Thanks to Darien Lamen and Anjeline de Dios for suggesting readings.

[14] Nicole S. Cohen, "Cultural Work as a Site of Struggle: Freelancers and Exploitation," *Triple C: Cognition, Communication, Co-operation* 10, no. 2 (2012): 144; Timothy Taylor, "The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the Era of "Mechanical Music," *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2007): 281-305.

[15] Yoshihiro Chiba, "Cigar-Makers in American Colonial Manila: Survival during Structural Depression in the 1920s," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36, no. 3 (2005): 373-397.

[16] E.g., Harvey R. Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Daniel E. Bender, Jana K. Lipman, eds., *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism* (New York: New York University Press, 2015); Achille Mbembe, "Aesthetics of Superfluity," *Public Culture* 16, no. 3 (2004): 373-405.

[17] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 10. Emphasis in original.

For more on "New Imperial Histories" see Durba Ghosh, "Another Set of Imperial Turns?" *American Historical Review* 117, no. 3 (2012): 772-793; Stephen Howe, ed., *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (New York: Routledge 2010); Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Stoler and Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1-56.

[18] Adele Perry, "Whose World Was British? Rethinking the 'British Word' from an Edge of Empire," in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds. Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 134-135.

[19] Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[20] David Lambert and Alan Lester, "Introduction: Imperial spaces, Imperial Subjects," in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Lambert and Lester (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 12; Elleke Boehmer, *Empire, the National, and the Postcolonial, 1890-1920: Resistance in Interaction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4-5.

[21] Steven Feld, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 231.

[22] "Unrivalled Splendor at Plaza Tonight," *The China Press* (24 December 1926), 5.

[23] Amper's name may be familiar to some from the LP *The History of Jazz and Hot Dance in India, 1926-1944* (Harlequin records, 1984). In Rainer Lotz's liner notes, he is listed as "Nick Ampier." This misspelling likely results from Lotz consulting Henry Stonor's article "They Played at Raffles," *Storyville* 42 (August-September 1972), 217-229.

[24] Nicanor Amper, "Social Security Death Index," www.Ancestry.com, *U.S. Social Security Death Index, 1935-2014* [database on-line], accessed 21 November 2014; Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr. (12 March 2012). For more on the U.P. music conservatory, founded in 1916, see Ramón Pagayon Santos, "The UP Conservatory of Music: Nesting Ideologies of Nationalism in a Filipino Music," *Tunugan: Four Essays on Filipino Music* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 179-193. For an overview of Amper's career in another form, see Appendix C.

[25] According to at least two programs, Amper was a featured soloist with the group. See "Constabulary Band Program for Tonight," *The Manila Times* (20 November 1921), 8; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (29 July 1923), 20.

[26] Their performance on 29 July 1923, for example, featured Amper as a soloist on a selection from Verdi's *Il Travatore*. The rest of the program included a Sousa march, several more opera selections, two recently published Tin Pan Alley fox-trots ("Beside a Babbling Brook," "March of the Siamese") and their regular closer, "The Star Spangled Banner." "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (29 July 1923), 20.

[27] "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (6 December 1921), 3.

[28] Lequime has appeared in several recent works on jazz in India yet his biographical information, including his depiction as a French-Canadian, is almost always presented incorrectly. For a more in-depth biography that corrects several repeated errors about his life see Appendix D. Amper's exact movements are difficult to trace at this moment but he may have traveled in coordination with Lequime. They likely knew, or know of, each other in Manila: both were members of high profile Manila ensembles and both had performed with Borromeo Lou. Lequime and his wife took up residence at Shanghai's Hotel Parisien some time between December 11 and December 28, 1923. Gaps in the microfilm of *The North China Daily News* make it difficult to pinpoint his arrival more specifically. The American paper, *The China Press*, does not list hotel residents. See, "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (23 October 1921), 5; "Hotel Guests," *The North China Daily News* (11 December 1923), 16; "Hotel Guests," *The North China Daily News* (29 December 1923), 15.

[29] The only evidence for this recruitment comes from Stonor's article ("They Played at Raffles"). While his article is incorrect about other cases of bands being recruited to new sites (see note 31), it makes logical sense in this particular case. For the band's debut in Calcutta, see "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (14 May 1925), 4.

[30] Bowlly went on to enjoy a career as a hugely popular singer in England. Bowlly's biographer Ray Pallett and Henry Stonor both claim that Bowlly was performing at Calcutta's Grand Hotel before Lequime's band arrived. They say that Bowlly joined Lequime's group upon their arrival. Advertisements from *The Statesman*, however, show that Lequime actually arrived before Bowlly, first performing in Calcutta on May 14, 1925. Bowlly began performing at the hotel's café roughly two weeks later, on May 30, 1925, with the hotel's Grand Quartette, a group that had been in residence before Lequime arrived. Bowlly did not appear to have joined Lequime's group until after mid-September 1925. A photograph of the band, as well as a brief article about the group, before this date have no mention of Bowlly. See Ray Pallett, *Goodnight Sweetheart: Life and Times of Al Bowlly* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Spellmount Ltd., 1986), 28; Stonor, "They Played at Raffles"; "Grand Café ad," *The Statesman* (30 May 1925), 4; "Grand Hotel," *The Statesman* (23 May 1925), 14; "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (9 September 1925), 4.

[31] Lotz's estimate on the liner notes to *The History of Jazz and Hot Dance in India* that this record was released in April 1926 has been widely repeated. It was actually released to some fanfare in Calcutta on December 1, 1925 and was advertised in Bombay by early

January 1926. Lequime's group likely recorded these two songs in mid-September 1925, soon after Bowlly joined the group. See: "L. C. Saha ad," *The Statesman* (1 December 1925), 4; "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (4 December 1925), 4; "The Gramophone Company ad," *The Times of India* (9 January 1926), 20.

[32] Stonor writes that Lequime was recruited to Singapore by the Raffles Hotel management. This claim contradicted by a Singapore report saying that they were only "passing through on the way to Shanghai. Initial advertisements from the Raffles hotel also state that they hired Lequime's group "for two nights only." Only after these first performances were they "engaged permanently by the proprietors": "Special Dance Band at Raffles," *The Straits Times* (27 May 1926), 10; "The management of raffles hotel…," *The Singapore Free Press* (28 May 1926), 8; "Lequime's American Sextette…," *The Straits Times* (31 May 1926), 10.

[33] It is not clear how Carter and Amper knew each other. By the time Carter arrived in Manila, Amper had already left for Shanghai. In Manila, though, Carter performed with musicians who would have known Amper. Carter may have also overlapped with Amper when the Manila Hotel ensemble took a brief trip to Shanghai some time in early 1925. In Shanghai, Carter performed at the Plaza Hotel after Lequime, and possibly Amper, ended their engagement at the same venue. Perhaps the hotel management recommended Amper as a suitable trombonist. For more on Carter, see Chapter Five and Appendix E.

[34] A review of their debut explained, "all of his instrumentalists have not arrived – some being delayed through poor steamer connexions [sic], and others who are coming from India." This was quite likely a reference to Amper, who was making his way back to Shanghai from Calcutta via Sinagpore at the time: "Plaza Ballroom Reopening," *The North China Daily News* (2 October 1926), 12.

[35] Möller mentions that an Austrian bassist named "Gus" performed with the group in Shanghai. I have found no reference to him, but I have not found mention of another bassist – or any bassist – in the group: Allard Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra," *Storyville* 62 (February/March 1976): 97-103. I use the spelling "Valada" because she did not change it to "Valaida" until 1930: Mark Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm: The Life and Music of Valaida Snow* (Toronto: The Mercury Press, 2007).

[36] "Xmas Eve in Shanghai is Marvelous Spectacle," *The China Press* (25 December 1926), 1, 7.

[37] F. Bello-Bueno, "Godino Boys going strong," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 November 1929), 6, 42. This account of their show from either Oakland or San Francisco, California, describes Amper playing a *kundiman* on cornet. Given Amper's extensive training and familiarity with brass bands from his youth, it is not surprising to find him performing on an instrument other than trombone.

[38] They were also called "The Manila Stompers." E.g., "Regular Radio Features," *New York Amsterdam News* (2 September 1931), 7; "Radio Programs Scheduled for Current Week," *The New York Times* (6 December 1931), XX27.

[39] Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr. (12 March 2012); "Restaurants and Tea Rooms," *The New York Times* (20 November 1932), X12. Amper's name disappeared from the radio listings right around the same time that Amper married and settled down in Brooklyn in late 1932. E.g., "Regular Radio Features," *The New York Amsterdam News* (15 June 1932), 9; "Nicanor Amper marriage index" (11 August 1932), *New York, New York, Marriage Indexes 1866-1937* [database on-line], www.Ancestry.com, accessed 21 November 2014.

[40] They recorded two pieces by a Vicente Villapando: "Manila Stomper Rag" and a slow fox-trot titled "Florence." The Stompers for this session were an 11-piece group, featuring two trumpets, three saxophones, piano, banjo, tuba, drumset, violin, and Amper's trombone. See Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Volume 4: Spanish, Portuguese, Philippine, Basque* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2414; *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 30566 (10 in. double-faced for export to Latin America)," http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/83961/Victor_30566 accessed September 13, 2015.

[41] "Nicanor Gallano Amper death index" (30 July 1972), *Alabama, Deaths and Burials Index, 1881-1974* [database on-line], www.Ancestry.com, accessed 21 November 2014; Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr.

[42] See Appendix A. While Filipinas in the Philippines were active musicians, they normally gave semi-public performances of classical music to family and invited audiences. Most Filipinas who toured did so as singers or dancers in vaudeville, circus, or acting troupes. See, for example, Juanita Antido's 1922 tour of Java, Singapore, India, and China with the Antidos Brothers troupe: "Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31.

[43] More than 200 students graduated from the University of the Philippines music conservatory in 1919. So many students were choosing to study music, in fact, that the conservatory was facing a shortage of space. "More Room Needed for Music Classes, *The Manila Times* (9 July 1919), 5. As I explored in the previous chapter, popular American tunes reached the ears of Filipinos in the first decades of the twentieth century in a variety of settings, including public band concerts, vaudeville shows, funerals, school lessons, village fiestas, movie theaters, city streets and harbor piers. See: Hamilton M. Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1907), 56-57; William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in The Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 38-39, 109; Florence Kimball Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1907), 56, 115-117; Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (London: John Murray, 1906), *passim.*

[44] These groups include the following: the "Original Manila 5," a Filipino jazz band led by the American pianist Harry Levine touring Java in 1923; a group of seven Filipino musicians touring the Pacific Ocean on the S.S. Empress of Russia under the direction of the African American drummer Harry Langhams; and a group of eight Filipinos at Singapore's Europe hotel led by the Eurasian pianist Claude Oliveiro from 1928 to 1933. See "Filipino musicians abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2; "A correspondent says," *The Straits Times* (14 September 1921), 8; Oral history by Claude Oliveiro, reels 1-3, Accession #: 001085, from the Oral History collection, Singapore National Archives.

[45] Various Filipino dance bands performed in Singapore's New World amusement park, a venue that famously attracted a wide range of Sinagpore's residents: e.g., "The Oriental Shows," *The Straits Times* (18 March 1924), 6; "The City Opera," *The Straits Times* (21 May 1926), 10.

[46] For useful maps of shipping routes, see E. Mowbray Tate, *Transpacific Steam* (New York: Cornwall Books, 1986); *Yearbook of the Philippine Islands: 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), 112; Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2015), 36-37.

[47] Hill stations, military outposts, cities with railroad connections, and capital cities often had at least some semblance of a jazz scene with Filipino performers. These include cities such as Mussoorie, Rawalpindi, Kuala Lumpur, Peking, and Harbin: "Mussoorie Season," *The Times of India* (9 May 1927), 14; "The Excelsior ad," *The Times of India* (24 April 1922), 5; "La unica Filipina...," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 February 1925), 43; "Manila Vaudeville Stars back from China after stirring experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33; Ramon L. Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 October 1921), 31, 34.

[48] Hawaii and California were particularly attractive because both were home to an increasing diaspora of Filipino workers. As U.S. nationals, Filipinos did not need visas to enter the U.S. For examples of travel beyond the Asian littoral see "Mussoorie Season," *The Times of India* (9 May 1927), 14; "Filipino leads German jazz-band in Sweden," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 May 1929), 15. While I have not been able to identify any Filipino performers after a perfunctory search through several Australian and New Zealand newspaper, Juanita Antido reportedly toured Australia with the Antidos Brothers vaudeville troupe in the early 1920s: "Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31.

[49] E.g., "Korea Sails for China and Japan," *San Francisco Call* (29 January 1911), 43; "Korea Encounters Winter Weather," *San Francisco Call* (14 January 1911), 15; Noble H. W. Hale, *Pilgrimage to Manila, Philippine Islands: Nile Temple, A.A.O.N.M.S., December 30, 1913 – March 12, 1914* (Seattle: Ivy Press, [1914?]), 21-39. For more on early Filipino ship musicians see my article in progress, "Manila Bandsmen." For

examples of Filipino ship bands in the 1920s see "'Ray and His Orchestra' of the Empress of Asia, given a two-weeks rest," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 December 1926), 40; "Men o' Blues," *Graphic* (18 December 1929), 28; and Appendix A.

[50] For an account of a traveling Filipino musician's experiences in the following decades see Angel Peña, *A Man and His Music: An Autobiography* (Quezon City: Ateneo University Press, 2007).

[51] The group was also known as the Malayan Plantation Orchestra and The Malayan Jazz Orchestra. They were billed as the first orchestra to play at the Manila Carnival, performed at several large theaters in Manila, and by early 1927 had begun regular broadcasts on Manila's KZRM radio station. See "Malayan Orchestra ad," *The Manila Times* (27 March 1927), 5 (*Ilocos Sur Times* supplement); "The Malayan Orchestra ad," *Graphic* (10 September 1927), 25; *Manila Carnival Commercial and Industrial Fair Program: Feb. 12-27, 1927* (Manila: 1927), 133; "On the air," *The Manila Times* (1 January 1928), 14; "RCA Radiola ad," *The Manila Times* (9 May 1928), 4).

[52] Quoted in Helen F. Samson, *Contemporary Filipino Composers: Biographical Interviews* (Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Co., 1976), 113.

[53] While Filipino men could seek employment as jazz instrumentalists, Filipina women could turn to the vaudeville stage for employment. After Clotilde C. Wilson's husband was sent to jail in a notorious embezzlement case, she was forced to seek out jobs to support herself and her young son. Despite her college education, the only job she could secure was performing on the vaudeville stage. As she said, "I was desperate. I needed money – for my boy and myself." "Mrs. Wilson Goes on Vaudeville Stage," *The Philippines Free Press* (15 June 1929), 8.

[54] On rise of social dance in the U.S. and England see: Susan C. Cook, "Passionless Dancing and Passionate Reform: Respectability, Modernism, and the Social Dancing of Irene and Vernon Castle," in *The Passion of Music and Dance: Body, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. William Washabaugh (New York: Berg, 1998), 133-50; John Baxendale, "'…into Another kind of life in which anything might happen…': Popular Music and Late Modernity, 1910-1930," *Popular Music* 14, no. 2 (May 1995): 137-154.

[55] "The World Goes Mad on Dancing," *North China Herald* (13 December 1919), 60; "Dancing Prospects." *The Singapore Free Press* (24 November 1919), 4. For similar descriptions of jazz as a product of post-WWI feeling, see "Wat men te Londen draagt," *De Sumatra Post* (18 September 1919), 13; "Rome burns While Nero Fiddles," *The Leader* (11 October 1919), 8; "Dancing as an Art," *The Straits Times* (21 February 1924), 15; Charles Wakefield Cadman, "Where is Jazz Leading America?" *The Etude* (August 1924), 517-518, 520; "Jazz a travesty of music," *The Statesman* (16 May 1926), 23.

[56] For descriptions of widespread social dancing among the European communities of colonial Asia and Australia, see Jane Sherman, *Soaring: The Diary and Letters of a*

Denishawn Dancer in the Far East, 1925-1926 (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1976); *"Aren't We Lucky?": The Magazine of H.M.S. "Renown", August to December 1919* (New York: Hodder and Soughton, Limited, 1920); Horace Bleackley, *A Tour in Southern Asia: Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, 1925-1926 (*London: The Bodley Head, Ltd., 1928); Sydney Greenbie, *The Romantic East: India, Indo-China, China and Japan* (Robert McBride & Co.: New York, 1931).

[57] "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (24 June 1919), 5.

[58] "Bands and Bandsmen," *The Era* (25 August 1926), 14-15; "Santa Ana Ad, "*The Independent* (17 December 1921), 5; "Nearly Half Million Pesos Spent on Cabaret," *The Manila Times* (15 December 1921), 11.

[59] "E. and O. extension," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (25 May 1922), 701; "Hongkong Hotel Announcements," *South China Morning Post* (14 August 1923), 11. See also "Europe Hotel," *The Singapore Free Press* (4 November 1921), 7; "New Astor House Ball-room," *North China Daily News* (24 December 1923), 16; "Palais de Danse ad," *The Statesman* (12 November 1925), 12. For more on developing urban leisure infrastructure in Asia see also Andrew David Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World; Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919-1954* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2010); Wong Yunn Chii and Tan Kar Lin, "Emergence of a Cosmopolitan Space for Culture and Consumption: the New World Amusement Park-Singapore (1923-70) in the Inter-War Years," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2004): 279-304; Shen Liang, "The Great World: Performance Supermarket," *TDR: The Drama Review*, 50, No. 2 (2006): 97-116.

[60] "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (4 February 1926), 4; "Europe Hotel ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (7 December 1921), 1. For examples of dances in other cities, see "Repulse Bay Hotel ad," *South China Morning Post* (7 February 1920), 4; "Grand Hotel Java ad," *Handels - en Advertentieblad* (10 March 1924), 4; "Hotel 'Bell Vue,'" *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (12 December 1924), 3; "Hollywood's Dancing ad," *De Indische courant* (3 April 1928), 9; Norden Hermann, *From Golden Gate to Golden Sun: A Record of Travel, Sport and Observation in Siam and Malaya* (London: H. F. and G. Witherby, 1923), 163; "Park Pavilion," *The China Press* (1 December 1926), 5.

[61] For examples of calendars listing dances, see "Coming Events," *The Malacca Observer* (10 November 1924), 4; "This Week's Social Calendar," *The Manila Times* (14 December 1924), 17; "This Week's Social Calendar," *The Manila Times* (4 January 1925), 15; "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (13 September 1925), 8; "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (4 February 1926), 4.

[62] Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World*; E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); From the Singapore National Archive Oral History collection see Anonymous 2, reels 1-3, accession # 000529; Chan Chon Hoe, reels 6, 8, 9, 15, accession # 002268; George Kennedy, reel 7, accession # 000591.

[63] E.g., "Johore Notes," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 May 1924), 2; "Lyric music house ad, *The Philippines Free Press* (14 August 1926), 17; C. G. Atkins, "Joys of wireless," *The Statesman* (3 February 1926), 15; George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950 [1934]), 209-210; W. Somerset Maugham, "Footprints in the Jungle," *Collected Stories* (New York: Everyman's Library, 2004), 448-477.

[64] For examples of the repertoire these bands performed, see Appendix J. The demand for movie theater musicians diminished with talking films, the first of which appeared in Manila on 2 August 1929: "Ask Me Another," *Graphic* (14 August 1929), 15, 39; "Editorials: The Talkies," *Philippine Magazine* (September 1929), 214; "The Talkies are Here," *Philippines Free Press* (10 August 1929), 25, 36).

[65] "Calcutta Exhibition ad," *The Straits Times* (2 July 1923), 7; "Classifieds," *The Straits Times* (13 September 1922), 16; "Classifieds," *The Straits Times* (20 September 1922), 16; "Classified ad," *The Straits Times* (3 December 1929), 6.

[66] E.g., "Ernest Kaai contract with Stan & Weijns," Surabaya (7 November 1918), courtesy of Andrea Lowe; "Peliti's ad," *The Statesman* (1 November 1925), 8; "During the coming festive weeks," *The Straits Times* (21 December 1920), 8; Watch 'Em Step High and Wide at Hotel," *The Manila Times* (15 August 1923), 2; Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras," *The Chicago Defender* (16 March 1935), 10. See also "Social and general," *The Japan Advertiser* (30 August 1921), 5; "Humphreys & Co ad," *The Statesman* (8 April 1925), 4.

[67] "Ernest Kaai contract with Stan & Weijns," Surabaya (7 November 1918), courtesy of Andrea Lowe; Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras," *The Chicago Defender* (16 March 1935), 10; Buck Clayton and Nancy Elliott, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 61.

[68] For more on the rise of Filipino migrant music labor in the nineteenth century, see Frederick Schenker, "Manila Bandsmen: on Imperial Networks of Filipino Music Migration" in preparation for *Asian Music*.

[69] The population of Goan musicians was much smaller than Filipinos, not surprising considering they came an area roughly 100 times smaller than that occupied by Filipinos. Goan musicians appeared primarily in India, the Malayan peninsula, and Macau.

[70] My discussion in this paragraph draws primarily upon the following: O. D. Corpez, *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997); Daniel F. Doeppers, *Manila, 1900-1941: Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1984); Chiba, "Cigar-Makers in American Colonial Manila"; Vicente G. Bunuan, "Democracy in the

Philippines," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 131 (Supplement: Are the Filipinos Ready for Independence?) (1927): 25.

[71] E.g., "Customs Analysis for April, 1921." *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (June 1921), 17; H. Edmund Bullis, "Importing and Exporting," *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (July 1921), 26-27; "Imports into the Philippine Islands," *Statistical Bulletin No. 7 of the Philippine Islands, 1924* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), iv; Reyes, Cornelio de los, ed., "Countries of Origin of Philippine Imports," *Year Book of the Philippine Islands for 1930* (Manila; Reyco press, 1930), 515; Eleanor Ball, compiler, *Independence for the Philippines*, The Reference Shelf 5, No. 3 (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1927), 40.

[72] From 1925 and 1929 alone, over 36,000 Filipinos emigrated to Hawaii: "Table No. 45," *Statistical Bulletin No. 3 of the Philippine Islands, 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), 109; "Table No. 69," *Statistical Bulletin No. 12 of the Philippine Islands, 1929.* Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 78.

[73] E.g., "Lyric music house ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (5 September 1925), 33; "Lyric Music House ad," *Philippine Education Magazine* (July 1927), 91.

[74] "Is Jazz Clever?" *The Singapore Free Press* (11 June 1926), 2.

[75] *"Hoe maakt ja man 't?" "Prachtig. Hij heeft een uitstekend betaalde betrekking gekregen." "En ik dacht dat hij St. Vitus-dans had?" "Dat is ook zoo; maar hij heeft saxophone leeren spelen en toen een pracht van een baantje gekregen bij een jazz-orkest."* "Om den hoek," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (7 November 1919) 10.

[76] For an example of U.S. criticism, see Harcourt Farmer, "The Marche Funebre of 'Jazz' [June 1920]," in *Jazz in Print (1856-1929)*, ed. Karl Koenig (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 144-146. For more on jazz historiography and 1930s criticism see DeVeaux, "Constructing the Jazz Tradition"; John Gennari*, Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Matthew Jordan, *Le Jazz: Jazz and French Cultural Identity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010; Eric Porter, *What is This Thing Called Jazz?: African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[77] Laszlo Schwartz, "The Struggle Between Folkmusic and Jazz," *Philippine Magazine* 26, no. 3 (August 1929): 137, 172, 174.

[78] The back cover of an issue of the Philadelphia music magazine *The Etude* serves as a typical example. An ad proclaims that, if you purchase a Buescher saxophone, "in a few weeks you can be playing popular music….You could even take a place in a band or orchestra in 90 days, if you so desired." The ad lists a number of famous orchestras whose members play Buescher instruments and notes their salaries: "$100 to $500

weekly for a few hours a day is not unusual for musicians of such ability to earn." "Buescher band ad," *The Etude* (August 1924), back cover.

[79] "Starr Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (20 July 1929), 33.

[80] "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 May 1929), 32 (emphasis in original). See also "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (7 January 1928), 34.

[81] "Lyric music house ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 May 1929), 32.

[82] While, in the U.S., many African American performers turned to jazz because institutional racism prevented them from pursuing careers as classical music, an array of American musicians spoke about being attracted to the financial potential of jazz. Paul Whiteman, for example, described his decision to begin playing jazz was in part because "had money troubles …Then jazz stepped in" (35). He develops this theme throughout his book: Paul Whiteman and Mary Margaret McBride, *Jazz* (New York: Arno Press, 1974 [1926]). In a related case, W.C. Handy famously explained that he started to play the blues when he saw "silver money cascading around the splay feet of a Mississippi string band." W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillian, 1942), 77.

[83] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.

[84] *"Me enorgullezco de poder decir que con mi saxofón puedo emplearme donde quiera que se rinda culto a la buena música…"* "El Instrumento del Futuro," *Philippines Free Press* (31 July 1926), 62.

[85] Filipinos from wealthy families also learned jazz, but they rarely took on lengthy contracts abroad, performing instead as amateurs. When six members of Manila's Smiles Club formed a jazz band to perform in the U.S., they paid their own way. As an article about their expedition made sure to emphasize, they went "on this trip more for pleasure and adventure than for money." *"...que iban en pos del placer del viaje y la aventura, más que del dinero."* "¿Es más facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42. For similar cases, see the story of Ramon S. Alberto, "Even a Saw is Musical in an Expert's Hands," *The Philippines Free Press* (8 March 1924), 8.

[86] This is a recurring joke in the autobiography of American musician Whitey Smith, who performed in Shanghai for much of the 1920s: Whitey Smith with C. L. McDermott, *I Didn't Make a Million* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1956).

[87] The large difference between the two daily rates for musicians, however, not only suggests real differences in classes of musicians but also an irregular income, likely due

to the instability of securing private engagements. For an overview of wages of various occupations over the decade, I consulted the *Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing) numbers 3 (for 1920), 5 (1922), 7 (1924), and 12 (1929).

[88] "That Trillion-Mark Piano," *The Philippines Free Press* (3 November 1923), 24-25.

[89] By comparison, the average monthly earning for adult male farmers in the Philippines was ₱29.4 in 1927. Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5.

[90] The constantly fluctuating conversion rates between different currencies make it difficult to keep track of the precise differences in wages between all the major ports where Filipinos performed in Asia. Thus, I only provided examples here that have already been converted into Philippine Pesos. The figures from Hongkong combine monthly salary, earnings from private engagements, and the value of free uniforms and room and board. Dick, R. McCulloch, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2; V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19; "Filipino musicians abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.

[91] In the early 1920s, for example, the African American drummer Harry Langums/Langham led a jazz band of seven Filipinos on the steamship Empress of Russia. According to a report, the band liked to stay on board but, at port would performs for $80 an hour, or $10 per person. While it is not clear to which currency this number refers, the author implies this figure is quite high. Ramon L. Navas "They call them 'Mango Ladies' in Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 March 1921) 2, 4; "A correspondent says," *The Straits Times* (14 September 1921), 8).

[92] When Luis Borromeo was on the Keith Circuit in the U.S., for example, he reportedly earned the equivalent of ₱1,000 per *week*, a figure he would not confirm. His protégé, the violinist Matilde Salming, was offered a 20 week contract for Keith's Circuit with a monthly salary equivalent to between ₱1,600 and ₱2,000 ($200 USD a week). The stars of a Filipino vaudeville troupe touring China in 1926 were promised monthly wages from ₱400 to ₱600. "Said to be making...," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 June 1921), 24, 28; "Matilde Salming...," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 July 1924), 6; "En qué consistió el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926,) 57.

[93] Ramon L. Navas, "They call them 'Mango Ladies' in Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 March 1921), 2, 4.

[94] For example, a Filipino musician in Shanghai in 1921 established a successful Import-Export business during his time off. Six members of the Hongkong Hotel orchestra in 1923 used their mornings to take business courses such as accounting and typing through the International Correspondence School. Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune

in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5; R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press (*17 March 1923), 2.

[95] "An action over an alleged assault…," *Singapore Free Press* (4 July 1924), 6.

[96] "Making Paoay Known in California," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 May 1929), 48. For more about labor conditions among Filipino agricultural workers see Dawn Bohulano Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart: The Making of the Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Carlos Bulosan, *America is in the Heart* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973 [1946]).

[97] "Making Paoay Known in California," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 May 1929), 48.

[98] "May be Fiddlers but classification is that of Seamen," *The Manila Times* (24 November 1919), 2. Similar issues faced Filipino members of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in the 1880s and 1890 who were held to the same standards as the city's police force: Robert Bickers, "'The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez': The History and Politics of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Public Band, 1881-1946," in *Ershi shiji de Zhongguo yu shijie (China and the World in the Twentieth Century)*, ed. Chi-hsiung Chang (Taibei- Institute of History, Academia Sinica, 2001), 843.

[99] Alison Blunt, "Cultural Geographies of Migration: Mobility, Transnationality and Diaspora," *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 5 (2007): 684-5.

[100] Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings," *Mobilities* 1, no. 1 (2006): 1-22; Peter Adey, "If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities," *Mobilities* 1, no. 1 (2006): 75-94.

[101] Peter Merriman, "Mobility," in R. Kitchin and N. Thrift, eds., *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography: Volume 7* (London: Elsevier 2009), 135.

[102] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Fiona I. B. Ngô, *Imperial Blues: Geographies of Race and Sex in Jazz Age New York* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

[103] Feld, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra*, especially 222-232. This is a persistent theme in the extensive scholarship on Filipino migrant workers. E.g., Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., *Migration Revolution: Philippine Nationhood and Class Relations in a Globalized Age* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2014); Deidre McKay, *Global*

Filipinos: Migrants' Lives in the Virtual Village (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012).

[104] Many musicians signed formal, notarized contracts, even for short engagements, but there were doubtless others who engaged in freelance work in which contracts were not necessary.

[105] For an example of how extensive these protections might be, see Appendix F.

[106] This clause was not universal for all Filipino groups but was still common enough to create numerous legal issues for musicians seeking to leave or earn additional pay elsewhere. E.g., Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.

[107] For more on this tour, see Chapter 5 and Appendix E.

[108] "Law Intelligence," *The Statesman* (3 January 1929), 16; "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6.

[109] "Jazz Drummer Syncopates to Santa Ana Calaboose," *The Manila Times* (27 February 1921), 6.

[110] Filipino musicians were neither the only entertainers who worked under contracts nor the only ones who faced contractual disputes or injunctions. *Variety* magazine, for example, chronicles countless examples of these kinds of disputes in the U.S. and Europe. E.g., "Dancers Walked – Fined," *Variety* (4 December 1929), 2.

[111] "Lux Owner Asks for Injunction," *The Manila Times* (22 December 1922), 8. The Lux threatened another injunction in August 1923 against Elizabeth "Dimples" Cooper when she broke her contract with Lux to perform at the competing Rivoli Theater: "Dimples," *The Manila Times* (28 August 1923), 3.

[112] The only example I have found of musicians attempting to sue their employers is Buck Clayton's attempt to regain his position after he was fired from the Canidrome in Shanghai in 1935. Clayton, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World*, 76.

[113] For more on Filipino social clubs abroad, see "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10; Ramon L. Navas, "They call them 'Mango Ladies' in Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 March 1921), 2, 4.

[114] Tony Joaquin writes that his father was a member of the "Philippine Musicians Guild" founded in the years immediately before WWII. According to Joaquin, Filipinos founded the union after encountering similar organizations created by foreign musicians while working abroad. The Filipino music union dissolved after about a year, however, after one of the officers embezzled their cash reserves. Tony Joaquin, *Simple Glories: A*

Memoir (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2000), 37. According to sheet music in the Bañas collection, an "Arrangers' & Composers' Union" also formed in Manila around 1941. See the back cover of "Ang Gitano," Quin Velasco (Manila: Arrangers & Composers' Union: Manila, c. 1942). While these unions did not emerge until the 1940s, there was at least some discussion of the possibility of music unions in Manila in 1924: "Isang Samahan ng mga Musico," *Liwayway* (18 Jan 1924), 3. For more on Filipino labor strikes in the 1920s see: "Trouble Now is Settled," *The Manila Times* (11 February 1920), 1; "Filipinos Riot in Hawaii," *The Manila Times* (22 January 1925), 1; "Table No. 46: Number of Strikes from 1910 to 1920," *Statistical Bulletin No. 3 of the Philippine Islands, 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), 109; "Table No. 41: Number of Strikes 1918-1922," *Statistical Bulletin No. 5 of the Philippine Islands, 1922* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1923), 37; "Table No. 70: Number of Strikes 1925-1929," *Statistical Bulletin No. 12 of the Philippine Islands, 1929* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 78.

[115] This announcement was made after a series of conflicting reports about a disastrous Chinese tour by a Filipino vaudeville troupe in 1926. See: ""En qué consistió el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57, "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64, "Manila Vaudeville Stars back from China after stirring experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33. Another publicized case of managerial abuse occurred in 1922, when Victor Antido, the leader of the Antidos Brothers vaudeville troupe was found guilty of "enslaving," beating, and withholding pay from the stars of the troupe, Juanita Antido (his adopted daughter) and Enriqueta "Conchita" Discher. See "Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31.

[116] The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association was notorious for recruiting Filipino laborers with promises that had little to with actual working conditions: Amando Calleja, "Dream and Reality," *The Independent* (20 September 1924), 3-4; "Filipinos in Hawaii remain common laborers," *The Manila Times* 28 June 1919), 5; P. J. Pido, "Terrible Sufferings of Filipinos Emigrating to Hawaii," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 March 1922), 4.

[117] This phrase appears in a description of a performance by D'avigneau's Celestials, a trio featuring the Filipino pianist Luis Borromeo and two American-born Chinese performers, Men Toy and Shun Tock Seth. Borromeo also regularly passed for Chinese on the U.S. vaudeville stage, a common ploy by Filipino performers. See "Filipino Jazz at Keith's," *Boston Sunday Post* (22 February 1920), 42.

[118] For more on bandleaders and transcription, see Ernesto V. Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo: The Man and the Artist: A Biography* (Manila: Rex Book Store, 1996).

[119] "Palais de Dance," *The Statesman* (27 March 1926), 4. For a sampling of similar advertisements from around Asia offering the "latest" or most "modern" dance tunes see: "The Excelsior ad," *Times of India* (11 April 1919), 3; "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser* (15 September 1921), 5; "Raffles Hotel ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (31

December 1920), 1; "Carnival Ball," *The Ceylon Observer* (14 September 1921), 26; "Santa Ana Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (24 December 1921), 9; "The Hawaiians," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (16 April 1924), 443; "Star Theatre ad," *South China Morning Post* (1 February 1926), 6; "Dreamland Café ad," *North China Daily News* (4 September 1926), 14; "St. Francis Hotel ad," *Hongkong Daily Press* (2 November 1928), 3.

[120] For typical dance programs, see Appendix J.

[121] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.

[122] The remaining legible banners read "Grieving For You, "In Old Manila," "Don't Take Away Those Blues," and "Extra Fox Trot."

[123] This stage layout with banners announcing songs was not unique to Kobe. A small photograph of Singapore's Adelphi Hotel stage with the African American drummer Ted Lewis and six Filipino musicians shows a fairly similar set-up: "Bands and Bandsmen," *The Era* (25 August 1926), 15.

[124] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.

[125] For more on the presence of U.S.-published stock dance band arrangements in Manila and elsewhere see Chapter Three. For a sense of the prevalence of U.S. sheet music and arrangements across Asia, see: "S. Moutrie & Co., ad," *The Straits Times* (16 August 1919), 11; "S. Rose & Co., ad." *The Times of India* (6 September 1919), 19; "Nanwo Shokai ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (11 November 1921), 5; "W. Naessens ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (5 October 1922), 4; "Round the Christmas Shops," *North China Daily News* (15 December 1923), 17; "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (7 March 1925), 7; "L. C. Saha ad," *The Statesman* (16 May 1925), 4; "Hongkong Music Co. ad," *South China Morning Post* (23 January 1926), 7.

[126] That is not to say, however, that all groups sounded the same even when using the same arrangements. The African-American bandleader James Reese Europe famously gave his arrangements to a French military band who were distinctly unable to make the score sound anything similar to the performance by Europe's band: James Reese Europe, "A Negro Explains 'Jazz'" [*Literary Digest*. 26 April 1919, 28-29] reprinted in Eileen Southern, ed., *Readings in Black American Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1971), 224-227.

[127] This finding is consistent both with Lawrence Gushee's own analysis of dance band arrangements from the same era in the U.S., as well as contemporary accounts of how dance band musicians perform from written scores. See Lawrence Gushee, "Improvisation and Related Terms in Middle-Period Jazz," in *Musical Improvisation: Art, Education and Society*, eds. Gabriel Solis and Bruno Nettl (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 276; "Dance Tunes," *The Statesman* (16 May 1926), 25; Chris

Goddard, *Jazz Away From Home* (New York: Paddington Press, 1979), 281-288; "Jazz Music," *The Musical Times* (1 February 1925), 158.

[128] This arrangement can be found in the Bañas collection. "Oui, Oui Marie" by Fred Fischer, Alfred Bryan, Joe McCarthy (New York: McCarthy & Fisher, 1918). It seems likely that Abelardo actually transcribed this arrangement from a recording, for he spells the title of the piece "Wee, Wee Marie." A likely source for his arrangement is Arthur Field's September 1918 recording of the song for Victor Records (Matrix number: B-22221/3). This record can be found here: http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/recordings/detail/id/6819/ (Accessed 21 September 2015). Benito Trápaga's arrangement of "They're Wearing 'Em Higher in Hawaii" [by Halsey Mohr and Joe Goodwin (New York: Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., 1916)] is similarly faithful to both the original sheet music and a contemporary recording (from Trapaga's notebooks, Vol. 1, courtesy the Trápaga-Saul family).

[129] Quoted in Möller "A Jazz Odyssey," 98.

[130] The majority of the recordings of Filipino-composed foxtrots and two-steps distributed in the Philippines in this decade were actually recorded by American or European bands. See Chapter Three for more on this topic. While a small number of Filipino instrumentalists in the U.S. made dance band recordings in the late 1920s and early 1930s that were distributed to the Philippines, these have proven difficult to locate.

[131] The French critic Hugues Panassié begins to valorize "spontaneity" and jazz as a "means of expression" in 1936*: Hot Jazz: The Guide to Swing Music,* Lyle and Eleanor Dowling, trans. (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970 [1936]), 35, 53. Similarly, Duke Ellington writes that he gave up the term "jazz" in favor of the phrase "the Music of Freedom of Expression" in 1943: Duke Ellington, *Music is My Mistress* (New York: Da Capo, 1973), 309. See also Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience," *American Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 2 (1951): 136-144.

[132] " Where these days we regard improvisation as an act of creative imagination, in the past it was sometimes considered anything but, something that inadequately trained musicians did from rote or force of habit or necessity. Of course, both may be the case." Gushee, "Improvisation and Related Terms in Middle-Period Jazz," 266.

[133] Fernandez returned with a slightly different personnel a little over two months after leaving Japan. The full account is spread out over several articles: "Social and general," *The Japan Advertiser* (22 July 1921), 5; "Social and general," *The Japan Advertiser* (27 July 1921), 5; "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser* (6 September 1921), 5; "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser* (1 October 1921), 5; "Hotel Gets Orchestra," *The Japan Advertiser* (14 October 1921), 3. For more about Kabachi's band see: "Kagetsu Yen ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (6 March 1920), 5; "Garden Hotel ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (3 December 1920), 5; "Kagetsuen Jazz Band ad," *The Japan*

Advertiser (5 December 1920), 2; "Kagetsuen ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (25 January 1921), 5.

[134] American musicians abroad also noted the differences in musical ability between Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese musicians. While American groups, both white and black, hired Filipino musicians, I have not come across any case where they hired a Japanese or Chinese musician. It appears that this is not simply a matter of English language knowledge but rather one of musical ability. In 1935, for example, the African American trumpeter Buck Clayton expressed his disdain for Chinese jazz musicians in Shanghai: "I wish it was possible for you to hear the Chinese musicians swing," he wrote. "It's nothing short of murder." "Buck Clayton Drops a Line from Shanghai" *The Chicago Defender* (5 October 1935), 8. See also Claude Lapham, "China Needs American Bands," *The Metronome* (July 1936), 13, 39.

[135] In addition to the example of Gervasio C. Bagasao in California, Andres Baclig also reportedly helped organize numerous dance bands in Hawaii formed by Filipinos who had previously worked on sugar plantations. "Making Paoay Known in California, *The Philippines Free Press* (4 May 1929), 48; Phone interview with Andres "Andy" Baclig, Jr. (29 November 2014); Ruben Alcantara, *Sakada: Filipino Adaptation in Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of American, 1981), 43.

[136] For details about Filipinos harvesting asparagus in California, see Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*.

[137] Staley's descriptions come from a moment when the jazz scene in Shanghai was in a bit of a decline due to economic and military problems, so we should be careful about assuming that these represent the conditions facing musicians in the previous decade.

[138] Claude Lapham, "China Needs American Bands," *The Metronome* (July 1936), 13, 39.

[139] S. James Staley, "Is It True What They Say About China?" *The Metronome* (December 1936), 17.

[140] S. James Staley, "Is It True What They Say About China?" *The Metronome* (December 1936), 17.

[141] Paul Goalby Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008 [1932]), 12.

[142] For more details of the work of taxi-dance hall musicians in the U.S., see: Clyde Bennett Vedder, "An Analysis of the Taxi-Dance Hall as a Social Institution with Special Reference to Los Angeles and Detroit," Ph.D. Diss (University of Southern California, 1947), 69-73.

[143] Quoted in Nat Shapiro, Nat Hentoff, eds., *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz Told by the Men who Made It* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 197, 172. See also Paul De Barros, *Jackson Street After hours: The Roots of Jazz in Seattle* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1993), 19.

[144] In 1927, a young Filipino named Severo Pancho appeared to kiss a *bailarina* at a cabaret in Sorsogon, Philippines, a major faux pas. Cabaret security converged on Pancho and at some point during the ensuing altercation Pancho tried to get the band to stop so he could explain himself. The manager, however, made sure that the music continued. "A kiss heard on two continents," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 January 1927), 2, 8.

[145] The unnamed journalist writes that, to replicate her dance, one must dance until the Filipino orchestra is "prostrated through sheer physical weariness." "Newest 'Rag' Is Ocean Born," *San Francisco Call* (10 July 1913), 1.

[146] Rather than following the approach of much scholarship on music and migration that explores how migrants use music as a way to imagine or perform a connection to a "homeland," I'm interested here in how Filipinos "at home" imagine Filipino musicians abroad. E.g., Tina K. Ramnarine, "Musical Performance in the Diaspora: Introduction," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 16, no. 1 (2007): 1-17; John Baily and Michael Collyer, "Introduction: Music and Migration" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 2 (2006): 167-182.

[147] In the U.S., they were billed as descendants of both Jose Rizal and Ramon del Pilar, a colonel in the Filipino army who upheld Aguinaldo's oath of loyalty to the Americans. Their show began with "a peppy American number," and continued with a kundiman, and a saxophone duet. Next, the band changed into *barong tagalog* and played Philippine pieces on stringed instrument before closing with a "red-hot fox-trot to the tune of the latest jazz music." F. Bello-Bueno, "Godino Boys going strong," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 November 1929), 6, 42. For more on the twins, see: "Filipino Siamese twins," *South China Morning Post* (15 November 1924), 11; "Romance of the Yangco Twins," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 June 1929), 36-37; "The Godino Boys," *The Philippines Free Press* (6 July 1929), 41; "Whoopee-Making Samar Twins," *Graphic* (4 December 1929), 48.

[148] Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5. See also Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4; R. McCulloch Dick. "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[149] Quoted in Ball, *Independence for the Philippines*, 39.

[150] For more on the racial aspects of U.S.-Philippine relations see Paul Kramer, "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; Paul Kramer, *The Blood of*

Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[151] E.g., Denise Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities: The making of the Modern Filipina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); "Philippines make appeal to congress for freedom," *The China Press* (5 January 1924), 1; "La mejor banda del oriente, una banda de lisiados?" *The Philippines Free Press* (18 October 1924), 44, 46.

[152] E.g., I. I. Exconde, "Filipinos in Ohio are doing their [mate] [?]" *The Independent* (12 June 1920), 9-10.

[153] Quezon is referring specifically to the controversial book by Katherine Mayo, called *The Isles of Fear: The Truth About the Philippines* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924). "When Quezon Spoke for Freedom Before Enthusiastic Chicago Filipinos," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 January 1928), 10-11.

[154] E.g., Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Lawrence Schenbeck, *Racial Uplift and American Music: 1878-1943* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012).

[155] Krystyn R. Moon, "The Quest for Music's Origin at the St. Louis World's Fair," *American Music* 28, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 191-210.

[156] Mary Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism: The Philippine Constabulary Band in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Philippine Studies* 52, no. 4 (2004): 499-526. See also Sarah Isabel Keenan, *Our Brown Brother* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924).

[157] After Quezon's Chicago speech, for example, Filipino musicians performed several classical and Filipino pieces for the crowd. "When Quezon Spoke for Freedom Before Enthusiastic Chicago Filipinos," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 January 1928), 10-11.

[158] For examples of this anxiety, see "Philippine Tendencies," *The Straits Times* (26 January 1924), 10; Serafin Hilado, "Let us preserve what is our own," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 January 1928), 25-27; Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality under U.S. Colonial Rule," *Philippine Quarter of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (2006): 11-32.

[159] *"¡Proseguid vuestro viaje, para dar a conocer a otras naciones y a los blancos nuestra capacidad para toda clase de menesteres, y que también tenemos artistas de quienes podemos enorgullecernos!"* "El Poder del Kundiman," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 August 1926), 62, 63. See also, "Letting America know about Filipino music," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 January 1927), 22.

[160] "Bitterly Criticised for Allowing herself to be advertised as Japanese," *The Philippines Free Press* (20 July 1929), 16. See also "Why Fuentes and Tapales are

'Japanese,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 April 1927), 12; Cecilio Lopez, "Isang Tapales continues to be 'Japanese Diva,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (13 April 1929), 36-37. These complaints are in contrast to singers such as Isabel Sanchez y Escribano, a Filipina singer active in Spain. An article about her performance for King Alfonso noted that she "always insists upon appearing as Filipina": R. McCulloch Dick, "A Filipino Girl who Sang Before King Alfonso," *The Philippines Free Press* (7 August 1926), 2, 4, 25.

[161] "Filipino leads German jazz-band in Sweden," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 May 1929), 15.

[162] "Filipino leads German jazz-band in Sweden," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 May 1929), 15.

[163] Allard J. Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town! Dansorkesten en jazzbands in Batavia, 1922-1949* (The Hague: Moesson, 1987), 47-51.

[164] "Social and Personal," *The Straits Times* (21 November 1923), 8; "Mr. H. F. Mondorf," *The Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (28 November 1923), 1862.

[165] Salming's persona was purely an act for she was not a member of the non-Christian indigenous people found in the mountains of northern Luzon. Instead, she was born in Calamba, Laguna in 1901. See "Matilde Salming...," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 July 1924), 6; "Artistas Populares," *The Independent* (23 August 1924), 33. "Matilde Salming passport application," (18 August 1924), National Archives and Records Administration, Wasington, D.C.: *U.S. Passport Applications, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Philippines, 1907-1925*, box 4323, vol. 81, www.Ancestry.com, accessed 21 November 2014. For a selection of her of shows with Borromeo see: "Stadium vod-a-vil," *The Manila Times* (10 October 1923), 8; "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (28 November 1923), 8; "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (23 January 1924), 8.

[166] "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (2 January 1924), 8.

[167] The article makes explicit reference to this history. "Matilde Salming...," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 July 1924), 6. For accounts of Filipinos at the fair, see Burns, *Puro Arte*; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

[168] "Matilde Salming...," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 July 1924), 6. "Matilde Salming passport application."

[169] The officials are merely described as "politicians." I have thus far been unable to find accounts of Salming's performances in the U.S.

[170] Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" 31; "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46; "Filipinos dominate Hongkong

orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35; "Los dorados palacios de Hanoi...," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 May 1925), 38, 46.

[171] "Royal 'Philippino' Sextet Makes a Hit in the United States," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 August 1920), 20. Limited accounts of musicians and Filipino entertainers suggest that they, too, might employ a strategic view of the world, in which markets abroad were ripe for plunder or profit, use metaphors of invasion and domination to describe their own actions. E.g., "Vaudeville artist 'stories,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (23 April 1927), 34.

[172] Even through 1929, Filipino soldiers recruited as "scouts" to serve as part of U.S. military forces in the Philippines were paid less than half of the wages of white and African American soldiers, In Hawaii, Filipino sugar plantation workers earned less than Japanese and whites. This practice of racially hierarchical pay continues to inform pay of migrant workers around the globe: Richard Meixsel, "American Exceptionalism in Colonial Forces? The Philippine Scout Mutiny of 1924," in Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, eds., *Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 171-194; Adria Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits Through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1, (2004): 125; Aguilar, *Migration Revolution*, 60-61.

[173] "Filipinos dominate Hongkong orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35. In Penang in 1907, the Filipino Mariano Albela formed a band that advertised rates "some 30 per cent lower than the Penang Band," his main competitor: "Penang Notes," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (22 April 1907), 3. In 1919, when a bandleader in Macau sought to start an orchestra on the cheap, he was unable to persuade Filipino musicians in Shanghai or Manila to join him at the low rate he offered: Neto Oswaldo Da Veiga Jardim, "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands in Shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935," M.A. thesis (University of Hong Kong, 2002), 86. For more on Chinese and Japanese musicians in Shanghai, see E. Taylor Atkins, "Jammin' on the Jazz Frontier: The Japanese Jazz Community in Interwar Shanghai." *Japanese Studies*, 19, no. 1 (1999): 13.

[174] According to a long letter from the actress Leonora Reyes, "Filipino actors, actresses and musicians from Manila receive in Hawaii higher salaries than other artists, white ones included": "Vaudeville artist 'stories,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (23 April 1927), 34.

[175] "*...optimas figuras por pouco preço...*" Quoted and translated in Jardim, "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands…," 103. This quotation comes from a letter by Henrique Valdez published in a Macau newspaper: "A Musica," *O Liberal* (14 December 1922), 1.

[176] Singapore's case was a bit different, for they were seeking to revive their municipal band. The reasons the committee used to propose Filipino musicians, though, was the

same: "Committee's Report on Band Proposal," *Singapore Free Press* (28 August 1924), 7.

[177] For this reason to be true – for six Filipinos to earn less than five Americans – Filipino musicians had to be paid about 80% or less than Americans. "Many Persons Attend Dance at Kobe Hotel," *The Japan Advertiser* (14 June 1922), 5.

[178] For various accounts of this event, which Clayton called a "conspiracy" and challenged with legal action, see: Clayton, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World*, 75-76; John Pal, *Shanghai Saga* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1963), 160-161; Smith, *I Didn't Make a Million*, 95-96; Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World*, 95.

[179] Staley also describes how four or five American musicians in Shanghai managed to support themselves by securing a six month or year-long contract for an orchestra, and staffing it with Filipino musicians. They would take a rate roughly three times higher than what they paid the Filipino musicians "By making up a band, mostly of Filipinos, for $100 to $150 monthly each man," Staley writes, "[the American] can realize as leader perhaps Sh$350 (US$100) to Sh$450 (US$130) in the Chinese cabarets." S. James Staley, "Is It True What They Say About China?" *The Metronome* (December 1936), 17.

[180] S. James Staley, "Is It True What They Say About China?" *The Metronome* (December 1936), 17.

[181] Claude Lapham, "China Needs American Bands," *The Metronome* (July 1936), 13, 39.

[182] Aguilar, *Migration Revolution,* 5, 83-126.

[183] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 13. See also Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893-1901* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967); Ann L. Foster, *Projections of Power: The United States and Europe in Colonial Southeast Asia, 1919-1941* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[184] The American tourist George Allen described how Filipinos had no need to work: "You cannot starve these people; they live in a land of perpetual summer: clothing not a necessity; and they can pick their living off the trees." George Hoyt Allen, *A Yankee in the Far East* (Clinton, NY: Travelogue-Art Association, 1915), 147. For a similar sentiment, see Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and their People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), 75, 262.

[185] Marquardt, *Before Bataan and After*, 38. See also Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher*, 272; Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick, eds. *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2001), *passim*.

[186] Michael Denning, "Wageless Life," *New Left Review* 66 (Nov/Dec 2010): 80.

[187] Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 3.

Chapter 3

"The Filipino Fox-trot": Manila's Markets for Popular Music

In 1931, the Filipino composer Francisco Santiago published a brief historical overview of music in the Philippines.[1] Santiago's treatise came from a position of institutional authority. Earlier that year, Santiago had been appointed the new director of the University of the Philippines Conservatory of Music and he was widely respected as a highly trained composer. He had earned a doctorate in music in Chicago the previous decade and used his training to transform Filipino folk forms into what was becoming recognized as a new nationalist, art music.[2] In his essay-length booklet *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands*, Santiago celebrated what he saw as a strong cultural resistance to American colonialism in the previous three decades. Since 1898, Santiago wrote, the "struggle for freedom…under the American occupation" helped develop a "spirit of nationalism" that led to renewed interest in older Filipino musical forms.[3]

Even while he celebrated this movement of musical nationalism, however, Santiago lamented that the sounds of these older folk forms were in danger of being drowned out by the rhythms and melodies of U.S. popular music. Santiago was especially concerned about the ways in which jazz and the formulaic style of Tin Pan Alley songs from U.S. publishers influenced other Filipino composers. "It is sad to say," he wrote, "that the genius of the native composers did not escape the baneful influence of the new environment, as evidenced by their adoption of American airs, from the old cakewalk, the noisy march of Sousa, and the deafening and somewhat distorted jazz."[4] Santiago developed this point further, arguing that the ubiquity of "American popular music" had

fundamentally changed the musical environment, creating what he called "a dangerous tendency for imitation."[5]

Santiago's fear for the future of Filipino composition was not based solely upon the worry that the repetitious sounds of Tin Pan Alley tunes might prove more popular than Filipino melodies and song forms. Filipino songwriters were not, he implied, employing the musical language of imperial U.S. pop simply because they liked fox-trots or tangos, although certainly many did. The point was that Filipino composers were emulating U.S. song forms because the circulation of U.S. popular music had fundamentally transformed the local market for popular song. The imperial circulation of jazz did not simply accelerate the spread of a particular musical language; it also contributed to the capitalist transformation of popular markets that, in turn, had a fundamental impact on the nature of composition as a form of labor.

Santiago was particularly concerned because the opportunities of Manila's popular music market encouraged a kind of musical labor that appeared at odds with his view of musical nationalism. The spread of jazz, he noted, also gave rise to a demand for popular music that local composers rushed to meet. The "influence" of the commercial opportunities of Manila's market, Santiago wrote, "became so overwhelming that even Filipino composers who have made quite a name for themselves could not resist the temptation of composing cheap dance music, to meet the increasing demand for light music."[6] When Filipino composers shaped their works according to the desires of the public, however, they failed to meet Santiago's standards for a new national music.

Santiago and other Filipino elites practiced a form of nationalism by crafting a distinctly autonomous "art" music through which Filipinos could demonstrate artistic,

racial, and national progress by reworking Filipino folk genres and musical themes according to European aesthetic standards.[7] Some composers, such as Antonio Molina, offered disparaging opinions about jazz, while others, including Abelardo, spoke of "dig[ging] up" Filipino genres such as "*kundiman, awit,* and *kumintang*" to "fashion a music that is truly Philippine [sic]."[8] Santiago feared, however, that the opportunities in the popular music market would persuade composers to write in a more popular vein. This "temptation" was quite strong for, along with many other composers now remembered for their role in crafting a Philippine "nationalist" music, Santiago himself had produced examples of what he later considered to be "cheap dance music."[9]

Santiago's assessment of the interplay between sentiments of nationalism, the spread of U.S. popular music, and the opportunities of Manila's music market offers a useful strategy to explore Filipino compositional labor practices during colonial Asia's jazz age. He shared a common concern with what recent scholars have cast as the disciplining effect of European musical language and forms: he exposes musical circulation as a kind of imperial force.[10] But Santiago did not merely think in terms of musical style. By paying attention to "the increasing demand for light music," Santiago also noted the transformations of the local music market wrought by the practices of Tin Pan Alley and the global conquest of American and European record companies. Santiago's interest in the interplay of these realms – of popular music as both a language and a practice of music production and consumption – enables us to consider Filipino composers of popular song as participating in another arena of imperial jazz labor.

By writing "cheap dance music," Filipino composers practiced a complex form of musical labor that cannot be reduced to narratives of either imperial domination or

subversion. They were not merely perpetuating U.S. empire by continuing to show Filipinos' inferior racial position and un-readiness for self-rule in their imitations of the rhythms and melodies of jazz. Rather, I want to suggest that Filipino composers were embarking in a series of strategic maneuvers. This may be likened to a kind of movement akin to the Filipinos and Filipinas fox-trotting to the syncopations of jazz throughout Manila. Yet, despite the reputation of Filipinos as excellent dancers, we might extend this metaphor somewhat, casting these composers as bad partners, for they used the language and capitalist transformations of U.S. pop for their own means.[11] Dozens of Filipino composers danced what we might consider a "Filipino Fox-Trot," a genre Filipino songwriters occasionally employed for compositions that reworked and exceeded the forms of Tin Pan Alley. Filipino composers practiced a form of musical labor that contributed to the anarchic nature of empire in colonial Asia. Their labor expressed qualities of doubleness: by drawing on the musical language and capitalist infrastructure of U.S. imperial pop, they troubled a narrow version of Filipino nationalism by rejecting what Ramón Santos calls a new Filipino "classicism."[12] In doing so, they appeared to perpetuate the American colonial stereotype of the racially inferior, imitative Filipino unsuited for self-governance. At the same time, however, by asserting themselves in Manila's musical markets, they were also fundamentally reworking the musical language of U.S. pop and using the capitalist expansion of the American and European popular music industries for their own purposes, purposes that exceeded Tin Pan Alley forms and even, in some cases, gave voice to distinctly anti-colonial expressions.

In addition to offering an assessment of Filipino composition as a form of imperial labor, this chapter also serves to expand upon the longstanding

ethnomusicological interest in what Bruno Nettl described three decades ago as "the intensive imposition of Western music and musical thought upon the rest of the world."[13] In more recent years, scholars have offered nuanced explorations of the ways in which the circulation of U.S. popular music has transformed and been transformed by musicians from around the globe.[14] In some senses, then, this chapter also explores how composers in Manila drew upon a globally circulating musical language to craft a distinctly new form of music, in the manner of musicians in Iran, Turkey, and Zimbabwe, or more closely related, Li Jinhui's creation "Yellow Music" in Shanghai.[15] And yet, this is not simply a story of "making jazz Filipino," or even a story of how jazz was assimilated into a new nationalist expression.[16] I want to think of Filipino composers' engagement with jazz not merely in terms of musical form, but also as acts of participating in a dynamic music market whose transformations moved in step with the capitalist expansion of the U.S. and European popular music industries. Their workings and reworkings of Tin Pan Alley musical styles also represented an attempt to establish their own place in a local musical market informed by the circuits of a global popular industry.

In order to explore various facets of Filipino compositional labor in Manila's music market, this chapter loosely follows the career of Benito Trápaga, one of Santiago's contemporaries. While Santiago spent much of the 1920s pursuing his nationalist musical vision at the University of the Philippines and briefly in the U.S., Trápaga was involved in nearly every aspect of Manila's popular music industry from the 1910s through the 1930s. His life allows us a view into the three areas I focus on here: the recording industry, Manila's local music publishing, and the musical language of 1920s Filipino pop. Trápaga also makes a particularly interesting figure to explore issues

of music, Filipino nationalism, and U.S. empire for, while he dabbled in everything from American-style fox-trots and Filipino kundiman, he was of Basque heritage and retained his Spanish citizenship until he was killed by Japanese machine-gun fire in Manila on February 11, 1945.[17]

In the first section of this chapter, I focus on the ways in which the global ambitions of American and European record companies informed the conditions of Manila's music market. While Michael Denning includes the Philippines in his account of the "explosive rise of new vernacular gramophone musics between 1925 and 1929," the conditions of this explosion were far more uneven in the Philippines than Denning implies.[18] By examining the circulation of recordings in Manila, especially "Filipino" records made specifically for the Philippines, I suggest that records helped to spur the "demand for light music." More critically for Filipino composers, recordings also contributed to the spread of a distinctly U.S. language of popular music, but simultaneously created an opening for local composers who sought to meet the unsatisfied demand for local music.

In the second section, I turn to Manila's sheet music industry to show how local composers employed Tin Pan Alley's musical language and marketing strategies to compete with music published in the U.S. that was available in Manila. As Manila's music market transformed through the intense circulation of U.S. popular records and sheet music, many Filipino composers explicitly strategized to profit from these new patterns of music production and consumption. It is this turn to commercialism that David Suisman identifies as one of the most important innovations of Tin Pan Alley, a shift in compositional labor in which, he argues, "the *primary* motivation for writing a

song was to sell it."[19] While, in the U.S., this motivation gave rise to what Keir Keightley describes as "the rationalization and centralization of the music publishing business," in Manila, music publishing remained highly decentralized.[20] Still, Manila's popular music composers employed many of the key innovations that contributed to the imperial circulation of U.S. pop: they not only drew on the standardized rhythms and musical forms that Santiago considered "dangerous," but also adopted the aggressive methods of advertising and distribution developed by publishing firms in the U.S.

In the third section, I examine some of the musical content of popular Filipino compositions to show that, by employing the language of Tin Pan Alley, Manila's composers also fashioned musical expressions that exceed mere imitations of U.S. jazz. They crafted compositions according to the musical formulas of U.S. pop that also gave voice to nationalist expressions. Composers such as Benito Trápaga also developed new genres such as the "Filipino Fox-Trot" that took advantage of the demand for both jazz-inspired works and distinctly Filipino genres. In short, the "temptation" of the market that Santiago feared did indeed contribute to what he considered to be a "sad" condition where Filipino composers strategically catered to local audiences. Manila's music market, however, also informed a practice of musical labor through which composers not only managed to profit from the transformations wrought by the global expansion of U.S. and European popular music companies, but also used this same infrastructure to circulate new musical and political expressions that far exceeded the forms of Tin Pan Alley.

"Filipino" Records



Figure 3.1: Benito Trápaga, c. 1918.[21]

In 1931, Santiago's view of Manila's musical world came from inside the academy. Benito Trápaga, however, had a quite different perspective (Fig. 3.1). Trápaga was based firmly within Manila's popular music world: he sold, published, and composed sheet music, and acted as the Philippines' musical director for the German record label Parlophon.[22] Trápaga was a Manila native, born in the city on June 28, 1891 to Basque parents who had emigrated from northern Spain in 1876.[23] As a boy, Trápaga spent roughly five years in Spain after Spanish rule in the Philippines ended in 1898, but he returned to Manila in 1904 following the death of his parents. Over the next nine years, Trápaga studied music through correspondence courses and began teaching piano lessons. In 1913, Trápaga started to supplement his teaching income by performing the latest U.S. popular songs in the lobby of the recently opened Manila Hotel.[24] At this American-run hotel, Trápaga met William Parsons, the British owner of Parsons Hardware [sic], a store with branches in both Manila and Iloilo. They formed a friendship

based on their mutual interest in collecting stamps and Parsons soon offered Trápaga a job as the head of the music department at his Manila store.

Trápaga's position at Parsons required him to pay close attention to the changing currents of Manila's music market. Trápaga tapped into the local demand for amateur and professional performance by selling a large array of musical instruments, including pianos, trumpets, violins and all the instruments necessary for a fully outfitted jazz band.[25] Trápaga also stocked a collection of sheet music published in both the U.S. and the Philippines, record players, radios, and, by the end of the decade, recordings of Filipino performers and composers.[26] In order to support his growing family, which included four young children by 1928, Trápaga sought to make Parsons competitive with roughly a dozen other music stores in Manila. Most of these retailers occupied prime shopping real estate. They were clustered about five blocks south of Parsons, either on Manila's main shopping street, the Escolta, or along Calle Carriedo and Avenida Rizal, major street-car arteries that extended outwards from Plaza Goiti, the city's busiest street-car interchange.[27] Since Trápaga's department was housed in a hardware store outside of this cluster of music stores, he had to cultivate an especially tempting selection of musical instruments and sheet music to draw customers to Parsons.

Trápaga's intimate knowledge of Manila's music scene also came from his own experiences as a composer.[28] One of Trápaga's first forays into popular music composition came in 1919, with his one-step "Aurora."[29] This song fit firmly within the class of what Santiago later dismissed as "cheap dance music" for "Aurora" drew heavily upon the formal conventions of Tin Pan Alley. With its rollicking two-beat rhythm, it joined a class of compositions such as Juan Silos, Jr.'s 1919 fox-trot "Cupid" or Luis

Borromeo's 1922 fox-trot "Dodge Me Daddy Blues" that eschewed any distinctly "Filipino" sounded elements in favor of the language of U.S. popular song.[30] After "Aurora," Trápaga continued to publish works that proved widely popular within Manila: audiences requested them at public concerts and his sheet music regularly went into multiple editions before selling out entirely. By the time of his death in 1945, Trápaga had amassed a body of nearly forty compositions that included fox-trots, tangos, kundiman, arrangements of Philippine dances, sacred compositions and Filipino Fox-Trots, a genre that drew on elements from both Filipino genres and Tin Pan Alley.

Trápaga's compositions also gave him an entrance into the growing market for popular recordings, a market driven by American and European companies' ambitions for global expansion. In 1922, Trápaga published "Trom-bonite," a composition marketed as a "jazzy fox-trot." This work featured numerous chromatic runs with instructions to simulate the trombone glissandos and smears that already were key musical markers of "jazz" in American recordings available in Manila (See Fig. 3.2).[31] Soon after its
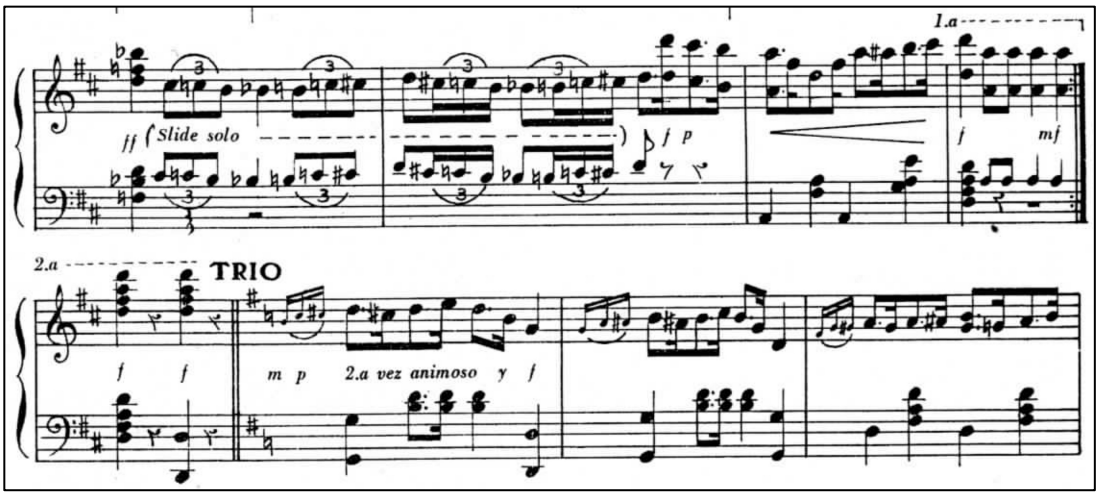
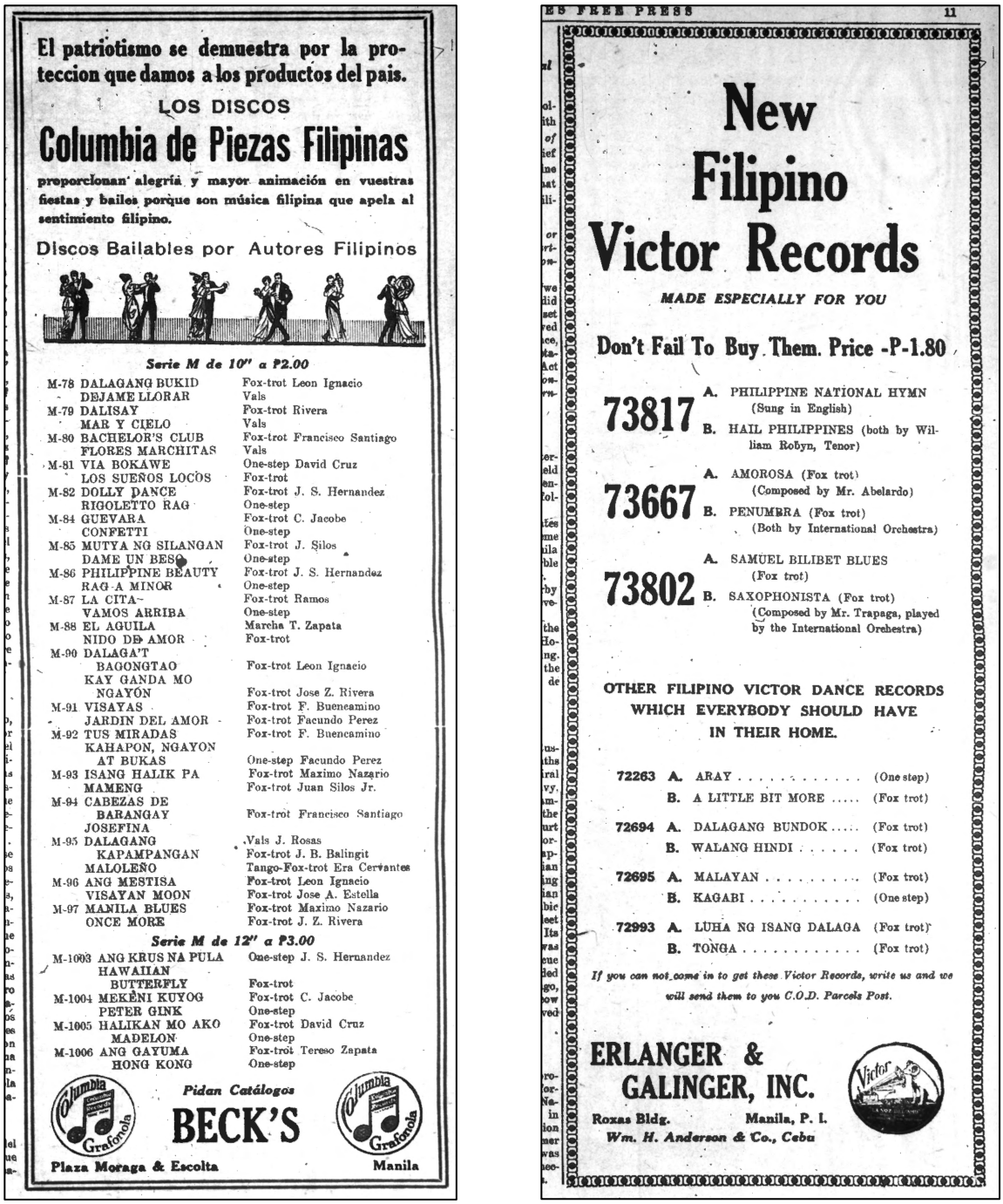


Figure 3.2: Excerpt of a trombone "slide" from Trápaga's "Trom-Bonite" (Manila: 1922), mm. 34-41.[32]

publication, "Trom-bonite" and several other compositions from the Philippines found their way across the Pacific Ocean to Nat Shilkret, the influential music director in Victor Records' "Foreign Department."

Shilkret's job was to create recordings that would sell among immigrant groups in the U.S. and among audiences in other parts of the world. To make these records, Shilkret recruited immigrant performers in the U.S. or recorded foreign compositions with his "international orchestra." As they repeatedly did with other "foreign" musical traditions, Victor then exported the results abroad or sold them to select audiences in the U.S.[33] In an attempt to reach consumers in the Philippines, Shilkret recorded "Trom-bonite" – under the title of "Saxophonista" – as part of a group of Filipino compositions that included 10 fox-trots, two one-steps, and two patriotic songs.[34] Victor exported the recordings to the Philippines in August 1923.[35]

These seven records formed part of a larger collection of 78's made in the early 1920s that featured American interpretations of Filipino popular dance compositions. "Trom-bonite/Saxophonista" was actually one of nearly three-dozen discs marketed in Manila as "Filipino Records" (See Fig. 3.4)[36] A week before Trápaga's record was available in Manila, Beck's department store, the local distributor for Columbia Records, published a Spanish-language advertisement calling for Filipinos to purchase "dance records by Filipino authors."[37] The ad claimed that buying records would be a patriotic way to show support for "our country's products."[38] Beck's had been advertising similar recordings since at least April 1921 and by August 1923, their inventory had grown to 22 discs of Filipino compositions (Fig. 3.3).[39]



El patriotismo se demuestra por la proteccion que damos a los productos del pais.

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proporcionan alegria y mayor animación en vuestras fiestas y bailes porque son música filipina que apela al sentimiento filipino.

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M-78	DALAGANG BUKID	Fox-trot Leon Ignacio
	DEJAME LLORAR	Vals
M-79	DALISAY	Fox-trot Rivera
	MAR Y CIELO	Vals
M-80	BACHELOR'S CLUB	Fox-trot Francisco Santiago
	FLORES MARCHITAS	Vals
M-81	VIA BOKAWE	One-step David Cruz
	LOS SUEÑOS LOCOS	Fox-trot
M-82	DOLLY DANCE	Fox-trot J. S. Hernandez
	RIGOLETTO RAG	One-step
M-84	GUEVARA	Fox-trot C. Jacobe
	CONFETTI	One-step
M-85	MUTYA NG SILANGAN	Fox-trot J. Silos
	DAME UN BESO	One-step
M-86	PHILIPPINE BEAUTY	Fox-trot J. S. Hernandez
	RAG-A MINOR	One-step
M-87	LA CITA	Fox-trot Ramos
	VAMOS ARRIBA	One-step
M-88	EL AGUILA	Marcha T. Zapata
	NIDO DE AMOR	Fox-trot
M-90	DALAGA'T BAGONGTAO	Fox-trot Leon Ignacio
	KAY GANDA MO NGAYON	Fox-trot Jose Z. Rivera
M-91	VISAYAS	Fox-trot F. Buencamino
	JARDIN DEL AMOR	Fox-trot Facundo Perez
M-92	TUS MIRADAS	Fox-trot F. Buencamino
	KAHAPON, NGAYON AT BUKAS	One-step Facundo Perez
M-93	ISANG HALIK PA	Fox-trot Maximo Nazario
	MAMENG	Fox-trot Juan Silos Jr.
M-94	CABEZAS DE BARANGAY	Fox-trot Francisco Santiago
	JOSEFINA	Vals J. Rosas
M-95	DALAGANG KAPAMPANGAN	Fox-trot J. B. Balingit
	MALOLEÑO	Tango-Fox-trot Era Cervantes
M-96	ANG MESTISA	Fox-trot Leon Ignacio
	VISAYAN MOON	Fox-trot Jose A. Estella
M-97	MANILA BLUES	Fox-trot Maximo Nazario
	ONCE MORE	Fox-trot J. Z. Rivera

Serie M de 12" a P3.00

M-1003	ANG KRUS NA PULA	One-step J. S. Hernandez
	HAWAIIAN BUTTERFLY	Fox-trot
M-1004	MEKÊNI KUYOG	Fox-trot C. Jacobe
	PETER GINK	One-step
M-1005	HALIKAN MO AKO	Fox-trot David Cruz
	MADELON	One-step
M-1006	ANG GAYUMA	Fox-trot Tereso Zapata
	HONG KONG	One-step

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B. HAIL PHILIPPINES (both by William Robyn, Tenor)

73667
A. AMOROSA (Fox trot) (Composed by Mr. Abelardo)
B. PENUMBRA (Fox trot) (Both by International Orchestra)

73802
A. SAMUEL BILIBET BLUES (Fox trot)
B. SAXOPHONISTA (Fox trot) (Composed by Mr. Trapaga, played by the International Orchestra)

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72263	A.	ARAY	(One step)
	B.	A LITTLE BIT MORE	(Fox trot)
72694	A.	DALAGANG BUNDOK	(Fox trot)
	B.	WALANG HINDI	(Fox trot)
72695	A.	MALAYAN	(Fox trot)
	B.	KAGABI	(One step)
72993	A.	LUHA NG ISANG DALAGA	(Fox trot)
	B.	TONGA	(Fox trot)

If you can not come in to get these Victor Records, write us and we will send them to you C.O.D. Parcels Post.

ERLANGER & GALINGER, INC.

Victor

Roxas Bldg. Manila, P. I.

Wm. H. Anderson & Co., Cebu

Figure 3.3: Two August 1923 advertisements for "Filipino Records." For a transcription of these ads, see Appendix G.[40]

Beck's strategy for marketing these records as "our country's products," however, was a bit of a mischaracterization. Columbia's selections were similar to Victor's "Filipino Records": they featured American or non-Filipino ensembles performing recent

popular compositions by Filipinos. Even Victor's two patriotic songs – "Philippine National Hymn" and "Hail Philippines" – fit into this model: they featured English lyrics sung by William Robyn, a Latvian-born Jew who moved to the U.S. in the mid-1910s and became a regular performer of Yiddish, Russian, and German songs in Victor's international division.[41]

This batch of "Filipino" records from the early 1920s begin to reveal how Filipino composers attempted to take part in the much larger global expansion of American and European record companies via the trade routes and infrastructures of colonialism. As numerous scholars have shown, American and European record companies embarked on an ambitious conquest of the globe in the first decades of the twentieth century to develop new markets for records and record players.[42] To reach these new customers, however, record companies needed to create products that would sell in these new markets. Karl Hagstrom Miller shows how "scouts" for American and European record companies in the early 1900s sought to expand their customer base by recording "local" musics from around the globe.[43] Their successful strategy of producing records featuring local performers gave rise to a global scramble as record companies sought to create recordings that would be popular among different audiences around the globe.

Record companies continued their global expansions through the 1920s. One American magazine reported that, as trade restrictions were lifted and labor shortages ceased after World War I, record companies optimistically "expected an immediate expansion in domestic and foreign trade."[44] Part of this foreign trade included circulating U.S. popular music. As Burnett Hershey put it in 1922, jazz was "the newest product of export to the Orient."[45] But companies also continued to create and promote what they

called “Foreign Language Records.” Shilkret’s recording of Trápaga’s “Trom-bonite” was part of what he described as a competition between Victor and Columbia to produce content for foreign markets.[46] As Denning notes, the advent of electrical recording technology in 1925 contributed to a resurgence in foreign records made in colonial ports around the world, leading to a dramatic increase in inventory in many locales.[47]

Yet record companies did not pursue the conquest of the Philippine market in quite the same manner that they pursued customers in China or Japan. By and large, traveling recording engineers largely ignored the Philippines. By late 1904, American companies flirted with the idea of developing a meaningful market in the Philippines and began shipping phonographs to Manila.[48] But they paid little attention to the archipelago as they developed inventories of “local” musics. Victor’s fabled record scout, Fred Gaisberg, traveled to Burma, British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and Siam in 1903 to make recordings but he bypassed the Philippines entirely.[49] And while Filipino performers made a handful of recordings in the U.S. around 1910, the first recordings actually made in the Philippines did not appear until 1913. [50] As Santiago notes, these early recordings of *zarzuela* were neither numerous nor commercially successful.[51]

In the early 1920s, American record companies sought to attract Philippine customers with compositions that clearly demonstrated the influence of imperial U.S. pop on musical tastes in the islands. In contrast, Miller notes that recording scouts in the early 1900s were careful to avoid “local” performances that seemed informed by western musical practices. The group of “Filipino” records released in the early 1920s, however, consisted of American interpretations of Filipino compositions that showed a deep engagement with the musical language of Tin Pan Alley. The forty-four Filipino

compositions on Columbia released between 1921 and 1923 featured popular American genres including twenty-seven fox-trots, eleven one-steps, four waltzes, one march, and one tango-fox-trot.[52]

Despite the sudden appearance of new "Filipino" records in the early 1920s, Trápaga's interaction with American record companies was short-lived. Even though "Trom-bonite/Saxofonista" sold over 1,300 copies and several of the "Filipino" records made it to the list of Manila's best-selling records of the week, their sales were not enough to sustain Columbia or Victor's interest in turning Filipino sheet music into records.[53] Between 1923 and late 1926, record companies showed little desire to invest in making any new "Filipino" records.[54] Indeed, while Denning notes that a new world of vernacular recordings emerged when the "recording engineers of the great multinational record companies…began to lug their equipment from port to port in the mid-1920s," they were once again slow to reach the Philippines.[55] After their first appearance in 1913, the next time recording engineers appeared in Manila to record Filipino performers was when the German company Odeon visited in April 1929.[56] To be fair, Denning's provocative argument about the revolutionary nature of vernacular music recordings in the mid-1920s demands that, instead of focusing on these "as distinct and unconnected national musics," we acknowledge the rise of these recordings on a global scale.[57] Yet, by including the Philippines in his account of this recording "revolution," Denning seems to smooth over the uneven and diverse relations between record companies and local musicians, composers, and performers, a mischaracterization that could challenge the coherence of his narrative.[58]

The relative disinterest that American and European record companies showed in producing "Filipino" records for much of the 1910s and 1920s does not mean, however, that they simply ignored the Philippines. Far from it. Indeed, one of Trápaga's biggest disadvantages heading the music department at Parsons was surely his inability to secure a distributing contract with a foreign record company, a feat he only accomplished with Parlophon in 1927.[59] In contrast, over the course of the decade, at least eight other music stores in Manila had arranged deals with different record companies to distribute their products: while Parsons stocked Parlophon, Erlanger and Galinger sold Victor records, Beck's distributed Columbia selections, the Philippine Phonograph Company featured Brunswick discs, the Camera Supply Company peddled Pathé, C. Alkan marketed Edison, Heacock's carried Vocalian, the Starr Phonograph Company supplied Gennett, and Behn, Meyer & Co. dispensed Odeon recordings.[60] Many record companies also made arrangements to sell their products in other Philippines cities, from Iloilo to Zamboanga.[61]

Instead of attempting to reach customers in the Philippines with local "Filipino" records, American and European companies flooded the markets with European classical music and Tin Pan Alley songs performed by white dance bands. Recordings in this latter category – jazz – were especially popular. When recordings began circulating anew after World War I, Manila stores regularly received large shipments of music that heavily featured dance records. Erlanger and Galinger, for example, received a shipment of 12,000 Victor records in June 1919.[62] Over the next decade, U.S. record companies in particular continued to export massive numbers of records to the Philippines. They shipped 57,965 records in 1922, 125,695 in 1925, and 486,133 in 1929.[63] These records

traveled so quickly that listeners could stay abreast of the latest trends of popular music in the U.S. with only about a month lag time.[64] Sales of recordings by musicians such as Zez Confrey, Ted Lewis, Joseph Smith, and Paul Whiteman were so robust that the department store Erlanger and Galinger had to open a new store in January 1921 exclusively dedicated to their sales of Victor records and phonographs.[65]

Even if these records did not represent local genres, music stores marketed their selections of American dance records to large numbers of Filipinos. Since Americans and Europeans comprised only slightly over 2% of Manila's population, businesses needed to attract Filipino customers for records, record players, and radios [66] Music stores advertised these products in English, Spanish, and Tagalog in periodicals that reached over 100,000 people, or about a third of Manila's population.[67] Tagalog-language ads promoted Victor and Columbia jazz records with the same emphasis on novelty and dancing used in English and Spanish-language periodicals. They announced "*mga huling 'hit' na pangsayaw*" (the latest "hits" for dancing) and "*mga Bagong Plakang Pangsayaw*" (new dance records).[68] Advertisements geared towards Filipinos also featured the same performers that appeared in English-language. In January 1924, for example, a Tagalog-language announcement for Victor records featured a list of 43 records that included 31 songs by Paul Whiteman's group.[69]

Manila music stores tried to maximize the number of Filipinos who could become consumers of the new products of popular music. Phonographs, records, and radios were surprisingly affordable, even for working-class Filipinos. Practically every store selling record players prominently announced their various installment payment plans in English, Spanish, and Tagalog.[70] Customers could purchase phonographs for monthly

payments as low as ₱8, or less than 2% the monthly salary of a laborer with a trade.[71] Regular sales and promotions commonly pushed the price of 10" dance records below ₱1.50.[72] Radio sets were also regularly marketed to Tagalog speakers at reasonable prices.[73] Thanks to various music programs, including one sponsored by Beck's department store, listeners could hear the newest records broadcast over the airwaves.[74] Manila's residents also resorted to other means to access recordings: in July 1919, José Gomez y Medina, one of the Filipino clerks at Beck's store, was arrested for stealing Columbia records and selling them to his friends at a discount.[75]

Despite the popularity of American recordings, though, observers of Manila's music scene, including Trápaga and the local distributor for Columbia, recognized a pent-up demand for recordings featuring Filipino compositions and performers. It is not clear who instigated their arrangement, but Trápaga likely made his deal with the German company Parlophon soon after October 1926, the date a selection of five new Filipino records on Columbia appeared in Manila.[76] These records featured kundiman performed by the hugely popular Filipino baritone José Mossesgeld Santiago. Santiago made his recordings while touring the U.S., where he gave recitals of Filipino songs in an operatic manner.[77] Santiago returned to Columbia's New York studios to record nearly 80 songs before the end of the decade.[78] Columbia released his performances on their "X" series, a series that also featured Spanish-speaking artists and was exported to Mexico and Latin America.[79]

After this first batch of Columbia records, Trápaga's connection with Parlophon gave Manila its next selections of "Filipino" records. As part of his arrangement with Parlophon, he convinced the company that they should record his own compositions. He

mailed as many as eight of his compositions to Berlin, including works such as "Manila's Jazzy Scandal." One of Parlophon's regular ensembles, the Orchester Dobbri, recorded versions based faithfully on Trápaga's own published arrangements for piano and then exported the results to Manila.[80] Trápaga also helped arrange the contract and choose repertoire for Parlophon's biggest Filipina star, the opera singer Jovita Fuentes. Since Fuentes was already enjoying a successful career in Europe, Parlophon was about to bring her to their Berlin studio by late 1927. A German orchestra accompanied her as she recorded Visayan folk songs, Tagalog-language kundiman, and selections from Puccini's "Madame Butterfly."[81] The first five of these records reached Manila by January 1928. Five more arrived in July 1929.[82]

These recordings ushered in a new era of "Filipino" records. Roughly sixty new recordings of Filipino performers reached Manila by the end of 1929. Columbia continued to release José Mossesgeld Santiago records but they soon faced competition from the German record company Odeon. Oeon organized a recording session in Manila in April 1929 that resulted in seven records of highly trained Philippine performers singing Filipino songs in Tagalog, Spanish, and Visayan.[83] Upon this new rivalry from Odeon, Isaac Beck, Columbia's Manila distributor, sought to continue Columbia's dominance in Filipino records. He conferred with Columbia and fronted the money necessary to organize a large recording session in Manila around September 1929. Columbia engineers recorded forty people, including singers, musicians, comedians, and orators, and a total of 250 compositions.[84] The first 22 records from these sessions arrived in the Philippines with great fanfare in January 1930.[85] This first group of recordings sold quickly, and local commenters noted that Beck had made a smart move in trying to

capitalize on a growing market for Filipino recordings.[86] Other companies apparently also saw the Philippines as a profitable market, for Brunswick agents made a trip to Manila in November 1929 and both Victor and Gennett started recording Filipino performers in the U.S. as the decade came to a close.[87]

The global ambitions of American and European record companies helped contribute to Manila's "demand for light music" by supplying a steady stream of new, heavily advertised products, but recordings did not prove to be a medium through which many Filipinos could participate in or profit from. For all but a very small number of Filipinos, the possibility of receiving a boost from a record bearing their name – whether in the form of income or fame – was quite remote. Before Columbia's visit to Manila in April 1929, over 70% of the "Filipino" records on the market featured either J. M. Santiago or Jovita Fuentes. These two opera singers found their way into recording studios primarily because they were already famous within the Philippines and, thanks to their touring, were in close proximity to New York and Berlin.

Even while a few Filipino composers managed to make inroads into the recording industry, however, there was little financial incentive to contribute to "Filipino" records. While recordings could serve as a kind of advertisement for sheet music – a phenomenon that began in earnest in the U.S. in 1919 – Filipino composers made very little money from their dealings with record companies.[88] Around 1925, Trápaga approached an American record company about recording two of his compositions.[89] The company's representative offered Trápaga a flat payment of ₱20, with no option for royalties. Trápaga was so unimpressed by the offer he retorted that, for that amount of money, "I don't need to be a musician. I might as well shine shoes."[90]

Indeed, Filipino performers and composers did not begin to benefit substantially from their dealings with record companies until near the end of the decade. When Trápaga negotiated with Parlophon in 1927, he succeeded in guaranteeing royalties for composers and performers, as well as wages for time spent in the recording studio.[91] The royalties they received – a reported four centavos per record – might not have had a transformative effect on their daily lives, but they represented a new opportunity for Filipino composers and performers to access profits from the commercial music market.[92] Before Trápaga's deal with Parlophon, however, composers turned to another medium to gain a foothold in the growing market for popular music in Manila: sheet music.

Sheet Music: "A Good Business"

American and European record companies' level of investment in Manila as a market had important ramifications for Filipino composers, especially because recordings of American performers far outnumbered "Filipino" records. Before January 1928, likely fewer than a dozen electrically processed records featuring Filipino compositions or performers circulated in Manila. Even by 1931, the total number of "Filipino" record selections likely numbered only in the low hundreds.[93] This amount is far smaller than Santiago's estimate that Filipino performers had made two thousand different records by 1931. In fact, he likely only reached this number by misreading a 1929 article about the recording industry in the Philippines.[94]

The relatively small number of "Filipino" recordings influenced Manila's music market in important ways for Filipino composers. In late 1927, Virginia Pradas, a Filipina reporter for Manila's *Graphic* magazine, concluded that Filipino customers seeking new

music with a local inflection had no choice but to turn to sheet music. Pradas based her conclusion on a survey she conducted of sheet music sales at six Manila music stores.[95] Comparing her findings with sales figures from previous years, she observed a noticeable uptick in sales of kundiman sheet music but a decline in sales of jazz compositions. She concluded that, to listen to American popular song, customers were increasingly turning to recordings instead of the printed page. For local genres, however, customers were left with sheet music as the primary option. This condition was "probably because," she wrote, "only a few kundimans have been put on the disc."[96] In short, Pradas suggested that the global expansion of the recording industry contributed to a demand for "light music" in Manila that records of American jazz might satiate but not fully satisfy.

Manila's composers were well-positioned to take advantage of this demand. For while composers such as Trápaga were familiar with local taste and Filipino musical genres, they were also deeply informed by the forces that had transformed the commercial music industry in Manila. Composers were also familiar with the musical language of U.S. pop that was circulating via recordings, sheet music, and live performances in Manila. More importantly, however, they also learned to employ the innovative strategies for songwriting, advertising, promotion, and distribution that Tin Pan Alley publishers developed to help maximize their profits.

To be clear, while Pradas noted that sales of U.S. sheet music were decreasing in the late 1920s, Manila's sheet music market was still dominated by products from the U.S. The large collections of sheet music from Trápaga's own library and in the Raymundo Bañas collection, housed in the National Library of the Philippines, contain nearly 300 copies of U.S. published sheet music from the 1910s and 1920s.[97] These

compositions include a range of style, including selections for silent film organists and dance band arrangements of popular songs. Most, however, are piano arrangements of fox-trots, one-steps, and waltzes published by large American firms. Pradas explicitly identifies this category of songs – specifically works such as "Yes, We Have No Bananas," "Charley My Boy," "Mandalay," "Valencia," and "I Miss My Swiss" – as forming the repertoire of the "jazz wave" that swept through the Philippines.[98]

Manila's music stores stocked large inventories of the most recent jazz songs published in the U.S. Retailers such as José Oliver's, La Lira, and Parsons regularly marked their inventory with a stamp, thus providing a Manila provenance for the majority of the works in these sheet music collections. Advertisements in local papers supplement the holdings of these various collections to reveal an even larger selection of American sheet music available in Manila and in other cities throughout the Philippines.[99] Manila's Lyric Music House, for example, regularly advertised the Feist Dance Folio, an annual volume including instrumental versions of 30 of the biggest hits from New York publisher Leo Feist.[100] Stores also sold similar collections from publishers such as Irving Berlin for as low as ₱1.50, an incredibly deal for that number of compositions (Fig 3.4).[101] As Trápaga's personal copy of Mel Kaufman's jazz fox-trot "Yah-de-dah" reveals, the inventory of Manila stores lagged only slight behind those in the U.S. Trápaga wrote on his copy that he purchased the composition on October 17, 1917. Given that Kaufman's work had received its U.S. copyright in only about a month-and-a-half earlier, there was clearly a system in place through which Manila stores had music shipped across the Pacific almost as soon as they came off the printing press.[102]



Figure 3.4: A Manila ad for Leo Feist and Irving Berlin dance folios.[103]

While Filipino composers could not compete with large American record companies, they could produce sheet music that might serve as competition for U.S.-published works. Compared to the process of recording, which required complicated machinery, large amounts of overhead capital, and an infrastructure for production and distribution, music publishing was fairly simple and cheap. Between 1910 and early 1930, over 60 composers sold their compositions in Manila.[104] Unlike in the U.S., though, where large publishing firms dominated the industry, Manila's popular music publishing was largely decentralized and do-it-yourself. A small number of music stores such as the Lyric, Ideal, and the Philippine Music Store established publishing "houses" for local compositions in the late 1920s, but most composers opted to seek profits from popular song through self-publishing.[105]

It was relatively straightforward for composers to transform a new composition into a source of profit.[106] The rise of one of Trápaga's competitors, the composer and music publisher César Mirasol, is illustrative of this process. Around 1926, Mirasol arranged a version of the Visayan folk song "Ay! Kalisud," and paid a printing company to make 1,000 companies. He left his home on the island of Iloilo and spent the next three years traveling throughout the Philippines peddling his song, eventually selling enough copies to save ₱200. Mirasol next took a path followed by dozens of other composers who took their compositions to Manila's all-purpose printing presses in hopes of fame and fortune. He used the money he saved from his first song to pay a Manila printer to make copies of a different composition, which he promoted throughout Luzon. Mirasol managed to save ₱500 from this second composition and used the funds both to print more of his songs and also to set himself up as a music publisher in Manila. He began selling, advertising, and distributing works by other composers, including Francisco Santiago's own popular arrangement of "Ay! Kalisud" in 1929.[107] Mirasol's ambitions in publishing matched Trápaga's: Trápaga had been publishing the work of other composers as part of an "Edicion Trápaga" series since at least 1921.[108]

Mirasol, Trápaga, and dozens of other Filipino composers employed some of the pioneering strategies for marketing that Tin Pan Alley publishers developed in the U.S. While the rationalization of music publishing had a musical impact through the rise of stylized, formulaic compositions, one of the most important innovations of Tin Pan Alley was a new, efficient, and multi-pronged method for selling songs. Timothy Taylor notes that the industrialization of the music publishing industry in the early twentieth century music resulted in novel and increasingly efficient modes of selling, "from record labels'

marketing tactics to Tin Pan Alley song pluggers to the use of modern advertising techniques to sell player pianos and rolls, phonographs and recordings."[109] Similarly, David Suisman argues that the revolution of popular song in the early twentieth century was not merely in song forms. Rather, it was how New York music publishers learned to develop "strategies and systems to control where, how, and how often their songs were heard."[110]

This "large-scale promotion of popular song," as well as the spread of an increasingly standardized language of U.S. pop, had a transformative effect on the ways in which composers in Manila operated.[111] In order to compete with U.S. imports, Trápaga was particular aggressive in his attempts to advertise his new compositions. While Trápaga may not have read the Tin Pan Alley composer Charles Harris's advice to ambitious songwriters in the U.S., he acted in a way that satisfied Harris's recommendations about how to make a work popular. "Don't, when your name at last appears on the title page of a piece of music, sit all day admiring it," Harris wrote. "Get out and hustle. Let others do the admiring. It is much more effective."[112] Trápaga hustled. He placed print advertisements for his works in a wide range of periodicals, from the Spanish and English language weekly *The Philippines Free Press* to programs from the Manila Grand Opera House (Fig. 3.5).[113] Since Filipina women made up a considerable portion of the customers for sheet music, it is not surprising to find Trápaga's ads featured prominently on the back cover of the Tagalog-language women's magazine *Dalaga*.[114] Many of these ads, including the ones Trápaga placed in *Dalaga*, followed the model of advertisements for American compositions found printed on sheet music in Trápaga's collection and sold in local Manila stores: they featured a portion of the chorus

meant to give readers a hint of the tune without revealing the song in its entirety.[115] Numerous other composers placed similar advertisements in local papers announcing that they were selling fox-trots and kundiman from their homes, by mail, or at local stores.[116]
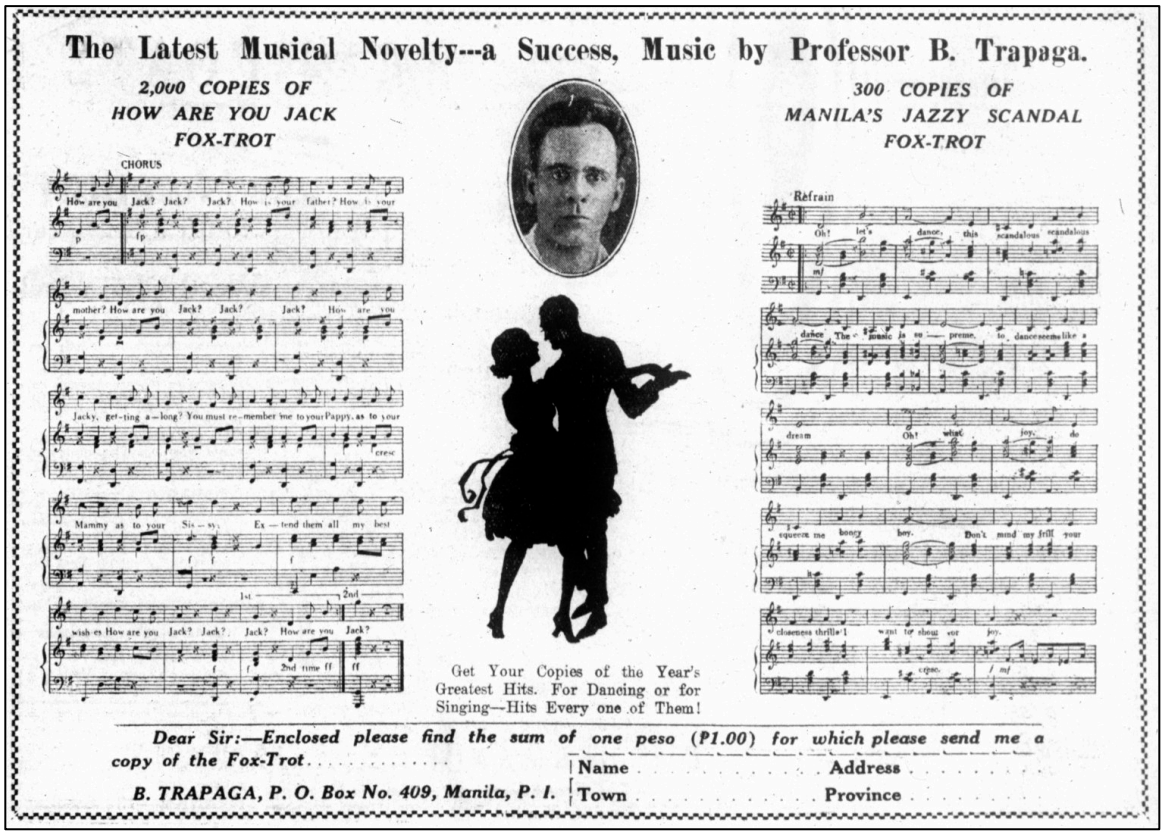


Figure 3.5: An English-language Trápaga ad.[117]

Manila's composers also employed many of Tin Pan Alley's key innovations of song promotion to try to fill Manila's soundscape with the melodies of their latest works. Since, as Suisman argues, "songs literally were advertisements for themselves," Filipino songwriters placed their compositions in the hands of local bandleaders and vaudeville performers in hopes of reaching as many potential customers as possible.[118] Composers such as Trápaga worked hard to put their works in the hands – and voices – of Manila's vaudeville stars. Trápaga's daughter Mecca recalls that whenever her father finished a

new song he would invite a large group of Manila's performers to their home. Mecca would hand out copies of lyrics so the assembled guests could sing along while Trápaga accompanied them on piano.[119] Perhaps it was at one of these gatherings where Trápaga managed to convince the Filipina vaudeville performer Chabeng Garcia to include his 1924 fox-trot "How Are You Jack?" in her shows with the Savoy "Nifties" (Fig. 3.6).[120]

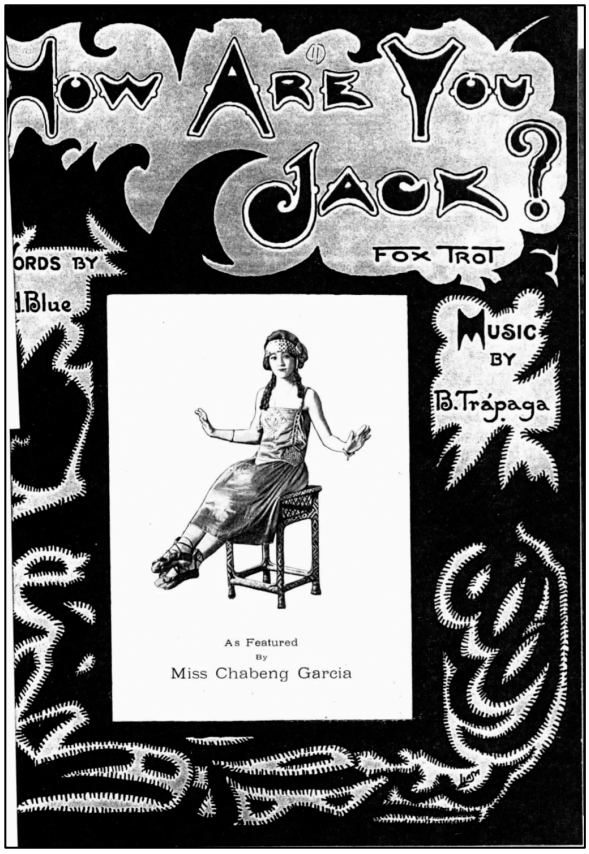


Figure 3.6: Cover of Trápaga's "How Are You Jack" showing vaudeville performer Chabeng Garcia.[121]

When it came to promoting their songs via vaudeville, though, few composers could match Luis "Borromeo Lou" Borromeo. As the leader of a wildly popular weekly vaudeville show at Manila's Olympic Stadium for much of the decade, he was regularly able to debut new songs to audiences of thousands.[122] Songwriters also approached popular bandleaders to promote their compositions. Before late 1925, when the

Philippine Constabulary band was banned from performing jazz and popular songs during their popular free weekly concerts on the Luneta, they occasionally closed their concerts with fox-trots and waltzes by local composers such as Trápaga, Francisco Buencamino, and José Silos.[123]

While we cannot know all the motivations of these songwriters, the ubiquity of song advertisements suggests that, for many composers, one of the reasons for writing music was to generate an income. There are plenty of hints in the historical record to suggest that songwriters clearly understood that they were engaging in a form of musical labor that could earn them a wage. Indeed, it would certainly not be surprising to find that composers such as Trápaga viewed songwriting as a means for financial profit. Just as music instrument ads promoted the idea that jazz performers could make easy money, numerous articles also revealed a pervasive discourse about songwriting as a means to make a living. A 1923 article reprinted throughout colonial Asia, for example, described how an amateur might make a sizeable income by writing popular songs, so long as they paid close attention to the changing tastes of the public. As the title of the article boldly proclaimed, there was "Money in Jazz."[124] Other articles published across Asia described the profit-oriented processes of Tin Pan Alley, the rise of popular music publishing and the enormous fortunes earned by composers of hit songs such as "Yes, We Have No Bananas" and "Tea for Two."[125] This discourse echoed the sort of practical-minded advice promoted in countless songwriting guides in the U.S. As the Tin Pan Alley composer Harry von Tilzer explained in 1916, "the writing of songs…is a business and demands businesslike methods." To the songwriter, Tilzer continued, "[h]is work has become a commodity with a cash value."[126]

The pecuniary promises of popular song appear to have influenced numerous Filipinos to try their hand at writing a hit song, both in the Philippines and in the U.S. In 1922, Manila audiences read about how Teodoro "Teddy" Trinos, a Filipino mimgrant manual laborer in California, had published a waltz in the U.S. in hopes to help him raise enough money to attend music school.[127] Amateurs in Manila also succumbed to the lure of a acquiring a fortune from a catchy melody. The potential profits from popular song were so tempting that scam artists crafted a con that ensnared ambitious young songwriters in the Philippines. In June 1923, *The Philippines Free Press* warned would-be composers and lyricists not to fall prey to the "song shark," a con-man who offered to publish new songs so long as the composer or lyricist provided them with enough money to cover the costs of printing. Filipino poets and would-be-composers were so eager to enter their products into circulation, the article states, that these scammers were "reaping a considerable harvest in the Philippines."[128]

More accomplished composers who did not fall for this swindle employed a range of song-writing strategies that suggests that they attempted to maximize profits from their creations. As Tilzer's advice above shows, composers in the U.S. spoke openly about their calculated methods for creating works that would find widespread popularity. American songwriters such as Irving Berlin, James Weldon Johnson, and W. C. Handy, described how they attempted to reach as many prospective buyers as possible by picking inclusive lyrics and choosing rhythms that fit contemporary fashions for dancing.[129] Songs by Filipino composers show a similar sort of strategic work. Many love songs, for example, employed generic pronouns that made the composition seem personal and accessible for a wide range of singers.[130] Perhaps the most obvious evidence of this

strategic intent, though, was the use of multiple languages in the lyrics. In order to further broaden their appeal, works published in Manila regularly featured two or three lyricists, each tasked to write verses in a different language. As a result, many songs included lyrics in a combination of English, Spanish, and Tagalog. Others also featured regional languages such as Visayan, Pangasinan, and Pampangan.[131] Gemiliano C. Lopez's 1927 fox-trot "I Love You," was especially ambitious in this regard: its lyrics were in Spanish, English and five other Philippine languages.[132]

In addition to appealing to broad audiences by working with savvy lyricists, Manila's composers also showed a stylistic versatility that allowed them to reach a range of customers. Composers such as Trápaga rarely limited themselves to publishing works in a narrow set of genres. Just as Francisco Santiago and Nicanor Abelardo wrote fox-trots and one-steps in addition to kundiman, Trápaga's catalogue includes Filipino genres, as well as fox-trots, one-steps, and tangos. Trápaga actually sold arrangements of some of the same folk songs that Santiago re-arranged, including the two Visayan compositions, "Ay! Kalisud" and "Walay-Angay."[133] In 1925, Trápaga also published "Danzas Filipinas," a collection featuring arrangements of regional Filipino danzas from the Visayas, Bicol, and Bulacan.[134] The prominent vaudeville impresario, pianist, and composer Luis Borromeo showed a similar versatility. His body of work, which includes compositions published in the U.S., Manila, and Iloilo, features fox-trots, two-steps, tangos, waltzes, marches, rumbas, as well as kundiman, "Filipino" and "Ylongo" tangos, and religious works. Such versatility was not limited to these rather exceptional figures. Leaders of Manila-based dance bands, including Facundo Perez and Gerardo Enriquez wrote fox-trots, Filipino genres, and compositions that fit somewhere in between."[135] In

order to maximize the profit that could be gleaned from their works, Perez and Enriquez also used their sheet music to promote their bands.[136]

One sign that Filipino composers were successfully reaching local audiences was that Manila businesses turned to songwriters to help promote their own products. Manila's Germinal tobacco company had sponsored Filipino-composed cake-walks, marches, and waltzes based on popular Filipino melodies in the first decade of the twentieth century, but companies in the 1920s saw fox-trots as exciting ways to promote themselves.[137] In 1922, for example, Borromeo and the American lyricist John Cowper – who had worked as a freelance advertising consultant before managing the vaudeville troupes at the Rivoli and the Savoy theaters – published the fox-trot "Dodge Me Daddy Blues: In Your Dodge Brothers Car."[138] The song as a plug for the local Dodge dealer.[139] Borromeo's music bounces along with the kind of proto-swinging dotted eighth note rhythms that mark many U.S. jazz compositions. The chorus promotes the excitement of Dodge cars with the lines: "speed on, speed on, it's fun, it's fun, and in my Dodge I race along." One of Borromeo's colleagues, the American pianist Clifford Adams, drew on a similar musical language in 1924 when Manila's Magnolia Dairy Company commissioned him to write a catchy promotion for one of their products.[140] Adams came up with the composition "Magnolia," a "soothing-cooling-refreshing Fox-Trot-Song" that endlessly endorsed Magnolia's ice-cream.[141] Either Adams or Manila company agents managed to introduce the song to the public through the hugely popular vaudeville star Katy de la Cruz.[142]

Companies were smart to promote their brands through popular song and sheet music, for Manila's sheet music sales remained robust into the end of the decade.

Virginia Pradas's in-depth look into the size and scale of the popular music market in 1927 is revealing. Her article on sheet music sales at six downtown Manila music stores included a "sample daily sales record" divided into three categories: classical, kundiman, and jazz.[143] The totals she gave showed a steady demand for sheet music. The daily average combined sales for these stores totaled 205 works of classical music, 150 kundiman, and 170 jazz compositions.[144] Based solely on the kundiman category, a category that likely only included compositions by Filipino composers, it seems that Manila customers were purchasing over 4,000 copies of Filipino compositions each month.

Furthermore, as Pradas's findings suggest, the "temptation" Santiago identified from the "demand for light music" was real. As another observer of Manila's music scene concluded in 1927: "Publishing musical pieces must be good business, to judge from the number of them that are being turned out monthly in Manila."[145] While it is difficult to determine precisely how good of a business this was, popular songs could likely earn composers a healthy income, even though they typically sold for only ₱1.00 a copy.[146] Trápaga had a particularly good stretch between 1924 and 1925. In late March 1924, Trápaga had to publish a second edition of "Seti," a fox-trot he finished writing in September 1923 and that sold out its first printing in late March 1924.[147] Trápaga's two fox-trots from 1924, "How Are You Jack?" and "Manila's Jazzy Scandal," also sold well. By July 1925, he had reportedly sold 2,000 copies of the former and 300 of the latter. Both of these compositions went into second editions that eventually sold out entirely, a trajectory many of his compositions followed.[148] Even after the cost of printing and advertising, it seems likely that Trápaga may have pocketed at least ₱2,000 from the sales

of these three works alone.[149] By comparison, this was the same amount that Francisco Santiago's colleague Nicanor Abelardo was earning each year as the head of the composition department at the University of the Philippines.[150] Santiago himself also benefited financially from the sheet music market. His arrangement of "Ay! Kalisud," published with Mirasol, reportedly sold almost 4,000 copies by June 1929, less than a year after its publication.[151] While these sales figures were likely not representative of most popular compositions, these cases clearly demonstrate that writing music could be a financially worthwhile act of labor.

The "Filipino Fox-Trot"

In Manila, the processes and production of the recording industry and Tin Pan Alley not only came to inform the pace and method of music circulation, consumption, and distribution: the widely repeated musical language of U.S. pop also became an idiom that Filipino composers had to master. As Santiago noted, numerous composers in Manila wrote songs in an attempt to answer the demand for "light music," not the desire for serious, nationalist-inspired anthems. But the ways in which composers worked with the language of jazz was not always straightforward. They rarely merely reinforced the image of the racially-inferior Filipino who was eternally limited to imitate white westerners. Instead, Manila's composers regularly explored musical forms that gave voice to expressions exceeding the sentiments of Tin Pan Alley songs, or employed U.S. forms as frames for musical characteristics that were coming to be recognized as distinctly "Filipino."

Certainly, just as Santiago charged, Trápaga and other composers in Manila published banal pop songs indistinguishable from what he depicted as "somewhat distorted jazz."[152] Many of Trápaga's biggest sellers, including "Manila's Jazzy Scandal" and "How Are You Jack?," lack any musical markers that hint at the songs' geographic origins. Some of these Tin Pan Alley-style songs also came from Luis Borromeo, a pianist, vaudeville impresario and composer who had honed his craft in the U.S. When Borromeo returned to the Philippines in late-1921, for example, he had nearly seven years' experience on the U.S. vaudeville circuit, and had already published four compositions with U.S. publishers.[153] To draw audiences in Manila to his weekly vaudeville shows, he regularly drew on the musical language of Tin Pan Alley to create songs he featured in live performance and sold in the city. His 1922 work "Manila Mia," for example, begins with a waltz section strongly reminiscent of "The Missouri Waltz," an older song that enjoyed renewed popularity in the U.S. and Asia in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[154]

But Filipino composers' fluency in the imperial language of U.S. pop cannot be reduced to a display of imitative talent devoid of any alternate meanings or possibilities. Indeed, what was so interesting about the rise of musical publishing in colonial Philippines is that it did not simply follow a basic model of "domination and resistance." Filipino composers also drew on the stylized language of Tin Pan Alley to rework popular forms and craft styles they claimed as their own. These included the dozens of marches, one-steps, and waltzes that fit all the standard musical conventions of Tin Pan Alley but whose lyrics espoused revolutionary rhetoric. Some of Borromeo's later works from the 1930s, including "Hurrah Roxas" and "The Philippine Commonwealth Hymn,"

all outlined a new, nationalist discourse cast in the imperial language of American pop.[155] Many other Filipino composers used the aesthetics and forms of U.S. popular song in service of expressions of Filipino nationalism. These include songs such as Francisco Buencamino's waltz "Filipinas para los Filipinos!," and marches and one-steps such as "All for Country."[156] The composer Julio Nakpil, who was active in the fight against Spanish rule in the mid-1890s, turned to a two-step form for "Pasig-Pantayanin," his song dedicated to "Filipino revolutionaries."[157]

Let me briefly examine one of these songs in detail to explain what I mean: in 1921, Pablo Mallare and Mariano Diaz wrote what seems to be an innocuous-sounding one-step whose name I will reveal in a moment. The four-measure introduction signals a typical Tin Pan Alley beginning with a right-hand-ascending, left-hand-descending phrase to a dominant chord that leads to the beginning of the verse. The song continues with a 16-measure repeated verse in G minor with a regular eighth-note pattern in the left hand alternating between bass note and chord while the right hand performs a syncopated melody. The 32-measure chorus switches to the relative major of Bb and features a slower, melody that is easier to sing than the verse. The song adheres to numerous Tin Pan Alley conventions and features no musical elements that distinguish it as "Filipino."

The lyrics to the song – even just its title – however, do more than simply engage in the banal ideas of most pop songs of the day. This Tagalog-language work is "Magkaisa Tayo!!!" a title that means "Let's Unite."[158] The song celebrates the first official holiday for Andrés Bonifacio, an important leader in the fight against Spain. During the early 1920s, Bonifacio and the *Katipunan*, the revolutionary fighting group he founded, were being revived and valorized by Filipino composers and political leaders.[159]

The cover alone reveals the explicitly nationalist message of the song (Fig. 3.7). It shows a distinctive Filipino scene of the iconic volcano Mt. Mayon framed by palm trees, an image widely used throughout Asia to signify the Philippines.[160] The sun appears on the horizon of the ocean and it has the distinctive eight rays of the Philippine flag. Featured in the center of the image is a spear serving as a pole for a flag of the Katipunan, the revolutionary movement that Bonifacio helped to organize in the 1890s. The song's lyrics build from this imagery of Filipino revolution, imploring listeners to continue the difficult fight and not to give up the ambitious dream for a Philippine nation.

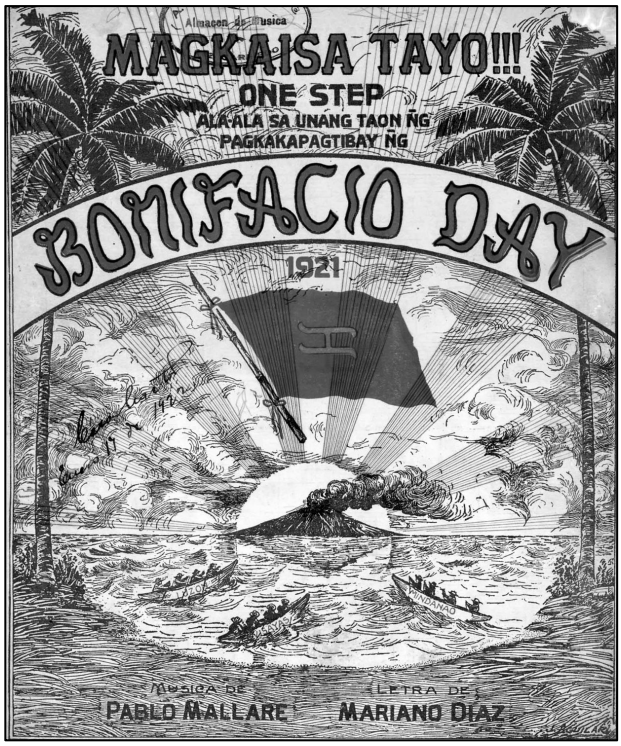


Figure 3.7: Cover of Mallare and Diaz's "Magkaisa Tayo!!!" (Manila: 1921).[161]

Despite their revolutionary message, though, compositions such as "Magkaisa Tayo" that used Tin Pan Alley forms in seemingly subversive ways were not contraband. On the contrary, they circulated widely as popular, commercial products. They were stocked by music store managers such as Trápaga and sold alongside the latest fox-trots

from Irving Berlin.[162] As Filipino historian Resil Mojares argues, despite the nationalist message of songs such as "Magkaisa Tayo," by the 1920s American officials were so confident of their hold on the islands that they "relaxed restrictions on expressions of nationalist opinions."[163] In 1919, for example, they had repealed the "flag act," an ordinance that had banned the display of Philippine flags since 1907.[164] Thus, the prominent display of iconography from the Philippine flag on the cover of "Magkaisa Tayo" reflected a relative new public display of national pride that was officially sanctioned by the colonial government. In this regard, "Magkaisa Tayo" and other songs invoking a nationalist sentiment existed in an environment quite different than the tumultuous situation around the turn of the century, when Filipino musicians could be jailed for performing songs such as "Aguinaldo March," and entire theater troupes were imprisoned for critiquing the U.S. government in their plays.[165]

Tin Pan Alley forms and the infrastructure of Manila's popular music market, then, became a network for the dissemination of a range of expressions that may have faced considerable scrutiny in previous decades. Composers such as Mallare and Diaz were employing the language of U.S. pop and the infrastructures of Manila's music market to profit from a musical expression that celebrated Filipinos' fight against colonialism. These songs that might glorify the katipunan through the rhythms of ragtime serve as a kind of companion to songs in the U.S. that also became mediums to debate the U.S. imperial venture in the Pacific. As Robert Rydell argues, popular song composers in the U.S. around the turn-of-the-century reworked "coon songs" into compositions that dealt with the topic of the U.S. and the Philippines. In doing so, he writes, music publishers and composers "made empire visible *and* audible." These songs, he continues,

helped to root "imperialist sentiments in middle-class parlors."[166] Sheet music drawing on Tin Pan Alley forms served the same purpose in Manila. Songs such as "Magkaisa Tayo" carried nationalist sentiments throughout the city and into the *salas* of Manila.

In addition to pairing nationalist lyrics with the musical language of imperial pop, composers also crafted entirely new genres from the rhythms and harmonies of Tin Pan Alley. One of Trápaga's favorite genres combined "Filipino"-sounding elements with the forms of Tin Pan Alley compositions, resulting in a class of compositions identified as the "Filipino fox-trot" (Fig. 3.8).[167] This dance genre transformed American conventions



Figure 3.8: Examples of Filipino Fox-Trots from the early 1920s.[168]

into works signifying "Filipino-ness" by incorporating larger forms, chord progressions, melodic tendencies, and dance rhythms from Filipino genres, especially *kundiman* and *danzas*, that were newly becoming recognized as representing a distinctly Philippine national culture.[169] In some ways, the "Filipino Fox-Trot" is related to genres such as Li Jinhui's "Yellow Music" in Shanghai in its joining of jazz with local genres.[170] Since the

"Filipino Fox-Trot" has not been singled out by other overviews of Philippine music, however, it is worth examining how composers managed to create works that simultaneously rejected Filipino "classicism" and also exceeded mere "imitation" of American forms.[171]

Filipino Fox-Trots shared a common form with Filipino genres such as kundiman and balitaw. They featured a two- or three-part form that began in a minor key and modulated to its parallel major for the final section. As several scholars of Philippine music note, kundiman in particular were coalescing into this distinctive form in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[172] Abelardo's kundiman "Bituing Marakit," for example, begins with two sections in F minor and a third section in F major. Similarly, his composition "Sa Iyong Kandungan" has an A section in D minor and a B section in D major.[173] Countless other Filipino songs feature this larger structure.[174] This shift from minor to parallel major is in contrast to many Tin Pan Alley songs, where an opening minor section more typically modulated to its relative major for the chorus.[175]

Filipino Fox-Trots also drew on a distinctive harmonic progression that appeared in many kundiman and danzas. These progressions were not nearly as formulaic or repetitive as chord cycles in genres such as American blues, South African marabi or Javanese kroncong, but many kundiman and contemporary arrangements of Filipino folk songs still shared a distinctive cadence.[176] Songs such as Santiago's 1924 arrangements of "Aking Bituin," and "Lulay," and many of Abelardo's kundiman employed a similar harmonic movement three-quarters of the way through their first sections: I minor / I major / I7b9 / IV minor / I minor.[177] During this cadence, melodies typically reached a

climax as the dissonance of the flatted ninth gradually resolved to a more consonant harmony.

In addition, Filipino Fox-Trots regularly employed a habanera rhythm, a repeated rhythmic pattern common in Filipino dance genres. Many prominent Filipino genres such as kundiman, kumintang, and balitaw were in triple meter, but genres in duple meter, such as *danzas*, regularly employed an underlying habanera rhythm. Filipino songs such as Santiago's arrangement of "Walay Angay ang Camingaw," Abelardo's "Ikaw Rin," and Borromeo's "Ylonga Mia," among many others, were propelled forward by a dotted-quarter, eighth note, quarter, quarter, pattern – //: ♩. ♪ ♩ ♩ :// – that had been present in the Philippines since at least the mid-1850s.[178] Although the rhythm took its name from Havana, Cuba, and became closely associated with Paris and Argentina when tango spread through the world in the 1910s, it also came to signify "Filipino-ness" among composers and audiences in the U.S.[179] Songs such as Robert King's 1920 composition "In Old Manila," for example, featured a habanera rhythm throughout to evoke a nostalgic view of the Spanish era of Philippine history.[180] Recordings of "In Old Manila" in the early 1920s, including one by Art Hickman's orchestra, played up this evocation of Spain by simulating castanets through clapping or drumming.[181]

Filipino Fox-Trots drew on these various elements signifying "Filipino-ness" in different ways. Some compositions, such as Trápaga's fox-trots "Lolita" (Fig 3.9), and "Manila" (Fig. 3.10), as well as Leon Ignacio's "Por que ya no me quieres?" and Facundo Perez's "Reyna Juanita I," featured all three of these characteristics mentioned above.[182]
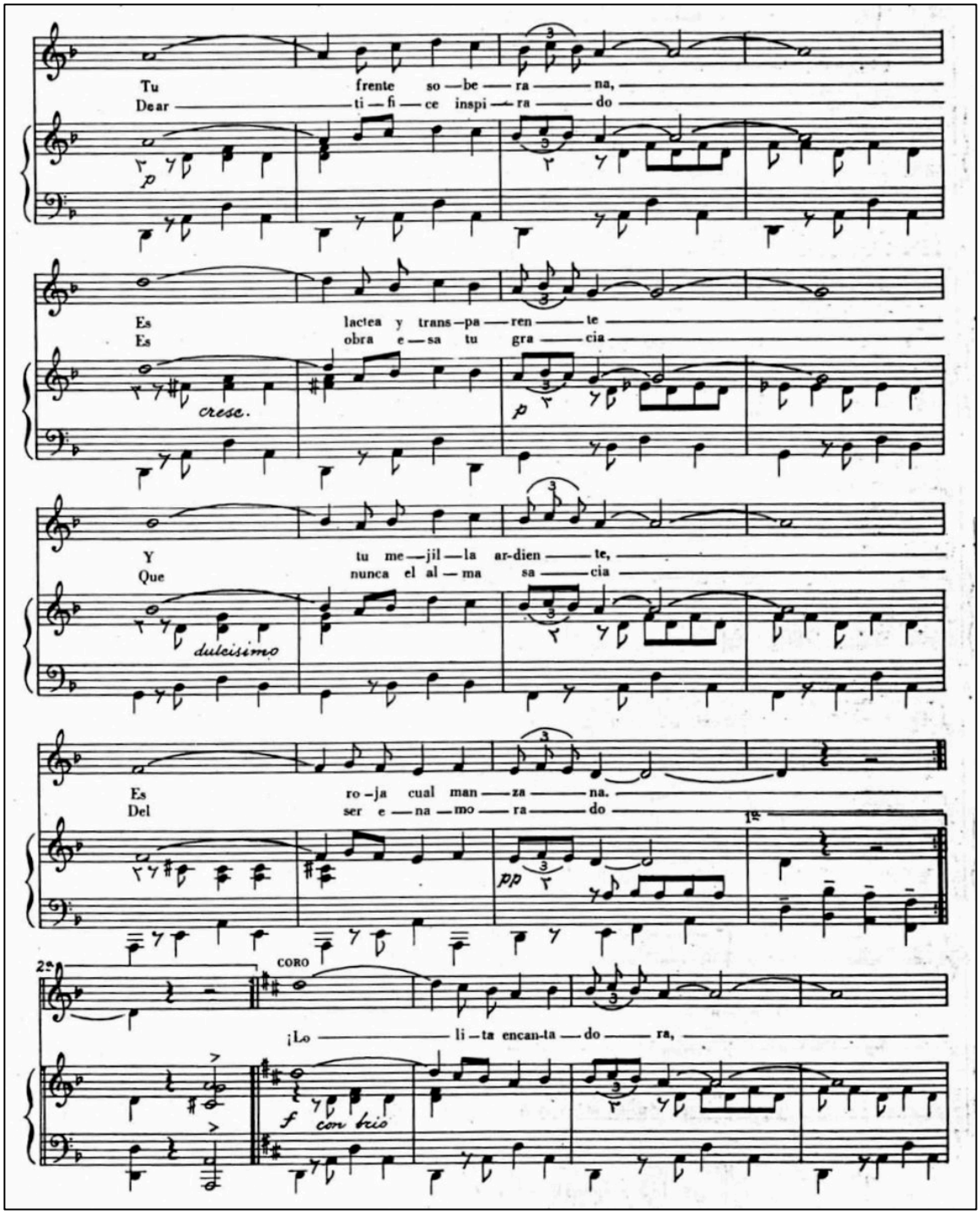


Figure 3.9: Excerpt of Trápaga's "Lolita" showing three typical characteristics of Filipino Fox-Trots: 1) a habanera rhythm, 2) a distinctive cadence that begins here in measure 1, and 3) a modulation to a parallel major for the song's B section.[183]
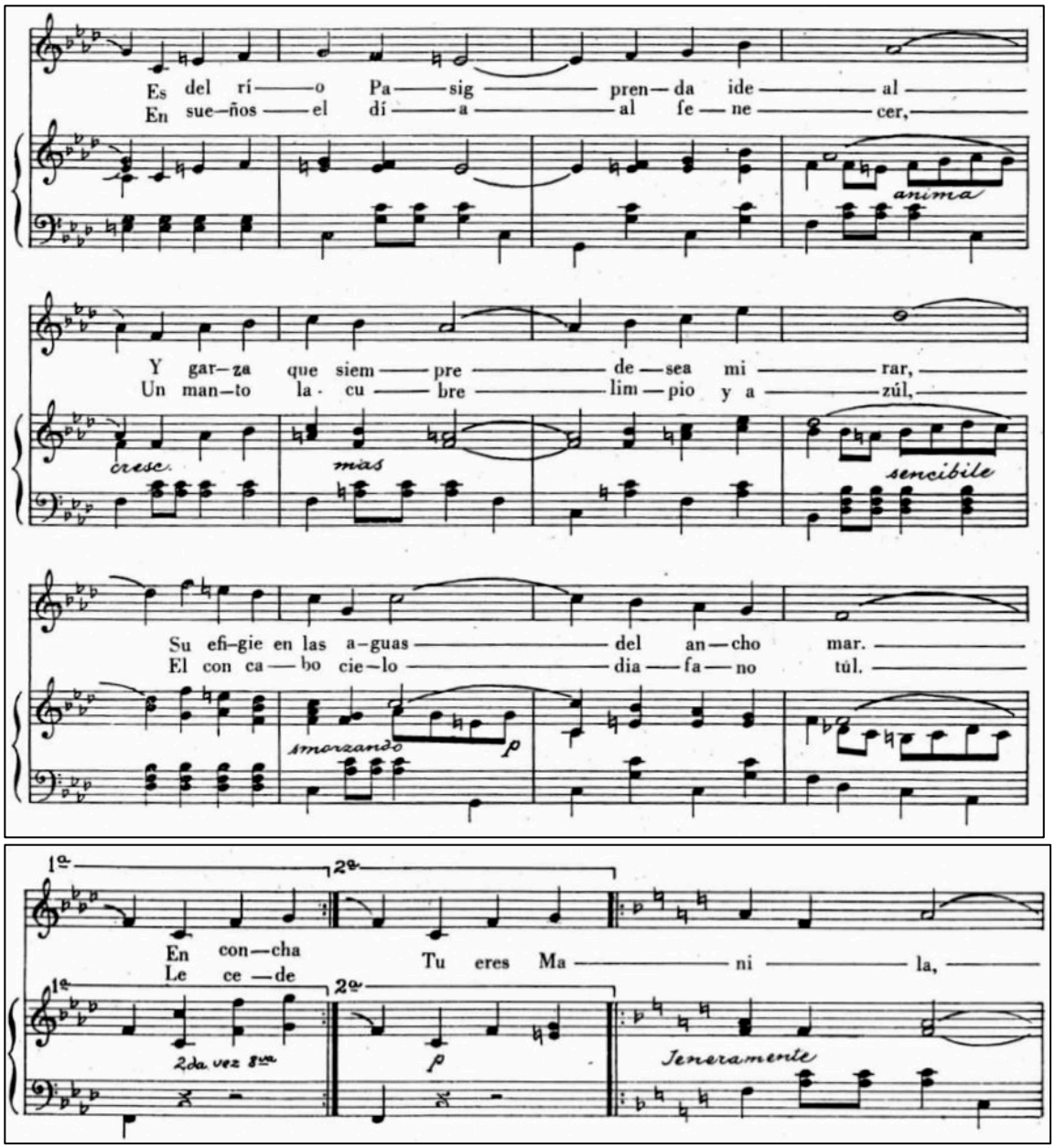


Figure 3.10: Excerpt of Trápaga's "Manila" showing three typical characteristics of Filipino Fox-Trots: 1) a habanera-like rhythm, 2) a distinctive cadence that begins here in measure 6, and 3) a modulation to a parallel major for the song's B section.[184]

Some works, however, such as Perez's "Bubuyog at Bulaklak" and P. C. Bermachea's "Liling," featured the multi-part form and modulation of kundiman as well as a habanera rhythm, but avoided the distinctive cadences that marked many Filipino genres. Other compositions, including Trápaga's "Gloriana," might lack a habanera rhythm or modulate from minor to relative major, as F. Canlas decided to do in "Ang Balong Malungkot."[185]

Despite these variances, however, these songs all shared a similarity: they managed to sound distinctly "Filipino" even as they drew on the language of U.S. pop circulating throughout much of the Philippines.

The informing influence of jazz on "Filipino Fox-Trots" shows how Manila's composers managed to craft a genre that appealed to audiences consuming a large diet of Tin Pan Alley songs but who also desired a local flavor not satisfied by recordings. Even simply by describing their compositions as "Fox-Trots," composers aligned their songs with a genre that was almost entirely associated with jazz and with dancing. This association was far from superficial. Unlike many popular Filipino genres, Filipino Fox-Trots adhered to one of the most critical musical elements of jazz. As one British musician remarked in 1925, popular dance works required an "unvarying tempo."[186] Filipino Fox-Trots shared this commitment to a steady pace. This was in stark contrast to kundiman or Filipino cancions, where the pathos of the lyrical content was heightened by fermatas, ritardandos, and tenuto markings that suggest a flexible, varied tempo.[187] Filipino fox-trots generally lacked fermatas or dynamic phrasings of dramatic crescendos and decrescendos that point to melodies shaping tempo.[188] They are quite clearly for dancing.

Even as Filipino Fox-Trots maintained their steady tempo for dancers, though, they often moved in distinctive ways between the two-beat feel of American fox-trots and a Filipino habanera rhythm. There were various strategies to suture these two rhythms together. In some works, there was a distinct difference between the two sections. F. Canlas's Filipino Fox-Trot "Ang Balong Malungkot" begins with a two-beat feel in the first section and switches to a Habanera-like rhythm in the second. Other compositions

pair these rhythms together throughout. Leon Ignacio's piece "Por que ya no me quieres?" moves back and forth between habanera and straight quarter-note rhythms throughout the piece (Fig. 3.11). Similarly, Facundo Perez's "Bubuyog at Bulaklak,"
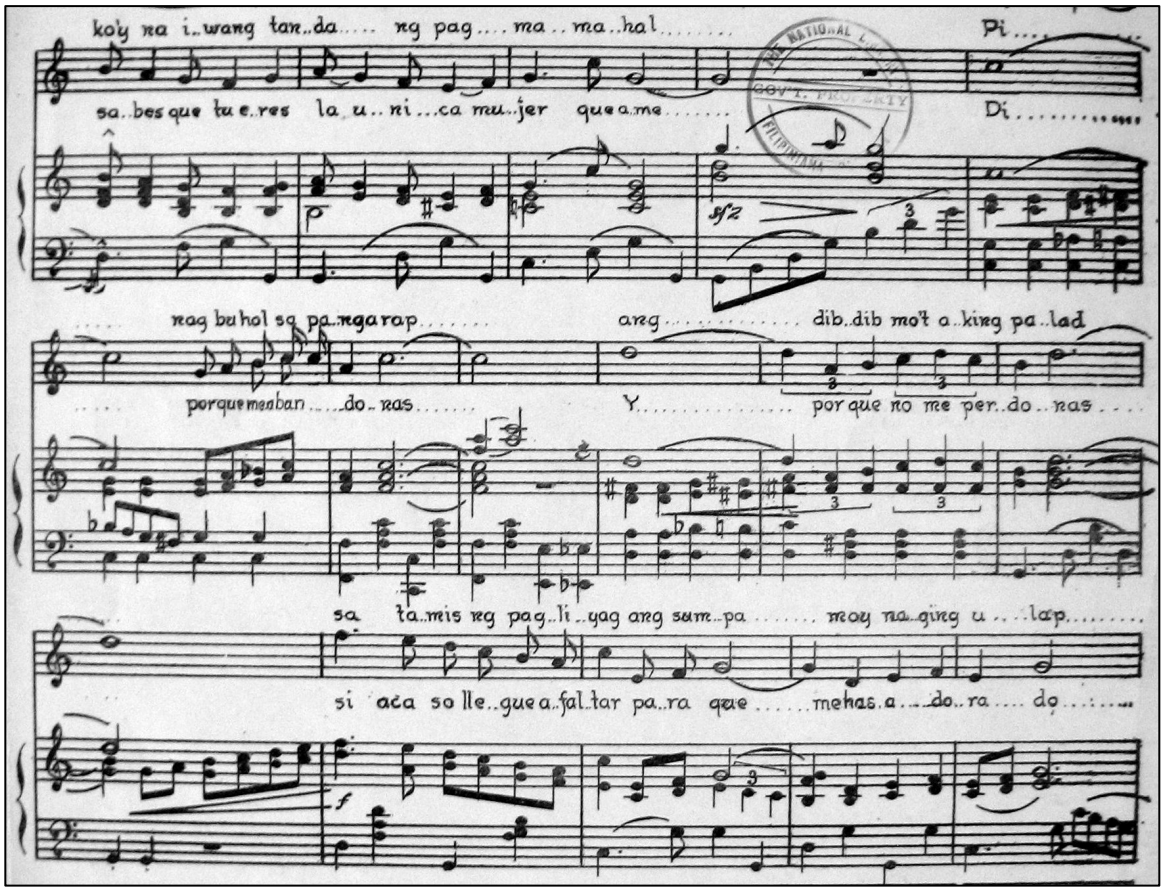


Figure 3.11: Excerpt of "Por que ya no me quieres?" showing repeated transitions between habanera and fox-trot rhythms.[189]

alternates repeatedly between habanera and fox-trot rhythms within the course of a single section. The song features three measures of habanera followed by a single measure of fox-trot. The variation among these examples reveals how Filipino composers were experimenting widely with different ways to craft works that sought to bridge the musical worlds of Tin Pan Alley and Filipino genres.

This play between musical characteristics signifying "Filipino-ness" and Tin Pan Alley forms, as well as those compositions expressing nationalist sentiments through fox-

trots and one-steps, also demonstrates that these compositions cannot merely be dismissed as "cheap dance music." True, unlike works such as "Magkaisa Tayo," Filipino Fox-Trots rarely espoused explicitly nationalist opinions. [190] Filipino Fox-Trots" were most commonly instrumentals or featured lyrics about love and beautiful women.[191] It is understandable that Santiago considered compositions of this nature to hold back the Filipino cause, for they did not fit into the larger project of Filipino "classicism" Santiago promoted. Instead of drawing on European classical forms to demonstrate "progress," as Santiago hoped, many Manila composers turned instead to the language of Tin Pan Alley and the opportunities of commercial music. Yet, these composers also turned Manila's music market into a space for the circulation of works that far exceeded the limited forms of U.S. pop. In their hands, fox-trots and one-steps became a medium for explicitly anti-colonial sentiments. For many Manila composers, their fluency in combining the language of U.S. pop with musical markers of "Filipino-ness" allowed them to craft a product that showed a savvy understanding of the desires of Manila's customers for a new form of popular song.

Conclusion

Despite Trápaga's important and myriad contributions to Manila's popular music scene from the late 1910s through the 1930s, scholars of music in the Philippines have rarely considered him in relation to contemporaries such as Francisco Santiago.[192] It is far more common to pair Santiago with Nicanor Abelardo, another giant of Philippine music. Indeed, as the esteemed composer Antonio Molina noted, "when you speak of Francisco Santiago, you must also speak of Nicanor Abelardo. These two are like twin brothers or

strong rivals."[193] While Trápaga's life in Manila allows us to peer into nearly every corner of the city's music market, a brief concluding detour with Abelardo as a guide offers yet another perspective from which to think about the complex politics of Filipino compositional labor.

Santiago's critique of composers who fell to the "temptation" posed by the "demand for light music" was quite likely directed at Abelardo, his colleague at the University of the Philippines' Music Conservatory. Santiago's criticism came from a place of privilege. While Abelardo was reportedly constantly strapped for cash, Santiago enjoyed a secure, stable life after marrying into the wealthy and politically important Ocampo family.[194] To the great consternation of the university's music faculty, Abelardo supplemented his salary by leading the dance band at the Santa Ana Cabaret and disseminating his compositions via nearly every medium on Manila's public market.[195] His compositions appeared on sheet music, on recordings, in public concerts, and on the radio.[196] Abelardo's reworking of Filipino genres proved so popular that even local authors populated the soundscape of their fictional versions of Manila with Abelardo compositions.[197]

Abelardo is now remembered as one of the four major composers of a new Filipino national music.[198] Yet, as Resil Mojares notes, Abelardo managed to support himself because the transformative effects of U.S. popular culture and increasingly nationalist sentiments among Filipinos opened up new opportunities. "The influx of new forms of entertainment," Mojares writes, "stimulated cultural work."[199] In particular, the financial opportunities of Manila's popular music market helped Abelardo pursue his

larger goal: to develop and promote a new Filipino classical music, complete with Philippine operas, that could compete on equal terms with the best of European music.[200]

While Santiago suggested that the commercial world of popular song could only hinder the development of compositions that could displace the dominance of U.S. imperial pop, Abelardo turned to this popular market to help support his nationalist musical expressions. One of the more ironic examples of the ways in the labor of making popular music helped fuel Abelardo's projects actually took place in the U.S. In 1931, Abelardo left for Chicago to earn a master's degree in composition. During the roughly fifteen months he was in the U.S., Abelardo regularly turned to jazz to support himself. He performed in local dance bands and promoted his own compositions and arrangements of popular songs to the city's publishers and musicians. Abelardo even tried to sell one of his dance band arrangements to Paul Whiteman when the famous bandleader was visiting Chicago. The "king of jazz" had a chance to inadvertently sponsor the further development of a Filipino nationalist music, but he declined to purchase Abelardo's work.[201] Whiteman's response was not uncommon. While Abelardo was quite successful selling his compositions in Manila, Chicago's market was harder to crack.

In many other ways, though, Paul Whiteman did end up as an important influence on Manila's composers. The global ambitions of American and European recording companies carried Whiteman's records to Manila, where they not only helped to spread a musical language of U.S. pop but also contributed to developing regular customers for new commercial music. The uneven nature of this expansion, however, especially in relation to the Philippines, contributed to an unfilled demand for compositions more

attuned to the tastes of Manila's residents. Filipino composers sought to capitalize upon this demand by employing many of the strategies developed by the publishing companies that supplied Whiteman with much of his repertoire. They crafted songs that would appeal to broad audiences, and attempted to advertise their works throughout the city. Many songwriters embraced the widespread discourse acknowledging the potential profits of popular song and pursued a form of labor that, with enough hustle, could prove commercially viable.

As some of their musical forms reveal, Manila's composers engaged in a practice of work that cannot be reduced to simple narratives of imperial dominance or anti-colonial resistance. Santiago argued that the songwriters who succumbed to the lures of the easy money of popular song were both reinforcing "dangerous" stereotypes of Filipino inferiority and also bypassing avenues for composition that might demonstrate Filipino "progress." Yet, by adopting many of the innovations of Tin Pan Alley, and reworking the musical language of imperial pop, many Manila composers also managed to capitalize upon the changing shape of the city's market for popular song. They may not have explicitly challenged U.S. colonial aims, but as they competed with American record companies and publishing firms, Manila's composers demonstrated how the imperial circulation of U.S. popular music generated new possibilities for musical expression and labor.

Notes for Chapter Three

[1] Francisco Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1957 [1931]), 20 pp.; also published in E. Arsenio Manuel, *Francisco Santiago: Composer and Pianist Virtuoso* (Quezon City: Varlerio Publishing House, 1997), 99-110.

[2] For full biography, see E. Arsenio Manuel, *Francisco Santiago: Composer and Pianist Virtuoso* (Quezon City: Varlerio Publishing House, 1997).

[3] Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands*, 15.

[4] Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands,* 16.

[5] Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands,* 17.

[6] Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands,* 17-18. A contemporary British observer also noted that "Filipinos seem to possess remarkable gifts" in "writing music in [a] light vein." Norman Peterkin, "The Influence of Occidental Music on the Orient," *The Musical Times* (1 September 1920), 605-608. For more on the concept of "light music," see Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2015), 103-105.

[7] Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Ramón Pagayon Santos, *Tunugan: Four Essays on Filipino Music* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005); Theodore S. Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed: Performing in the Filipino/American Diaspora* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).

[8] E.g., Vicente Sacramento, "Neustras Interviews: Antiono J. Molina," *Rizal Review* (19 June 1923), 13, 14; Abelardo quoted in Raymundo C. Bañas, *Pilipino Music and Theater* (Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Co, 1969), 7.

[9] Santiago's first published composition was the 1908 ragtime work "Purita." Between 1918 and 1920 he also wrote one-steps ("Aray," "Ninay"), fox-trots ("Bachelor's Club," "Malayan Fox-trot," "Balintawak"), and another ragtime-like composition ("Gayuma Rag"). For a full list of his compositions, see E. Arsenio Manuel, *Francisco Santiago: Composer and Pianist Virtuoso* (Quezon City: Varlerio Publishing House, 1997), 63-74.

[10] Kofi Agawu, "Tonality as a Colonizing Force in Africa," in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano, Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 334-356; Grant Olwage, "Discipline and Choralism: The Birth of Musical Colonialism," in *Music, Power, and Politics*, ed. Annie J. Randall (New York: Routledge, 2005), 25-46.

[11] E.g., Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, "'Splendid Dancing': Filipino 'Exceptionalism' in Taxi Dancehalls." *Dance Research Journal* 40:2 (2008), 23-40; "Filipino Girls Not Flirts, but Bosses of Men," *The Chicago Defender* (12 May 1923), 13.

"Los Filipinos son más bailarines que los americanos," *The Philippines Free Press* (10 July 1926), 54-55.

[12] Ramón Pagayon Santos, "Nicanor Abelardo: Filipino Classicism in the Art of Music," *Tunugan: Four Essays on Filipino Music* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 1-94.
[13] Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985), 3.

[14] Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds., *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[15] Laudan Nooshin, "The Language of Rock: Iranian Youth, Popular Music, and National Identity," in *Media, Culture and Society in Iran: Living with Globalization and the Islamic State*, ed. Mehdi Semati (New York Routledge, 2008), 66-93; Martin Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism" (2007), posted at DigitalCommons@Macalester College http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3 accessed 11 January 2013; Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Andrew Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2001).

[16] E.g., Jeffrey Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Duke University Press, 2003).

[17] Trápaga's daughter, Mecca, suggests that he kept his Spanish citizenship merely out of habit rather than due to any strong ideological ties to Spain. Trápaga's biographical information comes from Rocio Trápaga, *The Trápaga Family History* (Sydney: self-published, 2006), several email exchanges with Rocio Trápaga-Saul, and her husband Geoff Saul, and a Skype interview with Rocio, her husband Geoff Saul, and Maria "Mecca" Arriaga (9 May 2014). For news of Trápaga's death, see "Los Asesinatos de los Españoles, Por Los Japoneses, en Manila," *ABC* (21 April 1945), 9.

[18] Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 74. Denning includes Philippine kundiman as an example of "vernacular music": 32-33, 39.

[19] David Suisman, *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 22. Emphasis in original.

[20] Keir Keightley, "Tin Pan Allegory," *Modernism/modernity* 19, no. 4 (2012): 719-720.

[21] Used with permission from the Trápaga family.

[22] Even though the accent in "Trápaga" is missing in printed versions of his name, I employ it because he writes his own name in this manner. On the copyright certificates in the Trápaga-Saul collection he writes his name as Benito Trápaga Y Pereda. His children and grandchildren continue to include an accent when spelling their name.

[23] Rocio Trápaga notes that there is some confusion about Benito's birthdate. There is also a possibility that he was born in 1893. Trápaga's biographical information comes from Rocio Trápaga, *The Trápaga Family History* (Sydney: self-published, 2006), several email exchanges with Rocio Trápaga-Saul, and her husband Geoff Saul, and a Skype interview with Rocio, Geoff, and Benito's daughter Maria "Mecca" Arriaga (9 May 2014).

[24] Trápaga put this repertoire into two bound volumes now in the possession of his daughter and grand-daughter in Sydney, Australia. They generously mailed me the original volumes to examine.

[25] One of their regular advertisements was addressed to "Aficionados al Jazz-Band" and showed a drawing of a four-piece jazz band, with drum set, banjo, piano, and saxophone, entertaining a party of dancers. E.g., "Parsons Hardware Company ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (6 October 1923), back cover; "Parsons Hardware Company ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (13 September 1924), back cover; "Parsons Hardware Company ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 July 1925), back cover.

[26] "Parsons Hardware Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 January 1928), back cover.

[27] In the 1910s and 1920s, Parsons was located on Calle Ongpin, just a block east of the Binondo Church, and about five blocks north of Plaza Goiti. Sometime in the 1930s, Parsons moved several blocks south to 805 Calle Echague, a road off the southern corner of Plaza Goiti. Over the course of the 1920s, the main suppliers of sheet music and records (and their general addresses) included the following: Beck's, Puyat Brothers/Starr Music House, Lyric Music House, and Erlanger & Galinger were all on the Escolta; La Lira, José Oliver's, Pio Trinidad's, Ideal Music House, The Philippine Music Store, and the Romañach Music Store were on Calle Carriedo; Pineda's, Balduz, and Ylaya were located on Avenida Rizal. Store addresses are commonly listed on their advertisements but for a large grouping of multiple addresses see the back cover of the pamphlet "Manila Chamber Music Society at Manila Grand Opera House" (1929), Bañas Collection, National Library of the Philippines. See also the back cover of the sheet music of Nicanor Abelardo and Filomena T. Alcanor's kundiman "Magbalik ka, Hirang!" (Manila: Philippine Music Store, Inc., c. 1929), in the Atang de la Rama Collection, National Library of the Philippines.

[28] Trápaga was also an active performer in the festivals and events staged by Manila's Basque community. He also helped to organize and direct the Compañia Infantil, a children's zarzuela troupe that first performed at Manila's Grand Opera House in November 1941. Program for "Debut de la Compañia Infantil" (Manila: Grand Opera House, 1941), Trápaga family collection.

[29] Benito Trápaga, "Aurora" (Manila: 1929), Trápaga family collection.

[30] Juan Silos, Jr., Ildefonso Benitez "Cupid" (Manila: 1919), Bañas collection; Luis Borromeo, J. C. Cowper, "Dodge Me Daddy" (Manila: Borromeo Lou, 1922), Atang de la Rama Collection.

[31] In Arthur Collins and Byron Harlans' November 1916 recording of "That Funny Jas Band from Dixieland" they identify a trombone glissando as a key "jazz" sound.

[32] Used with permission from Trápaga family.

[33] Shilkret notes that the "International Orchestra" performed compositions from around the world, playing practically everything except Chinese music: Nathaniel Shilkret, *Nathaniel Shilkret: Sixty Years in the Music Business*, eds. Neil Shell, Barbara Shilkret (Lanham, MA: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 36-61.

[34] For the title change on "Trom-bonite" see "Victor matrix B-27679. Saxophonista / Orquesta Internacional," *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, accessed January 14, 2016, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800001650/B-27679-Saxophonista. To see other records advertised alongside this work, see Appendix G.

[35] E.g., "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (5 August 1923), 22.

[36] E.g., "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (31 July 1923), 2.

[37] "Beck's ad," *Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 37. For a brief history of Beck's department store, see "The House of Beck's," *The Tribune* (17 June 1939), 29.

[38] *"Discos Bailables por Autores Filipino…El patriotism se demuestra por la proteccion que damos a los productos del pais* ("Our patriotism is seen through the support we give our country's products")." "Beck's ad," *Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 37.

[39] These recordings featured works by composers Leon Ignacio, Francisco Santiago, C. Jacobe, Juan Silos Jr., J. S. Hernandez, Mr. Ramos, Tereso Zapata, José Z. Rivera, F. Buencamino, Facundo Perez, Maximo Nazario, J. Rosas, J. B. Balingit, Era Cervantes, José A. Estella, Maximo Nazario, and David Cruz: "Beck's ad," *The Manila Times* (3 April 1921), 5. See also "Beck's ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (6 May 1922), 28.

[40] "Beck's ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 37; "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 August 1923), 11.

[41] This record was made at the suggestion of the Philippine Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. Each record included a booklet with lyrics to the two songs: "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (31 July 1923), 2; "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (5 August 1923), 22. For more on William Robyn, see Tim Brooks, "Willie Robyn: A Recording Artist in the 1920s," *ARSC Journal* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 35-59; Brooks, "Willie Robyn: A Recording Artist in the 1920s (part 2)," *ARSC Journal* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 178-227.

[42] For useful work on the global recording industry, see Denning, *Noise Uprising*; Karl Hagstrom Miller, "Talking Machine World: Discovering Local Music in the Global Phonograph Industry," *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 157-186. For scholarship focusing more specifically on the recording industry in Asia, see Philip Yampolsky, "Three Genres of Indonesian Popular Music; Genre, Hybridity and Globalization, 1960-2012," *Asian Music* 44, No. 2 (2013): 24-80; Christina Lubinski, "The Global Business with Local Music; Western Gramophone Companies in India Before World War I," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 51 (Fall 2012): 67-85; Tôru Mitsui, "'Sing Me a Song of Araby' and 'My Blue Heaven': 'New Folksong,' Hybridization and the Expansion of the Japanese Recording Industry in the Late 1920s," *Popular Music History* 1, no. 1 (2004): 65-82; Andrew Jones, "The Gramophone in China," *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2001), 53-72; Tan Sooi Beng, "The 78 RPM Record Industry in Malaya Prior to World War II," *Asian Music* 28, no. 1 (Autumn 1996-Winter 1997): 1-41; Gerry Farrell, "The Early Days of the Gramophone Industry in India." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 2 (1993): 31-53; Pekka Gronow,"The Record Industry Comes to the Orient." *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (1981): 251-84.

[43] Miller, "Talking Machine World," *Segregating Sound*, 157-186.

[44] "Merchants Look for Big Trade Expansion," *Talking Machine World* (15 January 1919), 18.

[45] E.g., Burnet Hershey, "Jazz Latitude," *The New York Times Book Review and Magazine* (25 June 1922), 8-9. Paul Whiteman offered a similar assessment, describing jazz as one of the more "profitable American exports." Paul Whiteman, Mary Margaret McBride, *Jazz* (New York: Arno Press, 1974 [1926]), 157.

[46] Shilkret, *Nathaniel Shilkret*, 36-61.

[47] Denning, *Noise Uprising*, passim.

[48] "The Musical Filipinos," *Talking Machine World* (15 February 1905), 3. Quoted in Miller, *Segregating Sound,* 170-171. See also "Our Foreign Customers," *Talking Machine World* (15 February 1905), 10.

[49] Fred W. Gaisberg, *The Music Goes Round* (New York: Macmillan, 1942).

[50] There is still much work to be done on the recording industry in the Philippines. The best two sources currently available are Lisa Decenteceo, "An Americanization of Musics in the Early History of Philippines Recordings, 1900s to 1930s" (B.A. Thesis, University of Philippines, Diliman, 2012), and Renato B. Lucas, "A Preliminary Annotation of Selected Discography by Filipino Artists, 1913-1946," *Journal for the Arts, Culture, and the Humanities: The Official Publication of the Centre for Intercultural Studies, University of Santo Tomas,* 3, nos. 1-2 (March/September 2004): 75-106. Both of these works analyze the holdings of the record collector Nestor Vera Cruz (at Yesteryear Music Gallery in Quezon City) as well as discographies such as Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Volume 4* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2413-2449, and Ross Laird, *Brunswick Records, A Discography of Recordings, 1916-1931* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 1366-1372. Two encyclopedia entries on this topic are far more limited in scope and contain some questionable claims: J. V. L. Contreras, "Recording" *Cultural Center of the Philippines Encyclopedia of Philippine Art, Vol. IV, Philippine Music* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1994), 204-208; E. L. Gatchalian, M. Carunungan, D. Yson, "Industry," *Cultural Center of the Philippines Encyclopedia of Philippine Art, Vol. IV, Philippine Music* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1994), 192-198.

[51] According to Santiago, "Although during the early years of the present regime, an American company recorded few songs by Filipino zarzuela singers, the records were so deficient that they did not meet with the favor of the public." Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands,* 18-19.

[52] "Beck's ad," *Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 37.

[53] During the summer of 1923, three of Victor's recent Filipino records, including Trápaga's "Saxophonista" Robyn's patriotic songs, were the best-selling Victor records in Manila: "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (29 July 1923), 15; "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (5 August 1923), 19; "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (12 August 1923), 19. Victor 73802, which featured Trápaga's "Saxophonista," reportedly sold a total of 1,389 copies by 1928: "Victor 73802 (10 in. double-faced)," *Discography of American Historical Recordings* http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/46811/Victor_73802 accessed January 6, 2016. For examples of the best-selling records of the week, see Appendix I.

[54] A March 1924 ad claims, for example, that students on vacation need "New dance records" ("*Bagong Plakang Pangsayaw*") but the Filipino records they list had all already

been available for one to two years: "Beck's ad," *Liwayway* (28 March 1924), 2. Some possible exceptions, however, might be one or two records of Victor's International Orchestra featuring compositions of M. Anunciacion such as "Play that Amian Scandal of Manila." "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *Liwayway* (15 January 1926), 2; Thomas P. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines: American Songs of War and Love, 1898-1946, a Resource Guide* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 259. Trápaga also advertised a record featuring his composition "Seti" and "Noche de Luna" in late September 1926, but does not specify the record label: "Parsons hardware ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 September 1926), back cover.

[55] Denning, *Noise Uprising,* 65.

[56] For information about their visit, see "Hay Dinero en las Placas Fonograficas," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 May 1929), 62-63. Thanks to Peter Keppy for bringing this article to my attention.

[57] Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 140.

[58] For mentions of the Philippines, see Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 32, 39, 177.

[59] Parson's briefly advertised a selection of records from the German Odeon and Fonotipia record companies (the latter company became a part of Odeon) in September 1926, but their next advertisements for recordings was not until 1928: "Parsons Hardware ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 September 1926), back cover.

[60] E.g., "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *Communidad* (20 Dec 1922), 20; "Beck's ad," *Trabajo* (May 1923), 31; "Philippine Phonograph ad," *Liwayway* (1 Feb 1924), 4; "Camera Supply Company ad," *Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (27 January 1923), 12; "C. Alkan ad," *Liwayway* (12 Feb 1926), 44; "Heacock ad," *Liwayway* (25 Jan 1924), 21; "Starr Phonograph ad," *Excelsior* (20 July 1929), 2; "Behn, Meyer & Co., ad," *Graphic* (25 May 1929), 15.

[61] "Victor ad," *The Mindanao Herald* (24 March 1928), 4. Columbia records were sold in Manila, Cebu, Daraga, Nagis, Dagupan, Cavite, Jorsogon, Tacloban, Lucena, San Fernando (Masbate), San Pablo (Laguna), and Zamboanga: "Beck's ad," *The Manila Times* (13 May 1928), 11.

[62] "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (24 June 1919), 5. For a brief history of Erlanger & Galinger department store, see "Erlanger and Galinger, Inc.," *The Tribune* (June 17, 1939), 60.

[63] Gronow,"The Record Industry Comes to the Orient," 282.

[64] For an example of the turnover of records, see Appendix I.

[65] "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (28 January 1921), 5.

[66] "Nationalities in Manila," *Rosenstock's Manila City Directory: 1923* (Manila: C. W. Rosenstock, 1923), 285.

[67] I did not examine any of the Chinese-language publications, or those in other Philippine languages such as Visayan or Ilocano. By 1929, the combined circulation of all of Manila's periodicals reached 188,399. "More Filipinos Read Papers in English," *The Manila Times* (26 April 1926), 2; "Table No. 22: Number of circulation of daily papers, 1925-1929," *Statistical Bulletin No. 12 of the Philippine Islands, 1929* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 19.

[68] Erlanger & Galinger ad, *Liwayay* (1 December 1923), 2; "Beck's ad," *Liwayway* (28 March 1924), 2.

[69] "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *Liwayway* (11 January 1924).

[70] For Tagalog examples, see "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *Liwayway* (25 January 1924), 14; "Philippine Phonograph Co. ad," *Liwayway* (14 August 1925), 37. For a Spanish example, see "Beck's ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (13 August 1921), 24. For English, see "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (5 August 1923), 20.

[71] "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *Philippines Free Press* (20 June 1925), 37. In 1922, Filipino workers such as printers, tailors, or plumbers could bring in up to ₱16 a day, putting their record player payments as low as 1.7% of their monthly income "Table No. 44: Average daily wages for the most common occupations in the Philippines," *Statistical Bulletin No. 5 of the Philippine Islands, 1922* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1923), 40.

[72] At Beck's annual sale in September 1924, for example, the store listed an Ibecola Phonograph for ₱35 and included five free records with its purchase: "Beck's Big Annual Clearance Sale," *The Manila Times* (7 September 1924), 4.

[73] The cheapest model I have found sold for ₱16.50. For Tagalog-language radio ads, see "Beck's ad," *Liwayway* (8 January 1926), 7; "Alkan ad," *Liwayway* (22 Jan 1926), 33; "RCA Ad," *Taliba* (13 December 1926), 5.

[74] In 1924, Manila's KZKZ broadcast live performances of classical and popular songs, both American and Filipino. Beck's founded KZIB in November 1925 and regularly played the latest Columbia records on air. By February 1927, KZRM Radio Manila was also in the mix. For more on the history of radio in the Philippines see "The Air is Busy," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 May 1925), 2, 7, 15; Elizabeth L. Enriquez, *Appropriation of Colonial Broadcasting: A History of Early Radio in the Philippines, 1922-1946* (Quezon City: University of Philippines Press, 2008); Ben Aniceto and friends, *Stay Tuned: The Golden Years of Philippine Radio* (Atlas: Quezon City, 2007).

[75] "Clerk Stole Records from I. Beck's Store," *The Manila Times* (17 July 1919), 5.

[76] "Beck's ad," *The Manila Times* (16 October 1926), 4.

[77] "Letting America Know about Filipino music," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 January 1927), 22.

[78] These included several duets with U.S.-based Filipina singers Natty De Arellano and Isabel Llewellyn: Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 4*, 2444-2446.

[79] These included artists such as the Cuban singer Pilar Arcos and the Spanish Singer Amalia Molina: "Beck's ad," *The Manila Times* (14 October 1928), 10.

[80] His recorded compositions include "How are you Jack?" "Marina "Noche de Luna," "Seti," "Manila's Jazzy Scandal," "Granada Encantadora" "Magallanes," and "Idilio Filipino." See "Parsons Hardware Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 January 1928), back cover. See also the back cover of Trápaga 's "Gloriana" (Manila: 1927), Bañas collection.

[81] "Parsons' Hardware ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (5 September 1926), back cover; "Parsons Hardware Company, Inc. ad," *Graphic* (13 April 1929), 17. For a photograph of Fuentes in a Berlin studio see "Hay Dinero en las Placas Fonograficas," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 May 1929), 62-63.

[82] "Parsons Hardware Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press (*28 January 1928), back cover; "Parson's Ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (20 July 1929), back cover.

[83] These include three performances by Monserrat Iglesias, and one each by Asuncion Loanco, Lourdes Corrales, Joaquin L. De Silos, Manuel Silos, Delfina de San Agustin, Mercedes Carrion: "Behn, Meyer & Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (27 July 1929), 14. For more about Iglesias, see Jesus Balmori, "Nuestras Entrevistas: Srta. Monserrat Iglesias," *Excelsior* (10 May 1929), 21-22.

[84] "Beck's ad," *Graphic* (8 January 1930), 21.

[85] "Beck-Columbia Recording Expedition Concert at the Opera House," *Graphic* (8 January 1930), 28; "Beck's ad," *Graphic* (8 January 1930), 32.

[86] A. B. Legislator, "Weekly Mirror of Thoughts and Events," *Graphic* (22 January 1930), 19; "Beck's ad," *Graphic* (8 January 1930), 21.

[87] Brunswick gathered enough material for eight records in November 1929, but returned for more in February 1931: Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 1366-1372. From late 1929 through 1930, Gennett Records recorded enough selections by Filipino musicians at their

studio in Richmond, Indiana to fill over 30 records. For more on Gennet and Victor recordings of Filipinos, see Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 4*, 2413-2449.

[88] In April 1919, *Variety* noted "the first known instance of a song having become a popular selling hit only after it had appeared upon the phonograph record": "Song Hit Via Records," *Variety* (4 April 1919).

[89] The story of this encounter does not specify which.

[90] *"Muchas gracias, quèdense con su dinero. Para ganar eso, no necesita uno ser músico. Basta con ser limpia-botas."* "Hay dinero en las placas fonograficas," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 May 1929), 62-63.

[91] "Hay dinero en las placas fonograficas," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 May 1929), 62-63.

[92] "Hay Dinero" claims Filipinos received "hundreds of thousands of pesos" in royalties but this amount does not seem to align with the article's own description of royalty payments. According to the article, a performer earned 4 to 7 centavos per record sold. Based on this amount, Fuentes would only have received ₱140 in royalties for her recording of "Ay! Kalisud," which sold 2,000 copies over a two year period.

[93] By 1931, Filipino performers had made somewhere closer to 400 recordings, the vast majority of which would have reached the Philippines after mid-1930. I reached this number based on cross-referencing my own findings with Decenteceo's work ("An Americanization of Musics…") and the discographies of Spottswood (*Ethnic Music on Records, Vol.* 4) and Laird (*Brunswick Records*). This number is also more in line with Philip Yampolsky's finding that 720 kroncong records made between 1925 and 1935: Yampolsky, "Three Genres of Indonesian Popular Music," 30. For a list of electrically processed Filipino records circulating in Manila between 1929 and 1930, see Appendix H.

[94] Santiago writes "it is now estimated that about two thousand records of Filipino songs by Filipino artists have been recorded here and abroad during the last few years." Santiago's statement appears to draw this estimate from the article "Hay dinero en las placas fonograficas." He quotes the article (without attribution) when he says these records sold like "like hot cakes." By comparison, the article states "*Ambas se han vendido igual que pancillos alientes*." When this article mentions two thousand records, however, it refers merely to the total number of copies sold of Parlophon's "Ay Kalisud," not the total number of recordings made by Filipinos: "Hay dinero en las placas fonograficas," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 May 1929), 62-63.

[95] The stores included La Lira, José Oliver's, Balduz Store, Ilaya, Pio Trinidad, and Lyric Music House.

[96] Virginia A. Pradas, "Kundiman Giving Jazz the Air," *Graphic* (29 October 1927), 3, 27.

[97] A very small number of compositions in the Trápaga and Bañas collections were also published in places such as Cuba, Spain, Mexico, France, Germany, England, and Australia In addition to the Raymundo Bañas collection, housed at the National Library of the Philippines, and the two volumes of sheet music compiled by Benito Trápaga (now in the collection of the Trápaga-Saul family in Sydney, Australia), I also base my findings on sheet music from the Atang de la Rama collection (also at the National Library of the Philippines), the Filipinas Heritage Library, and the University of the Philippines-Diliman music library. Through these various collections, I have accumulated copies of 495 examples of sheet music available in Manila from the 1910s and 1920s.

[98] Virginia A. Pradas, "Kundiman Giving Jazz the Air," *Graphic* (29 October 1927), 3, 27.

[99] An ad in Manila noted that stores in Bicol and Mindanao also sold the latest Feist Dance Folio: "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 July 1926), 11.

[100] "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (10 October 1925), 4; "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 June 1926), 27; "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (8 January 1927), 6.

[101] "The Philippine Music Store ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 June 1926), 37. This price was a bit deceiving, though, because the folios only included instrumental versions. Customers had to purchase separate copies to find arrangements with lyrics.

[102] Trápaga Notebook, Vol. 1; Library of Congress, *Catalog of Copyright Entries, Part 3: Musical Compositions, 1917* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917), 961.

[103] "Lyric Music House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 June 1926), 27.

[104] See Appendix K.

[105] For evidence of these and other Manila publishing houses, see the following works from the Bañas collection: Constancio de Guzman, José Corazon de Jesus, "Bayan Ko!" (Manila: Ideal Music Store Co., 1930), Cultural Center of the Philippines library; Lorenzo Fajardo, Deogracias A. Rosario, "Huling Pag-asa," (Manila: The Philippine Music Store, Inc., 1928), Bañas collection; Clifford Adams, "Magnolia" (Manila: Lyric Music House, 1924), Bañas collection.

[106] For details about how American songwriters might self-publish compositions, see E. M. Wickes, *Writing the Popular Song* (Springfield, MA: The Home Correspondence School, 1916), 151-155; Charles K. Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song* (New York: Charles K. Harris, 1906), 49-53.

[107] "A Singer of Songs and a Dreamer of Dreams," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 October 1929), 10, 46, 47; "Ay Kalisud ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (27 April 1929), 46; "César Mirasol ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (1 June 1929), 38.

[108] Some of the titles he published through "Edicion Trápaga" include F. Canlas, T. Gavino, "Ang Balong Malongkot (Fox-trot)," (Manila: 1921), Filipina Heritage Library, and Juan Silos Enriquez, "Sa Dakong Silangan (cancion popular Filipina)," (Manila: 1928), Bañas collection.

[109] Timothy Taylor, "The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the Era of 'Mechanical Music,'" *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2 (2007): 284.

[110] Suisman, *Selling Sounds,* 57.

[111] Suisman, *Selling Sounds*, 58.

[112] Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song*, 52.

[113] "Seti ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 March 1924), 6. Copies of the Manila Grand Opera house programs at Manila's Lopez Memorial Museum lack dates to distinguish them, but two different programs from 1924 include advertisements for Trápaga compositions. See *Manila Grand Opera House Program* (1924.1)*,* 25; *Manila Grand Opera House Program* (1924.2)*,* 19, 21, 23.

[114] "Benito Trápaga ad," *Dalaga* (20 July 1925), back cover. Tony Joaquin, for example, writes that his parents met in the 1920s when his mother went to the Lyric Music Store to purchase sheet music. Joaquin's father was the music clerk who assisted her: Tony Joaquin, *Simple Glories: A Memoir* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2000), 15. For examples of other music ads geared towards Filipinas, see "Jose Oliver ad," *La Mujer* (30 September 1927), 18; "Levy Hermanos ad," *La Mujer* (30 September 1927), 21.

[115] Examples of these advertisements from Trápaga's collection include the following: Milton Ager, "Dance O' the Dollys" (New York: Joseph Stern & Co., 1916), back cover; Spencer Williams, Dave Peyton, "I Ain't Got Nobody" (Chicago: Craig & Co., 1916), back cover; Billy Baskette, Joseph Santly, George A. Little, "Hawaiian Butterfly" (New York: Leo Feist, 1917), back cover. Similar advertisements are commonplace in American magazines, e.g., "'Wonderful One' ad," *Talking Machine World* (15 July 1923), 88.

[116] E.g., "Fox trot ad," *The Independent* (7 Feb 1920), 10; "One Step ad," *The Independent* (7 Feb 1920), supplement; "Simeon Recurreccion ad" *The Independent* (7 Feb 1920), 35; "Fox trot ad," *The Independent* (28 Feb 1920), 25; "Simon Resurreccion ad," *The Independent* (1 May 1920), 30; "Anuncios de Este Tamano," *The Independent* (12 June 1920), 38; "Sirena ad," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1919), 8; "New Filipino

Fox-Trot is now on sale," *The Manila Times* (9 April 1920), 7; "Sabater ad," *Manila Nueva* (1 January 1921), 4; "New Fox Trot Is Composed by Zapata," *The Manila Times* (13 February 1922), 4.

[117] From *The Philippines Free Press* (18 July 1925), 7.

[118] Suisman, *Selling Sounds,* 60. As Lawrence Gushee points out, "the primary mode of dissemination of the popular song in the United States between 1900 and 1930 was the vaudeville stage." Lawrence Gushee, *Pioneers of Jazz: The Story of the Creole Band* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 12.

[119] Mecca (Maria Salome) was born in December 1928 so the parties she remembers were probably from the mid-1930s. It seems likely, though, that Trápaga would have had a similar strategy even before Mecca's birth, perhaps enlisting Mecca's older siblings Gloria, Rubia, and Nestor. Skype interview with Maria Solome "Mecca" (Trápaga) Arriaga (9 May 2014).

[120] Garcia's image is featured prominently on the front cover of Benito Trápaga, J. H. Blue, "How Are You Jack" (Manila: 1924), Trápaga collection. For mentions of Chabeng Garcia on Manila's vaudeville scene see "Stadium vod-a-vil," *The Manila Times* (10 October 1923), 8; "New Bill at the Savoy," *The Manila Times* (14 December 1924), 20.

[121] Used with permission from Trápaga family.

[122] For examples of programs where Borromeo performed his own works, see "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (30 January 1922), 3; "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (11 December 1922), 4. More than 5,000 attended his 1922 "Follies" show: "2,000 Turned away from Lou's Mid-week Follies," *The Manila Times* (12 January 1922), 2.

[123] For sources on the ban on jazz from the Constabulary band's repertoire, see "News of the Week," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 October 1925), 19; "Jazz Music in the Philippines," *North China Herald* (7 November 1925), 240. For examples of Constabulary band programs featuring local compositions, see: "New Fox-Trots," *The Manila Times* (6 November 1919), 8; "Constabulary Band Program for Tonight," *The Manila Times* (9 March 1921), 10; "Constabulary Band Program for Tomorrow," *The Manila Times* (29 March 1921), 6; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (7 September 1924), 20; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (14 September 1924), 20; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (19 October 1924), 19; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (14 December 1924), 21; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (9 March 1925), 12; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (31 May 1925), 13; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (19 July 1925), 12.

[124] E.g., "Money in Jazz," *The Straits Times* (22 November 1923), 3; "Money in Jazz," *North China Daily News* (8 December 1923), 7; "Money in Jazz," *The Daily News* [Perth] (24 December 1923), 4.

[125] "Tin Pan Alley," *The Straits Times* (10 February 1926), 15.

[126] Harry von Tilzer, "Introduction," in Wickes, *Writing the Popular Song*, xv-xvi.

[127] Trinos was already in San Francisco at the time working as a manual laborer. "Puts a Waltz on American Market," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 February 1922), 20.

[128] "Write the Song of the Century," *The Philippines Free Press* (9 June 1923), 22. For more on this scam, see Suisman, *Selling Sounds,* 51; Wickes, *Writing the Popular Song*, 156-161. The Song Shark also features prominently in Malcolm Lowry's novel *Under the Volcano* (New York: First Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2007 [1947]).

[129] Irving Berlin's famous 1920 guidelines for writing hit songs are reprinted in Suisman, *Selling Sounds*, 45-46. James Weldon Johnson describes how he and his brother wrote "The Girl with the Dreamy Eyes" because "a song written in exclusive praise of blue eyes was cut off at once from about three-fourths of the possible chances for universal success; …it could make but faint appeal to the heart or pocketbook of a young man going to call on a girl with brown eyes or black eyes or grey eyes": *Along this Way* (New York: The Viking Press, 1935), 179-180; See also W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillian, 1942), 122.

[130] See, for example, the English and Tagalog versions of the following chorus: "Your beauty I see my dear / On the moon silv'ry bright / On these waters calm and clear / Your image I sight." "*Sa bilog ng buan Irog / ganda mo'y nakita / Sa agos nitang ilog / may larawan ka*." Lornezo B. Fajardo, José Corazon de Jesus, Rogerio Quiason, "On Earth and in Heaven / Sa Lupa't sa Langit" (Manila: 1929), Bañas Collection.

[131] E.g., Manuel R. Isip, Francisco O. Domingo, Mariano Rey Concepcion "Aurie" (Manila: 1923) [English, Tagalog], Bañas collection; Leon Ignacio, José Corazon de Jesus, Luis F. Nolasco, "Lambingan" (Manila: 1929) [Spanish, Tagalog], Bañas collection; Luis Borromeo, Manuel Bernabe, J. C. Cowper "Manila Mia" (Manila: 1922) [Spanish, English], Filipinas Heritage Library; Gerardo Enriquez, J. C. Cowper, Manuel Bernabe, Severino Reyes, "All for Country" (Manila: 1925) [English, Spanish, Tagalog], Bañas collection; Manuel A. Villaluz, Vicente Aragon, Felipe A. Rey, "Kapung-Aw" (Manila: Self-published, 1929) [Tagalog, Visayan], Bañas collection; C. Jacobe, Adelina Guerrea, Atilano Inchaust, "Me' Keni Kuyug" (Manila: Self-published, c. 1920s) [Spanish, Pampangan], Bañas collection; Mauro Zamora, Tomas Gomez Jr., E. Vila, "Mameng" (Manila: Self-published, 1927) [English, Pangasinan], Bañas collection.

[132] The brief article about this composition, however, does not specify which languages these include: "I Love You," *The Philippines Free Press* (12 March 1927), 49.

[133] "Trápaga ad for 'Ay Calisud,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (20 April 1929), 16; Benito Trápaga, "Walay-Angay" (Manila: 1929), Bañas collection.

[134] Benito Trápaga, "Danzas Filipinas" (Manila: 1925), Trápaga collection.

[135] For Perez, see: Bubuyog at Bulaklak (Manila: c. 1922), Bañas collection; "Tonga" (Manila: c. 1918), Bañas collection; "Ang mga Ulila" (Manila: 1929), Atang de la Rama collection. For Enriquez, see: "Pag-Asa" (Manila: Manila Musical Publication: c. 1930s), Bañas collection; "Manila Rose" (Manila: c. 1930) Bañas collection.

[136] Perez led the "Orquestra Modernista," advertised on works such as his "Reyna Juanita I" (Manila: 1921), back cover, Bañas collection. After working in China, Enriquez returned to Manila to lead the "Apollo Orchestra and Jazz Band, advertised on compositions such as "Pusong Wasak" (Manila: c. 1930), Bañas collection.

[137] See, from the Bañas collection: José A. Estella, "La Tagala," 2nd ed. (Manila: Oliver y Trill, editors, 1898); José A. Estella, "El Anahaw de Germinal (Cake-Walk)" (Manila, c. 1900); Ciro Cavalieri "Germinalistas" (Manila: 1907).

[138] Luis Borromeo, J. C. Cowper, "Dodge Me Daddy Blues" (Manila: Borromeo Lou, 1922), Atang de la Rama Collection. See, for example, J. C. Cowper ad, *The Independent* (6 November 1920), 24.

[139] The title is even printed in the distinctive font that Dodge Cars used in its advertisements throughout the region: e.g., "Dodge car ad," *The Statesman* [Calcutta] (6 September 1925), 22.

[140] Adams arrived in Manila in late 1923 after touring the region with the act the "International Stars." He performed alongside Borromeo on several occasions at Stadium vaudeville shows before working at the Manila Hotel and developing other acts for Manila's theaters. For Stadium appearances, see "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (31 October 1923), 8; "Stadium vodavil ad," *The Manila Times* (12 December 1923), 8. For Adams' later work, see "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (26 November 1924), 1; "Lake and Adams Score Bit Hit at the Lyric," *The Manila Times* (29 March 1925), 12; "Majestic Theater ad," *Bulalakaw* (15 June 1926), 35.

[141] Clifford Adams (music and lyrics), "Magnolia" (Manila: Lyric Music house, 1924), Bañas collection. Magnolia Dairy Products owned the copyright to the song.

[142] The cover of the sheet music features a picture of de la Cruz in the middle of a melting ice cream cone. She surely pleased crowds with lyrics such as these: "sweet, sweet mamma craves a treat, Magnolia Ice Cream can't be beat."

[143] Since she does not specify in her article, I assume that the category of "kundiman" also includes other Filipino genres. Similarly, I assume that the category of "jazz" includes all Tin Pan Alley compositions. Virginia A. Pradas, "Kundiman Giving Jazz the Air," *Graphic* (29 October 1927), 3, 27.

[144] The breakdown by store is as follows (C = classical, K = kundiman, J = jazz): La Lira C50, K30, J20; José Oliver's C50, K30, J20; Balduz Store C50, K30, J20; Ilaya C5, K10, J20; Pio Trinidad C20, K30, J40; Lyric Music House C30, K20, J50: Virginia A. Pradas, "Kundiman Giving Jazz the Air," *Graphic* (29 October 1927), 3, 27.

[145] "I Love You," *The Philippines Free Press* (12 March 1927), 49.

[146] E.g., "One Step ad," *The Independent* (7 Feb 1920), supplement; "Seti ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 March 1924), 6; "Benito Trápaga ad," *Dalaga* (20 July 1925), back cover; "César Mirasol ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (1 June 1929), 38.

[147] "Seti ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 March 1924), 6. The handwritten version of the composition that he submitted to the copyright office says "*Escrito en 15 de Sept, 1923*." "Seti," *Piezas Musicales Compuestas por B. Trápaga* (Manila: c. 1930), Trápaga family collection.

[148] "Trápaga ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 July 1925), 7. Benito Trápaga, "Danzas Filipinas" (Manila: 1925) back cover, University of the Philippines Music Library. By the mid- to early-1930s, both works were listed as "*Agotada*," or sold-out. See Trápaga's "Evocacion," (Manila: c. 193?), 2, Trápaga family collection.

[149] As a point of reference, in 1916, E. M. Wickes explained to U.S. songwriters who sought to publish on their own that they should expect to sell copies of their composition to local music stores for up to 70% of the sale price. Wickes' advice, however, is quite different than the suggestion offered by Charles Harris in 1906. He recommended self-publishing songwriters to sell their compositions to music stores at only up to 30% of sale price. So, if Trápaga's editions were all of 2,000 copies, he sold at least 4,300 copies during this time period: 4,300 x ₱1.00 per copy = ₱4,300. Even if Trápaga only made 50% of the sale price of his compositions, he would still have brought home ₱2,150. Wickes, *Writing the Popular Song*, 151; Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song*, 51.

[150] Ernesto V. Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo: The Man and the Artist: A Biography* (Manila: Rex Book Store, 1996), 53.

[151] "Cesar Mirasol ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (1 June 1929), 38.

[152] The idiosyncrasies of some of these compositions likely reflect the decentralized nature of musical publishing, especially compared to the larger firms of New York that contributed to more of a sameness to many U.S. Tin Pan Alley compositions.

[153] He first performed in Manila on September 14, 1921 but likely arrived in the Philippines in July. He contributed an article about Filipinos in Japan dated from July 1921: Luis Borromeo, "One of the 'Manila Jins' in Japan," *The Philippines Free Press* (16 July 1921), 2; "Former Keith's Circuit Artist to Appear Here Wednesday," *The Manila Times* (11 September 1921), 7. For information about his time in the U.S., see "El autor del canto 'My Beautiful Philippines,'" *The Independent* (11 June 1921), 38; "Said to be Making...," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 June 1921), 24.

[154] For examples of the popularity of "The Missouri Waltz" in Asia see "Penang St. Andrew's Society," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (5 December 1919), 1697; "Sports and Pastimes," *Ceylon Observer* (4 April 920), 178; **"**Penang Filipinos Honor memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2, 4.

[155] "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (31 October 1922), 3; Luis Borromeo, Godofredo Grageda, "Philippine Commonwealth Hymn" (Iloilo: H. and B. Publishing, c. 1935), Atang de la Rama collection.

[156] Francisco Buencamino, "Filipinas para los Filipinos!" (Manila: c. 1908) (This is not to be confused with the 1905 zarzuela of the same name by Severino Reyes and José Estella). Gerardo Enriquez, J. C. Cowper, Manuel Bernabe, Severino Reyes, "All for Country" (Manila: 1925). Both in the Bañas collection.

[157] Julio Nakpil, "Pasig-Pantayanin" (Manila, c. 1900s), Bañas collection.

[158] Pablo Mallare, Mariano Diaz, "Magkaisa Tayo!!!" (Manila: 1921), Filipinas Heritage Library.

[159] For examples of other compositions celebrating Bonifacio, see; Francisco Bernardo, "Bonifacio March" (Manila: 1921), Filipinas Heritage library; Nicanor Abelardo, Francisco Carballo, "Bonifacio Song" (Manila: Manila Teachers' Association, 1922), Bañas collection.

[160] A similar image is featured on the bass drum of the drummer for Singapore's City Opera Company orchestra, a group that also played jazz and was directed by the Filipino pianist C. Martinez: "The City Opera Co. Of Singapore," *Malayan Saturday Post* (19 December 1925), 2.

[161] Used with permission from the Filipinas Heritage Library.

[162] The copy of "Magkaisa Tayo!!!" from the Filipinas Heritage Library shows half of the stamp from José Oliver's music store, one of the main purveyors of U.S. sheet music.

[163] Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality under U.S. Colonial Rule," *Philippine Quarter of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (2006): 15.

[164] Resil B. Mojares, "Guillermo Tolentino's 'Grupo de Filipinos Ilustres' and the Making of a National Pantheon," *Philippine Studies* 58, no. 1, 2 (2010): 180.

[165] "Pedro Castro and His Band," *Musical Record and Review* (1 April 1901), 86; Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio, *The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation* (Manila: Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines, Inc., 1972).

[166] Robert W. Rydell, "Soundtracks of Empire: 'The White Man's Burden,' the War in the Philippines, the 'Ideals of America,' and Tin Pan Alley," *European Journal of American Studies* (2012): 11.

[167] I have only located fewer than a dozen compositions were explicitly labeled "Filipino fox-trots," or "Filipino Tango Fox-Trots." However, the distinctive musical characteristics that mark this genre are present in many other songs composed by Filipinos that they labeled only as "fox-trots."

[168] Facundo Perez, "Bubuyog at Bulaklak" (Manila: c. 1922), courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines; Francisco Buencamino, Justio Juliano, "Reverie" (Manila: c. 1920s), used with permission from the Filipinas Heritage Library.

[169] Resil B. Mojares, "Guillermo Tolentino's 'Grupo de Filipinos Ilustres,'" 169-184.

[170] Jones, "The Yellow Music of Li Jinhui," *Yellow Music,* 73-104.

[171] E.g., Antonio C. Hila, *Music in History: History in Music* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing, 2004); Ramón P. Santos, *Musika: An Essay on the American Colonial and Contemporary Traditions in Philippine Music* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1994); Raymundo C. Bañas, *Pilipino Music and Theater* (Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Co, 1969); Antonio J. Molina, *Music of the Philippines: Aspects of Philippine Culture* (Manila: National Media Production Center for the National Museum of the Philippines, 1967).

[172] Ramón Pagayon Santos, "Nicanor Abelardo: Filipino Classicism in the Art of Music," *Tunugan: Four Essays on Filipino Music* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 1-94; Antonio C. Hila, "The Kundiman," *Anuaryo/Annales* 12 (1994): 110-119.

[173] Nicanor Abelardo, Servando de los Angeles, "Bituing Marikit" (Manila[?]: 1926, U.P. Music Library; Nicanor Abelardo, "Sa Iyong Kandungan" (Cebu: Sta. Cecilia Music Store, 1929). For analyses of other Abelardo kundiman that show this structure, see Santos, "Nicanor Abelardo," 21.

[174] Including, Francisco Santiago's kundiman "Madaling Araw!!!" (Manila: N.D.), University of the Philippines Music Library; Crispino Reye's 1928 balitaw "Arimundingmunding" (Manila: 1928), Bañas collection; Trápaga's arrangement of the

Bicolano song "Marina" (Manila: 1925), U. P. Music Library; Luis Borromeo's "Ylonga Mia" (Iloilo: H. and B. Music Publishing, c. 1930s), Atang de la Rama collection.

[175] One of the most famous examples of this might be James P. Johnson's "Charleston" (New York: Harms, 1921); see also Ballard McDonald, James F. Hanley, "The Rose of Washington Square" (New York: Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., 1920); Henry Busse, Henry Lange, Lou Davis, "Hot Lips" (New York: Leo Feist, 1922). Jeffrey Magee identifies this move between minor and relative major as one of "the earmarks of Jewish Tin Pan Alley and Broadway in the 1920s." Jeffrey Magee, "Irving Berlin's 'Blue Skies': Ethnic Affiliations and Musical Transformations," *The Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (2000): 549.

[176] Christopher Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1993); Bronia Kornhauser, "In Defense of Kroncong" in *Studies in Indonesian Music*, no. 7, ed. Margaret J. Kartomi (Melbourne: Monash University, 1978): 104-183; Yampolsky, "Three Genres," 30.

[177] In a 16-measure form, the climax of this change occurred in the 10th measure, while in a 32-measure form it would occur in the 20th or 21st measure. For examples of Santiago's arrangements, see Emilia S. Cavan and Francisco Santiago, *Filipino Folk Songs* (Manila: Mission Press, 1924).

[178] Cavan and Santiago, "Walay Angay ang Camingaw," *Filipino Folk Songs*, 17-18; Nicanor Abelardo, Manuel Bernabe, "Ikaw Rin" (Manila: c. 1920s), U. P. Music Library; Borromeo, "Ylonga Mia." For reference to habanera in the Philippines in the mid-nineteenth century, see Henry T. Ellis, *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon, in the Philippines Isles, in the year 1856* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1859), 232.

[179] For more on the habanera and related *tresillo* rhythm in U.S. popular music, see Charles Hiroshi Garrett, "Jelly Roll Morton and the Spanish Tinge," in *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century* (University of California Press, 2008), 48-82.

[180] King publishing this work under the pseudonym "Mary Earl." For more on "In Old Manila," including lyrics, see Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines*, 245-248.

[181] For information about accessing recordings of "In Old Manila," see Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines,* 247-248. Castanets had also been incorporated into Philippine fandango dances: Harriet Hillard, *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829-1834*, ed. Katharine Hillard (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900), 24; José Honorato Lozano*, Vistas de las Islas Filpinas y Traces de sus Abitante*s ([no publication information] 1847), 35; Ellis, *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon*, 240.

[182] Trápaga, Manuel Fontana, "Lolita" (Manila: Edicion Trápaga, 1922), Trápaga collection;

Leon Ignacio, Deogracias A. Rosario, Luis F. Nolasco, "Por que ya no me quieres?/Bakit ka lumimot?" (Manila: c. 1930s), Bañas collection; Facundo Perez, "Reyna Juanita I" (Manila: 1921), Bañas collection.

[183] Benito Trápaga, Manuel Fontana, "Lolita" (Manila: Edicion Trápaga, 1922), used with permission from the Trápaga family.

[184] Trápaga, Manuel Fontana, "Manila" (Manila: Edicion Trápaga, 1921), used with permission from the Trápaga family.

[185] Trápaga, "Gloriana" (Manila: 1927), Bañas collection; F. Canlas, T. Gavino, "Ang Balong Malungkot" (Manila: Edicion Trápaga, 1921), Filipinas Heritage Library.

[186] "Jazz Music," *The Musical Times* (1 February 1925), 158.

[187] E.g. Nicanor Abelardo, Deogracias A. Rosario, "Mutya ng Pasig" (Manila: 1926), U. P. Music Library; Albino F. Tiburcio, José G. Lopez, "Ang Pag-Ibig na Tunay" (Manila: 1928), Bañas collection; Francisco Santiago, José Corazon de Jesus, Jesus Balmori "Pakiusap" (Manila: 1921), U. P. Music Library.

[188] One notable exception is that some fox-trots, both from the U.S. and the Philippines featured a ritardando and fermatas on the notes leading from the verse into the chorus. E.g., Trápaga, "Black Eyes" (Manila, c. 1923), Trápaga collection.

[189] Leon Ignacio, Deogracias A. Rosario, Luis F. Nolasco, "Por que ya no me quieres?/Bakit ka lumimot?" (Manila: c. 1930s), Bañas collection. Courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

[190] There are a few exceptions: the cover of "Perla Del Oriente" shows a variation of Botticelli's "Birth of Venus" with a dark-haired Venus resting in a clamshell holding up a Philippine flag in her hand: José Estella, "Perla Del Oriente" (Manila: c. 1920s), Bañas collection. Francisco Santiago also wrote a composition described as a "Filipino Fox-Trot" with the provocative title "Balintawak." I only have the title and genre for Santiago's work, but the title alone is suggestive: Balintawak was famously the area where the Filipino revolutionary group the Katipunan began their armed resistance against the Spanish in 1896: Francisco Santiago, Jesus Balmori "Balintawak" (Manila: 1920).

[191] Examples of instrumentals include: Trápaga, "Lamentos!" (Manila: c. 1923), Trápaga collection; Amelia Hilado, "Tristezas" (Manila: 1920), Bañas collection. Examples of love songs include: Trápaga, Manuel Fontana,"Lolita" (Manila: Edicion Trápaga, 1922), Trápaga collection; S. Castillejos, Leon Alvarez, Jr., "Las Dalagas" (Manila: c. 1920s), Bañas collection.

[192] In fact, one of the only mentions of Trápaga I have found in secondary sources is in a photo of the Filipino violinist Servillano Castillejos in Raymundo C. Bañas's 1969 study of Philippine music. Trápaga is shown in the photo accompanying Castillejos on the piano: Bañas, *Pilipino Music and Theater* (Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Co, 1969): 77.

[193] Molina, *Music of the Philippines,* 17.

[194] Manuel, *Francisco Santiago*, 13-14.

[195] Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo,* 53.

[196] For recordings, see: "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 August 1923), 11; "Parsons Hardware Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press (*28 January 1928), back cover. For public concerts, see "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (5 October 1924), 17; "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (16 November 1924), 18. For radio, see: "Listen In On This," *The Manila Times* (21 January 1925), 4. Abelardo also regularly appeared on the radio leading the Santa Ana Orchestra for live broadcasts of dance music: e.g., "On the Air," *The Manila Times* (3 January 1928), 8.

[197] E.g., Filomena T. Alcanar, "Hanggang Sumahukay," *Liwayway* (6 Oct 1923), 12-13.

[198] The other composers include Francisco Santiago, Antonio Molina, and Antonino Buenaventura.

[199] Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality under U.S. Colonial Rule," 13-14.

[200] Nicanor Abelardo, "Music Appreciation," *Graphic* (24 August 1932), 5, 57, 64.

[201] Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo,* 71-89.

Chapter Four

"Manila's Jazzy Scandal": the Racial Politics of Manila's Cabarets

One of the local hits captivating Manila in 1924 was "Manila's Jazzy Scandal," a fox-trot by Manila-born composer Benito Trápaga and lyricist O. T. Pinzke. The song's two-beat rhythm and harmonic movement adhere to Tin Pan Alley forms broadly associated with the U.S. and commonly heard throughout much of the colonial world. The lyrics, in contrast, describe a crucial actor in Manila's music economy from the late 1910s through the 1930s: "Down in Manila," the song begins, "there lived a cute jazzy jazzy jazzy jazzy maid / Every one was crazy to dance with her, although her skin was of a light dusky colored shade."[1] This "jazzy jazzy jazzy jazzy" maid was a Filipina *bailarina*, a professional dance partner in Manila's many cabarets, the popular yet controversial venues just outside city limits where male patrons could hire a young woman as a partner for twenty centavos a dance.

The play between U.S. musical forms and local subject matter in "Manila's Jazzy Scandal" hints at a tension also at play in Manila's cabarets: Filipina bailarinas attempted to use the infrastructure of jazz to take part in emerging labor opportunities while, at the same time, jazz dance perpetuated U.S. interests in racial hierarchies and imperial control. In a manner similar to Filipino musicians and composers, Filipina bailarinas were workers in a new market for jazz labor. Their actions in Manila's cabarets, and the politics of jazz dance more broadly, provide yet another glimpse into the ways in which a form of "jazz labor" became a contradictory political force in colonial Asia: it served both to maintain white colonial interests while also enabling Filipinas to carve out a space

for themselves in a newly transformed Philippine economy. This was a political action of sorts, although it was one that was highly varied, not reducible to mere "resistance," a term whose overuse has rendered it flat and near meaningless.[2] Bailarinas may have seen dancing as an exciting professional opportunity, but they remained stuck within systems of inequality and colonial subjugation.

As the opening song suggests, Manila's Filipina bailarinas were at the center of a scandalous practice. Americans and Filipinos alike discussed how jazz dance was representative of the changing morals, gender roles, and leisure practices that swept through the Philippines in the late 1910s and early 1920s, a debate reflective of both a broad, global post-World War I trend and the continued cultural changes wrought through the machinery of U.S. imperialism. Yet jazz dance was not scandalous for all, nor was it always scandalous in the same way. For many white men, dancing at cabarets was an important activity necessary to cement their good social standing amongst their peers. Many young Filipinos and Filipinas, however, were chastised by an older generation of Filipinos for spending their evenings at the city's cabarets. Even within these varied groups, however, there were dynamic, nuanced qualities of scandal, especially concerning the racial qualities of jazz dance.

The scandal of jazzy Manila was also embodied in the figure of the bailarina. She was particularly controversial through the ways in which she appeared to help perpetuate U.S. imperial rule and prevent Filipino independence through her job dancing with white and Filipino men. For the white men who danced with Filipinas in the semi-public space of the cabaret, the movements of the fox-trot and other fashionable dances enabled them to attempt a performance of what I call "imperial whiteness." This was a particular type

of whiteness, though, one that was not solely racial. Rather, imperial whiteness was based upon the notion that racial evolution was indistinguishable from Euro-American cultural superiority over non-white populations of the world. The one informed the development of the other. Imperial whiteness, then, was both a racial and a cultural condition, in which white supremacy and the belief in European cultural and technological superiority were intertwined, a belief that had served to justify the violence of much of nineteenth-century imperialism. But this was a belief that had no natural basis, and thus had to be maintained and perpetuated on a daily basis through everyday acts. By aspiring to demonstrate their imperial whiteness through dance, though, Manila's white residents revealed a formal contradiction at the heart of their performance: to perform racial supremacy, they had to rely upon the labors of young Filipina women who were themselves staking a claim to the changing economy of colonial Asia.

Even as white dancers came to imagine bailarinas as essential partners in their attempts to perform imperial whiteness, bailarinas also became central to anxious discussion in the Filipino community about racial respectability and independence. As a conspicuous public example of a new form of jazz laborer, the bailarina became a scapegoat in the public imagination: young Filipino men, educators, and older Filipinas depicted a highly stylized version of the bailarina as one of the impediments in their path towards racial respectability and a new independent Philippine nation. In popular fiction and countless editorials, the bailarina became a central figure in broader debates about Filipino morality and Filipina femininity that ultimately focused on how Filipinos could demonstrate their worthiness for self-rule. In these depictions, the bailarina acted as a negative force of U.S. empire that would prevent Filipinos from establishing a reputation

as a moral and civilized race. These stylized accounts of the bailarina, however, failed to take into account the numerous ways in which the position of professional dancer was also generating new opportunities and possibilities for a class of young Filipinas who had few options to survive the transformations of the colonial economy. On the dance floor, bailarinas could earn a livelihood and establish themselves as critical, essential players in a new global institution.

Focusing on the various ways in which jazz dance and bailarinas became central to debates about race and empire allows us to explore the cultural contradictions of jazz labor in colonial Asia. As I have argued in previous chapters, making this move requires us to think of jazz not merely as an audible phenomenon but rather as a system of markets, practices, and labor, a set of economic relations in which the bailarina and the white male dancer are key actors in the performance and circulation of jazz. Indeed, as a I examine here, it is the Filipina bailarina's position as a jazz laborer – the primary Filipina jazz laborer other than those on the vaudeville stage – that enabled expressions of whiteness, complicated an image of Filipino morality and Filipina femininity, and simultaneously positioned them as indispensable, and perhaps even political, figures in a modern industry of syncopated music.[3]

This chapter proceeds in three parts. First, I briefly situate Manila's fascination with jazz dance in relation to a larger Asian cabaret scene. Second, I explore how jazz dance as enabled by Filipina bailarinas became a medium through which Manila's white men anxiously aspired to protect and maintain their sense of imperial whiteness, both through their claim to a sense of European modernity, and also by reveling in the racial and gendered privileges they enjoyed. In the third section, I show that, in the Filipino

community, jazz dance and bailarinas inspired quite a different debate about race and morality. I examine how the Filipina bailarina's work in a public realm transformed her into an attractive scapegoat in larger debates about Filipino morality and Filipina femininity, debates that were ultimately about how to claim a discourse of respectability necessary for Philippine nationhood. Outside of these debates in which bailarinas were presented as one-dimensional stereotypes, actual bailarinas were engaged in a far more complex and contradictory dance with the dynamics of empire. By examining the specifics of their life as laborers, including their method of earning a wage and their strategies to capitalize upon the various opportunities open to them in the cabaret, I suggest that the emergence of a new form of jazz labor also afforded them access to new opportunities and possibilities. This story requires us a degree of speculation, though. Given bailarinas' marginal status, their voices are largely missing from the colonial archive, forcing us to contemplate the complexities of the cabaret by reading against the grain of male authors. The widespread representation of bailarinas in various forms of media, however, brings to light the ways in bailarinas came to occupy central and controversial positions in public debates about race and both imperial and anticolonial ambition in Manila.

Asia's Jazzy Scandal

In the decade after World War I, jazz was a music for dancing. Audiences experienced its rhythms as they moved their bodies in a partner's embrace. While syncopated music and social dance became increasingly conspicuous globally in the early 1920s, in much of Asia it was not until the latter years of the decade that large audiences

of Asian patrons began to dance in public venues, following the fashions of white dancers who had been fox-trotting in racially exclusive venues since the late 1910s. As I explore more below, the Philippines was a notable exception to this trend, For Filipinos, ragtime and jazz dance in the 1910s merely represented a new phase of a long and continuous history of public social dancing. While Chinese audiences in Shanghai only began to attend dancing halls in large numbers in early 1928, by the early 1920s dancing was already so popular among Filipinos that the planners of the 1922 Manila Carnival were compelled to construct a massive outdoor dance floor that stretched 60,000 square feet and could accommodate over 10,000 couples. Despite its size, even this enormous floor was reportedly crowded on the Carnival's first night.[4] Outside of the Philippines, social dances among American and European communities in Asia also regularly attracted large crowds in the first half of the decade. In December 1919, over 500 Europeans attended a St. Andrew's day dance in Kuala Lumpur featuring a mix of Scottish songs and the latest jazz tunes; a month later in the treaty port of Yokohama, 800 white patrons attended a dance with the American female-impersonator Julian Eltinge's jazz band; in 1923, over 2,000 dancers enjoyed to an American company's annual ball in Shanghai and, in Calcutta in 1925, over 800 European dancers helped open up the Palais de Danse for its third season.[5]

The rise of social dance among colonial Asia's white community in the early 1920s, combined with this community's notable gender imbalance, gave rise to a new entertainment profession for Asian women.[6] The most popular forms of dancing during this era were dances that required two partners, most commonly a man and a woman. For many white dancers, however, finding a suitable partner could be difficult. Due in large

part to the tendency for colonial governments and industries to recruit unmarried European or American men, the white population in colonial Asia tended to be overwhelmingly young, single, and male.[7] This gender imbalance was so great that a common figure of travelogues and colonial fiction was the unmarried white European or American woman who, upon failing to find a husband at home, went abroad to secure a match from the lonely male population of the colonies.[8] The lack of suitable women left white men eager for female companions, especially on the dance floor.[9] Enterprising managers of dance halls in select Asian cities recognized this situation as an opportunity: building on the model of the taxi-dance hall in the U.S. and early "Road Houses" and dance halls in the Philippines where American soldiers could find Filipina companions, they established a new institution called a "cabaret."[10] While in Europe and the U.S., the term "cabaret" typically referred to a nightclub where patrons seated at tables could enjoy staged entertainment and later dance with their dates, the Asian cabaret was a venue where a staff of Asian women served as dance partners to young, white males a small cost per dance.[11]

The popularity of social dancing and the demographics of the white population were fairly similar throughout Asia's major colonial ports, but cabarets did not emerge uniformly in each of them. The most famous and largest cabaret scene in Asia was in the treaty port of Shanghai. By the end of the 1930s, Shanghai's population reached over three million people: it was the fifth or sixth biggest city in world, roughly ten times larger than Manila or Singapore.[12] Its immense size, as well as the fragmented nature of regulation and policing between the city's international, French, and Chinese areas, helped contribute to an exciting nightlife that has been the subject of much recent

scholarship.[13] In the early part of the decade, Shanghai's European and American revelers flocked to the city's hotel ballrooms and its cabarets. The professional female dance partners in these venues, who were primarily white Russian refugees and Chinese women, were a major attraction. Establishments such as St. George's Café, Premier Café, Park Pavilion, and Palais de Danse, all emphasized the presence of these professionals in a similar manner, advertising how they featured "lively dancing partners," "pretty dancing partners," and "fifty perfect dancing partners."[14] As a report from Singapore in 1929 notes, however, Shanghai's dancing population soon underwent a dramatic demographic shift. In the final years of the decade large numbers of Chinese began fox-trotting in new dance halls and cabarets built specifically for them. As one 1929 report noted, "since the successful conclusion of the Nationalist revolution [of 1927] more than 30 Chinese-controlled dance halls have been opened, dispensing American jazz, and the clientele is composed principally of Chinese."[15] Shanghai's cabarets, and those in other Asian cities, differed from the U.S. taxi-dance halls that primarily attracted immigrants and working-class patrons. The treaty port's dance halls varied in quality from "no class" establishments in the "Trenches" catering to sailors to glamorous venues such as the where men might bring their wives or girlfriends for an elegant night on the town.[16]

Shanghai's cabaret scene may have earned the city an enduring notoriety, but the Chinese port was not the only Asian city with a lively leisure industry of jazz dance. Manila was also home to a large number of cabarets. By the end of the 1920s, there were easily over a dozen dance halls within an hour's drive or streetcar trip from the city center.[17] These included the two largest and most popular cabarets, the Santa Ana and the Lerma Cabaret, the slightly smaller San Juan Cabaret, and others, including the Buting

Cabaret, the Palace Cabaret, and the Marilao Cabaret, that were either further away from the city or featured relatively small dance floors.[18] Manila's cabarets differed from those in Shanghai, however, in their patron demographics. Unlike in Shanghai or cities in Japan, where Chinese and Japanese audiences were largely unaccustomed to the sort of public dancing of the jazz age, the Philippines was home to a population that was familiar with both western music and practices of European social dancing.

As Henry Landor noted during his 1903 tour of the Philippines, this phenomenon was a legacy of over three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule. Landor observed that "Spanish influence is strongly noticeable both in Filipino music and dancing."[19] This influence had a long history.[20] David Irving has shown that, even in the late eighteenth century, English travelers were surprised to find Filipinos who could play European music and, as one navigator explained in 1788, "knew many of our English country dances."[21] Foreign observers in the following years made similar observations. In 1856, the British traveler Henry Ellis described dancing the polka and other "dances common in English society" with Filipina mestizas.[22] When American soldiers and teachers came to the islands after 1898, they regularly wrote about watching and participating in Filipino social dances throughout the archipelago. The American soldier John White even explained that he strategically attended Filipino dances on the island of Negros to pick up useful military intelligence from its participants.[23] Other visitors, such as Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, described in 1904 how the Filipinos of Iloilo regularly enjoyed social dances. "When we are coming home in the evenings," she wrote, "we often see the *salas* of quite little houses lighted up and full of people dancing, and I have seen small native huts having a *baile* of two couples jostling round in a space 10 feet square."[24] As the rhythms

of jazz and the movements of the fox-trot made their way into the Philippines in the late 1910s, then, they were not entirely foreign, either as a musical form or as a dance. Filipino dancers began to move from their *salas* onto the dance floor floors of cabarets as soon as they began to appear in the Philippines. The colonial legacy that the U.S. inherited from Spain played out in the practices of daily life, including the movements of dancers on the dance floor. Cabarets sprung up not merely in Manila, home to the largest number of Americans, but also throughout the rest of the archipelago.[25] As one critic of dance halls observed with dismay 1920, in the Philippines "almost every town has its cabaret."[26]

Filipinos' familiarity with social dance had important ramifications for the organization and significance of cabarets in Manila and throughout the rest of the colony. In Manila, Filipinos were fox-trotting on the same dance floors as white dancers from the late 1910s. To be sure, many cabarets attracted particular crowds: those in Pasay, just south of Manila, were primarily popular among Filipino college students, while white tourists tended to favor the Santa Ana or Lerma cabarets.[27] But many of these cabarets, including the Santa Ana and Lerma, featured a racially mixed group that included white and Filipino patrons, as well as some of the city's Chinese population.[28] These patrons and the Filipina bailarinas did not all mix freely in the halls, however. In some sense, Manila's cabarets were similar to other institutions across colonial Asia. In the major cities of the region, hotels, social clubs, theaters, and restaurant ballrooms practiced racial discrimination and segregation: theaters commonly had a special seating section reserved for white patrons while hotels or dance halls such as Calcutta's Palais de Danse would screen their patrons by announcing that "management reserve[d] the right of refusing

admission without ascribing any reason."[29] Manila's cabarets also practiced a kind of "Jim Crow" policy on the dance floor. Many cabarets in the city installed physical barriers such as lattice fences that divided the dance floor into two spaces (Fig. 4.1).[30]



Figure 4.1: Santa Ana Cabaret during a special Filipino dance in 1925. The lattice fence in the background divided the hall into two halves. The band (visible here) sat on a raised platform in the middle of the hall.[31]

There has been some confusion about precisely who danced on either side of these fences – or if these physical dividers even existed – in the popular histories of Manila's cabarets. Filipino journalists and public intellectuals such as Manuel L. Quezon III and Nick Joaquin have written about how Manila's cabarets were first segregated by race but underwent a dramatic change. In the late 1910s, as the story goes, Governor General Harrison and Philippine Senate President Manuel Quezon successfully conspired to desegregate the halls by taking several prominent white American and Filipino couples to eat and dance in the whites-only side of the cabaret. Their actions reportedly spurred all the city's dance halls to end their policy of segregation.[32] This event very well may

have occurred as described for, although racial discrimination and segregation clearly persisted in other parts of the city throughout the 1920s, cabarets do not appear to have been segregated solely in terms of race.[33] Santa Ana's lattice fence, though, stayed up throughout the 1920s. Similar to Manila's other cabarets, it still segregated its dance floor into two sides. In order to prevent respectable couples from having to dance alongside those consorting with Filipina bailarinas, one side was reserved for those who came with their own partners while the other side was the domain of the professional dancing partners and the men who danced with her. An Australian tourist attending the Santa Ana in 1922 offered a description of what she saw: "one half of the floor is reserved for Filipinos, but where a European such as a sailor, may obtain a partner for a few cents. In the other half only Europeans and the Filipino aristocracy may dance."[34] While this Australian woman likely mistook all finely dressed Filipinos as members of an aristocratic class, her observations about how the hall was divided are echoed in numerous other accounts throughout the decade.[35] Manila's cabarets were segregated socially, with one side reserved for monogamous couples who were primarily of a single race – partners were either both white or both Filipino – while the other side featured interracial dancing between white men and Filipina woman, and a class of women who offered their companionship to all men, regardless of race, for a small cost per dance.

Manila's dance floors may have been racially mixed, but the city's professional dance partners were almost exclusively Filipina. In this matter, Manila again differed dramatically from Shanghai. Shanghai's cabarets employed an international cast of bailarinas, including a large number of white Russian women. These women were among the 60,000 impoverished refugees from the Russian Revolution who arrived in the city

via the southern leg of the trans-Siberian railroad city in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[36] In addition to hiring Russian women desperate for a means to support themselves, Shanghai's cabarets also employed a diverse cast of as many as dance partners purported to be Japanese, Chinese, Australian, Swiss, German, Indian, Mexican, French, Irish, Korean and Filipina.[37] This sort of diversity was noticeably absent in Manilas' cabarets. These venues did not appear to have featured any white woman as professional dance partners. Their absence may have been may have been the legacy of an earlier law banning white prostitutes from the city's red light district.[38] The white female population of Manila also lacked the high numbers of Russian refugees who turned to the dancing profession in desperation despite the social stigma against this mode of work.

Small, vibrant cabaret scenes existed in several other cities in East Asia – including Harbin and Vladivostock – but the large-scale cabaret scenes of Shanghai and Manila were special.[39] In Japan, cabarets in the first half of the decade were only present near the treaty ports of Yokohama and Kobe. They primarily featured Japanese bailarinas, white male patrons, and were highly regulated by the local authorities.[40] As in Shanghai, it was not until the mid-to-late 1920s that Japanese youth began to dance in public.[41] Cabarets were even scarcer in British and Dutch colonies.[42] Jazz dancing was still quite popular among the white population in these regions, but cities such as Bombay and Calcutta banned cabarets out of fear that, as it occurred in Shanghai, they would result in the disturbing sight of white women working as professional dance partners.[43] Indeed, one of the few cabarets to appear in the British colonies before 1930 was Singapore's New World Cabaret, which only opened in December 1929 inside the city's popular New World Amusement Park.[44] This cabaret's dance floor was capable of

holding 700 dancers. It attracted hundreds of Chinese, Malay, and Eurasian patrons who enjoyed the music of Filipino or Goan bands while dancing with Chinese, Eurasian, Indian, and Filipina professional partners.[45] Before the last years of the 1920s, however, cabarets were largely absent in colonial Asia except for Shanghai, Yokohama, Kobe, and throughout the Philippines. In these sites cabarets were important institutions. In Manila, in particular, they provided space for white and Filipino men to dance and for a class of young women to earn a meager living as dance professionals.

Cabarets were also explicitly musical spaces. Dance bands provided syncopated musical performances, contributed to a sense of partaking in a modern leisure practice, and served to regulate the hall's profit through their management of song length. In order to attract dancers, cabarets proudly announced that their bands played music that was almost universally advertised as modern, up-to-date, and fresh from the U.S. or London. Many cabaret bands made their reputations by performing, as a group from Manila's Palace Cabaret described it, "all the latest States dance music."[46] When the Australian tourist Francis Barclay stopped in Manila in 1926 and spent a night out on the town, he described hearing Filipino bands playing tunes that had been "all the rage in New York two months previously."[47]

But while U.S. pop tunes were the most common soundtrack of dance halls for much of the decade, cabarets also became sites for a new form of musical expression. The repertoire of U.S. pop hits began to change slightly in the late 1920s, as bands in cities such as Shanghai found they had to cater to increasing numbers of Asian dancers. The Shanghai resident John Pal described how white and African-American bands in Shanghai changed their approach during this period: "night-club bands from San

Francisco, Chicago, and New York's Harlem district struggle[ed] to give their wealthy Chinese patrons Oriental ballads to Dixieland tempo!"[48] Chinese composers such as Shanghai's Li Jinhui also began to craft new genres that brought together elements of jazz and Chinese music.[49] Similarly, in the Philippines, Filipino bandleaders in Manila's may have primarily performed U.S. jazz selections but they also occasionally incorporated local compositions that pleased the Filipino dancers. When the composer Nicanor Abelardo led the band at the Lerma Cabaret in the late 1910s, he reportedly had a repertoire of "about twelve hundred pieces of one-steps, fox trots, waltzes, and ragtimes [sic]" and regularly transcribed and arranged U.S. popular songs such as "Oui, Oui, Marie."[50] In addition to these works, though, Abelardo also performed some of his own compositions, a practice that came to be common among Filipino bandleaders.[51]

In Manila, it was primarily Filipino or white American ensembles that regulated the rhythms of the city's cabarets.[52] The larger halls, such as Santa Ana and Lerma, secured bandleaders such as Tolentino and Abelardo on extended contracts and featured groups with over a dozen Filipino musicians.[53] From January 1921 to late 1923, the Lerma cabaret also featured a group with six white American musicians from San Francisco – including Jimmy Lequime – known as the "Jazz-o-Maniacs."[54] Cabarets supplemented their regular bands by attempting to hire touring performers with firsthand knowledge of the latest trends of the U.S. or Europe. Lerma regularly employed the ship bands up of white American college students when their ships were in port and the Santa Ana hired groups such as the Tully Sisters after their run ended at the local theaters.[55]

While musicians transformed cabarets into sites where dancers could imagine themselves dancing to the same hit songs that were played in London or New York, they

also played a central role in the business of the cabaret. Music helped regulate the flow of the cabaret's profits. In order to ensure that patrons were purchasing dance tickets at a regular rate, and generating profit for the cabaret, managers and bailarinas alike encouraged bands to play short selections.[56] In the U.S., bands in taxi-dance halls typically played songs that lasted only sixty to ninety seconds.[57]

Cabarets were not simply sites where patrons practiced an insignificant leisure act to the rhythms of jazz. Cabarets were important spaces where dancers could engage in a "semiotically significant" practice through which they could signify their social aspirations through the movements of their bodies.[58] Dancing, as Jane Desmond argues, must be understood as a "symbolic system."[59] Indeed, the pervasive discussions about the controversial morality of jazz dance in the 1920s demonstrate that the ways in which one moved clearly mattered socially.[60] These debates reveal that particular movements and bodily interactions, from small differences in hand placement to the speed of one's steps, could take on great social significance. As one Singapore newspaper reported in 1922, legislators in New York sought to pass a bill that would "impose heavy fines for taking more than sixty-six one-step or forty fox-trot steps per minute, and directs the position of the hands of the dancing couples and movements of the body so as to prevent undue familiarity."[61] The specificity of this legislation to the nuances of bodily movement suggests that when white cabaret patrons of Filipina bailarinas danced the Boston Waltz or the Ambassador Fox-Trot, they did so in an environment in which their movements mattered socially.

If dancers hoped to signify anything particular with their movements – such as showing their hopes to maintain imperial whiteness – they had to move in particular

ways. Contemporary observers and scholars today note that the social dances of the 1910s and 1920s were far more informal and improvisatory than those of previous decades.[62] In 1914, the dance instructors Troy and Margaret Kinney explained that the social dances of the 1910s gave dancers a new kind of freedom on the dance floor: "Every one is at liberty to test his powers of invention… and, in general, to give play to his individuality."[63] The Kinney's celebration of what they described as a new "Renaissance of Individuality," though, belied the growing significance of their own profession as dance instructors.[64] As Danielle Robinson shows, the popularity of social dancing in U.S. in the late 1910s also gave rise to a new class of dance professionals who helped to promote a discourse about proper ways to dance. Robinson argues that dancers came to understand that, without the help of instructors, practice, or study, they "would embarrass themselves by inadvertently appearing less moral, fashionable, refined, and modern than they would prefer."[65] Even if a dancer wanted to "give play to his individuality," he or she should do so in specific and particular ways.[66]

The anxious discourse about dancing correctly that Robinson analyzes in the context of the U.S. also proved influential across colonial Asia. In order to teach dancers precisely how to move their limbs in rhythm, an entire industry of dance instructors and dancing schools emerged throughout Asia in the late 1910s. In Batavia, W. J. Schooneboom opened his own "Dansinstituut;" in Tokyo, the Russian dancer Paul Nijinsky offered fox-trot and waltz lessons during his residency there in 1920; in Bombay, "a lady" placed a classified ad in 1919 advertising instruction for "All Modern Dances including Fox Trot, Jazz, Tango, One Step in all its variations;" and, in Hong Kong, Miss Daisy O'Keefe and Mme. Kelvey printed competing ads for dance lessons in

the *South China Morning Post.*[67] In addition to learning from professional instructors such as these, social dancers could also study syndicated or local instructional columns in periodicals or watch films demonstrating dances from the U.S. (Fig. 4.2).[68] The varying mediums of dance instruction helped contribute to a prevailing discourse that there were "right" and "wrong" ways to dance, or that there were "correct" ways to perform a one-step or a fox-trot (Fig. 4.3).[69] Accounts of jazz dance in Asia commonly noted that many

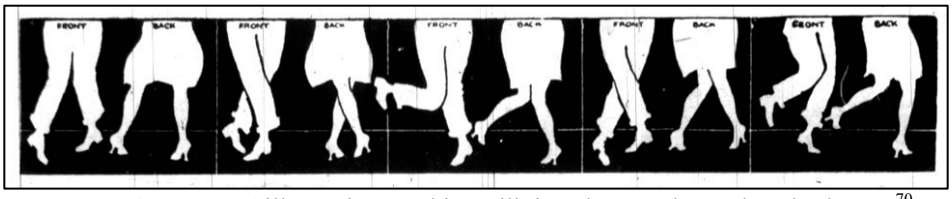


Figure 4.2: A 1926 illustration teaching Filipinos how to dance the Charleston.[70]



Figure 4.3: A 1920 article for Filipino and American readers showed the "correct" ways to dance to jazz.[71]

dancers seemed to take this discourse seriously and expressed deep anxiety about mastering the most current, most socially relevant modes of movement. In one Tagalog-language short story from 1922, for example, a Filipino character admitted his

reservations about appearing on the dance floor because he "did not know how to do the 'modern' dance."[72] While social dancing could be a pleasurable form of leisure, it was also a symbolic system that dancers could take quite seriously. Judging from the rise of the professional dance instructor in Asia, dancers spent considerable money and time ensuring that they could demonstrate their ability to participate in a shared vocabulary of learned bodily movement.

If, as I suggest, the symbolic properties of jazz dance rendered Manila's cabarets as important sites to perform one's social aspirations, the inter-racial character of these dance halls meant that jazz dance also became a way to symbolically negotiate the various social and racial hierarchies that formed the basis of U.S. imperial logic. This claim builds from the work of scholars such as Sherrie Tucker, Lucy Mae Burns, and Fiona Ngô, who have recently analyzed how the intimate, inter-racial, movement in U.S. dance halls transformed them into spaces where the politics of race, gender, and empire become entangled through the act of rhythmic movement.[73] The political nature of jazz dance in such settings is especially apparent in scholarship on U.S. taxi-dance halls, where Filipino migrants danced with working-class white women in the 1920s and 1930s.[74] Ngô recasts New York's taxi-dance halls as "jazz contact zones," where different racial, gender groups come into contact through the sounds and movements of jazz and where the policies of U.S. empire were played out and challenged on the dance floor.[75] Such an assessment also applies to Asian cabarets, spaces of mixed-race crowds and inter-racial partners, where the dance floor became a space to embody, perform, contest, and reinforce various hierarchies of class, race, and gender.

Jazz Dance and Imperial Whiteness

The social life of Manila's community of white Americans and Europeans revolved around dancing. For this group, as one British tourist observed in 1924, "dancing is a passion."[76] Given the gender imbalance between men and women, however, social dancing could not be an all-white activity. Since American males far outnumbered their female counterparts, some of them found it difficult to find partners in more exclusive foreign clubs or were unable to secure invitations to elite balls. In 1917, one American described how he attended an American club in Manila to enjoy a night of dancing. He was disappointed, however, for he was rebuked upon entering: "The women looked upon me as a yellow dog that had strayed in."[77] The reasons for this rebuke are unclear: perhaps he was not part of the club's normal clique or he lacked the proper attire. Whatever the reason, though, he had an alternative. In order to satisfy his desire to dance, he proceeded to the Lerma Cabaret, where he enjoyed the less-discriminatory company of Filipina bailarinas. In a manner similar to hundreds of other young white men in the city, this unnamed American was able to participate in the latest, fashionable leisure activity of jazz by hiring young, Filipina dance workers.

By dancing with Filipina bailarinas, Manila's white men could attempt to demonstrate their social aspirations and perform imperial whiteness. As I suggested earlier, we need to imagine this whiteness as representing a combination of racial hierarchies and imperial ideologies that served to perpetuate the U.S. claim as benevolent colonial rulers of the Philippines. In order to understand the ways in which jazz dance became mobilized as a demonstration of white, U.S. imperial hierarchies, however, we need to situate its performance in the context of early twentieth century thinking about

race and empire. During this period, scientists promoted the notion that different races represented different stages of social evolution. As George Stocking notes, anthropological theory in the late nineteenth century contributed to the belief in "a raciocultural hierarchy in terms of which civilized men, the highest products of social evolution, were large-brained white men, and only large-brained white men."[78] According to this rationale, industrialized, capitalist European and U.S. society was not merely the most advanced, modern form of civilization. It was also a distinctly racialized form of civilization, considered both racially and developmentally superior to non-white cultures. This notion, that non-whites such as Filipinos were developmentally delayed, provided the logic to validate both American and European imperial ventures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[79] As one American soldier claimed in 1903, Filipinos were "still back in the fourteenth century" but American colonial rule could "point out the way of modern progress and enlightenment."[80] The American project of "benevolent assimilation" developed from this reasoning of racial science, claiming that the advanced society of the U.S. had a duty to help develop and civilize the racially inferior Filipinos, even if they resisted.[81]

In order for this rationale to hold true, however, Americans and Europeans had to perpetuate the unstable illusion that whiteness symbolized racial, social, and technological superiority. This task was especially important abroad because racial categories were not universally applicable and had to be made anew in each imperial setting.[82] Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper consider this attempt to maintain a sense of racial distinction between colonizers and colonized to be "the most basic tension of empire." As they argue, "the otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor

stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained."[83] In other words, "whiteness," as both a racial and cultural marker, was something that had to be performed constantly. Partha Chatterjee suggests that, as an imperial construct, whiteness" needed to be performed unceasingly: "empire …was something that had to be practiced, as a normal everyday business as well as at moments of extraordinary crisis, by real people in real time."[84] For Europeans and Americans throughout colonized Asia, this meant a relentless task of performing and protecting the idea of an imperial whiteness, for they believed that the myth of white supremacy was a critical way to help maintain control in areas where whites typically comprising only between one to three per-cent of the population.[85] When the British traveler Horace Bleackley returned home from a long trip to Asia, he was worried to observe white students interacting with non-whites in London. He feared that this fraternizing could result in a loss of respect for whites that might spiral outwards, with disastrous results: "When we lose the respect of these people we shall lose our Empire."[86] It was a critical matter, then, for whites in colonies to try to perform their position as a member of the "Ruling Race."[87]

The anxious attempts to perform and preserve particular notions of whiteness taxed the psychic energy of Asia's European and American communities. As Ann Stoler argues, "in histories situated on the peripheries of empire…'whiteness' was a palpable obsession."[88] This obsession took many forms, including a pervasive paranoia among Europeans that non-whites might catch them behaving in a manner that would discredit white superiority. Around 1928, the British tourist Walter Harris described in horror how Chinese servants at one of Penang's European hotels watched white dancers perform "the Charleston." As the servants "watched the upper classes of the Ruling Race disport

themselves," he wrote, "I wondered what was in their mind."[89] George Orwell argued that this anxiety became a "tyrant," resulting in a class of Europeans who conformed to become "a sort of hollow, posing dummy, the conventionalized figure of a sahib."[90] Acting in this conventional manner was especially important because "whiteness" was far from a stable category. Many Europeans in Asia struggled to maintain the illusion of their supposed racial advantage – for "white" and "European" were not necessarily synonymous.[91]

Indeed, European and American communities throughout colonial Asia worried about the numerous ways in which the myth of white superiority could be sullied. In Shanghai, white residents were particularly troubled by the Russian refugees whose desperation led them to prostitution, a practice deemed degrading to other Europeans. Shanghai's white community was so perturbed by Russian prostitutes that they called on the League of Nations to investigate. In their 1925 report, the League agreed that these women created a troubling predicament. They concluded that "the appearance of a white woman in such disgraceful capacity…affects very deeply the prestige of the Western nations in the Orient."[92] Throughout the rest of Asia, Europeans and Americans expressed concern about the numerous indigent young white men whose poverty literally rendered them less white. As one British tourist in Singapore explained, while these unemployed Europeans were "still dressed in the whites of the tropics," their clothes were "no longer immaculate."[93] Their inability to afford regular laundry or a new set of clothes reflects how easy it was to tarnish the veneer of whiteness and for the artificiality of white supremacy – and the logic for imperial rule – to be exposed. White communities across the region regularly staged events such as beauty pageants and minstrel shows to

raise money for the "European unemployment fund" in hopes of preventing this class of young men from degrading the image of imperial whiteness.[94]

In addition to organizing special fundraisers, Europeans and Americans across colonial Asia also sought to demonstrate their sense of racial-cultural superiority through everyday acts. Dancing to jazz was one such practice through which they could attempt – not always successfully – to demonstrate and perform their whiteness. Given its roots in black American traditions, jazz dance may at first seem to be an odd way to perform imperial whiteness. In colonial Asia, most discussions of jazz did not focus explicitly on its connections to blackness in the beginning part of the decade, but this discourse became increasingly prominent after the middle part of the decade. When the Charleston began circulating in Asia at the end of 1925 a small group of the European population voiced their opposition to the dance by critiquing its savage, primitive, "black" movements. One European dancer in Shanghai complained that Whitey Smith's Majestic Hotel band should not be "catering almost entirely" for patrons who wanted to engage in "the nigger-like contortions of the Charleston."[95] Despite these objections, however, audiences in colonial Asia also viewed dances such as the Charleston to be symptomatic of a new moment, a marker of civilization that was quickly subsumed into the world of modern, respectable social dance.[96] As Danielle Robinson argues, a similar sort of semiotic transformation was also occurring in the U.S. For white dancers in Jazz Age New York, she writes, "dancing movement understood as black could be a statement of modernity, American citizenship, or civilization, more so than of admiration or affiliation with African Americans."[97] While criticism of the Charleston show that some observers clearly contested the notion that jazz dances could represent a white, European

civilization, their critiques were largely drowned out by a pervasive discourse that depicted fox-trots and one steps as forming a new class of "Modern Dance."[98]

This characterization of dance as "modern" had a racial element. While colonial dancers may have recognized black roots in jazz dance, this racial history was partially recast through the temporal dimensions of contemporary anthropological science. Describing jazz as modern or a symptom of the progress of European civilization effectively tied it to a broader discourse racial evolution. Since scientists argued that racial evolution and cultural advancement were one and the same, actively participating in a form of leisure tied with the relentless notion of forward societal "progress" became a way for white Americans and Europeans to demonstrate their own sense of racial superiority. In his examination of colonization and time, Giordano Nanni finds that, for white colonials, attempting to stay current with the latest fashions of Europe became a way to demonstrate their own familiarity with a continually evolving "time-conscious" European civilization, especially in contrast to "the time-less Other."[99]

Indeed, part of the obsession with whiteness that Stoler describes is manifested in white colonists' preoccupation with the idea of time and modernity. From British India to China, Europeans and Americans worried about becoming lazy and lethargic. They feared of losing their efficiency in tropical regions of "perpetual summer," where even the seasons themselves did not progress and where the climate became a kind of malicious native energy, a "hidden force" that would undermine European colonial rule.[100] A British resident near Canton explained that losing one's sense of temporality was akin to losing one's whiteness: "It is a prevailing characteristic of those who live long in the interior of China, witness to her mysterious power of assimilating her

conquerors, that, like the Chinese, they lose all sense of time."[101] This concern about "losing time," akin here to becoming like the Chinese, was commonplace. Whites feared that alternate temporalities such as "Filipino time," or the "*hora Filipina*," could deform what they considered to be a sense of white temporality that was rooted in the body itself: doctors even concluded that "a long residence in the tropics decreases the speed at which impulses travel along the nerves."[102]

As Nanni points out, this fear of losing one's sense of time was related to a larger anxiety about staying current with the progress of European civilization: "Europeans… came to associate a failure to keep time with an inability to keep up *with* time."[103] A common refrain among Europeans and Americans in colonized parts of Asia was that "nobody…can keep up to date" with the trends of their home countries.[104] A Singapore article, noted how the city's European community always lagged several months behind the fashions of Europe. Even though the American jazz band of the Columbia Park Boys Club took up residence briefly in Singapore in July 1919, the author complained that, compared to other cities, in Singapore, "the Jazz Craze came in late."[105] As Nanni suggests, this lament represented a sense of racial anxiety, one based on the pairing of racial hierarchies with societal developments.

Jazz dance offered white colonists an opportunity to embody imperial whiteness by attempting to demonstrate their ability to stay in time with the latest fashions of European civilization. It also served to contrast from an African American or Asian time. On one front, jazz dance was often promoted as a "healthful and pleasurable exercise" that could keep the body fit against the mental torpor and physical lethargy – and racial descent – associated with the heat and climate.[106] More critically, however, jazz dance

allowed whites to believe that they could not only move their bodies *in* time with the rhythms of New York, but also keep up *with* the times of a distinctly western modernity. For in the Philippines and throughout Asia, jazz and jazz dance were depicted as symbols of distinctly American and European modernity, even if this was a modernity that had black roots. As one Philippine paper proclaimed, "jazz is the product of the modern world," representative of the restless, fast-paced life of the U.S. and Europe.[107]

By participating in the practices of this "modern world," white residents in locations far from New York or London hoped to demonstrate that they, too, were modern, civilized, and white. Even in the U.S., as 1924 article printed in Singapore in showed, inhabitants of rural western states claimed that they could demonstrate that they were "in touch with civilization" because they had, as one woman argued, "the radio, gramophones with jazz records, and the fashion magazines telling us what's the latest shingle mode in Paris." [108] In colonial Asia, jazz records, fashion magazines, and jazz dance, also enabled white Europeans and Americans to claim a connection to a broader white civilization. They went through considerable discomfort and expense to participate in the leisure activities that they imagined to symbolize "civilization," including donning the latest European clothing despite its unsuitability for tropical climates. Among the many accounts of hot, sweaty dances, one man in Penang described how, even though "most of us when dancing must have memories of sodden collars and deflated shirt fronts," they still followed the conventions of European fashion "blindly and without question."[109] While this man focuses on the dance floor as a space to display the latest additions to one's wardrobe, it was also a site where a dancer's knowledge of the ever-

changing fashions of jazz dances could demonstrate just how "in touch" they were with the leisure practices of the Europe and the U.S.

These continually changing fashions rendered jazz dance as symbolic of the kind of continual forward progress considered to be at the heart of white modernity. Manila newspapers, in a manner similar to those in other cities, regularly published news about the changing dance fashions of Europe, helping readers stay abreast of the nearly overwhelming changes in dance trends.[110] An article from London reprinted in Manila, described how "new dance steps are appearing in the London restaurants and night-clubs with bewildering rapidity."[111] Rather than dismiss these new dances as mere fads, dancers in London anxiously sought to stay current: an English dance instructor explained that in London "people no longer dare go to a dance unless they know all the latest steps."[112] The task of staying abreast of "all the latest steps" was taken even more seriously in Manila, where white residents daily sought to demonstrate that they lived in "modern times" despite the colonial and tropical setting. Staying *with* the times by moving ones body *in* time with the rhythms of jazz offered a way to prevent the onset of diseases such as "colonial neurasthenia" or "Philippinitis," afflictions affecting the minds and bodies of whites abroad thought to be caused by distance from western civilization and too much proximity to non-whites.[113]

In Manila, both American and Filipino audiences clearly recognized jazz dance as a symbol of a Euro-American form of modernity. The journalist North Jenkins observed that dancing to jazz appeared to fulfill white society's desire to demonstrate that they, too, were able to keep up with the pace of modern western progress. "Manila follows what it thinks is European," he writes, "its populace [is] addicted to evening dress and the

exciting strains of modern jazz music."[114] Even though Jenkins was writing at the end of the decade when jazz was beginning to be discussed more explicitly as a form of black music, Jenkins found that the qualities of jazz as a "European" and "modern" form were what signified its importance. Similarly, many Filipinos shared the belief that jazz dance represented the latest fashions of a U.S. modernity that also symbolized the pinnacle of racial evolution. Filipino elites such as Jorge Bocobo, dean of the University of the Philippines law school, noted with concern that Filipino youth seemed to believe the rhetoric that equated the practices of jazz with a kind of white, modern, supremacy. As Bocobo noted in a scathing 1923 speech about the spread of American popular culture and leisure practices, "The Filipino naturally thinks that these customs and fads must be the symbols and evidences of American culture and civilization…as a sign of modernity and progressiveness."[115] While Bocobo was clearly skeptical of these claims, as I explore more below, he observed that the formulation of jazz dance as a symbol of "modernity" was widely accepted throughout Manila.

If jazz dance could become a medium through which white dancers anxiously attempted to embody and perform their engagement with the racialized fashions of a U.S. modernity, Filipina bailarinas at Manila's cabarets played an important role in this performance, even if they simultaneously contested the illusions of white imperial supremacy through their own actions. While these dance professionals were moving to the same rhythms as their white partners, their position as female, non-white, jazz laborers helped to reinforce the racialized and gendered dominance of U.S. empire. Just as the blackness of jazz dance became reworked to reinforce a sense of white racial superiority, in which blackness might be positioned subordinate to the modernity and

whiteness of jazz, Manila's white community appeared to believe that the act of dancing with Filipina bailarinas offered another means to demonstrate white, male dominance over the Philippines and the Filipino.

An account of a night out on the town is illustrative of how white men could portray an evening in Manila's cabarets as further reinforcing the supposed superiority of both their race and their gender. In late 1919, a large group of salesmen from the Pacific Commercial Company (P.C.C.) arrived in Manila from their stations throughout the islands for a ten-day convention. On the third night, a group of middle-aged white men set out for the Lerma Cabaret.[116] According to one account, the salesmen posted in the provinces could barely contain their eagerness to dance with the bailarinas: "Suddenly the lights are lowered and the Provincianos who had been gazing with yearning looks at the Forbidden Land, tear down the fence in their wild rush to go over the top." Their drunken antics displeased some of the more reserved, white, couples on the other side of the hall, so the businessmen piled into cars and raced around the northeast edge of the city to the San Juan Cabaret. This venue proved too small for the increasingly drunk men, so they continued along the edge of the city to the Santa Ana Cabaret. Once inside, they immediately made their way to the bailarina side, where they enjoyed the presence of "all them pretty señoritas." Their night extended well past 2:00 a.m.

The matter-of-fact nature of their night out stands in contrast from a longer history in which such inter-racial intimacy is relegated to a kind of semi-private, unofficial realm. The myth of white superiority was so difficult to maintain in colonial Asia that it was a matter of official concern. Throughout much of Asia, colonial governments made it clear that, officially, white men should not marry or associate too

closely with Asian women out of fear that resulting miscegenation could challenge the myth of white racial supremacy.[117] Governments passed legislation against inter-marriage in several colonies while white tourists in the British Empire and the Philippines expressed concern that relations between white men and native women would "diminish the superior race."[118] As Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper argue, this policing of intimate relations represented an attempt of "racial survival," an effort to "to prevent those men from 'going native,' to curb a proliferating mixed-race population that compromised their claims to superiority and thus the legitimacy of white rule."[119] Appearing in public with a non-white wife or mistress was deemed a threat to the security of imperial governance.

Cabarets made public another discourse of intimacy, however, one that was pervasive but more typically relegated to an unofficial, private realm. While European companies and governments might have officially frowned upon relationships between white men and Asian females, their informal policies were quite different. Indeed, single, young, male Europeans in the Dutch East Indies were expected to find a native mistress to help them acclimate to their new environment.[120] In early twentieth century Sumatra, a Hungarian rubber planter observed that "The white tuan may keep a nyay [native mistress], but officially nothing is known about it."[121] Lower-class whites such as sailors could pursue these relationships publically without much outcry, but the more powerful one became the more important it was to keep these interactions private. Relationships between white men and Asian women were actually quite banal in their ubiquity, but their public revelation could prove disastrous to the careers of prominent white colonials.[122] This public discomfort actually became a point of fun for some Filipinos: in 1925, the Filipino vaudeville troupe the Savoy Nifties staged a popular skit called "The

Coming of a Husband." It reportedly depicted "the trials and tribulations of a white man in the Philippines who courts a Filipino girl."[123] The purported levity of the show mocked the seriousness with which American and European bureaucrats took their task of keeping these inter-racial relationships from undermining their supposed racial superiority. By preventing these unions from attaining official, legal, public status, colonial governments hoped to perpetuate a racial hierarchy in which Asian women were not equal to European women.

Despite these official warnings, though, in many ways, the P.C.C. salesmen's night was typical for white men visiting Manila. What is striking, however, is that this outing of drunken revelry was not consigned to the privacy of memories or rumor, despite hints that the action of these men might not sit well with some of their wives at home. Instead of being kept quiet, the P.C.C.'s official magazine published three separate accounts of this night of carousing. The recollections of the night's events did not hesitate to name names. The magazine's cartoonist even caricatured three of the men in large drawings that showed them dancing with Filipina bailarinas (Fig. 4.4).[124] The publication of these articles and cartoons suggests that the careful social rules governing white male and Filipina interaction, a set of beliefs about imperial racial hierarchies that Stoler describes as the "politics of intimacy," might be flouted or moved from private to public in the space of the cabaret.[125] As I want to suggest, though, the publication of these articles is revealing for demonstrating that "Manila's jazzy scandal" was really not all that scandalous for this group of white men. Instead, their interactions with Filipina bailarinas only seemed to further support their almost casual belief in their own superiority.

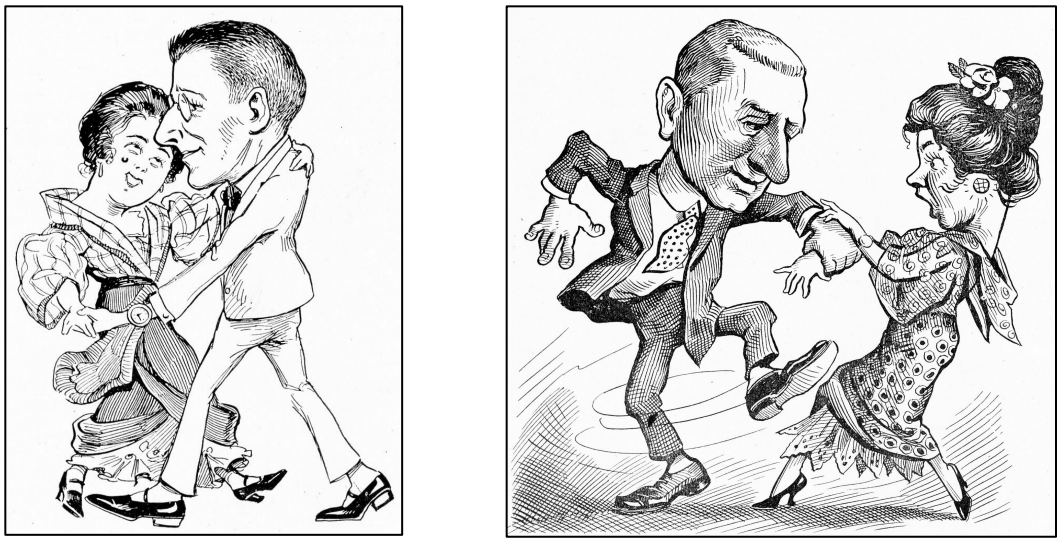


Figure 4.4: Two caricatures of P.C.C. businessmen dancing with Manila bailarinas. Captions identify them as Mr. Staight and Mike Ruppel.[126]

This sort of gendered domination was also present in the nature of the dancing itself. One reason the social dances of the 1910s and 1920s sparked controversy and debates about morality was that dancers commonly danced in pairs and held their partners close. The opportunity for a close embrace was also what made dancing so appealing. When the Charleston debuted in Manila in late 1925, a local critic predicted that it would soon decline in popularity because "it is not danced *pegao* [i.e., *pegado:* stuck together], the partners dancing it far apart from each other. Your modern young man and young woman do not like that kind of dancing."[127] In this embrace, however, the two partners did not always play equal roles. Most commonly, men were expected to lead, directing their female partners through physical touch. The ideal female jazz dance partner, as one Calcutta paper noted in 1926, was someone "plays her quiet part" and "could just follow" her male partner.[128] Certainly women could still find dancing quite pleasurable and regularly challenged the role of the male as leader – a phenomenon I examine more below – but the general discourse about jazz dance tended not to acknowledge this dynamic.[129]

The gendered hierarchies of social life also extended to the dance floor, or more accurately, to discussions about the dance floor. Susan C. Cook argues that the proscribed roles of male and female dancers served to reinforce gender hierarchies, and "reinscribed male social initiative and female acquiescence."[130] Indeed, depictions of the interactions between bailarinas and white men tended to perpetuate the sense that men, especially white men, were forcefully exerting their dominance over their partners. Drawings of cabaret dancers commonly emphasized the physical dominance of white men by showing them towering over shorter, smaller Filipina bailarinas, or by picturing them with hands the size of a Filipina's entire forearm (Fig. 4.4).[131] These were clearly caricatures and stereotypes of dancers. They do not reflect the myriad ways in which bailarinas might actually take charge on the dance floor as I explore more below. These drawings, however, demonstrate the widespread perception – or hope – that white male dancers were asserting their dominance on the dance floor, overpowering Manila's population of bailarinas.

Through this perceived act of domination, jazz dance could become a medium for white male dancers to express their claims to colonial rule by demonstrating their imperial whiteness. By moving in the arms of a bailarian to the latest Tin Pan Alley hits, white men sought to participate in the latest trends of European civilization, while also bringing their dominance of Filipina women into a semi-public sphere. Their performance, like imperial whiteness itself, though, was contested and complex. On a person-to-person level, the relationship between individual dancers and bailarinas was certainly more complicated than the broader representation of their interactions imply. Furthermore, American and European dancers in Manila's cabarets were mobilizing two

types of miscegenation to demonstrate their claim to racial superiority. Both the qualities of jazz as black music and the inter-racial intimacy between white dancers and Filipina bailarinas were critical elements to the formation of imperial whiteness, for both provided opportunities for white Americans to put African American cultural elements and Filipinas in a hierarchical position beneath whites. In effect, Filipina bailarinas made it possible for Manila's white male population to participate in "Manila's Jazzy Scandal" in a way that was not scandalous, but rather served to affirm the racial logic at the heart of U.S. colonial rule.

"The Dancing Generation" and the "Jazzy Maid"

Manila's cabarets may have been sites where white men attempted to demonstrate their embodied knowledge of a form of imperial whiteness, but not all of the cabaret's dancers could successfully perform a sense of racial progress. For both Filipinos and Filipinas, cabarets came to represent the ambiguous promise of jazz in colonial Asia. For many Filipinos, such as a writer claiming the pseudonym "A. B. Legislator," Manila's cabarets posed a dilemma for their nationalist project. They were institutions that emerged from a history of U.S. imperialism, he argued, and they posed a serious threat to the project of Filipino independence.[132] Cabarets, he wrote, had a "destructive influence over young fellows, especially those of the student class."[133] But even as the dance halls harmed the class groomed to lead a new Philippine nation, the cabaret was also one of the few spaces where a class of working class or indigent Filipina girls could stake a claim in the transforming Philippine economy. "Legislator" recognized this duality. The cabaret, he wrote, was "positive in the sense that it has opened a new occupational field for

Filipino girls. It has afforded them a means of earning a livelihood, decently or indecently, as the case may be."[134] The Filipina bailarina and her position as jazz laborer was central to this measured view of cabarets. For while the bailarina as an abstract figure in the public imagination was widely depicted as a major obstacle for achieving Filipino racial advancement, the actual profession of the bailarina afforded hundreds of young women new opportunities in an economy that had been dramatically transformed through U.S. colonial policies.

Part of the reason that Filipina bailarinas became a common topic in debates about Filipino independence was that jazz dancing and cabarets were widely popular among Manila's Filipino community. In addition to attracting white patrons, Manila's cabarets drew numerous Filipino patrons. While many of these patrons included middle-class dentists and lawyers or elites from wealthy and politically powerful families – including Nicasio Osmeña, the son of the man who just a few years later would become the Philippines' first vice-president – the city's dance halls purposely kept admission rates low enough to attract a wide range of society, including Filipino clerks and other relatively low-paid workers. As the young Osmeña described, a cabaret was a "melting pot" where "you rub elbows with the gambler, the embezzler, the businessman, the student and every other class of people."[135] The halls outside the southern edge of the city, in Pasay, were especially popular among the city's nearly 21,000 college students.[136] Dancing was such a major part of Filipino social life, especially among Filipino students, that one University of the Philippines dean labeled them "the Dancing Generation."[137]

Both Filipinos and Filipinas liked to dance. For Filipinas who did not want to frequent disreputable cabarets, they could attend dances held at private gatherings, social

clubs, refined restaurants, fundraisers, or during the city's annual Carnival.[138] Filipinos attended cabarets in such numbers that these sites quickly became spaces where Manila's literary circles began to imagine and explore a newly emerging form of Filipino social life. Novels such as Narciso S. Asistio's 1923 *Limutin Mo Na Ako* and serialized stories such as Teofilo E. Sauco's 1923 "Amelia" portrayed a Manila where cabarets were critical sites for Filipino youth to negotiate the changing world around them.[139]

But while jazz dance became a medium through which white audiences attempted to demonstrate imperial whiteness, many Filipinos were unable or unwilling to try to perform a similar sense of racial progress in Manila's cabarets. As some Filipinos recognized, even if Filipino mastery of jazz dance or other practices of U.S. popular culture might impress Manila's American community, many Americans merely concluded that Filipino actions were an affirmation of the benevolence of U.S. imperial rule. Filipinos found themselves repeatedly frustrated with the challenge to convince Americans that the successes of groups such as the Philippine Constabulary Band represented Filipino ability for self-rule, not merely the continued usefulness of American imperial tutelage.[140] Filipino elites appeared skeptical that the complex meanings of jazz dance would allow them to challenge the myth of white supremacy that was ultimately preventing their rise to independence. Furthermore, this skepticism did not appear to based solely on the qualities of jazz as black music, a concept Filipinos discussed in detail by the end of the decade.[141] While many Filipinos came to learn color prejudice from Americans, including a sense of superiority over African Americans, there does not appear to be the sort of racially-based critique of jazz that Andrew Jones describes in China in the following decade.[142]

Instead, Filipino elites such as politicians and educators appear to have accepted that jazz and jazz dance had effectively come to represent a kind of American imperial whiteness inaccessible to Filipinos. Many of the leaders attempting to cultivate a sense of Filipino respectability were skeptical that what might signify "progress" and civilization for Americans could also help the cause of Filipino independence. As Villuluz Sisenando noted warily, taking on all the latest fashions of the U.S. merely demonstrated an inability to discern what sorts of practices would help Filipinos advance as a race. Filipinos adopted many cultural forms and practices, he wrote, "without making the least effort to sort out what is good and what is bad. Hence, we have among us now, as signs of progress, the modern dance, the jazz, the vaudeville, the short skirts, the painted legs, the bob, the stockingless legs, etc."[143] Other Filipinos similarly challenged this notion of "progress" by critiquing U.S. popular culture. In a 1929 article titled "The World Gone Yankee," an unnamed journalist explained how American popular culture and industrial goods had conquered the world. Among the author's many critiques was the absurdity of Filipinos adopting American clothing: "it is more comfortable to use light apparel in the tropics, but you see the Filipinos sporting tuxedoes and woolens – and in this sweltering heat, also mufflers." More ominously, the writer warned that embracing American goods and practices could transform the Philippines and Filipinos: "the American is everywhere…[a]nd he does not go native. The native goes foreign instead."[144]

Other Filipinos echoed this concern that adopting practices that seemed to signify American "progress" would not only prevent independence but could even threaten Filipino racial survival. Just as white Europeans and Americans across colonial Asia were anxious about performing imperial whiteness, Filipinos were also concerned about

demonstrating that they were racially advanced enough for self-rule and independence from the U.S. Filipino elites argued that the key to demonstrating their ability for self-rule was not by embracing the fashions and leisure practices of modern America, such as jazz dance. Instead, they needed to show that Filipino cultural practices were strong enough to hold up to the onslaught of American practices.

Their line of argument was in direct response to Filipino youth such as Ricardo Reyes, a high school student in Cavite who penned a provocative article in 1929. Writing about Filipinos in the U.S., Reyes argued that Filipinos, "having Westernized mind and ideas, can easily adapt themselves to all the political, social, educational, environmental, and economic conditions of the country." Reyes continued: "Being in love with modern ideas and with all the things belonging to the 'jazz age,' they feel at home in the United States. They do not mind being absorbed by the American spirit."[145] It was exactly this process of absorption that made Filipino elites wary of jazz and jazz dance. University of the Philippines dean Jorge Bocobo saw the spread of jazz and jazz dance as a kind of racial attack that threatened the future of all Filipinos. In his 1923 speech to Manila's American Chamber of Commerce on the subject of "Filipino contact with America," Bocobo drew on scientific ideas about racial and social evolution to warn his Filipinos about the need to resist the influence of American popular culture: "Woe unto that race which, by inadaptability, or by weakness, or by sheer fatality, can not preserve its native virtues, and is dazzled by the glitter and the tinsel of unsuitable new customs and ideas."[146] For Bocobo, jazz and jazz dance signified a kind of racialized American modernity, but it was one that could overwhelm and even destroy the cultural practices that characterized a Filipino race. If Filipinos were to be absorbed into an "American

spirit," they would appear only as a darker, inferior, imitation of Americans who arrived late to modernity. Jazz dance, then, did not offer a means to demonstrate Filipino racial respectability.

While Bocobo and other cultural and political elites critiqued jazz dance in terms of cultural and racial conquest contest, the most common controversy about jazz dance in the Filipino community focused on cabarets and the scandalous figure of the bailarina. In much of public conversation, the professional Filipina dancer became an abstract figure, a stylized caricature upon whom Filipinos and Filipinas could project their concerns about the cultural changes influenced by U.S. imperialism. In particular, the Filipino community concentrated their moral outrage on the bailarina and her perceived effect on the Filipino male and Filipino domesticity. While they commonly distinguished between bailarinas and prostitutes – a distinction that has often been missed in historical accounts – bailarinas were still akin to a kind of sex worker.[147] Their act of dancing with strange men in close embraces for money prompted a social indignation that portrayed these women in extreme, stereotypical ways. In Manila, bailarinas were commonly depicted to be "*masamang babae*," literally evil or wicked women who lured Filipino men into disreputable lives of gambling, immorality, and poverty.[148] Political cartoons, short stories, and letters to the editor from Filipinos across the Philippines regularly depicted bailarinas as sirens drawing men to cabarets where they disrupted families, distracted city officials from their duties, and kept youth away from their studies (Fig. 4.5).[149] Many of these accounts, such as Jesus V. Merrit's 1929 short story, "The Lost Student," served as morality tales meant to try to dissuade young men from cabarets. Merrit's work told how a young Manila college student began attending cabarets and, in order to please one of

the bailarinas, went on to pawn his dead mother's jewelry, drop out of school, and turn to a life of burglary.[150] For many in Manila's Filipino community who hoped to demonstrate they were fit for independence, the bailarina became an easy culprit to blame for the actions of Filipino youth who seemed to prefer dancing to studying.

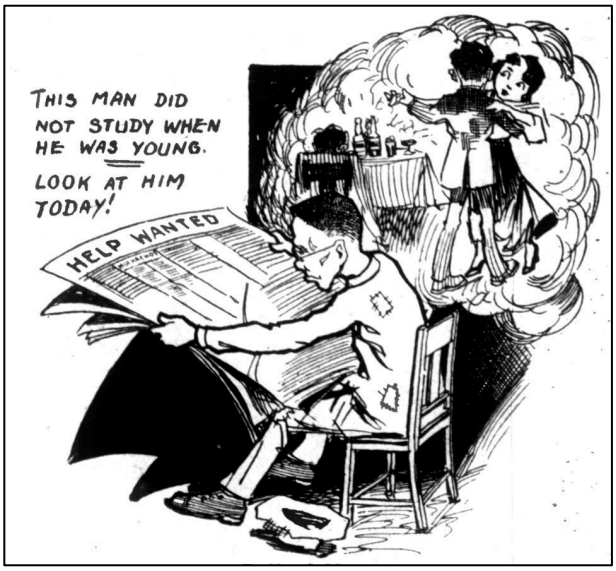


Figure 4.5: Cabarets were commonly portrayed as leading young men to unemployment and worse.[151]

Even while dancing was widely popular among Filipinos, especially the younger generation, the negative attitude towards cabarets and bailarinas prompted regular civil action. In practically every year from 1918 to 1928 legislators in Manila proposed regulating or closing cabarets. Their suggested strategies included outlawing professional dancers, pushing cabarets beyond city limits, and levying new taxes from the halls.[152] Despite the regularity of these anti-cabaret motions, however, they appear to have done little to close down cabarets or diminish their popularity. Indeed, journalists regularly suggested that many of the anti-cabaret proposals were merely attempts for politicians to publically appear concerned about morality and vice even as they privately supported – or were bribed to support – the lucrative local business of dance halls (Fig. 4.6).[153]

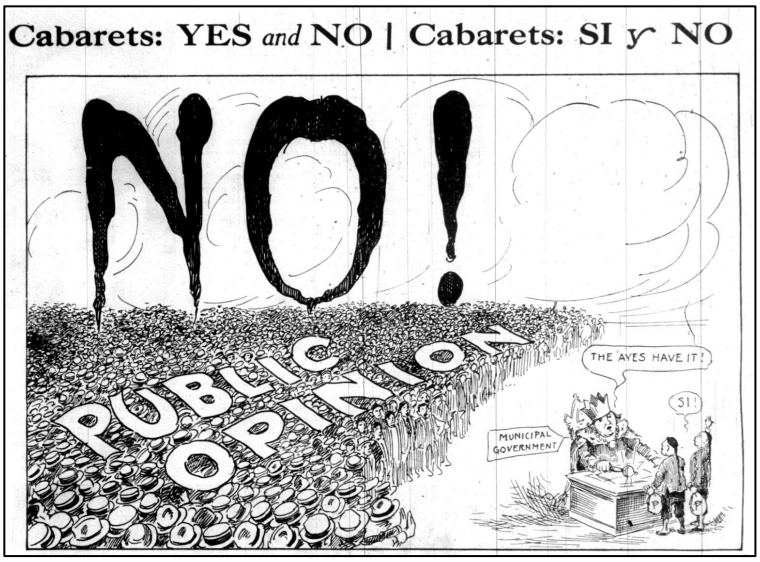


Figure 4.6: Despite public opinion, the fat, king-like "Municipal Government" is depicted here favoring keeping cabarets open with the phrase "the ayes have it" after a pair of Chinese bribe him.[154]

These public discussions of the bailarina, however, were ultimately aligned with Bocobo's concern about attaining Filipino nationhood by demonstrating Filipino respectability. The anxiety induced by cabarets was ultimately about how the leisure practices of young Filipino men could be detrimental to Filipinos' goal in demonstrating its racial and social progress. When a 1923 bill proposed re-opening cabarets within Manila's city limits in 1923, a group of Filipino university administrators published a letter explaining that they sought to prevent the bill's passage because it could be detrimental to the image of the respectable Filipino. They warned that "the approval of this measure would be a decided step backward in our social progress."[155] Another group of civic leaders employed a similar reasoning three years later when they also published a letter showing their support for a ban on cabarets. They were particularly concerned that, while studious Filipino college students such as Manuel T. Escarilla were successfully developing skills such as public speaking that could challenge the myth of white supremacy, youth who spent their nights dancing were harming their ability to reach their

full academic potential.[156] "Many dance hall *bailarinas* are using the public dances to entice young men," they wrote. "Everything possible ought to be done to protect the thousands of young men in our city from temptation."[157]

Even those who opposed the strict regulation of dance halls agreed with the basic premise that the debate about cabarets was one about the image of the future Philippine nation. The university student Leonardo Serrano considered the actions of those seeking to close cabarets as reflecting "unreasonable, rigid and puritanic [sic] standards of morality" but he understood their intent: "More than anyone else, I desire to see a strong, virile and clean Filipino nationhood, free from all vices and evils."[158] The near constant debate about cabarets, a debate that appeared to do little to lessen the attendance at the halls, positioned the bailarina at the center of a transpacific campaign for Filipino independence.

It should not be that surprising that the Filipina jazz laborer became such a scandalous, controversial figure in the decade after World War I. For, while much of the attention on the Filipina bailarina emphasized her imagined affect on Filipino men, young women throughout the world were horrifying older generations by engaging in the fashions of the jazz age and disrupting traditional gender roles and social morals. This young woman, with her bobbed hair, jazz dancing, and new clothing fashions, was known by names such as the Modern Girl and the Flapper, the latter term being the one commonly used in the Philippines.[159] The Filipina Flapper emerged in the early 1920s, while her counterparts around the world emerged in force by the early 1930s.[160] Newspapers throughout colonial Asia reported widely on this new female figure, with Manila's media examining Filipina Flappers in short fiction and publishing stories about

women with bobbed hair in Java and Guam and Japanese women dancing to jazz in Tokyo.[161]

The Filipina bailarina, then, was practicing her profession as jazz laborer during a moment when young women faced increasing public scrutiny. This was especially true in the Philippines and other colonized parts of the world, where anti-colonial struggle commonly involved cultivating particular images of non-white femininity. Partha Chatterjee argues that preserving a specific figure of the Indian woman was critical for the development of a nationalist sentiment that could challenge British colonialism.[162] Similarly, Denise Cruz examines how Filipino elites in the late 1920s and early 1930s sought to present a particular image of the Filipina to the world as they pursued Filipino independence.[163] The task of these elites was made more difficult with the emergence of the Filipina Flapper, though, for she not only appeared to reject more traditional Filipino cultural practices but also seemed to endanger the Filipino family by seeking education and more equality between genders. In her study of the "transpacific Filipina coed," a version of the Filipina flapper, Cruz depicts her as a young elite, educated woman whose consumption of western fashions and leisure practices, including jazz dance, was perceived by other Filipinos as a "public flouting of middle- and upper-class norms of propriety."[164]

In this regard, the Filipina Flapper was akin to other versions of the Modern Girl, who were commonly seen as threats to anti-colonial projects. As the Modern Girl Around the World research group writes, "Modern Girls appeared to challenge 'proper' female commitments to the nation." In particular their "supposed sexual transgressions" that might prevent them from entering a domestic realm "made the Modern Girl into a body

in need of policing."[165] Despite their controversial nature, however, the Modern Girl could also be a figure demonstrating the cultural advancement of non-white peoples. In much of Asia, Su Lin Lewis points out that "her independence was heralded as a necessary marker of civilizational progress."[166] Similarly, Cruz argues that the ideal Filipina was one who demonstrated "a combination of the conservative and the modern…the best element of Philippine culture with the benefits brought by educational opportunities imported from the West."[167] Thus, the Filipina Flapper was at the cusp between new ideas such as women's suffrage and women's education and more traditional concerns about maintaining distinctly Filipino cultural practices.[168]

Filipina bailarinas fit uneasily into this discussion of Filipina femininity and nationalism. There were many apparent similarities between the Filipina bailarina and the Filipina flapper: both might dress in the latest Parisian fashions and dance the latest fox-trot variations to the sounds of a jazz band. Yet, within Manila, the Filipina bailarina was represented quite differently from the "transpacific Filipina coed," a class of women whose supposed threat to Filipino society stemmed in large part from their collegiate education and their embrace of American cultural practices and fashions.[169] In the popular imagination of 1920s Manila, the Filipina flapper was a figure who represented both the dangerous influence of American culture as well as hope in the strength of a Filipino race. Certainly, some of these depictions of the Filipina Flapper could be quite scathing. One Tagalog short story told the tale of a young Filipina who was a princess on the dance floor but a failure as a home-maker, in other words, a Flapper. She was compared to a "*kapak,*" a fish "with shiny scales on the outside and mud on the inside."[170]

More commonly however, short stories and articles about Filipina Flappers depicted them as temporarily rebellious women who could still become respectable members of Filipino society. An article about young Filipinas who spent their nights dancing to jazz near Manila, notes that they were also dutiful, pious, and regularly attended church.[171] Several short pieces of fiction told the story of Filipinas transforming from girl to Flapper to mother (Fig. 4.7). The plot for one such story was announced as



Figure 4.7: A Filipina transformed into a flapper: "This could not be Juanita – this gay creature dressed in a Parisian gown and bobbed á la shingle! Where was the shy and demure maiden in 'Balintawak' [a "Filipino" dress] whom he had been fondly cherishing in his memory?"[172]

"the incursion of a Filipino girl into the realm of shingled-hair and short-skirted Flapperdom – and a love that revealed again her true, modest self."[173] Another story, "The Child's Smile," chronicled how a happily married young mother was temporarily tempted by Manila's nightlife but ultimately decided to return to her child.[174] Local vaudeville troupes also staged shows with similar structures. During the summer of 1925, the Savoy Theater's Filipino vaudeville troupe put on a version of Beatrice Burton's *The Flapper Wife*, a novel that was simultaneously being serialized in *The Manila Times*.[175] Burton's book told the story of a young newlywed who learned to reject the jazz life. It

shared a similar arc to the popular tales of Filipina Flappers who returned from flings with jazz immorality to become devoted wives and mothers.

The prevalence of narratives about the reformation of the middle-class or wealthy Filipina Flapper stood in stark contrast to representations of the working-class bailarina. Popular fiction about these professional dancers may have offered one-dimensional depictions that did not reflect the varied and complex experiences of actual bailarinas, but these stories show us how the figure of the bailarina came to be at the center of a wider debate about race and colonialism amongst Filipinos. Unlike entertaining accounts about Filipina Flappers, tales of bailarinas were rarely stories of redemption and rehabilitation. Instead, they tend to follow the pattern of an English-language short story called "The Bailarina." This 1927 work was written by Jose Garcia Villa, an 18 year-old from a wealthy family who would go on to enjoy a celebrated literary career.[176] Villa's short story focuses on Margarita, a professional dancer. Margarita falls in love with one of her clients and they conceive a child. Despite his initial promise, though, her lover refuses to marry her, leaving Margarita to give birth out of wedlock. In a bout of shame and grief over this betrayal, she accidently kills her child and sadly returns to cabaret life, a failure as a woman, a wife, and a mother.[177]

In stories such as these, bailarinas are almost always the agents of their own demise amidst a cast of passive men.[178] They tend to suffer tragedies similar to the one that befell Margarita: in one story, a bailarina named Leonor is actually shot.[179] In these morality tales, bailarinas are forever failing to achieve a life of domesticity and are left stoically bearing the disdain of respectable society. The tendency for popular fiction about Filipina Flappers and bailarinas to move in opposite trajectories suggests that, to

many Filipinos, there was something about bailarinas' class position as jazz laborers that prevented them from accessing the same middle-class possibilities of the Flapper.

But while many debates about Filipino racial respectability and hopes for independence centered on a stylized figure of the bailarina, their status as jazz laborer enabled actual bailarinas to exceed the narrow ways in which they were commonly depicted. As jazz laborers, actual Filipina bailarinas came to claim a position in Manila that would not fit so neatly in the narrative of rehabilitated flappers or the fictionalized accounts of tragic dance professionals. This incompatibility is not due merely to the bailarina's status as a worker, for other Modern Girls were employed in visible positions.[180] Nor is it that, while much of the interest on the Modern Girl has focused on her position as a consumer of commodity culture, the working-class Filipina was not also a participant in consumer culture.[181] Instead, I want to suggest that there is something distinctive about the bailarina's working in a jazz economy. This position reflected her lower class status and marks her as different from the Filipina Flapper. It is this act of working in a new industry of jazz that distinguishes the bailarina from all the other jazzy women who do not have to commodify what they enjoy: the act of dancing. Furthermore, it is through the act of jazz dancing that the bailarina not only appeared to threaten Filipino nationhood – both by enabling performances of imperial whiteness and by troubling Filipino respectability – but also came to claim a distinctive position in a new jazz economy.

As the anonymous writer who employed the name "Legislator" noted above, the rise of cabarets gave birth to a new labor category for young Filipinas. This profession of the dance partner emerged during a time of economic instability caused by the legacy of

U.S. military violence and colonial trade arrangements.[182] While cabarets were quite distinct from brothels, Manila's bailarinas and cabarets emerged in force after the closing of the official U.S. sanctioned red light district in Sampaloc in 1918.[183] As I explored in Chapter Two, soon after the red-light district closed, the Philippine economy collapsed, leading thousands of Filipino males, including musicians, to seek employment abroad.[184] Filipinas had fewer options, however, leaving working-class Filipinas as young as 13 to migrate from the provinces to find work in urban cabarets. As a Mr. Brondial pointed out in a Manila magazine in 1929, most bailarinas were "compelled to [dance]…for a living for there is no other way. They are dancing girls by circumstances, not by choice."[185] In November 1920, for example, *The Manila Times* reported on the supposed kidnapping of a 15-year old girl named Paula Mercado. It turned out merely to be a misunderstanding. Mercado and her step-mother had simply done as many others had and moved from the central Philippines to Manila in order for the teenager to try to support them by working as a bailarina at the Santa Ana cabaret.[186] Mercado's case was not unusual. So many women came in from provinces to try to become professional dancers that, by the end of the decade, there was a widespread perception that all bailarinas were provincials who came to the city to escape rural poverty.[187] At the beginning of the decade, in March 1920, an estimate suggested that there were already 300 bailarinas in Manila, a number that certainly grew dramatically as more cabarets were built and expanded over the next decade in both Manila and throughout the rest of the country.[188]

When young Filipinas became bailarinas they found themselves in a strange sort of occupation. On the one hand, they were absolutely critical for the success of the cabaret. Bailarinas not only attracted customers to the dance halls, they also played an

essential role in the mechanism to maximize profit from dancing patrons. They facilitated and managed ticket exchange on the dance floor, and half of their earnings would go to the cabaret management each night.[189] On the other hand, despite their critical position in a cabaret's operation, bailarinas performed a precarious, informal kind of labor. Many worked in a gray legal zone after early 1920, when professional dancers were banned from cabarets in an attempt to render the halls more respectable.[190] Despite the ambitions of legislators, this decree did little to diminish the popularity of cabarets or change the practice of hiring Filipinas for dances. What it did do, though, was push the bailarina's work into a space between the legal and the illegal. The Filipina bailarina did not disappear after they were officially banned in early 1920. Instead, cabarets continued to operate in the same way as before, depending upon bailarinas to attract audiences and generate profit from clients. It appears that the main difference after 1920, though, was that cabarets no longer officially employed bailarinas. When professional dancers appeared at cabarets they did so as customers; they even had to pay admission.[191] As one Filipino lawyer pointed out in 1922, the Filipina professional dancer was essentially a fiction. He noted that "under the law no such person as a 'bailarina' officially exists."[192] Unofficially, however, bailarinas not only still existed but grew in number as the decade advanced.

This strange legal position meant that a bailarina's life could be uncertain. Unlike Filipino musician who signed notarized contracts that guaranteed them regularly salaries, bailarinas earned their wages based on their success attracting paying dance partners each night. Unlike in the U.S. or Shanghai, where dance professionals could often supplement their wages by earning a commission on drinks their clients purchased, Manila's bailarina

did not have this option. According to one cabaret regular, Manila's dance professionals received "no percentage on the drinks served at her table."[193] The most successful bailarinas, then, sought to cultivate a following of clients who would follow her from cabaret to cabaret.[194] Her livelihood was often dependent upon cash tips or from the gifts and meals she might receive by accompanying a client on dates outside the cabaret. One account reported that it was common practice for men to give "the fair ones from ₱10 to ₱20 after the dance as tips," but this generosity was likely far beyond the means of many cabaret patrons.[195] While some bailarinas with wealthy patrons may have enjoyed expensive gifts and financial stability, most earned just enough to survive. On wages from ticket sales alone – after factoring in the 50 centavo admission she had to pay to enter the hall – a bailarina would have to dance 50 times a night to earn the daily wage of a low-skilled factory worker and would have to take part in over 200 dances to match the daily income of laborers at a hat or slipper factory.[196] This salary also had to help cover the significant cost of laundry and clothing purchases, both of which were essential for attracting clients.

Manila's bailarinas likely shared the same financial difficulties of dance professionals in cabarets in Shanghai and Singapore. Despite the rise of celebrity-like dance hostesses in Shanghai's Chinese cabarets of the 1930s, Emily Hahn makes it clear that most bailarinas she encountered there in the mid-1930s were struggling financially.[197] In Singapore, too, one regular patron observed the city's bailarinas in the early 1930s and estimated that "50% of the girls were finding it difficult to make ends meet."[198] While some of Manila's cabaret patrons reported the presence of bailarinas who made fortunes on the dance floor, we need to read their observations carefully, for

bailarinas regularly attempted to attract clients by purchasing fashionable clothing that made them appear relatively wealthy.[199] Cabarets still afforded bailarinas an opportunity to earn a living, though, even if this living was not guaranteed.

The dance floor also became a space where Filipina bailarinas came to assert themselves in various ways that escaped official notice. While they appeared as pathetic figures or stereotypical sirens in the public discussions of imperial whiteness and Filipino racial respectability, they were neither dupes of U.S. colonial rule nor victims of empire. Again, while it is difficult to tell their stories in great detail due to the absence of their voices from the archives, there are many clues about their activities. These clues suggest that Manila's employed any number of strategies that challenged their public depictions and their financially precarious position in order. They sought to insure that the cabaret dance floor gave them an opportunity to claim a spot in the changing imperial economy of Manila. Many of these clues come from more detailed accounts about cabarets outside of Manila, in cities such as Shanghai and Singapore, or from taxi-dance halls in the U.S.

In these institutions, the young women working as dance professionals commonly shared techniques for earning more money and for preventing some of the uncomfortable aspects of their job. One common technique, for example, was for bailarinas to encourage their clients to bypass the ticket system entirely by tricking the cabaret's floor manager and demanding cash from patrons, thus allowing them to earn 100% of the ticket cost.[200] In the taxi-dance halls of the U.S., where the power difference between the white female dance partners and Filipino male patrons was quite different than the relations between dancers in Manila, professional dancers commonly supplemented their income by promising dates or extra dances to patrons in exchange for more money or gifts.[201] In

Singapore, a companion to some of the city's bailarinas explained that they sharing tactics with fellow bailarinas on how to deal with unruly, drunken clients who might become overly friendly as the night progressed. In order to avoid the smell of the alcoholic breath of their partners, the young women typically had two options: "some girls kept their partners at quite a distance and had to be fairly strong to do that. Others preferred to go up against them and lean over their shoulders so they didn't have to get this grog smell blown straight into them."[202] Clearly, then, there were methods through which bailarinas could game the system of the cabaret and to ensure their own safety and comfort even without their partners realizing it.

We can take these accounts from outside the Philippines to re-read the stylized morality tales of Manila's cabarets and search for clues about the strategies Filipina bailarinas used to make the most of the opportunities of their profession. This sort of reading is perhaps aided by some of the outrageous claims from wealthy and prominent young men such as Jose Garcia Villa, author of "The Bailarina," and Nicasiano Osmeña, son of politician Sergio Osmeña, who depicted themselves as helpless victims of bailarinas. These women were likely trying to make ends meet through dancing. But even Villa and Osmeña's descriptions of young women who invested in make-up and fashionable clothing or who requested their payment in a forceful manner can provide clues to the ways in which bailarinas took charge on the dance floor. Osmeña penned a lengthy guide to Manila's cabarets in 1929 since, as the ex-president of the Manila Bachelor Club, he was recognized as an "authority" on the subject. In his article, he depicts bailarinas as "*buaya*," or crocodiles, who greet patrons with "Hello *ibon*," a phrase he translated as "Hello, sucker!"[203] Since Osmeña's also claimed that bailarinas

were all full of "impudence," we should recognize his characterizations were tempered by a sense of social superiority that blinded him to more nuanced observations. At the very least, though, his descriptions reveal that some bailarinas may have exhibited a fairly transparent desire to maximize their profits from willing patrons, a strategy that, as he acknowledged, could be quite successful.

A far more sympathetic Tagalog short story from 1923, "Ang Suerte ng Baylarina" [The Luck of a Bailarina], described how the business-like attitude of bailarinas could prevent them from being cheated. This story showed how one oft the professional dancers at La Loma managed to prevent a group of Filipino *haragan* [lazy idlers] from cheating her.[204] After the men say they want to reserve her for the entire night, she uses a mix of English and Tagalog to demand "Money down first, then!"[205] Cartoons and humorous sketches similarly make light of the creative ways in which older, less desirable Filipina bailarinas managed to profit from an influx of drunken, white American sailors.[206] In some cases, there are even descriptions of how Filipina bailarinas took charge on the dance floor. Francis Barclay, an Australian tourist who attended Manila's Santa Ana Cabaret in late 1925 or early 1926, recounted how he saw a bailarina make sure that her drunken partner kept dancing with her, and thus kept paying her tickets. Barclay wrote that, after an American sailor with too much to drink introduced himself and his Filipina partner to Barclay's friends, the bailarina ended their conversation by trying "to drag him away by the arm."[207]

These depictions of bailarinas could be highly problematic, for in celebrating Filipina agency these authors tended to perpetuate the common claim that Filipino men were innocent victims of Filipina cunning. They do provide important clues, however,

about the various ways in which bailarinas could attempt to subvert the rules of the cabaret to her own benefit. On an individual level, the relationship between the Filipina bailarina and her male client was one that was not necessarily fixed according to larger racial, gender, or class hierarchies. In the dim light of the cabaret, bailarinas may have been able to mobilize the politics and economics of jazz dance to her own advantage in ways that did not escape the close space between the two dancers and make it into the archives. Theirs was hardly a romantic existence: Manila's bailarinas were rendered invisible by the law and became a common scapegoat in larger discussions about Filipino racial respectability and independence. But the emergence of this new form of jazz labor, the dance professional, also afforded hundreds of young Filipinos an opportunity to stake out a livelihood and claim an essential position in a new, modern industry.

Conclusion

When the British newspaper magnate Lord Northcliffe traveled to Manila in October 1921, he observed that Americans there "mainly seem to be trying to carry out New York cabaret life in the semi-tropics."[208] This "cabaret life" was reliant upon the labor of young Filipina women, the class of professional dancers positioned at the center of anxious discussions about the racial politics of jazz dance among both the white and Filipino communities of Manila. As American men danced with Filipinas, trying to recreate Manhattan in Manila, the bailarina came to reveal yet another set of ambiguities about jazz labor, as both a force for imperial domination and a medium for alternative expressions that might not rise fully to the level of anticolonial struggle. In some ways, the bailarina was similar to Filipino jazz musicians working abroad: both were using jazz to make a living in an economy transformed by U.S. imperialism. Yet the Filipina

bailarina's public position as jazz laborer also meant that she was imagined both to enable the perpetuation of imperial whiteness and to impede the Filipino quest for racial uplift and respectability. In public discussions, she was akin to a force of U.S. empire, a dancer who helped preserve the logic of white imperial rule.

On the dance floor, however, the bailarina acted in varied ways that far exceeded the one-dimensional depictions of her in popular fiction and travelogues. She came to occupy a critical position in a new jazz industry and attempted to take advantage as best she could of the opportunities of jazz labor. Her position might not have directly challenged American colonial ambitions, but it nonetheless hinted at a new place for her in a modern, global jazz industry. As workers in this new jazz industry, Filipina bailarinas hinted at the ways in which jazz, as a form of labor, could become an ambiguous force that both enabled U.S. colonial domination and generated alternate expressions and opportunities for young Filipina women. In this sense, jazz labor was akin to Sherrie Tucker's description of the dance floor "as a site of constraints and possibility," where imperial domination and anti-colonial opportunities were entangled like two dancers moving to the sounds of a Tin Pan Alley fox-trot. [209]

Notes for Chapter Four

[1] O. T. Pinzke (lyrics), Benito Trápaga (music), "Manila's Jazzy Scandal" (Manila: Benito Trápaga, 1924), Trápaga family collection.

[2] E.g., Michael Brown, "On Resisting Resistance," *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 4 (1996): 729-735; Marshall Sahlins, *Waiting for Foucault, Still (*Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002 [1993]); Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (Autumn 2003): 113-124.

[3] Filipinas also engaged in a jazz economy on the vaudeville stage. For overviews of Manila vaudeville see John Maynard, "Impressions of the Manila Vaudeville Stage," *Philippine Magazine* (October 1929), 264-5, 305-7; "Nanood si Kulas ng Bod-a-Bil," *Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (3 October 1923), 19; "Vaudeville in the Local Theatres," *Graphic* (9 July 1927), 16; Felix R. Domingo, "Bare Knees and Bobbed Hair," *Graphic* (4 May 1929), 4, 5; Fidel Rojo, "La Vaudevillista," *Excelsior* (10 March 1930), 36. See also Peter Keppy, "Southeast Asia in the Age of Jazz: Locating Popular Culture in the Colonial Philippines and Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (October 2013): 444-464.

[4] "Plenty of Room to Dance at Carnival," *The Manila Times* (20 January 1921), 6; "Huge Crowd Packs Carnival City on First Night…," *The Manila Times* (5 February 1922), 1; See also "Carnival Queen's Ball," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 February 1922), 21. The total attendance for the two-week long 1922 Carnival was over 550,000 people: *Manila Carnival Commercial and Industrial Fair Program* (Manila: February 1927), 28.

[5] "St. Andrew's Ball at Kuala Lumpur," *The Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (5 December 1919), 1698 [For an example of a typical St. Andrew's day dance program see Appendix J]; "Eltinge Jazz Band plays at Grand Ball," *The Japan Advertiser* (25 January 1920), 1; "American Co., S. V. C., Annual Ball," *The North China Herald* (24 February 1923), 516; "Dancing Season," *The Statesman* (15 November 1925), 12.

[6] For more on the emergence of new professions associated with the rise of social dance, see Danielle Robinson, *Modern Moves: Dancing Race During the Ragtime and Jazz Eras* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[7] Only about a third of the white population in Manila was female, a ratio similar to those found in cities such as Bombay and Calcutta. While both Batavia and Surabaya's gender division among the white community was slightly more even, this ratio could be even more extreme in rural regions. For demographic information, see *Census of the Philippines Islands: 1918, Vol. II* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), 35; J. H. Hutton, *Census of India, 1931. Vol. I – India* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933), 50-53; Norden Hermann, *From Golden Gate to Golden Sun: A Record of Travel, Sport and Observation in Siam and Malaya* (London: H. F. and G. Witherby, 1923), 53; *Uitkomsten Volkstelling, Vol. II, A: Java en Madoera* (Batavia: Drukkerijen Ruygrok & Co., 1922),

14, 56. For more on the marriage policies of workers, as well as the experiences of young European men in the colonies, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Leopold Ainsworth, *The Confessions of a Planter in Malaya* (H. F. & G. Witherby: London, 1933).

[8] E.g., Price Collier, *The West in the East: From an American Point of View* (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1913), 33; George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950 [1934]). See also Anthony Reid, ed., *Witnesses to Sumatra: A Travellers' Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[9] In the diary of her tour through colonial Asia with the Denishawn Dancers, Jane Sherman describes nearly having to fight off lonely young white men hoping to dance with her – or marry her – at nearly every stop: Jane Sherman, *Soaring: The Diary and Letters of a Denishawn Dancer in the Far East, 1925-1926* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), *passim*.

[10] For more on precursors to cabarets in Manila, see "Dancing Girls of Former Days," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1922), special supplemental section Part 2, 5-6.

[11] Venues in Asia still occasionally featured special "cabaret shows" in the European meaning of the word: E.g., "Gaiety Theater ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (17 June 1921), 5; "Cabaret Show," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (2 April 1924), 373; "Big Cabaret Show," *North China Daily News* (20 November 1926), 6; "BWA Cabaret Show has Many Catchy Numbers," *The China Press* (14 December 1926), 4.

[12] *All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983 [Shanghai: The University Press, 1935]), 33.

[13] For examples of scholarship on Shanghai's music and night-life in the Republican Era, see: Andrew David Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World: Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919-1954* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2010); Andrew Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2001); E. Taylor Atkins, "Jammin' on the Jazz Frontier: The Japanese Jazz Community in Interwar Shanghai," *Japanese Studies*, 19, no. 1 (1999): 5-16; Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

[14] "St. George's Café," *The China Press* (31 May 1924), 8; "Premier Café ad," *The North China Daily News* (30 October 1926), 16; "Park Pavilion," *The China Press* (1 December 1926), 5; "Palais de Danse ad," *The China Press* (3 December 1926), 3.

[15] "Modern China," *The Straits Times* (15 April 1929), 5. See also: "Dancing Days," *The Straits Times* (11 May 1929), 8; "China Takes to Jazz," *The Straits Times* (9 October 1929), 12.

[16] *All About Shanghai*, 75; Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., *The Manila Americans (1901-1964)* (Manila: Carmelo & Bauermann, Inc. 1977), 101. For more on U.S. taxi-dance halls see Paul Goalby Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008 [1932]).

[17] For tramvia routes and distances, see "San Juan Heights ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 October 1922), 4. See also, "A Community Versus Vice," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 October 1952), 34.

[18] For some of these lesser-known venues, see "Buting Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1922), special supplemental section Part 3, 8; "The Palace Cabaret," *The Manila Times*, 13 March 1920), 7; Marilao Hotel and Cabaret ad, *The Manila Times* (21 January 1923), 2.

[19] A. Henry Savage Landor*, The Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel Among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1904), 37.

[20] I do intend to suggest that all Filipino dancing has been influenced by the Spanish. For more on what are considered more traditional forms of Filipino dance, see Leonor Orosa Goquingco, *The Dances of the Emerald Isles* (Quezon City: Ben-Lor Publishers, 1980).

[21] David R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 69.

[22] Henry T. Ellis, *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon, in the Philippines Isles, in the Year 1856* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1859), 113, 231-241. See also B. L. Ball, *Rambles in Eastern Asia* (Boston: James French and Company, 1856), 142, 145-147, 175-177.

[23] John White, *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands* (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 136. See also Paul T. Gilbert, *The Great White Tribe in Filipinia* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Pye, 1903), 205-206, 288-291; William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in The Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 17-19, 29-30.

[24] Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (London: John Murray, 1906), 58. For examples of dances in the early 1910s, see "Notas Y Comentarios," *Renacimiento Filipino* (12 December 1912), 1.

[25] For examples of articles mentioning cabarets throughout the Philippines see: "Woman Charged with Kidnapping Girl to Put Her in Cabaret," *The Manila Times* (28 November 1920), 7 [Tacloban]; "Social Activities," *The Manila Times* (5 June 1921), 13 [Bagiuo]; "Dance Hall Ruining Young and Old in Mabalacat, Pamp." *The Philippines Free Press*

(17 September 1921), 11 [Mabalacat, Pampanga]; "Marilao Hotel and Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (21 January 1923), 2 [Marilao, Bulacan]; "Beware of the Cabarets!" *The Philippines Free Press* (10 February 1923), 15 [Vigan]; Roman Joven, "El Romance de la Criada Cebuana," *The Philippines Free Press* (9 May 1925), 44, 45 [Cebu]; "El Reinado del Terror en San Fernando," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 May 1926), 65 [San Fernando, Pampanga]; "Zamboanga Women Fight Cabarets," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 July 1926), 24 [Zamboanga]; "Dance Halls and Vice," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 48 [throughout Philippines]; Elias G. Corporal, "Cabaret, Cockpit, Church," (4 May 1929), 10-11 [Camarines Sur]; "Talisay Resident Gets Action on Dance Hall," *The Philippines Free Press* (3 August 1929), 45 [Talisay, Misamis].

[26] "Los Salones de Baile y Cabarets en Legazpi," *Philippines Free Press* (15 May 1920), 30. See also, "Beware of the Cabarets!" *The Philippines Free Press* (10 February 1923), 15.

[27] For Pasay, see "Put Lid on Pasay Halls," *The Manila Times* (16 June 1919), 2; J. Villa Panganiban, "Is Pasay Vice Free?" *Graphic* (25 May 1929), 34. For examples of tourists in cabarets, see "Lerma Ad," *The Manila Times* (7 October 1919), 4; "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (13 October 1921), 7; "News of the Week," *The Philippines Free Press* (13 February 1926), 26; "Where to Go," *The Manila Times* (23 March 1923), 2; "The Joys of a Junket," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 July 1920), 1.

[28] For accounts mentioning Chinese presence at cabarets see "News of the Week," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 August 1926), 28; "The People of the Philippine Islands vs. Agustin Chan Lin Wat," Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court, (30 March 1927).

[29] Quotation from "Palais de Danse ad," *The Statesman* (29 November 1925), 8. See also "Sea View Hotel ad," *The Straits Times* (28 May 1926), 11. For more about segregation in social clubs, hotels, and movie theaters, see the oral history of Marjorie Curtis, reel 3, accession #: 000159, from Singapore National Archives; Maurizio Peleggi, "The Social and Material Life of Colonial Hotels: Comfort Zones as Contact Zones in British Colombo and Singapore, ca. 1870-1930," *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 1 (2012): 125-153; "Snappy Show Attract Fans to the Savoy," *The Manila Times* (22 October 1924), 4; "The New Alhambra," *The Singapore Free Press* (13 January 1916), 12.

[30] For descriptions and photographs of fences on cabaret dance floors, see B. Sanders, "Why is a Convention?" *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 21; "How We Look to a British Major," *The Manila Times* (7 September 1924), 13; "Puede el Baile Continuar," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 April 1925), 34; James H. Wilken, "A Turn of the Wheel: Ch. XIV Cont," *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 November 1933), 9; Gleeck, *The Manila Americans*, 100.

[31] "Puede el baile continuar," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 April 1925), 34.

[32] For accounts of desegregating cabarets, see Nick Joaquin, *Manila: Sin City? and Other Chronicles* (Metro Manila: National Bookstore Publishers: 1980), 257-258; Manuel L. Quezon III, "More on Racism," *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (3 January 2005), 11.

[33] E.g., Gregorio Nieva, "Race Discrimination in our business dealings an obstacle," *The Philippine Review* (February 1919), 90; Francisco B. Icasiano, "The Beast," *Philippine Magazine* (May 1929), 679; Manila Govt. Passes Civil Rights Order," *The Chicago Defender* (20 December 1930), 11.

[34] "Traveller in the East," *The Mail* [Adelaide] (2 September 1922), 18.

[35] For similar descriptions of the two sides of Santa Ana's hall see; Francis Barclay, "A Trip to Japan," *The Daily Advertiser* [Wagga Wagga] (2 January 1926), 7; Norbert Lyons, "The Scenic Route to Montalban," *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (June 1922), 9-12; "How We Look to a British Major," *The Manila Times* (7 September 1924), 13; James H. Wilken, "A Turn of the Wheel: Ch. XIV Cont." *The Sydney Morning Herald* (4 November 1933), 9.

[36] John Pal, *Shanghai Saga* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1963), esp. 84-88.

[37] *All About Shanghai*, 74, 78. See also Harold P. Mills, "Night Club Craze Hits Shanghai With Bang," *The Manila Times* (17 May 1928), 2; "50 Bailarinas," *The Manila Times* (17 February 1925), 1.

[38] Alfred McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, The Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 244.

[39] Harbin was a southern terminus of the trans-Siberian railroad and thus became a major stopping point for Russian refugees hoping to reach Shanghai. Between 1918 and 1920, Vladivostok was home to thousands of European and U.S. soldiers there to support anti-Bolshevik groups. Their presence led to a short-lived cabaret scene there. E.g., Israel Cohen, "A Visit to Harbin," *The Singapore Free Press* (29 September 1921), 1; A. Fensch, "Notes and Pictures Taken in Manchuria and North China." *P.C.C. News* (June 1919), 2-8; "World Bond of Jazz," *The Singapore Free Press* (17 February 1928), 14; "Fiendish Torture," *Hongkong Daily Press* (8 November 1928), 4. For more on the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, see Carol Wilcox Melton, *Between War and Peace: Woodrow Wilson and the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, 1918-1921* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001). For the related phenomenon of café waitresses in Korea, see Daniel Dongwu Kim, "Intelligentsia under Empire: Proletarian Authors, Socialist Feminists, and the Fate of Korean Intellectuals in Japan, 1920-1945," PhD diss. (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2017).

[40] For more on Japanese cabarets, see "Kagetsu Yen ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (6 March 1920), 5; "Seiyoken Yokohama ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (5 Feb 1921), 3; "The Gay Butterflies of Japan become Bailarinas," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 2;

"Cabaret Dance ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (26 May 1922), 5; "Moving Picture Houses at Tokio," *The Independent* (19 July 1924), 8; "Our Japan Letter," *The Singapore Free Press* (29 March 1926), 11; "Dance Hall Rules Strict in Japan," *The Manila Times* (22 November 1928), 6.

[41] "The Modern Dance in Japan: Achi-Kochi," *The Japan Advertiser* (17 February 1922), 2; E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 56-69.

[42] While cabarets are ubiquitous in stories and advertisements in Shanghai and Manila, there is a striking absence of similar ads in English and Dutch-language periodicals from Bombay, Colombo, Calcutta, Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Hong Kong, Medan, Batavia, and Surabaya. I have also found no mention of cabarets in these cities in travelogues until Singapore's New World Cabaret opened in 1929.

[43] Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Kennikat Press, 1938), 277. On rare occasions there were special events with professional dancing partners in Calcutta (e.g. "Engagements: Palais de Danse," *The Times of India* [25 June 1926], 3). It was more common in these cities, however, for "cabaret" to refer to nightclub entertainment, e.g., "Carnival Week," *Times of India* (10 March 1921), 10; "Classifieds," *Times of India* (24 December 1923), 4; "Empire Theatre ad," *The Statesman* [Calcutta] (12 April 1925), 12; "The Serenaders," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (13 April 1929), 2; "Neger-revue op komst," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (13 April 1929), 2.

[44] "New World Cabaret ad," *The Straits Times* (13 December 1929), 9.

[45] The best accounts of Singapore's cabarets and amusement parks can be found in the Oral History Collection of Singapore's National Archives: Anonymous 2, Reels 1-3, Accession #: 00052; Marjorie Curtis, Reel 4, Accession #: 000159; May Wong, Reel 9, Accession #: 000093; Chan Chon Hoe, Reels 6, 9-10, Accession #002268. See also R. H. Bruce Lockhart, *Return to Malaya* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), 125-127; Brooks Atkinson, *The Cingalese Prince* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1934), 234-236; Horace Bleackley, *A Tour in Southern Asia: Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, 1925-1926* (London: John Lane The bodley Head, Ltd., 1928), 155-159. See also Wong Yunn Chii and Tan Kar Lin, "Emergence of a Cosmopolitan Space for Culture and Consumption: the New World Amusement Park-Singapore (1923-70) in the Inter-War Years," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2004): 279-304.

[46] "The Palace Cabaret," *The Manila Times* (13 March 1920) 7. For examples of dance repertoire in numerous venues across Asia, see Appendix J.

[47] Francis Barclay, "A Trip to Japan," *The Daily Advertiser* [Wagga Wagga] (2 January 1926), 7.

[48] Pal, *Shanghai Saga*, 112. See also Whitey Smith with C. L. McDermott, *I Didn't Make a Million* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1956), 27-28; "Plaza Program," *The China Press* (10 December 1926), 2, sports section; Buck Clayton and Nancy Elliott, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 76.

[49] Jones, *Yellow Music*.

[50] Ernesto V. Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo: The Man and the Artist: A Biography* (Manila: Rex Book Store, 1996), 44, 49. Abelardo's handwritten arrangement of "Oui, Oui Marie" be found in the Bañas collection.

[51] Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo*, 49. Composers in Manila occasionally noted on their sheet music that their compositions could be heard in the city's cabarets, e.g., Jose Corazon de Jesus, "Huseng-Batute" (Manila, 1923); Leon Ignacio, Deogracias A. Rosario, Luis F. Nolasco, "Por que ya no me quieres?" (Manila, c.1930s); both from the Bañas collection. Fictional accounts of nights out in Manila's cabarets also note the presence of Filipino compositions, e.g.: Epicuro Poltka, "Al Salir del Cabaret," *Excelsior* (10 February 1930), 15, 17-18.

[52] The only example I have found of African American musicians in Manila cabarets is the drummer Harry Langums. He was in Manila in the early 1920s and performed briefly at Lerma in early 1922, and again at the San Juan Cabaret in late 1924. He likely led a group of Filipino musicians in these venues. E.g., "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (31 December 1921), 7; "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (19 March 1922), 2; "San Juan Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (26 November 1924), 1.

[53] Tolentino was at Santa Ana at least from December 1919 to December 1923. Abelardo likely began his position as the leader of Lerma's band in the mid-1910s and stopped in early 1921. He likely became the leader of Santa Ana Cabaret band in mid-to-late 1926. For Tolentino, see "Santa Ana Auditorium ad," *The Manila Times* (23 December 1919), 3; "Santa Ana cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (30 December 1923), 23. For Abelardo, "Santa Ana cabaret ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 August 1926), 40; Epistola, *Nicanor Abelardo*, 34.

[54] "Lerma's ad," *The Manila Times* (7 January 1921), 3. Also see Appendix D.

[55] E.g., "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (13 October 1921), 7; "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (11 January 1924), 1; "Santa Ana Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (28 October 1924), 1; "Tullys to Make Debut Tonight at Santa Ana," *The Manila Times* (31 October 1924), 8.

[56] For a description of the job requirements of musicians in U.S. taxi-dance halls in the 1930s, see an account from a musician who worked in these venues: Clyde Bennett Vedder, "An Analysis of the Taxi-Dance Hall as a Social Institution with Special

Reference to Los Angeles and Detroit," PhD diss. (University of Southern California, 1947), 71-73.

[57] Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall,* 11. For other accounts of performing in U.S. taxi-dance halls see Paul De Barros, *Jackson Street After Hours: The Roots of Jazz in Seattle* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1993), 19; Nat Shapiro, Nat Hentoff, eds., *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz Told by the Men who Made it* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 196-197.

[58] Brenda Farnell "Moving Bodies, Acting Selves," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999): 341-73. See also Danielle Robinson, *Modern Moves: Dancing Race During the Ragtime and Jazz Eras* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[59] Jane C. Desmond, "Embodying Difference: Issues in Dance and Cultural Studies," in *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance*, ed. Desmond (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 13.

[60] For a broad overview of the debates sparked by social dancing, see Mark Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances: Outrage at Couple Dancing in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009). For a sampling of the unceasing commentary about jazz dance in the 1920s, see "Stage and Screen: Reaching the Limit of Dancing," *The Bulawayo Chronicle* (20 June 1919), 4; "Jazz Music and the Modern Dance," *Metronome* (October 1920), 14; "Contra los Bailes Modernos," *The Independent* (12 June 1920), 22.

[61] "The Evils of Modern Dancing," *The Straits Times* (18 April 1922), 10.

[62] For more on the changes of social dance in the 1910s, see Susan C. Cook, "Passionless Dancing and Passionate Reform: Respectability, Modernism, and the Social Dancing of Irene and Vernon Castle," in *The Passion of Music and Dance; Body, Gender and Sexuality*, ed. William Washabaugh (New York: Oxford, 1998), 133-150; Albert McCarthy, *The Dance Band Era: The Dancing Decades from Ragtime to Swing, 1910-1950* (London: November Books Ltd., 1971); Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances*.

[63] Troy and Margaret Kinney, *The Dance: Its Place in Art and Life* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914), 275.

[64] Kinney, *The Dance,* 269.

[65] Robinson, *Modern Moves*, 3.

[66] For more on the tension between improvisation and discipline in dance, see Danielle Goldman, *I Want to be Ready: Improvised Dance as a Practice of Freedom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

[67] "Terpsichore," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (30 June 1923), 1; "Modern dancing ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (15 December 1920), 5; "Classified: Miscellaneous," *The Times of India* (22 November 1919), 5; "Dancing and School of Dancing," *South China Morning Post* (10 November 1924), 4. For examples from other Asian cities, see "Ruby Guertin ad," *The Manila Times* (25 September 1921), 3; "Dancing Lesson ad," *The Statesman* (1 April 1926), 4; "Classified ads," *The Straits Times* (9 June 1926), 7; "Dancing ad," *North China Daily News* (1 October 1926), 1; "Business and Official Notices: Cherpino's Ballet School," *The China Press* (7 December 1926), 9. Shanghai's *The North China Daily News* even had a special classifieds section devoted to dancing instruction: E.g., "Dancing ads," *The North China Daily News* (7 October 1926), 11.

[68] For examples of newspaper columns, movies, and special nights to dance instruction at dance halls, see "Apat na pustura ng sayaw na pangkarnabal [Four dance positions for the carnival]," *Ang Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (3 Feb 1923), 17; Arthur Murray, "The Ambassador Fox Trot," *The Manila Times* (20 January 1924), 17; "Dancing Exercises," *The Manila Times* (6 January 1924), 14; "The Most Popular Dance in Europe Today," *The Philippines Free Press* (9 January 1926), 24; "Picture House ad," *The Statesman* (31 May 1925), 12; "Learn to dance Charleston," *North China Daily News* (27 October 1926), 15.

[69] "How are you going to dance at the Carnival?" *The Philippines Free Press* (31 January 1920), 20, 21; "Jazz Taboo This Winter," *The Manila Times* (26 October 1924), 16. For "correct" dancing styles, see "Classified ads: Miscellaneous," *Times of India* (14 August 1919), 4; "Piccadilly School of Dancing ad," *The Statesman* (31 May 1925), 12.

[70] "Newest Crazy Dance?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 January 1926), 2.

[71] "How are you going to dance at the Carnival?" *The Philippines Free Press* (31 January 1920), 20, 21.

[72] "*Hindi po ako lubhang marunong sumayaw ng 'moderno'"*: Francisco D. Junsay, "Pagtugtog ng Campana," *Liwayway* (23 Dec 1922), 18-19. See also Guillermo A. Holand, "Leonor," *Liwayway* (16 May 1924), 16-17, 22; Jose Ma. Cabanes, "Naghahangad ng Kagitna," *Liwayway* (15 December 1923), 15, 22.

[73] Sherrie Tucker, *Dance Hall Democracy: The Social Geography of Memory at the Hollywood Canteen* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Fiona I. B. Ngô, *Imperial Blues: Geographies of Race and Sex in Jazz Age New York* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, *Puro Arte: Filipinos on the Stages of Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 54.

[74] Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, 109. For more on Filipinos and cabarets in the U.S. see Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University

Press, 2006); Ngô, *Imperial Blues*; Burns, *Puro Arte*; Rhacel Parreñas, "White Trash Meets the Brown Monkeys," *Amerasia Journal* 24, no. 2 (1998): 115-34; Dawn Bohulano Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart: The Making of the Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Denise Khor, "'Filipinos are the Dandies of the Foreign Colonies': Race, Labor Struggles, and the Transpacific Routes of Hollywood and Philippine Films, 1924-1948," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (2012): 371-403. See also, "Dollar a Day, Ten Cents a Dance: a Historic Portrait of Filipino Farmworkers in America," (San Francisco: CrossCurrent Media, 1984); Julian Ilar, "Night life in Chicago," *The Philippines Free Press* (16 November 1929), 34, 35, 37; "Race Fights Spreading." *The Los Angeles Times* (29 January 1930), 1; Jackson Berger, "Taxi-Dance Girls Start Filipinos on Wrong Foot." *The Los Angeles Times* (2 February 1930), A1; Carlos Bulosan, *America is in the Heart* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973 [1946]), 105-106; Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall,* 42.

[75] Ngô, "Desire and Danger in Jazz's Contact Zones," *Imperial Blues*, 33-70.

[76] "How We Look to a British Major," *The Manila Times* (7 September 1924), 13.

[77] From a June 1917 *Manila Times* article quoted in Gleeck, *The Manila Americans*, 119.

[78] George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 122.

[79] For examinations of how racial ideologies that informed European imperial projects changed over time see: Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Harald Fischer-Tiné, "The Making of a 'Ruling Race': Defining and Defending Whiteness in Colonial India," in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*, eds. Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt (New York: Berghalm Books, 2011), 213-235.

[80] Gilbert, *The Great White Tribe in Filipinia*, 302-303.

[81] This notion is related to what Enrique Dussel calls the "emancipatory rational nucleus" of eurocentric modernity: Enrique Dussel, *The Underside of Modernity: Apel, Ricoeur, Rorty, Taylor, and the Philosophy of Liberation*, ed., trans. Eduardo Mendieta (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1996).

[82] Paul A. Kramer *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Kamari Maxine Clarke and Deborah A. Thomas, "Introduction: Globalization and the Transformations of Race," in *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness*, eds. Clarke and Thomas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 1-32.

[83] Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Stoler and Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7.

[84] Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire*, xi-xii.

[85] The white population of some of Asia's major cities during the 1920s are roughly as follows: Shanghai, 3.7% (although over 20% of this group were Russian refugees); Straits Settlements, Batavia, Surabaya, Bombay, and Calcutta, 1%; Manila, 2%. For population figures see: *All About Shanghai*, 33-37; R. L. German, *Handbook to British Malaya* (London: Malay States Information Agency, 1927), 38; *Uitkomsten Volkstelling, Vol. II, A*, 3; Hutton, *Census of India, 1931*, 50-53, 425-429; *Census of the Philippines Islands: 1918, Vol. II*, 32-45, 141.

[86] Bleackley, *A Tour in Southern Asia*, 288.

[87] This expression is fairly common, especially among British colonials and tourists. E.g., W. Somerset Maugham, *On a Chinese Screen* (London: Vintage Classics, 2000 [1922]), 38; Walter B. Harris, *East for Pleasure: The Narrative of Eight Months' Travel in Burma, Siam, the Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), 5. See also Fischer-Tiné, "The Making of a 'Ruling Race.'"

[88] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 13.

[89] Harris, *East for Pleasure*, 5. In *A Passage to India*, E. M. Forster also described the European community taking pains to prevent their Asian servants from viewing them in compromising situations: E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (London: Penguin, 1957 [1924]), 25.

[90] George Orwell, "Shooting an Elephant," in *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays* (New York: Penguin 2003), 36. James Scott builds on this concept in his exploration of what he calls public and hidden transcripts. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[91] Ann Stoler's *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

[92] Pal, *Shanghai Saga*, 84-87.

[93] Hermann, *From Golden Gate to Golden Sun*, 14.

[94] E.g., "Beauty Chorus in Fine Form for Benefit to be Staged for Indigent Americans on Saturday," *The Manila Times* (5 October 1921), 4; "Europe Hotel ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (4 April 1921), 1; "Minstrel Show to be Staged Here for Relief of Students,"

The Japan Advertiser (15 June 1921), 5; "Grand Opera House ad," *The Manila Times* (25 October 1923), 6.

[95] "The Waltz," *North China Daily News* (21 September 1926), 4. Similarly, a report in Manila claimed that the Charleston would "shame a monkey." Another account in Shanghai drew upon Stone Age paintings recently discovered in a Spanish cave to theorize that the Charleston was actually a dance for savage, primitives. "Newest crazy dance?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 January 1926), 2; "Antiquity of Dancing," *North China Daily News* (19 November 1926), 7.

[96] The Charleston quickly became a featured dance to be taught by dance instructors (who offered a "ball-room" version), ballet schools, and touring white performers: "Newest crazy dance?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 January 1926), 2; "The Charleston," *The Straits Times* (10 August 1926), 3; "Empire Theatre," *The Statesman* (16 Feb 1926), 4; "Cherpino's Ballet School," *The China Press* (14 December 1926), 8; "Classified ads," *The Straits Times* (9 June 1926), 7. Within a year, Filipino and Chinese vaudeville troupes were also performing the Charleston: "Last Day to See First Half 'Siegfried,'" *The Manila Times* (3 March 1926), 8; "Globe Garden ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (1 August 1928), 8; "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10; "Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. ad," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5; "Vaudeville at Victoria Theatre," *The Straits Times* (24 November 1928), 12.

[97] Robinson, *Modern Moves*, 2.

[98] E.g., "Mems," *The Mafeking Mail and Protectorate Guardian* (29 April 1919), no page number; "Jazz Music and the Modern Dance," *Metronome* (October 1920), 14; "The Modern Dance in Japan: Achi-Kochi," *The Japan Advertiser* (17 February 1922), 2; "Tango Popular in Paris Now," *The Manila Times* (23 February 1922), 9; Thamar Karsavina, "The Significance of Jazz," *The Straits Times* (9 September 1929), 10.

[99] Giordano Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2012), 3.

[100] George Hoyt Allen, *A Yankee in the Far East* (Clinton, NY: Travelogue-Art Association, 1915), 147-148. Louis Couperus, *The Hidden Force*, Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, trans. (U.S.A.: Dodd, Mead and Company, Inc., 1921).

[101] O. M. Green, "Shameen," *North China Herald* (22 December 1923), 840.

[102] "Europeans in the Tropics," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (10 October 1919), 1397. For "Filipino time" and the "*hora Filipina,*" see: R. McCulloch Dick, "Editorial: 'Filipino Time,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (5 October 1929), 30; Ramon L. Navas, "They Call Them 'Mango Ladies' in Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 March 1921), 2, 4. The notion of "Filipino time" is comparable with "Colored People's Time," a

term used to describe African Americans temporal sensibilities: e.g., Carl Van Vechten, *Nigger Heaven* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000 [1926]).

[103] Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time,* 10. Emphasis in original.

[104] Couperus, *The Hidden Force*, 75.

[105] "Salaries, Sterling and Otherwise," *The Singapore Free Press* (27 May 1920). 3. For the start of the Columbia Park Boys Club residence, see "American Boys' Show," *The Singapore Free Press* (12 July 1919), 9.

[106] For dancing as exercise, see "Santa Ana Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (28 October 1928), 5 (Anniversary Supplement 1); "Santa Ana Cabaret ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 December 1926), 32-33. For similar rhetoric, see "Dancing as an Art," *The Straits Times* (21 February 1924), 15; "Local and General Dancing," *South China Morning Post* (12 August 1923), 2; "Dance Away Your Surplus Weight," *The Manila Times* (22 March 1925), 19; "Los Filipinos son más Bailarines que los Americanos," *The Philippines Free Press* (10 July 1926), 54-55. A letter from an American youth in Manila in 1917 explaining the benefits of dance as a form of exercise is reprinted in Gleeck, *The Manila Americans*, 119.

[107] Borromeo Lou, "The Master of Jazz," *Benedicto's Weekly* [Iloilo] (31 March 1923), 4. For similar sentiments across Asia, see "Grand Café ad," *The Statesman* (12 September 1925), 4; "A Bombay Concert," *The Times of India* (30 June 1919), 11; "Whitey Smith's Orchestra again to Delight City's Music Lovers," *The China Press* (12 December 1926), 1, 4; "Modern Dansen," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (17 November 1919), 2; "Modern Dancing ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (15 December 1920), 5.

[108] Bonnie MacCarroll, "Cowgirls a la Mode," *The Singapore Free Press* (12 July 1924), 11. See also, C. G. Atkins, "Joys of Wireless," *The Statesman* (3 February 1926), 15.

[109] "Editorials: Fashion," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (14 July 1926), 583. See also Sydney Greenbie, *The Romantic East: India, Indo-China, China and Japan* (Robert McBride & Co.: New York, 1931), 23; W. Somerset Maugham, "The Outstation," in *Collected Stories* (New York: Everyman's Library, 2004), 598-628.

[110] For examples of news about changing dance styles across Asia, see "Current Topics: The New Dance Craze," *The Times of India* (15 February 1919), 12; "All the Craze," *North China Herald* (30 August 1919), 10; "Nieuwe Dansen," *De Sumatra Post* (30 September 1919), 7; "Dancing Prospects," *The Singapore Free Press* (24 November 1919), 4; "Tango Popular in Paris Now," *The Manila Times* (23 February 1922), 9; "Novedad en el Baile," *The Philippines Free Press* (5 April 1924), 42; "Latest Dancing Style," *The Statesman* (17 May 1925), 19; "Nightclub Dancing," *North China Daily News* (16 September 1926), 9.

[111] Among the 20 new dances, were "The Sugar Step, the Stop Trot, …the Varsity Drag…The Kinkajou, the Baltimore, the Heegie Jeebies [sic], and the Dixie Stomp." "New Dance Steps Appear in London Clubs," *The Manila Times* (23 May 1928), 8.

[112] "New Dance Steps Appear in London Clubs," *The Manila Times* (23 May 1928), 8.

[113] Victor Heiser, *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (Quezon City: GCF Books, 1988 [1936]), 34; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 66-67; "Europeans in the Tropics," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (10 October 1919), 1397; Blanche Jurika, "Philippinitis," *P.C.C. News* (December 1919), 7. See also Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[114] North W. Jenkins, "The Letter Home," *The Philippine Magazine* (January 1929), 460-1.

[115] Jorge Bocobo, "Bocobo Scores Results of American Culture in Philippines," *The Manila Times* (14 November 1923), 8.

[116] This paragraph draws on three accounts of their night: "Entertainment Committee Gives Convention Boys a Good time," *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 16-19; B. Sanders, "Why is a Convention?" *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 21; Filipino Fillips, "Filipino News Section," *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 22-24.

[117] Fischer-Tiné, "The Making of a 'Ruling Race.'"

[118] John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines: or Life in Our New Possessions* (New York: American Tract Society, 1905), 127-128. See also Bleackley, *A Tour in Southern Asia*, 276.

[119] Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony," 5.

[120] Ann Stoler explores this in detail, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

[121] Quoted in Reid, ed. *Witnesses to Sumatra*, 259-261.

[122] Alfred McCoy describes how Justice E. Finley Johnson "filed a morals charge" against George Malcolm, one of his younger colleagues, about "his long-standing concubinage with a 'native woman.'" McCoy writes that, should these charges become public they "would have meant his dismissal and disgrace." McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*, 289.

[123] "Something New at Savoy Today," *The Manila Times* (8 July 1925), 8; "Nifties put over 'Price of Jazz,'" *The Manila Times* (9 July 1925), 8; "Nifties have record breaker at the Savoy," *The Manila Times* (13 July 1925), 8.

[124] "Entertainment Committee Gives Convention Boys a Good time," *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 17, 18; Filipino Fillips, "Filipino News Section," *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 24.

[125] Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 843.

[126] "Entertainment Committee Gives Convention Boys a Good Time," *P.C.C. News.* October 1919), 18; Filipino Fillips, "Filipino News Section," *P.C.C. News* (October 1919), 24. Used with permission from Ateneo's American Historical Collection.

[127] "Newest Crazy Dance?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 January 1926), 2.

[128] "Ideal Dancing Partners," *The Statesman* (28 March 1926), 27.

[129] An anonymous school teacher in Manila, likely an American, describes her anticipation of attending the Manila carnival: "For sixteen mad nights I shall whirl about to the intoxicating frenzy of the music. I need it to make up for all I have missed, to wash away the bitter taste of wasted years from my mouth to give me a memory deep and beautiful enough to last a lifetime." P. L., "Carnival Days," *The Nation* (12 February 1927), 14, 22

[130] Susan C. Cook, "Watching Our Step: Embodying Research, Telling Stories," in *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity, and Music*, eds. Elaine Barkin and Lydia Hamessley (Los Angeles: Carciofoli Verlagshaus, 1999), 196.

[131] E.g., "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (18 June 1919), 7; "San Juan Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1922), special supplemental section part 3, page 2; "On With the Dance!" *The Philippines Free Press* (28 April 1923), 1; Enrique K. Laygo, "El Ídolo con Piés de Barro," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 January 1925), 37; "I Dare you publish this," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 October 1925), 11, 42, 43; "Shall Minerva Smile - or Frown?," *The Philippines Free Press* (12 June 1926), 1; "Hard Times and Marriage," *Graphic* (22 June 1932), 22.

[132] He describes them as institutions that were "made-in-America" and "imported to this country." A. B. Legislator, "Weekly Mirror of Thoughts and Events," *Graphic* (18 May 1929), 46-47.

[133] A. B. Legislator, "Weekly Mirror of Thoughts and Events," *Graphic* (18 May 1929), 46-47.

[134] A. B. Legislator, "Weekly Mirror of Thoughts and Events," *Graphic* (18 May 1929), 46-47.

[135] Nicasio Osmeña, "Hello 'Ibon!' Startling Sidelights on Cabaret Bailarinas," *The Philippines Free Press*, (24 August 1929), 25, 32. See also Dioscoro L. Francisco, "Manila's Night Life," *The Philippines Free Press* (13 October 1928), 2, supplement pages B, C; "Overheard in a Carretela," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1920), 5; "Opposes Dance Hall Reopening," *The Philippines Free Press* (15 December 1922), 5.

[136] E.g., "Put Lid on Pasay Halls," *The Manila Times* (16 June 1919), 2; J. Villa Panganiban, "Is Pasay Vice Free?" *Graphic* (25 May 1929), 34. For more on businesses and industries catering to Manila's student class see: A. Fernandez, "We're Collegiate Now," *Graphic* (26 June 1929), 6, 10.

[137] "The Dancing Generation," *The Philippines Free Press* (6 March 1926), 38. Similarly, an 18 year-old Visayan wrote a letter complaining that "dancing is the most popular pastime of young Filipino boys and girls." "Strictly Personal: Against Dancing," *Graphic* (14 August 1929), 41.

[138] E.g., "List of Balls," *Magallanes Carnival and Exposition Program* (Jan 29-Feb 6, 1921), 42, 44, 46; Deogracias Rosario, "Mga Ulap sa Karnabal…" *Liwayway* (22 Feb 1922), 3, 4; J. Corazon De Jesus, "Sa Salon de Marmol," *Liwayway* (4 August 1923), 8; "Mga Balita sa Karnabal," *Liwayway* (29 Jan 1926), 31-33; "La Jira del 'Nucleo Solteril' a Antipolo," *Excelsior* (30 May 1929), 30; "Notas de Baguio, La Ciudad Veraniega, *Excelsior* (30 April 1930), 36.

[139] Narciso S. Asistio, *Limutin Mo Na Ako* (Manila: Bahay Palimbagan ni P. Sayo Balo ni Soriano, 1923); Teofilo E. Sauco, "Amelia," *Liwayway* (8 Feb 1924), 7. See also Teofilo E. Sauco, *Ang Magmamani* (Manila: Mayon Pub. House, 1933 [1924]); Guillermo A. Holand, "Leonor," *Liwayway* (16 May 1924), 16-17, 22; Ismael Jesus Santos, "Ang Mahiwagang Tagapagligtas," *Liwayway* (18 July 1924), 23-24, 26; Enrique K. Laygo, "El Idolo con Pies de Barro," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 January 1925), 36, 37, 44-46; Epicuro Poltka, "Al Salir del Cabaret," *Excelsior* (10 February 1930), 15. For Shanghai, see Mu Shiyeng, "The Shanghai Foxtrot (a Fragment)," Sean Macdonald, trans., *Modernism/modernity* 11, no. 4 (2004): 797-807; Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[140] Mary Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism: The Philippine Constabulary band at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Philippine Studies* 52, No. 4 (2004): 499-526. For more about this dilemma, see Burns, *Puro Arte*.

[141] In 1928 a Spanish-language article by journalist Roman Joven described the return of tango and the decline of jazz in explicitly racial terms: "The black hour of jazz, the Charles[ton], and the [black] bottom is passing…Now, the white hours are coming." ("La hora negra del *jazz*, del *charles*, y del *bottom* va pasando…Ahora, vienen las horas blancas." Italics in original.) He is specific about what he means by "*negra*" here: "The African American moment is being succeeded by a Hispanic-American moment." *["Al*

momento afro-americano ha sucedido el momento hispano-americano."] Roman Joven, "La Hora del Tango," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1928), 57.

[142] The presence of skin whitening products imply that blackness was not desirable, while examples of racist attitudes towards African Americans, including diatribes against marriage between Filipinos and African Americans, show that many Filipinos considered themselves superior to American blacks. E.g., "Blanco ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (6 April 1929), 16; "Says Filipinos in U.S. Disgrace Themselves...," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 April 1920), 21; Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7. For more about blackness and jazz in 1930s China, see Andrew Jones, "Black Internationale: Notes on the Chinese Jazz Age," in *Jazz Planet*, ed. E. Taylor Atkins (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 225-243.

[143] Sisenando Villuluz, "Provincial Provincianos," *Graphic* (17 July 1929), 22.

[144] "The World Gone Yankee," *Graphic* (28 August 1929), 4, 5, 8.

[145] Ricardo O. Reyes, "Filipinos in America," *Graphic (*16 February 1929), 42.

[146] Jorge Bocobo, "Bocobo Scores Results of American Culture in Philippines," *The Manila Times* (14 November 1923), 8.

[147] For accounts from Manila that imply this difference, see F. C. Laubach, "A Blast From Dr. Laubach," *The Philippines Free Press* (1 May 1926), 6, 40; "Sex Crimes in P.I. on the Decrease," *Graphic* (31 July 1929), 47. For discussions about differences between taxi-dancers and prostitutes in the U.S., see Viviana Zelizer, *The Purchase of Intimacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 119-124; Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, 264-266. A regular patron of Singapore's cabarets in the 1930s estimated that, at most, only 20% of the bailarinas occasionally engaged in prostitution. It was not until later decades that cabarets in Singapore became more closely associated with prostitution: Singapore National Archive, Oral History Collection, Anonymous 2, Reels 1, 2, 3, Accession #: 000529. In the dissertation version of his study of Shanghai's cabarets, Andrew Field goes into great detail about how the city's dance hostesses have generally been "mislabeled" as prostitutes: Andrew Field, "A Night in Shanghai: Nightlife and Modernity in Semicolonial China, 1919-1937," PhD diss (Columbia University 2001), 220, 217-289.

[148] In one sympathetic short story, a bailarina explains to the narrator how society views her: "We bailarinas are perceived by other people to be evil women." ("*Kaming mga baylarina ay ipinalalagay ng tao na masamang babae*"). Kandido Inosento, "Ang Suerte ng Baylarina," *Ang Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (11 April 1923), 14. See also "Bailarinas Must be Pictured as Lures," *The Manila Times* (10 October 1919), 1; "The Lure of the Dance Halls," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 May 1924), 22, 23.

[149] E.g., "Dance Halls A Great Evil," *The Manila Times* (19 November 1919), 1, 5; "The

Little Carnival in the Police Force," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 1; "Dance Hall Ruining Young and Old in Mabalacat, Pamp.," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 September 1921), 11; "[Political Cartoon]," *Ang Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (21 March 1923), 7; "Dignity or work?" *The Philippines Free Press* (5 October 1929), 1; "Hard Times and Marriage," *Graphic* (22 June 1932), 22.

[150] Jesus V. Merritt, "The Lost Student," *Graphic* (13 April 1929) 46, 47.

[151] "International Correspondence School Cartoon," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 53.

[152] A comprehensive anti-cabaret ordinance from 1926 (that was suspended after about three months) required the following: new licenses for cabarets, new zoning forcing new cabarets to be built at least half a kilometer outside city limits, an admittance policy only allowing only men over age 21, a mandatory health check of all bailarinas, and a five minute break for cabaret workers between their shifts. See: "¡He aquí a los Campeones del Cabaret!" *The Philippines Free Press* (17 April 1926), 62, 63; "Cabarets allowed ½ KM From City Limits," *The Manila Times* (31 March 1926), 1; "News of the Week," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 August 1926), 28. For other attempts at regulating cabarets see: "Put Lid on Pasay Halls," *The Manila Times* (16 June 1919), 2; "No Professional Dancing Girls to Enter Cabarets," *The Manila Times* (19 Jan 1920), 1; "Opposes Dance Hall Reopening," *The Manila Times* (15 December 1922), 5; "Down With the Dance Halls!" *The Philippines Free Press* (28 February 1925), 7; "Blue Law Sponsors," *Graphic* (13 August 1927), 27; Elias G. Corporal, "Cabaret, Cockpit, Church," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 May 1929), 10-11.

[153] Several journalists implied that local officials were accepting bribes to keep cabarets open despite the pervasive opinion that the halls should be shut down. See, "Kicking Out the Boss," *The Philippines Free Press* (10 April 1926), 1; "Cabarets: Yes and No," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 July 1926), 1.

[154] While the largest cabarets in Manila were owned by Americans and Filipinos, Filipinos commonly viewed Chinese merchants and businesspeople in Manila with suspicion, hence the two Chinese figures here. "Cabarets: Yes and No," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 July 1926), 1.

[155] "News and Events: Resolution Against the Reopening of Dancing Halls in Manila," *The National Forum* (January 1923), 58-59.

[156] *The Philippines Free Press* proudly noted that Manuel T. Escarilla, a Filipino student at the University of Wisconsin, won an oratory contest in which he challenges "the white man's assumed superiority." "East Repudiates Western Superiority," *The Philippines Free Press* (27 April 1929), 40.

[157] Leonardo Serrano, "Is 'Bailarina' as Bad as Pictured?" *The Philippines Free Press* (1

May 1926), 6, 7. See also Frank Laubach's discussion of the "dance hall" as a area in need of "moral reform": Frank Charles Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), 406-408.

[158] Leonardo Serrano, "Is 'Bailarina' as Bad as Pictured?" *The Philippines Free Press* (1 May 1926), 6, 7.

[159] For examples of the use of "Flapper" – and the Tagalog-Spanish version "Plaperismo" – in English, Spanish, and Tagalog, see "Strictly Personal: Too Modern," *Graphic* (14 August 1929), 41; "¿Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31; Rex, "Ang 'Flapper,'" *Liwayway* (13 June 1924), 1; Marcelina Cruz David, "Sa alak ng Sosyalismo…" *Bulalakaw* (5 July 1926), 16-17. For other names given to the Modern Girl, see Alys Eve Weinbaum, et al, "The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device: Collaboration, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation," in *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 1.

[160] The Modern Girl Around the World group identifies the late 1920s as the moment when indigenous versions of Modern Girl are appearing around the world but there are discussions of Filipina, Chinese, and Japanese "flappers" in Philippine newspapers by the early 1920s: "¿Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31; "The Flapper," *The Manila Times* (6 November 1922), 10; "Ang 'Flapper,'" *Liwayway* (13 June 1924), 1. For more on the global manifestations of the Modern Girl, see Weinbaum, et al, eds., *The Modern Girl Around the World*; Su Lin Lewis, "Cosmopolitanism and the Modern Girl: A Cross-Cultural Discourse in 1930s Penang," *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 6 (2009): 1385-1419; Sarah E. Stevens, "Figuring Modernity: The New Woman and the Modern Girl in Republican China," *NWSA Journal* 15, no. 3 (Autumn, 2003): 82-103.

[161] E.g., F. M. Benedicto, "The Eternal Feminine Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 June 1921), 18, 19; Max Ramos, "Flapper Facts and Fancies," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 October 1922), 2, 13; "The Flapper," *The Manila Times* (6 November 1922), 10; "The Bobbed and the Unbobbed in Batavia," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 November 1922), 2; "Connecting Link Between Philippines and World," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 April 1925), 34, 35; Ampaya M. Neri, "Woman Suffrage Synonym of Divorce and Flapperism," *Graphic* (31 December 1927), 12; Alfred E. Pieres, "The Modern Girl," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 February 1928), 12-13, 52-53; "Filipinos in Amoy, Their Club and Chinese Flapper Wives," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 July 1928), 51; Mrs. John E. Goo, "Modern Chinese Women," *Philippine Magazine* (May 1930), 787, 802, 804. See also "Canton's Modern Girls," *Hongkong Daily Press* (26 November 1928), 5; "The Modern Girl," *The Statesman* (20 September 1925), 22.

[162] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[163] Denise Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities: The Making of the Modern Filipina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012). Cruz's work is useful here, yet it is important to note that Cruz focuses exclusively on English-language sources. Cruz justifies her use of these sources by framing her book as an exploration of how "Filipina and Filipino elites used the venue of English literature to contest, question, and imagine the modern Filipina (5)."

[164] Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities*, 89.

[165] Weinbaum, et al, "The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device," 15-16.

[166] Lewis, "Cosmopolitanism and the Modern Girl," 1387.

[167] Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities*, 34.

[168] Ms. Ampaya Neri was a college educated Filipina who offered a sharp attack on those who suggested that women needed the right to vote. Ampaya M. Neri, "Woman Suffrage Synonym of Divorce and Flapperism," *Graphic* (31 Decemebr 1927), 12. Thanks to Peter Keppy for bringing this article to my attention.

[169] Cruz's transpacific Filipina coed is related to India's *kallege ladki*, another class of college educated women whose education made them appear dangerous. E.g., Priti Ramamurthy, "All-Consuming Nationalism: The Indian Modern Girl in the 1920s and 1930s," in *The Modern Girl Around the World*, 147-173. Cruz's transpacific Filipina coed also needs to be distinguished from the set of elite Filipinas educated in Europe who spoke Spanish, not English, and who frowned upon Flapper fashions and showed near universal dislike for jazz and jazz culture. See, for example, a series of interviews in the Manila magazine *Excelsior*, including Jesus Balmori, "Nuestras Entrevistas: Srta. Monserrat Iglesias," *Excelsior* (10 May 1929), 21, 22; Jesus Balmori, "Nuestras Entrevistas: Srta. Carolina Ortix," *Excelsior* (30 June 1929), 21, 23; Jesus Balmori, "Nuestras Entrevistas: Srta. Dolores Hidalgo," *Excelsior* (30 August 1929), 30, 32.

[170] *"Sa talatinigan ng bagong panahon ay may pangalan iyan – FLAPPER! Na, sa tagalog ay ito: 'Isdang kapak, makintab ang labas, ang loob ay burak.'"* Rex, "Ang 'Flapper,'" *Liwayway* (13 June 1924), 1.

[171] Roman Joven, "La Dalaga ha Bajado de Antipolo," *Philippines Free Press* (13 June 1925), 38. Another article cites a piece published in Milwaukee to argue that Filipino girls in the U.S. possess only the best aspects of "the flapper spirit," including a fondness of sports, and an eagerness to prove they are just as capable as men in a variety of settings: Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Girls, Flappers at Their Best," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 September 1922), 20.

[172] Mercedes L. Grau, "Sampaguita and Hot House Roses," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 February 1925), 29.

[173] Mercedes L. Grau, "Sampaguita and Hot House Roses," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 February 1925), 26-29.

[174] Juliana C. Pineda, "A Child's Smile," *Philippines Free Press* (17 January 1925), 26-29, 34-35.

[175] Beatrice Burton, *The Flapper Wife* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1925); Beatrice Burton, "The Flapper Wife, Ch. XIX," *The Manila Times* (26 May 1925), 9; "Savoy Nifties Play to Crowds in Flapper Wife," *The Manila Times* (31 May 1925), 12; "Flapper Wife Times' Story, Packs Savoy," *The Manila Times* (1 June 1925), 8.

[176] For more on Villa, see Timothy Yu, "'The Hand of a Chinese Master': José Garcia Villa and Modernist Orientalism," *MELUS* 29, no. 1 (2004): 41-59.

[177] Jose Garcia Villa, "The Bailarina," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 February 1927), 20, 21, 22, 24.

[178] In the story above, Margarita is described as a devious woman employing all sorts of tactics to attract men. She is described as "not even pretty" and "very brown" but used makeup to make herself appealing to men. She is the agent for trouble, depicted as thinking that, for one client she likes, "she should not lead him to evil": Jose Garcia Villa, "The Bailarina," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 February 1927), 20, 21, 22, 24. Similarly, the lyrics of "Manila's Jazzy Scandal" depict a cabaret of passive men, with a Filipina bailarina who pulls the men onto the dance floor. In the chorus, she asks them to "squeeze me" and "put me in a trance." Benito Trápaga, O. F. Penzke, "Manila's Jazzy Scandal," (Manila: Benita Trápaga, 1924).

[179] Guillermo A. Holand, "Leonor," *Liwayway* (16 May 1924), 16-17, 22; Guillermo A. Holand, "Leonor," *Liwayway* (23 May 1924), 16-18, 21-22.

[180] Weinbaum, et al, "The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device," 12.

[181] Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

[182] C. F. Freeman, "Manila's Dance Girls Laugh at Reform," *The Philippines Free Press* (16 January 1926), 38-39. See also "Dancing Girls of Former Days," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1922), Special supplemental section Part 2, 5-6.

[183] For more on Manila's red-light district and the dance halls that served as precursors to cabarets, see A.J. Abalahin, "Prostitution and the Project of Modernity: a Comparative Study of Colonial Indonesia and the Philippines, 1850-1940. PhD diss, Cornell University (2003); Luis C. Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," *Philippine Studies* 39, no. 4 (1991): 475-89; Motoe Terami-Wada, "Karayuki-san of Manila: 1890-1920,"

Philippine Studies 34, no. 3 (1986), 287-316; Joaquin, *Manila: Sin City?*, 255-271; McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*, 236-267.

[184] For more on Filipino migration abroad see Chapter Two.

[185] "Strictly Personal: Bicolana 'Bailarinas,'" *Graphic* (18 December 1929), 41.

[186] "Woman charged with kidnapping girl to put her in cabaret," *The Manila Times* (28 November 1920), 7.

[187] "Strictly Personal: Bicolana 'Bailarinas,'" *Graphic* (18 December 1929), 41.

[188] "Dance Halls are no more," *The Manila Times* (31 March 1920), 1.

[189] Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*; Norbert Lyons, "The Scenic Route to Montalban," *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (June 1922) 9.

[190] After cabaret owners protested attempts to ban their halls, Manila legislators agreed on a compromise whereby "reputable cabarets" could stay open so long as they banned bailarinas: "No Professional Dancing Girls to Enter Cabarets," *The Manila Times* (19 Jan 1920), 1.

[191] "Dancing Girls of Former Days," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1922), Special supplemental section Part 2, 6

[192] "Dancing Girls of Former Days," *The Manila Times* (8 November 1922), Special supplemental section Part 2, 6

[193] C. F. Freeman, "Manila's Dance Girls Laugh at Reform," *The Philippines Free Press* (16 January 1926), 38-39.

[194] For more about bailarinas cultivating a client base see Guillermo A. Holand, "Leonor," *Liwayway* (16 May 1924), 16-17, 22.

[195] "No Professional Dancing Girls to Enter Cabarets," *The Manila Times* (19 Jan 1920), 1. Even for the better-paid laborers with a trade – who reportedly attended cabarets – a ₱10 tip represented two to four days worth of wages. E.g., "Table No. 53, Average Daily Wages…," *Statistical Bulletin No. 7 of the Philippine Islands, 1924* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 50.

[196] "Table No. 52: Average Minimum and Maximum Wages…," *Statistical Bulletin No. 3 of the Philippine Islands, 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), 113.

[197] Emily Hahn, *China to Me* (Garden City: NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1944), 74-76.

[198] "Anonymous 2, Reel 1, Accession #: 000529," Oral History collection, Singapore National Archives.

[199] For accounts of wealthy Filipina bailarinas, see C. F. Freeman, "Manila's Dance Girls Laugh at Reform," *The Manila Times* (16 January 1926), 38-39; Nicasio Osmeña, "Hello 'Ibon!' Startling Sidelights on Cabaret Bailarinas," *The Philippines Free Press*, (24 August 1929), 25, 32.

[200] Chan Chon Hoe, Reel 9, Accession #: 002268, Oral History collection, Singapore National Archives.

[201] A sociological study of Chicago's taxi-dance halls claimed that many of the women working there would "often regard [Filipino patrons] as 'fish,' as persons to be exploited." Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, 42.

[202] Anonymous 2, Reels 1, 2, 3, Accession #: 000529, Oral History collection, Singapore National Archives.

[203] In Tagalog, the literal meaning of "ibon" is "bird." Nicasio Osmeña, "Hello 'Ibon!' Startling Sidelights on Cabaret Bailarinas," *The Philippines Free Press*, (24 August 1929), 25, 32.

[204] Kandido Inosento, "Ang Suerte ng Baylarina," *Ang Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (11 April 1923), 14.

[205] "Moni-daun muna, kung gayón!" "Moni-daun" appears to be a transliteration of "Money Down!" Kandido Inosento, "Ang Suerte ng Baylarina," *Ang Bagong Lipang Kalabaw* (11 April 1923), 14.

[206] E.g., "Mongo…Sin Hielo!" *Excelsior* (20 August 1929), 32.

[207] Francis Barclay, "A Trip to Japan," *The Daily Advertiser* [Wagga Wagga] (2 January 1926), 7.

[208] Lord Northcliffe, *My Journey Round the World: 16 July 1921-26 Feb. 1922*, eds. Cecil and St. John Harmsworth (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923), 157.

[209] Tucker, *Dance Hall Democracy*, 16.

Chapter Five

"The Paul Whiteman of the East:" Performing Blackness in Colonial Asia

In November 1928, precisely four years after he first crossed the Pacific Ocean, the African American drummer and bandleader Jack Carter embarked from Shanghai for a six-month tour along the Asian littoral.[1] By this point, Carter was an experienced performer on the Asian scene. He had first appeared in Asia with a group of African Americans at the Manila Hotel on November 19, 1924, and later enjoyed success entertaining white European and American dancers in Shanghai. Audiences of white European and American businesspeople and travelers awaited Carter's newest band, which included six African Americans, three Hawaiians, and one Filipino, in eager anticipation as he traveled from Hong Kong to Singapore, Calcutta, and Java.[2]

Singapore's white community was especially excited by Carter's arrival, primarily because his troupe featured the largest number of African American performers the city had ever seen. Due to pervasive stereotypes about black natural musicality, the audience assumed that his group would have a special way of performing the latest dance music. As one Singapore journalist enthusiastically noted, "they are American coloured performers, and so can provide syncopated song and dance in the way they should be given."[3] Those who attended Carter's first show, one journalist concluded, "realized that real 'coloured cabaret' had reached Singapore at last."[4] The review went on to stress the unique racial and musical qualities of the group: "The secret of these coloured artists' success is that they are entirely un-self-conscious. While white performers may be worrying as to whether they are 'getting over,' the originators of jazz just let themselves

go."[5] Carter and his group clearly satisfied audiences who were expecting what they would recognize as a performance of authentic blackness.

Yet while white audiences in Singapore were awaiting Carter's show in anticipation of a display of racialized, natural musicality, Carter was busily promoting himself in ways that were calculated and measured. Some of Carter's advance press in Singapore described him using the nickname he had embraced in Shanghai: "The Paul Whiteman of the East."[6] At the time, Whiteman, the famous white American bandleader, was known his highly arranged, smooth, symphonic jazz, a kind of polite dance music that proved immensely influential both in the U.S. and around the world.[7] In a manner similar to countless other musicians in both the U.S. and abroad who drew on Whiteman's popularity by associating themselves with his name, Carter was aligned with Whiteman at nearly every stop of his tour even though invoking the white American bandleader would seem, on the face of it, not to offer the kind of racial experience Carter's audiences expected.[8] In Calcutta, for example, Carter's star singer, dancer, and trumpeter Valada Snow was boldly advertised as a former member of the Paul Whiteman orchestra, a claim that appears to have been fabricated specifically for this tour.[9] Similarly, Carter's advance publicity in Batavia inaccurately reported that *The New York Times* had favorably compared Whiteman and Carter as "jazz kings."[10] As he toured from Hong Kong along the Malayan peninsula to Calcutta, and back through Java, Carter appeared to make a contradictory promise: to feature "Red-Hot Masters of Syncopation" while also simultaneously carrying on the tradition of the reigning global king of jazz (Fig. 5.1).[11]



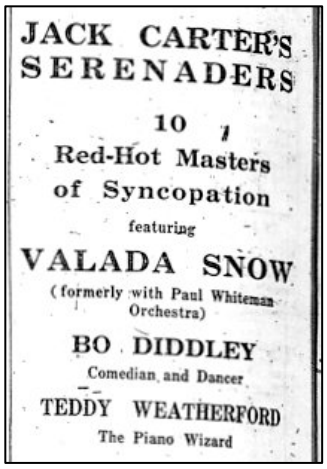


Figure 5.1: Jack Carter and his ad from Calcutta, 1928. Note the reference to Whiteman under Snow's name.[12]

By attempting to fulfill this promise, Carter took advantage of the opportunities of jazz labor to challenge the racial hierarchies that informed colonial daily life. Carter came to accumulate financial capital and social status through his musical work. This accumulation was significant for in the context of colonial Asia money and status could be tools for a kind of racial and social ascendance. This ascendance was possible because, as the anthropologist Anne Stoler has argued, racial categories in colonial Asia were not necessarily determined by phenotype. In the Dutch East Indies, as she shows, Europeans had to work to maintain their whiteness since it "was based not on skin color alone."[13] Imperial whiteness, as I have come to call it, was also about class, about maintaining certain gender norms, and behaving in particular ways. Given the anxious and uncertain definitions of whiteness in colonial Asia, we might take seriously a quip that Carter's pianist Teddy Weatherford later offered during his tenure in Bombay. Weatherford, an African American, reportedly like to quip that in India "they treat us white folks fine."[14] Weatherford's comment playfully suggests that performers such as Carter could manipulate racial boundaries in colonial Asia in ways that were not possible in the U.S. It also points to how we might revise an overly facile notion of resistance to suggest that,

for African Americans in colonial Asia, musical labor came to afford possibilities for social ascendance. Carter, then, could have attained a status through his musical work in which he was socially considered akin to "white folks."

Carter's embrace of the moniker "The Paul Whiteman of the East" reveals yet another contradictory facet of jazz labor in colonial Asia. For Carter to achieve a sort of social ascendance through labor, he had to accommodate market capitalism and racial stereotypes. By catering to local preconceptions about African Americans that drew on the legacy of blackface minstrelsy and the sounds of Whiteman, however, Carter perpetuated his own inferior subject position as a way of appealing to white domination. He was effectively supporting claims of white superiority that justified their imperial violence. Yet, I argue, by presenting himself as "The Paul Whiteman of the East," Carter also participated in a formal kind of labor that challenged the very idea of white hierarchy and white control over the economic. By turning a demand for particular performances of blackness into high wages and favorable work conditions, Carter and other African American musicians in colonial Asia were simultaneously fixing and unsettling social classifications of race, both maintaining and challenging the sense of racial order in their relations to white colonials and various Asian populations.

This chapter proceeds in three parts. First, I offer a brief overview of African American performers in Asia before 1930 to situate Carter's experiences in a longer history. Second, I demonstrate that African American performers in Asia had to grapple with local expectations about black performance that were informed by both the legacy of blackface minstrelsy and the sounds of white American dance bands. By attempting to recover the sounds and performance practices of Carter's group from the archives, I

explore how the musical characteristics that came to be understood as representing an African American experience were translated, mediated, and reshaped through the global circulation of U.S. popular cultural forms. I am suggesting that Carter shows us how the parameters and sounds of what constituted black music in the ears and minds of white audiences across Asia were not easily grounded in what we typically think of as black music today. Rather, they emerged from a host of varied media, such as sound recordings and movies, and the legacy of blackface minstrelsy. Establishing the presence of these preconceptions of black performance is critical for demonstrating that Carter's success lay not in the universal triumph of an unchanging "black" music, the inherently desirable qualities of "hot" rhythm, nor the ability for African American musicians abroad to express themselves freely as artists. Instead, his popularity resulted from his careful approach to musical labor. His success depended upon a strategic engagement with local expectations about what precisely it meant to perform musical blackness.

In the third part of this chapter, I examine how Carter's perpetuation of stereotypical performances of black music – one informed both by blackface minstrelsy and Paul Whiteman – also allowed him to pursue a kind of social ascendance that troubled the racial hierarchies underpinning the everyday realities of colonial Asia. I explore how Carter joined a class of countless other African Americans who sought to capitalize upon the existence of racial stereotypes about black musicality to demand high wages and good working conditions. In colonial Asia, I suggest that developing the value of black musical labor allowed Carter to achieve a startling degree of social mobility in relation to racial hierarchies that were not based upon skin color alone. This was a contradictory form of labor, however, for Carter accumulated his financial and social

success by perpetuating stereotypes that maintained the very imperial racial hierarchies that he challenged.

African American Performers in Asia

The future "Paul Whiteman of the East" began his career in a manner similar to many other African American musicians. Carter grew up in a musical family first in Nashville, and then in Columbus, Ohio. As a teenager in the late 1910s, he toured much of the Eastern U.S. with a dance band before settling in Chicago in the early 1920s.[15] In October 1924, Carter's career took a dramatic turn when he agreed to become the new drummer for the Manila Hotel band. Since August 24, 1923, the main American hotel in the Philippine capital had featured a group of five African American musicians: Andrew F. Rosemond, Bailey Jackson, William "Bill" Hegamin, Tony Yates, and John "Junk" Edwards, Jr. (Fig. 5.2). A little over a year after their debut, the Manila Hotel band suffered a setback when Edwards, their drummer, passed away unexpectedly.[16] Carter received the call to fill this newly vacant spot. His debut performance in Manila was on



Figure 5.2: The Manila Hotel Band before Carter arrived, December 1923. From left to right: Bailey Jackson, Tony Yates, Andrew Rosemond, William "Bill" Hegamin, John "Junk" Edwards, Jr.[17]

November 19, 1924, when he sang, danced, and played drums for a crowd of white hotel patrons.[18] After nearly a year in Manila, Carter traveled to Shanghai with his bandmates in a group called the New York Singing Syncopators. They secured a nine-month position at the Hotel Parisien (later re-named the Plaza), where they performed for European audiences and broadcast dance music on one of Shanghai's radio stations.[19] After their engagement ended, Carter secured his own contract as bandleader for the Plaza and returned to the U.S. over the summer of 1926 to recruit musicians such as Teddy Weatherford, Albert Nicholas, and Valada Snow. Carter's band, which also soon featured the Filipino trombonist Nicanor "Nick" Amper, began at the Plaza on October 1, 1926 and continued on with some brief breaks and personnel changes until November 1928.[20] In early November 1928, however, Carter took his band – which now featured Weatherford, Snow, the comedian Clarence "Bo Diddley" Williams, a Filipino trombonist, and three Hawaiian musicians – on a six-month tour. They stopped to perform in cities such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Calcutta, Batavia, Surabaya, and several smaller towns in East Java.[21] On June 5, 1929, Carter, along with Snow and his older brother Herman, ended his time in Asia by boarding the Dutch steamship *Slamat* in Batavia and making his way to join Noble Sissle's band in Paris.[22]

When Carter first filed for a passport to cross the Pacific, he joined a group of African American musicians who had been performing jazz in Asia since at least the start of the decade. This particular history of African American jazz musicians has largely been overlooked. Most studies of jazz in Asia focus exclusively on the 1930s and tend to depict African American musicians such as Teddy Weatherford, Roy Butler, or Buck Clayton as "originary musicians" of a burgeoning jazz scene.[23] By the early 1930s, in

fact, cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, and Shanghai, had not only been home to a vibrant jazz scene for well over a decade but had already encountered African American performers throughout the course of the decade. African American migration to Asia certainly increased dramatically in the early 1930s, due in part to the decline of opportunities in the economically depressed U.S. But by the end of 1930 no fewer than fifty, and likely several dozen more, African American entertainers had made their way to Asia either across the Pacific or from Europe via the Suez Canal.[24]

These entertainers were part of a vast history of touring African American entertainers. From at least the mid-nineteenth century, African Americans performed in Europe, Africa, South America, and Australia.[25] While a few groups were associated with the U.S. military, such as those in the Philippines in the early 1900s, most were professional entertainers who toured the globe in minstrel troupes and musical ensembles.[26] The history of African American entertainers in Asia before World War I remains largely understudied, but we know, at least, that by the late 1910s and early 1920s, a small number of individuals and troupes were performing a mix of minstrelsy and the latest U.S. dance songs to white Europeans and Americans in port cities across the region.[27] Musicians such as Billie Powers and Frank Augustine were set up in Shanghai by 1921.[28] When the Manila Hotel hired its African American band in August 1923, one reporter noted that this was not the city's first encounter with African American jazz musicians.[29] He was likely referencing the African American ensemble of the Ninth Cavalry, which was stationed in Camp Stotsenberg, Pampanga, until 1922 and occasionally made the 55 mile trek to Manila to provide minstrel shows and dance music for white audiences.[30]

In addition to performing lengthy engagements in a single city in Asia, African American entertainers were also touring the region. Some were at the head of ensembles that otherwise consisted entirely of Filipino musicians. This was not unusual: white bandleaders also commonly hired Filipinos for they made up a class of musically capable workers who demanded relatively low wages.[31] One such African American bandleader was Harry B. Langhams. At the start of the decade, Langhams led a group of Filipinos while traversing the Pacific in the S.S. Empress of Russia's dance band.[32] He continued working with Filipinos while performing in Manila from late 1921 to late 1924.[33] Langhams spent the rest of the decade traveling back and forth for engagements in Calcutta and Shanghai.[34] The African American drummer Ted Lewis shared a similarly mobile career: after performing in Europe in the early 1920s, Lewis made his way through India to Singapore.[35] In December 1925 he began a residency leading a Filipino band at the Adelphi Hotel. He eventually made his way to Shanghai by August 1929, where he continued to work with Filipino musicians.[36] In addition to these traveling musicians, African American minstrel troupes also performed throughout colonial Asia. One such group, "The Louisiana Trio," staged minstrel shows with "up-to-date jazz songs" in Manila in late 1920. They toured widely over the next two years, performing in Shanghai, Yokohama, Singapore, Malacca, and in cities throughout India.[37] Towards the end of the decade, a much larger African American minstrel troupe, Wilbur's Blackbirds, traversed a similar circuit along the littoral region from Japan to India from August 1928 to April 1929.[38] While the number of African American performers in colonial Asia increased dramatically in the early 1930s, they were present in the region throughout the 1920s. Before their numbers grew, however, they generally performed in settings in

which their race was still a relatively novel feature, one that marked them as unusual, exciting, and full of musical promise.

Representing and Sounding Blackness in Colonial Asia

Part of the reason white audiences in Singapore awaited Carter's arrival with anticipation was that they had already encountered countless stereotypical depictions of African Americans. Much of the discourse about blackness in colonial Asia had a musical dimension that helped fuel the demand for African American performers. When Carter's predecessors in the Manila Hotel band first arrived in 1923, Manila's American community was thrilled because it believed it would be hearing an unparalleled musical experience. According to one promotion from the hotel, "the negro and his music can't be beat!"[39] Most advertisements for the group focused extensively on the musicians' race, suggesting that their distinctive musical abilities emerged naturally from their racialized bodies.[40] As one anticipatory article claimed, they can even "keep on playing in their sleep."[41] Language pairing African Americans with rhythmic ability and innate, untrained musicality was pervasive throughout the region and deeply informed the descriptions of Carter's own shows towards the end of the decade. One of the sole musical features reviewers noted was the rhythmic sensibility of Carter's band. In Singapore, they reportedly played "jazz music with a rhythm of their own," while a journalist in Hong Kong repeatedly mentioned the group's distinctive "swing," a term that had not yet come to acquire a widely shared definition as a marker of jazz rhythm.[42] Yet, even though Carter's group included three Hawaiians, a Filipino, and claimed a relation to Whiteman,

audiences appeared to listen to the group through a framework that privileged a trope of black musicality.

Reading reviews of Carter's performances within a broader context begins to reveal how Carter was working carefully to craft a musical experience that played up racial expectations within the frames of a Whitemanesque jazz currency. Carter's success developed from his ability to work at a high level within the confines of racial stereotypes that informed audiences expectations about both performance styles and sound while, at the same time, offering a musical experience that conformed to local ideas about how jazz should sound. The sort of strategic music-making that many African Americans attempted in colonial Asia might not be immediately apparent through investigation in the archives. It is tempting to read reviews of performers such as Carter and Teddy Weatherford and conclude that they wowed audiences across Asia with a display of the polyrhythmic syncopation and improvisational virtuosity that later came to define black musical performance in jazz. Many of Carter's musicians were certainly capable of such performances, but this rhetoric of natural rhythm was most likely inaccurate.

Based purely on the descriptions and reviews of shows from audiences across colonial Asia, it would appear that African American musicians captured audiences by performing in an unadulterated "black" style. A critical reading of musical performances reveals, however, a much more complicated story. Indeed, the discourses of natural rhythm and syncopation were not solely limited to African American musical performances. Singapore writers similarly described Ernest Kaai's group of Hawaiians as possessing a racialized sense of time. When they performed in 1923, the band had a "remarkable sense of rhythm [that] enables them to give a lilt to jazz music which British

artistes can appreciate but seldom emulate."[43] Similarly, while Carter described his ensemble as "syncopators," musicians of practically every race, including white European and Filipino bands, laid claim to this same rhythmic name.[44] It became both a reference to musical characteristics and an attribution connecting to symbolic blackness.

Also revealing are the similarities between descriptions of African American ensembles and white performers in blackface. Minstrel shows in Manila also professed to offer displays of African rhythms and dancing. A review of an Elks Minstrel show in Manila in 1920 is illustrative of how white critics used similar descriptions to depict both African American musicians and white performances in blackface. The write-up of the show noted that one of the white performers "showed without a shadow of a doubt that he knew something about African rythm [sic], rag jazz. He danced with an abandon."[45] If white performers in blackface could be purveyors of "African rhythm," then, we need to be careful about how to imagine these descriptions of musical practice. As I suggest, they point less towards a pervasive desire for some mythical, essential "black" musical experience and more towards the presence of audiences who already had pre-existing ideas about what black musicians should sound like. Carter's success lay in his ability to navigate these local expectations and to please audiences whose preconceptions about black performance styles were informed by the legacy of blackface minstrelsy and recordings of white American dance bands.

The phenomenon of blackface minstrelsy was especially influential for musicians such as Carter because it became the medium through which blackness, as an abstract concept, was separated from actual African Americans. In Asia, as in the U.S., the portrayals of African Americans that emerged from minstrelsy depicted blackness not as

a natural essence connected to black bodies but rather as a set of characteristics and practices based on racial stereotypes. Through minstrelsy, as is commonly understood today, blackness became "'performative,' a cultural invention," representing a set of expected styles, movements, songs, and ways of speaking that rendered African Americans invisible and mediated by white performers with darkened faces.[46] The disembodiment of blackness from the bodies of actual African Americans was so pervasive that, while elements from this performance tradition were highly stylized and grotesque, blackface stereotypes became symbols of verisimilitude and authenticity, even to the point where audiences commonly perceived corked-up white actors as actual African Americans.[47]

This separation between blackness and African Americans came to shape the world of African American performers in ubiquitous and important ways. In the U.S., African American performers, writers, and artists found they could not merely reject the tropes of minstrelsy but rather had to engage with them in order to establish themselves in marketplaces largely informed by white standards.[48] Racism and racist stereotypes from blackface minstrelsy and early vaudeville so dominated the market for music and performance that African American performers dressed up, took on affectations, and rehearsed how to perform in such a way so as to match preconceived notions about how blackness looked and sounded.[49]

African Americans abroad faced a similar negotiation of these tropes of blackness, for racial stereotypes circulated widely, especially through blackface minstrelsy. Veit Erlmann argues that in the early twentieth century, "white South Africans…acquired distorted images of black Americans through an intensive exposure

to blackface minstrelsy."[50] In England, as in France, African American musicians in the interwar period found that they were, as Catherine Parsonage writes, "inevitably compared or linked, consciously or subconsciously, to the minstrel stereotypes that had been embedded in the public perception."[51]

While studies of global blackface minstrelsy tend to focus on its transatlantic circulation, the legacy of blackface minstrelsy was no less pervasive in colonial Asia.[52] Commodore Matthew Perry's minstrel show for Japanese diplomats in 1854 might be the most famous example of minstrelsy in Asia, but it was far from the only one.[53] Touring minstrel troupes from the U.S. and Europe, European and American sailors, and local amateur troupes staged minstrel shows for both white and Asian audiences in Asia from the 1850s through the early 1900s.[54] The English troupe Christy's Minstrels began a tour in 1864 through India, Singapore, Java, and Australia that sparked the formation of countless amateur minstrel troupes.[55] In echoes of Perry's diplomacy, Admiral George Dewey's sailors also regularly staged public minstrel shows and concerts with "plantation songs" in China and Japan before and after their battle in Manila Bay in 1898.[56] Through the early 1900s, British and American sailors performed minstrel shows along the Asian littoral with such regularity that, in 1904, when U.S. sailors put on a dramatic play instead, a reviewer noted with surprise that it was not merely another minstrel show.[57]

In the 1910s and 1920s, amateur and professional groups of Europeans and Americans staged minstrel shows that also incorporated the latest jazz songs in cities such as Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore, Penang, Calcutta, and Bombay (Fig. 5.3).[58] Touring groups from the U.S. also continued to spread the latest in American minstrelsy. During the summer of 1920, the University of California's Glee

Club – a group that featured Charles Strickfaden, a saxophonist who would soon become a celebrated member of Paul Whiteman's orchestra – embarked on a four-month tour of colonial Asia.[59] The group staged shows that included both a "jazz band" and a "black-face program" in Yokohama, Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Shanghai, Nanking – where they reportedly played for a crowd of 1,500 Chinese students – Hong Kong, and Manila.[60]



Figure 5.3: 40 members of the Shanghai American School Glee Club staged "A Negro Miscellany" in December 1926.[61]

Minstrel shows in colonial Asia did not only attract white audiences or performers. By the early 1900s, Asian audiences in the Philippines and the Malay Peninsula, among other locales, not only attended these shows but also began to form their own blackface troupes and minstrel acts. Filipinos in Manila had many opportunities to see minstrel shows in early 1900s, whether in the city's Grand Opera House or at popular theaters such as the Orpheum.[62] Filipinos also staged their own such shows. In 1919 and 1920, Domingo "Sunday" Reantaso drew on his experiences living in New York for eight years to organize several minstrel shows in Manila.[63] In the early 1920s, the Filipino vaudeville impresario Luis "Borromeo Lou" Borromeo also occasionally included blackface comedians for his Wednesday night "vod-a-vil" shows at Manila's Olympic Stadium.[64] Borromeo also had an American connection: he had toured the U.S.

Keith vaudeville circuit from 1916 to 1921 and had appeared on numerous bills alongside blackface minstrels.[65] Filipinos also appeared alongside Americans in minstrel shows that addressed local topics. An image of a 1929 minstrel show at Manila's Santa Ana Cabaret shows several white men in blackface next to Filipinos who took part in their show. They include four unsmiling Filipina women, one of whom is holding a tool for pounding rice, and a Filipino man with a tambourine in his right hand (Fig. 5.4).[66]



Figure 5.4: A 1929 fundraiser for Manila's American Guardian Association included a minstrel show with American and Filipino participants the Santa Ana Cabaret.[67]

Performers from the lone American colony in Asia were not the only ones to take up blackface. As I noted in Chapter One, Straits Chinese in Singapore in the early 1900s also formed amateur troupes to perform minstrel-style shows with American popular songs, "banjo" tunes, and cakewalks.[68] Elements from minstrel shows found their way into local performances in the city. In 1907, a traveler in Singapore reported finding Malay children singing an "American coon song" during a staging of *Merchant of Venice* in a Malay theater.[69] Meanwhile, the European children of Singapore were also adopting blackface minstrelsy for their own amusement. One resident of the city recalled how, for Christmas celebrations when he was a child in the 1910s, he and a group of about twenty

friends would blacken their faces with burnt cork, put on cardboard top hats, and knock on their neighbors' doors to perform a routine of Christmas songs, jokes, and sketches.[70]

Even through the 1920s, minstrel-type shows with Asian performers and geared towards local audiences were still appearing in throughout the Malayan peninsula in cities such as Malacca and Singapore.[71] In mid-march 1929, two weeks before Jack Carter's ensemble would return for a brief repeat engagement in Singapore, an ad appeared for the main theater in Singapore's New World Amusement park that showed how minstrelsy had became part of a broader entertainment scene. This advertisement wished its Muslim patrons a merry end to Ramadan while also announcing a Malay-language play that was followed by "The City's Black Minstrels in a Minstrel Revue." In a further cosmopolitan twist, the minstrels were directed by theater's usual music director: the Filipino pianist C. Martinez.[72] Through the 1930s, Singapore's Straits Chinese also continued to form troupes such as the Merrilads Minstrels, the Springdale Minstrels, and the Wales Minstrels, the latter of which regularly blackened their faces for performances.[73]

The tropes of minstrelsy also circulated widely in other media across Asia. American movies in the late 1910s and 1920s were particularly powerful in propagating stereotypes about African Americans. In Southeast Asia and China, 50 to 90% of films came from Hollywood.[74] Even outside of this region, American movies were popular among a wide class of Asian audiences from Japan to the Philippines to Singapore and served as inspiration for many Asian entertainers.[75] In a 1923 Tagalog-language interview, the Filipina singer and vaudeville star Katy de la Cruz explained that watching movies was one of the most important parts of her life. "I know almost all the actors," she

said, "but I love everything by Gloria Swanson."[76] American films tended to follow the familiar formula of racial stereotype, depicting African Americans as servile, lazy, and sexually voracious; casts were typically white men in blackface.[77]

One striking example of the influence of representations of African Americans via film came in Manila in October 1924. In conjunction with a highly publicized re-showing of *The Birth of a Nation*, the controversial film celebrating the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the Filipino vaudeville troupe at the Savoy theater – which featured De la Cruz – staged what they described as "a real, honest-to-goodness black face show."[78] This scheduling overlap was likely an attempt to capitalize on the popularity of the film, which was showing just four blocks away from the Savoy at the Lyric Theater.[79] The depictions of African Americans in film, as well as in other media such as cartoons, print advertisements, photographs, and sheet music, helped to spread stereotypes about black natural musicality, among other traits, across colonial Asia.[80]

Minstrelsy in its various forms was clearly influential in Asia, especially to audiences who had limited interaction with African Americans.[81] In 1927, a Filipina named Elizabeth Calloway confessed that her impressions of African Americans had been entirely mediated by popular culture in Manila. After traveling to the U.S. to study journalism, she published an article in *The Pittsburgh Courier* explaining "when I left Manila, Philippine Islands, I knew practically nothing of the American Negro."[82] Her primary sense of African Americans had come from American movies. Based on these films, she wrote, "one is led to think that every Negro is a replica of the black, thick-lipped, kinky-haired, grinning colored servant in the slapstick comedies."[83]

Calloway was far from the only one in the Philippines who believed that the

minstrel stereotypes of stage and screen were accurate portrayals of African Americans. A 1928 Spanish-language story in *The Philippines Free Press* featured a protagonist who encountered a jazz musician with "black" characteristics, including a dark black skin color from "the depths of the jungle in Guinea," an "enormous mouth" with "fat lips the color of blood" and a big laugh. Later in the story, the unnamed narrator was shocked to find that this "authentic, magnificent negro" was actually a white man in blackface.[84] It is revealing that, even as late as 1928, a popular story could be built around someone mistaking a white man in burnt cork for an African American. In this story, blackface minstrelsy was not seen as a grotesque, highly stylized mockery of African Americans but as a performance practice that appeared to depict a real, authentic experience of blackness. As these accounts suggest, for many, minstrelsy was a critical medium for mediating and representing African Americans across colonial Asia.

While African American performers encountered audiences in colonial Asia whose preconceptions about black performance practices were informed by minstrelsy, these same audiences also came to imagine the sound of African American performances in reference to recordings of white American dance bands. Recordings were an essential and ubiquitous source for musicians and dancers alike to gain a sense of how jazz should sound. Musicians across Asia studied the newest releases to learn repertoire and playing style. E. Taylor Atkins quoted a Filipino musician active in Japan in the early 1930s who simply took it for granted that recordings influenced his peers: "Didn't everyone learn from American records?" he asked.[85] Atkins also noted that the Japanese saxophonist Maeno Kozo remembered that he and his bandmates learned jazz by "listen[ing] to the Paul Whiteman band's records every day" in order to get "a feeling for them."[86] Amateur

musicians played along with and mimicked these records while dancers practiced their steps at home to the rhythms of their gramophone.[87] Music store advertisements also hinted at a close relationship between live musical performance and recordings. They occasionally made a special mention of recordings that were popular among dance band musicians in the city, showing that the turnover of records in their store was directly related to the repertoire of local ensembles.[88] This relationship between musicians, dancers, and recordings formed a kind of closed loop as dancers requested bands to perform in a manner similar to their favorite recordings.

Recognizing the connection between recordings and the sound of performers in colonial Asia offers us a critical means to think about the stylistic tendencies of live jazz throughout the region. It is actually fairly straightforward, albeit tedious, to get a good sense of what titles were available in cities throughout Asia. Record advertisements were ubiquitous in print media of the decade, and stores regularly printed extensive lists of records informing customers of their newest holdings. In 1921, for example, Columbia records advertised a list of 30 records by groups such as Art Hickman's Orchestra and the Coon-Sanders Novelty Orchestra for sale at stores in Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, and Sendai.[89] Similar ads from Moutrie's stores in Shanghai and Hong Kong, or from the Gramophone Company in cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, and Surabaya, featured lists of up to 60 records, revealing inventories that heavily featured dance music by white bandleaders.[90] By mid-decade, record stores such as Beck's and Erlanger and Galinger, Manila's two large distributors of American records, also sponsored local radio stations in order to play their new selections on the air. Newspapers throughout the region regularly listed the contents of these programs, revealing the

presence of both records made specifically for local audiences – to a much lesser extent in the Philippines – and records of the latest U.S. jazz.[91] These sources do not account for the private collections of tourists, but they provide a fairly extensive portrait of what recordings were available to the general public from India to the Dutch East Indies to Japan.

This mass of data reveals that, even by the end of the decade, selections of dance recordings were dominated by white American bandleaders such as Paul Whiteman.[92] While sheet music by African American composers had circulated throughout Asia since at least the early 1900s, recordings by African American ensembles were practically non-existent.[93] Large record companies such as Victor and Columbia may have helped to generate a massive global movement of recordings, but their method of distribution resulted in a restricted and controlled movement of recordings that primarily favored white musicians.[94] Audiences in Singapore experienced jazz through records of groups such as Earl Fuller's Famous Jazz Band, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Art Hickman, and, of course, Whiteman. In Manila, where, by the end of the decade, local music stores stocked releases from eight different major European and American record companies, dance recordings almost exclusively featured white American musicians. Aside from a very small number of releases by musicians such as Wilbur Sweatman and Fletcher Henderson, recordings by African Americans that we might now consider to demonstrate a "hot" style of playing only began to circulate in Asia and Australia in late 1929 and then only began to attract attention in the early 1930s.[95] This distribution of recordings is actually quite similar to the circulation of jazz recordings in U.S. and much of world. As Eric Porter, among others, has pointed out, "In the 1920s, race records aside, many white

fans probably knew jazz only through the work of white musicians."[96] Audiences in Asia, even those freshly arrived from Europe or the U.S., likely listened to Carter's band through ears tempered by the sounds of Whiteman-esque bands. These groups tended to feature a highly arranged ensemble that played repeated performances of the melody over changing instrumentation with very little improvisation.

Indeed, the British jazz aficionado Iain Lang described how, when he attended Carter's performances in Calcutta in early 1929, he had very little exposure to recordings made by African Americans.[97] Lang wrote about how he had spent most of the previous decade in London devoting his life to studying jazz, attending concerts, and seeking out rare recordings. Despite his passion for jazz, however, Lang explained that he had been completely ignorant of Louis Armstrong before Teddy Weatherford showed Lang his personal record collection after a show at Calcutta's Firpo's Restaurant. When Weatherford first mentioned Armstrong to him, Lang replied, "who, then, was Louis Armstrong?"[98] Given Lang's inability to amass a collection of 78s by Armstrong or other African American performers despite his fervor for jazz, it seems highly unlikely that the average fan of jazz in either England or India would have had more success. After all, much of the French critic Hugues Panassié's authority in the 1930s arose from the fact that his wealth gave him access to an unparalleled collection of rare African American recordings.[99] White American dance bands formed such a major part of the global distribution of jazz recordings that during the 1920s, as Lara Putnam notes, Paul Whiteman was one of the top-selling recording artists even among black audiences in the Caribbean.[100]

Recordings, as well as the tropes of minstrelsy, helped to shape the terrain Carter navigated, for they became the frame through which audiences imagined the sounds of African American performance. Even though the bulk of these recordings featured white bandleaders, they were critical for setting the stylistic standards for a form of jazz that was increasingly understood across colonial Asia as a type of black music. While the origins of jazz were far from certain in the first half of the decade, by 1925 at the latest, musicians, critics, and historians alike increasingly came to a consensus that jazz was deeply informed by African American musical practices. The fact that jazz circulated primarily via white dance bands appeared to repeat the kind of mediation of blackness that emerged from blackface minstrel shows. White dance bands, in this sense, seemed to represent the sound of a black music that had become separated from actual African Americans.

Numerous accounts of the development of jazz in colonial newspapers described the mediation through which jazz grew out of a process of adapting African American music to a modern setting and instrumentation. In Singapore in 1925 one article stated that "Jazz, as all the world knows, is merely primitive negro melody adapted to modern orchestration."[101] Others weighed in on what they depicted as a development beginning in oral African tradition. A 1921 article reprinted in Bombay argued that jazz was merely "being written down on paper by white men, it is still the half inspiration of negro composers, who drew these tunes from gourds and calabashes."[102] Paul Whiteman himself made similar claims in his 1926 autobiography, suggesting that he was merely "orchestrating" a musical form that was a "gift" from African Americans to the world, a depiction of African American music that echoed the views of W. E. B. Du Bois.[103]

These narratives of racial appropriation positioned white dance bands as capable performers of a musical style that could be heard as having black roots yet that had been separated from actual African Americans. As a result, white musicians such as Paul Whiteman became the standard against which jazz, and sounds of blackness, were measured.

Thus, while by the late 1920s white Europeans and Americans in colonial Asia, as well as many Filipinos, seemed to understand conceptually that jazz had black roots, their idea of what blackness looked and sounded like were shaped by a mixture of minstrel legacies and recordings by white American musicians. Just as blackface came to mediate the ways in which blackness was represented, so too did white musicians establish the way jazz should be played. The intersection of these various elements meant that many white audiences in colonial Asia not only expected African Americans to possess superior musical talent but also that they believed they knew how these musicians should sound and perform. Despite the general absence of both African American musicians and their recordings, which only began to circulate globally in the mid-1930s, audiences in cities such as Singapore appeared certain in their knowledge what it meant to perform in a black style. By the time Jack Carter arrived in Singapore in 1928, they expected a performance of U.S. black music that was informed by the deep and enduring background of blackface minstrelsy together with the smooth, polite-sounding jazz style of the Paul Whiteman Orchestra.

In Singapore, then, Carter's use of the nickname "The Paul Whiteman of the East" begins to appear less as a strange juxtaposition of racial expectations and more as a formulation that hinted at the strategic professional decisions he employed to shape his

performances. What we might call Carter's "black style" affirmed the common perception of musical blackness that had won wide appeal across metropolitan Asia. Indeed, much of Carter's commercial success over his four-and-a-half years in Asia developed as a result of his willingness to accommodate these expectations and to execute them at a high level of musicianship. By briefly examining Carter's repertoire and playing style during his tour, in both his stage "cabaret" shows and his role providing dance music, we can see that he was a consummate professional who engaged with the legacy of minstrelsy, the influence of Whiteman, and whatever other demands the job required.[104]

Performing Blackness

The two stage shows Carter featured during his Asian tour from November 1928 to June 1929 explicitly mapped stories of black musical performance that stretched from a minstrel past to a present of Whiteman-esque melodies. With an ensemble that included the African American performers Clarence "Bo-Diddley" Williams, Valada Snow, Teddy Weatherford, James Carson, the Filipino trombonist Angelo Jimenez, and the Hawaiian entertainers Joe Kanepuu, David Polipala, and Medez Louis, Carter's "Serenaders" performed music for dancers and performed two staged programs: "Jazz Madness" and "Plantation Variations." Even the titles of these shows played off of stereotypes of racial excess and a history of U.S. slavery. Both sets of staged entertainment featured a mix of songs and comedy skits that incorporated minstrel-like acts and recent jazz songs circulating widely on recordings by white American performers. In "Jazz Madness," he brought together recent Tin Pan Alley hits such as "Back in Your Own Backyard"

(featuring Carter) and "My Blue Heaven" (featuring Snow) with dance band staples such as "Kitten on the Keys" and "Indian Love Call," both of which featured Weatherford. These songs were interspersed with a diverse assortment of novelty songs, Hawaiian melodies, and sentimental ballads. What's more, Carter also featured a "Negro Spiritual Quartette" (Carter, Snow, Williams, Weatherford) and a minstrel-like set of songs and sketches, including a "Sammy and Topsy" routine that featured the comedic dancing of Williams and Snow.[105] Advertisements for "Plantation Variations" imply a similarly mixed program that moved between an imagined antebellum minstrel age with "Negro Spirituals" and "Plantation Melodies" to modern Tin Pan Alley jazz, with a "first-class Jazz Band" and the "Latest songs and dances."[106]

This juxtaposition of the plantation and claims of intimate knowledge of the most up-to-date forms of U.S. popular culture mirrored the common depiction of African Americans as simultaneously primitive and modern. The constructed nature of the narrative Carter's shows imply is especially apparent in the second half of "Jazz Madness," when the Hawaiian musicians performed their specialty number, "O Kalena," immediately before the "Negro Spiritual Quartette" took the stage.[107] "Jazz Madness" presented a world in which Hawaiian music, Tin Pan Alley fox-trots, and minstrel songs all came to represent aspects of a musical world with which African American performers had to be intimately familiar.[108] The programming of "Jazz Madness" not only served as a microcosm for Carter's larger tour, where he performed one stage show dedicated to the latest Tin Pan Alley tunes and another to a stylized view of an anti-bellum South, but also the strategic engagement with a contradictory concept of primitive modernity that faced African American performers across Asia, Europe, and the U.S.

Carter's show played off of a much broader social contradiction. Since the concepts of modernity and racial otherness emerged only in relation to one another, as Alexander Weheliye has argued, the idea of blackness operated "paradoxically as both central to and outside of Western modernity."[109] "Jazz Madness" seemed to perpetuate this paradox by presenting a view of African Americans as simultaneously existing in an eternal, mythical past and also contributing to future character of an evolving Western modernity. While upon close examination this contradictory pairing of the primitive and the modern may make little sense, the positive reviews of Carter's stage shows reveal that the narrative his shows presented managed to meet local expectations.

Carter's success was not inevitable, though. If, as I suggest, recordings of white bandleaders not only were also heard to represent a kind of musical blackness but also served as important standards against which live performances were measured but, then African American performers had to take these standards seriously. While their skin color allowed them to capitalize upon a demand for an imagined natural black musicality, African American performers in Europe and Asia alike not infrequently failed to fit their performances within locally acceptable definitions of black performance. Despite Sam Wooding's successful tour of much of Europe with the "Chocolate Kiddies" in the mid-1920s, when they reached London they were, as saxophonist Garvin Bushell recalled, "an absolute flop."[110] Upon further reflection, Bushell concluded that they simply could not perform the same way in London as they had been performing elsewhere in Europe. "Maybe we were a little bit too classy," he writes, "[for] I think the British audience would have accepted a black orchestra doing comedy and slapstick. But we had a classy organization, and Europe had rubbed off on us. So we didn't do well in London at all."[111]

Wooding's group failed to take into account the ways in which audiences in London expected a display of black performance based on a completely different set of preconceptions than those in Paris.

Other African American troupes in Asia did not share Carter's skill in pleasing audiences. This included Wilbur's Blackbirds, a group whose tour from Honolulu to Calcutta between August 1928 and May 1929 occurred at roughly the same time as Carter's own tour – they even overlapped in Singapore (Fig. 5.5). Unlike Carter's near universal success, this group of fourteen African Americans left behind a string of mixed



Figure 5.5: Ads for Wilbur's Blackbirds and Jack Carter's Serenaders, published a month apart in Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*.[112]

reviews. Many of their critics offered advice for the group about how to revise their shows should they perform there again. During the stop in Hong Kong in October 1928, one reviewer complained that the group played too much jazz, and neglected minstrel-

type entertainment. The reviewer offered some unsolicited advice: if they returned and performed a program "of spirituelles [sic], plantation songs, with a few of the American civil war songs, and spice of jazz they would receive a very hearty reception."[113] The Blackbirds proceeded to focus more on minstrelsy during their next stop in Manila, much to the pleasure of audiences there, but this same minstrel turn was not nearly as popular in Singapore.[114] Buddy Brown, who chronicled the group's travels, was well aware of their tepid reviews and suggests that their failure was due both to lack of skill and to lack of knowledge about "show business."[115] He complained about their inability to please their audiences, a task which, in this case, also included determining what sort of performance styles their patrons expected. In contrast, Carter not only appeared to offer a high level of professionalism but also crafted stage shows with a mixture of minstrelsy and popular hits that seemed to fit within the parameters of blackness in colonial Asia.

Carter's stage shows explicitly joined together Whiteman and minstrelsy, but he also came to match local expectations about the sounds of black music while providing music for dances. While I have yet to find a detailed description of Carter's dance programs, there are enough brief references to his abilities as a dance-band leader to give us a fairly good idea of Carter's stylistic predilections. Despite the transposition of U.S.-based references to speed and "jazz madness" or Carter's claims to feature "10 Red-Hot Masters of Syncopation," the archive suggests that Carter was playing in the "smooth manner" similar to most white American bands. According to one dancer in Singapore, Carter's band "afford[ed] just the right type of music for the dancing."[116] Vague, yes, but given the ways in which dancers at white hotels or clubs could force musicians to change

their playing style or lose their job comments such as this one suggested that Carter chose a familiar repertoire and a playing style.[117]

Carter almost certainly stocked his band's books with a regular mix of the latest fox-trots, waltzes, and novelty songs from the hit factories of Tin Pan Alley for this repertoire constituted the "right type" of songs for white dancers throughout the region.[118] An audience member who heard Carter's group in Batavia in April 1929 offered a similarly vague description, recalling that the group sounded "just like on the records, with all the new numbers and tricks."[119] This comment proves useful for it almost certainly refers to U.S. records. We can determine that Carter's repertoire in Batavia did feature "all the new numbers": he performed songs such as "My Blue Heaven," "Ol' Man River" and "I Scream You Scream (We All Scream For Ice Cream)."[120] By the time of Carter's tour, each of these had recently been recorded by white American performers in the U.S. and were recently available and popular in colonial Asia.[121]

A firsthand account from clarinetist Albert Nicholas, an African American from New Orleans who played with many of that city's most famous musicians, further suggests that Carter's band played in a Whiteman-esque style.[122] Nicholas was in Carter's group in Shanghai and recalled that the ensemble's Filipino trombonist, Nicanor Amper, sounded "just like Tommy Dorsey," a prominent white trombonist known for his sweet style.[123] Carter had likely learned exactly how to develop this successful combination of repertoire and playing style during the five year period he worked in Asia before setting off on his grand tour. Unlike the members of Wilbur's Blackbirds, who had little or no experience performing for white audiences in colonial Asia, Carter had already learned

how to calibrate his ensemble's performing style to the particular tastes of audiences in the racially exclusive hotels and dance halls of colonial Asia.

Learning to pay attention to the whims of his patrons was necessary for Carter's continued employment. As numerous accounts reveal, white and Asian audiences from Shanghai to Bombay typically demanded musicians to perform in a manner that was both informed by white American recordings but also attuned to local preferences. One important skill, which was not unique to colonial Asia, was the ability to fulfill constant requests from dancers. Bandleaders had to both keep a well-stocked library of arrangements and also hire musicians with sight-reading abilities. Juan Tolentino, the Filipino bandleader of Manila's Santa Ana cabaret in the early 1920s, described how dancers would actually bring him sheet music to play: "Very often," he explained, "visitors to this place come with new pieces of dance music which they ask us to play for them…Sometimes the pieces are so new that we have never seen them or heard them played before." Tolentino concluded with the motto of all successful bandleaders: "To please our patrons, we have to play the music."[124]

More particular to colonial Asia, though, was how bands should perform from these new pieces of sheet music and how they should arrange the order of their sets. American musicians repeatedly described how after they arrived in colonial Asia they had to learn how arrange programs that favored songs with slower dance tempos and adapt their playing styles to even out syncopation. In the early 1920s, African American musicians Billie Powers and Frank Augustin noted that their patrons in Shanghai preferred dances with slow tempos such as waltzes and slow fox-trots.[125] Around the same time, at Shanghais' Majestic ballroom, American bandleader Whitey Smith recalled

how, in an attempt to draw in more Chinese dancers, he "calmed down the Charleston and brought out the melody in it."[126] Even into the mid-1930s, African American bandleaders in Asia such as Leon Abbey found they had to adjust their musical style to match audience demands. When Abbey's group arrived at Bombay's Taj Hotel in 1936, dancers were so upset by their inability to dance to his band that –in order to save his job – Abbey had slow down to what one journalist called "Bombay Speed."[127] Audiences only accepted Abbey's band when they performed music to which it was, as one British dancer noted, "quite easy to dance the same old fox-trot one always had danced."[128]

To be clear, "Bombay Speed" likely did not mean that American musicians were actually slowing down their regular tempos for either white or Asian audiences in colonial Asia. Given the pervasive practice of dancing to recordings at home or at private parties, these patrons would presumably be accustomed to the range of tempos that mark Paul Whiteman's recordings, from his 1923 slow waltzes "The Merry Widow" to his 1928 recording of the quick foxtrot "That's My Weakness Now."[129] While we should not assume that the two recordings Jimmy Lequime made with his Calcutta band in 1925 reflect exactly how he was performing on the bandstand, his recording of "The House Where the Shutters are Green" clocks in at a tempo even faster than Whiteman's "Weakness."[130]

If it were not for the very real controversies that faced musicians such as Abbey, it would be easy to see this discourse of "Bombay speed" as part of broader anxious discourse about the lethargy and laziness of the tropics rather than a reflection of musical tendencies.[131] Instead, it seems that musicians in Asia had to learn to program more slow dances, such as waltzes, than they might in the U.S. As an advice column suggested in

Calcutta, this change was necessary for the warm climate. At private parties, the columnist wrote, "Wise hostesses instruct their bands to make the dance time a little slower on hot nights, and to cut out one-steps altogether."[132] The author suggested that bands should change the "usual" ratio of "four fox-trots to a waltz" to a ratio that favored more waltzes and slow fox-trots.[133] Indeed, dance programs from around the region rarely show this ratio of "four fox-trots to a waltz."[134] But "Bombay speed" likely also reflected the sort of stylistic changes that Whitey Smith mentioned in Shanghai, namely, focusing more on melodies and evening out highly accented syncopation.[135] While reviews and critiques of American performers in Asia might not reveal precisely how they adjusted their musical styles for new audiences, they do show that such an adjustment was necessary. The lack of controversy surrounding Carter's appearances along the Asian littoral strongly suggest that he, too, had learned to perform in a manner that white dancers accustomed to recordings of white American dance bands found quite familiar. Carter's nickname "The Paul Whiteman of the East" was not merely a ploy for publicity but likely referred to his actual stylistic tendencies.

Carter's use of the nickname "The Paul Whiteman of the East" as both a marketing tool and a model for musical performance begins to reveal the ways in which African American musicians in colonial Asia attempted to negotiate local preconceptions of black performance. What is particularly interesting, though, is how this notion of blackness required U.S. black musicians to calibrate their performance practices to accommodate colonial metropolitan perceptions of what black music actually sounded like. In many cases, audiences appeared to focus their listening on elements that are quite different from what we might listen for today. A case in point is the way Valada Snow

was received. Snow has tended to be celebrated in jazz circles primarily for her role as an instrumentalist, as a trumpeter who played in the style of Louis Armstrong.[136] While reviews of Snow from her tour with Carter might acknowledge that she played trumpet, they focus almost exclusively on her dancing, especially alongside Bo Diddley, who was universally described as the true star of the show.[137] While today, jazz listeners might focus on improvisation and group interaction, these musical elements seemed to be of little concern for the white European and American audiences throughout Carter's Asian tour.

Even if Snow had embarked upon flights of solo improvisation, they may have fallen upon unappreciative ears. Audiences desired black entertainers and performances of blackness but the musical qualities they associated with blackness, especially rhythm, speed, and syncopation, all had to be carefully managed. They had to be presented in ways that did not exceed the forms of jazz that were available on recordings of white American dance bands. What white Singapore audiences heard as Carter's performance of blackness, with its wild rhythm, syncopation, and "un-selfconsciousness," was quite likely a carefully planned program with musicians consciously favoring slow dance tunes and evening out syncopation. Catering to these desires was a critical part of Carter's ability to work as a music professional. He was engaged in a form of labor that required him to be attuned to the specific and varied ways in which audiences imagined jazz should be performed.

Becoming "White Folks"

During his career as "The Paul Whiteman of the East," Carter navigated many of the same challenges facing African American entertainers in the U.S. and Europe. Carter's strategic engagement with stereotypes about musical blackness, though, took place in a decidedly different context. Throughout his career in Asia, Carter was not only navigating local ideas about black performance, he was also simultaneously perpetuating and challenging racial hierarchies in European and American colonies. In these locales, racial ideologies informed daily practices yet racial categories were not always determined solely by skin color. By seeking to match local parameters about how black music should sound and how performances of blackness should appear, Carter helped to maintain racial preconceptions that worked to support the logic of white supremacy. At the same time, however, I want to suggest that the demand for African American musicians was so great that Carter and other African Americans were able to attain a level of social and financial status that enabled them to move in a somewhat fluid manner between racial hierarchies. The money and social status they accumulated through their musical labor became a means for a kind of social ascendance that revealed the holes and gaps in otherwise seemingly fixed categories of race.

Jack Carter's challenge to match minstrel stereotypes and the sounds of white American recordings was one his peers faced throughout much of the world. In the early twentieth century, African American entertainers, artists, and writers throughout the globe commonly found themselves competing with ubiquitous stereotypes of minstrelsy and silent film, even resorting to using burnt cork or dialect to don the mask of blackface themselves.[138] Black performers such as Noble Sissle explained that they had to

strategically base their own performances in relationship to white entertainers "who had been imitating negroes."[139] As numerous scholars have shown, performers tried to make the best of this situation by working to use racial stereotypes as a competitive advantage.[140] As historian David Gilbert demonstrates, African American musicians at the turn of the twentieth century New York embraced the trope of black rhythm in order to claim a distinctive spot in the commercial music and entertainment industry.[141] Composers sought to profit off of white audiences' expectation that African American performers possessed a natural rhythmic sense, even if it meant perpetuating racist notions. Entertainers employed other tactics as well: Bert Williams masked the British accent he learned in his native Bahamas, blackened his face, and rose to stardom with his partner George Walker as the "Two Real Coons."[142]

Many African American musicians expressed a pragmatic way of approaching the racial stereotypes that limited their opportunities for cultural expression. They focused, instead, on how embracing these stereotypes could lead them to lucrative forms of labor. While Jack Carter's own ideas on negotiating preconceptions about black performance are unclear, his close colleague, William "Bill" Hegamin, left behind a letter that speaks directly to this matter.[143] Hegamin's thoughts about performing in Asia appeared in *The Chicago Defender* in December 1923, roughly four months after he first crossed the Pacific to begin his engagement at the Manila Hotel. Hegamin wrote about how excited he was at the prospects of developing Asia as a site of employment for more African American performers:

> …our trip to the Orient has been a success and is the opening of a new field to Colored musicians and entertainers. Japan and China are jazz-crazy. All we could do we put on them. They opened the doors of the best hotels, cafes, etc., to us, and they are still open for Colored musicians.[144]

Hegamin's letter might primarily appear to promote Asia as a place free of racism, a theme that becomes increasingly prevalent as more African Americans travel to China.[145] Certainly, the desire to escape the racism of the U.S. was familiar to most African Americans, including Jack Carter. In 1922, in a horrifying incident that provoked nation-wide outrage in the African American press, Carter was almost killed in Florida. He had been performing at a hotel in Miami when a group of white men lured his bandmates into the countryside with the promise of a high-paying gig. The white mob then proceeded to beat the musicians nearly to death before forcing them to flee Miami.[146]

While events such as these understandably served as motivation for African American performers to seek out employment outside of the U.S., Hegamin was not merely promoting Asia as a utopia free of racism. His depiction of Asia as "a new field to Colored musicians" was one in which African Americans would still have to grapple with some of the challenges facing them in the U.S.[147] For Hegamin was not describing a market in which African American musicians had something we might imagine as artistic freedom for their performance practices. Hegamin knew this first hand.

A few months before Hegamin wrote his letter, the manager of the Manila Hotel, Walter "Monk" Antrim, acquiesced to local demand and arranged for Hegamin and his colleagues in the Manila Hotel band to stage an "Old Plantation" night.[148] The event was a full extravaganza of minstrel-style music, costume, and food. The band played "a special program with all the old southern songs," including "Old Black Joe," "My Kentucky Home," "Swanee River" and "Massa's

in De Cold Cold Ground." To complement the musical choices, Hegamin and the rest of band was "costumed up to represent 'folks on te plantation,'" and the chef prepared a special "southern dinner" of chicken, candied yams and gumbo.[149]

In light of the "Old Plantation" night, Hegamin's letter reveals one of the ironies that faced African American performers at the time. Even though his position in Manila required him to engage in minstrel tropes and to dress up as a slave, the presence of racially limiting stereotypes did not prevent him from identifying Asia as a market where African Americans might thrive. Instead, it might be said that it is precisely because of these stereotypes about black musicality that Hegamin viewed Asia in such favorable terms. Performers such as Buddy Brown confessed that he sought out opportunities abroad because he was "tired of the prejudice" of the U.S. yet the demand for black musicians abroad was itself based upon a manifestation of racism: specifically the belief in tropes of black natural musicality.[150] In this regard, Hegamin's letter – which does not mention the "Old Plantation" night – reflects a kind of pragmatic view shared by other performers in the U.S. The saxophonist Garvin Bushell explained that African Americans in New York incorporated plantation themes into their shows during the 1920s as a commercial concession to white audiences: "It was part of our heritage that they saw was viable," he recalled, "people would pay money to see it." [151] Hegamin and other African American performers found that embracing "plantation" shows or displays of "natural" musicality enabled them to have financially successful careers as musical laborers.

Carter seems to have done well for himself by catering to these demands for African American entertainers in colonial Asia. When he joined Sissle's band in Paris after the conclusion of his Asian tour, his collection of flashy jewelry made news across the Atlantic. In 1930, the journalist Norman Thomas reported in *The New York Amsterdam News,* that Carter *"*has more diamonds on him that Harlem has speakeasies."[152] Carter was able to acquire this wealth because African American musical labor could be well compensated financially.

As I examined in Chapter Two, Filipino musicians may have earned relatively good wages by working outside the Philippines, but, by all accounts, African American performers could earn even more from the hierarchical pay scales of colonial Asia. In September 1925, Carter and his fellow African American members a five-piece ensemble called the New York Singing Syncopators, negotiated with the Hotel Parisien – later re-named the Plaza Hotel – for a nine-month engagement. Their contract stated that the group would earn weekly salary of $450 in American currency.[153] If this amount were divided evenly, Carter and his four bandmates each earned $90 a week in addition to free room and board and a discount on "refreshments." This wage was comparable to the amount featured members of Fletcher Henderson's orchestra in New York had received the year before: Louis Armstrong's weekly salary in 1924 was reportedly somewhere just above $75.[154] The salary Carter commanded in Shanghai did not seem unusual. When he negotiated a four-week contract with Calcutta's Grand Hotel in late 1928, Carter began by asking for a weekly wage that would have averaged out to $100 for each of his group's ten members.[155] Even if Carter

expected to settle for less than this amount, even 75% of his initial asking rate would have put his ensemble on par with the salaries of musicians in one of New York's more prestigious African American bands.

It is also worth noting that, in at least these two cases, Carter was able to secure his relatively high wages in the currency of the U.S. dollar. This was not a standard procedure. In most cases, Filipino and Hawaiian musicians across colonial Asia received their wages in local currencies.[156] Even touring ensembles of American performers, such as the Denishawn Dancers, were paid in this manner.[157] Receiving payment in currencies such as Philippine Pesos could be problematic for Americans who hoped to save their earnings for use in the U.S. The value of various Asian currencies fluctuated wildly in relation to the U.S. dollar, which was fixed to a gold standard until 1933.[158] It made sense, then, for musicians such as Carter to negotiate for payment in $U.S. since the money they earned retained its value when they returned to the U.S.[159]

Currency clearly mattered to Carter. In January 1929, Carter's negotiations with Gregory Arratoon, the manager of Calcutta' Grand Hotel, became a matter of public record when Arratoon filed a lawsuit against him for breaching their contract.[160] Over the course of several days in late December 1928, Carter and Arratoon negotiated terms for Carter's ensemble to perform at the Grand Hotel. Carter began by asking for wages paid in $U.S. (gold) but Arratoon countered by offering salaries in Indian Rupees. Carter only agreed to think about a possible offer when Arratoon relented to a salary in $U.S. Carter, however, ultimately rejected the deal because, among other things, the amount

Arratoon suggested was too low. Carter's attention to these financial dealings reveals that his acts of musical labor enabled him to accumulate a source of wealth that would secure him financial stability both in colonial Asia and in the U.S.

My focus here on labor and money is partially in response to its noticeable absence in much of the scholarship seeking to rehabilitate and redeem African American performers who worked in blackface in the early twentieth century. This literature tends to conclude that the strategic actions of African Americans who worked in a similar vein to Hegamin or Carter allowed them to undermine the same stereotypes they performed. Much of the work that explores the ways in which African Americans attempted to navigate the limited opportunities for commercial cultural production attempts to valorize and rehabilitate performers whose options were so severely limited by racism that they resorted to acting in blackface or to composing "jungle" music.

The natural result of this move towards rehabilitation has been a tendency to claim that African American entertainers and musicians were able to subvert and resist the very minstrel stereotypes they performed. This is especially prevalent in literature on Bert Williams, perhaps the most famous African American minstrel performer. David Krasner, argues that invoking the "realism" of the "Two Real Coons" became "a tactic used to dismantle the structures of power."[161] Similarly, Chude-Soki argues that Bert Williams "reinvented and appropriated" blackface minstrelsy "to subversive effect."[162] Jeffrey Magee makes a similar claim about Duke Ellington, arguing that he "subverted minstrel

clichés" through his dignified and musically sophisticated take on "jungle music" at the Cotton Club.[163] Burton Peretti also contends that African American jazz musicians in the U.S. "explicitly challenged" what he calls "the minstrel paradigm" through their musical ability and professionalism.[164]

These claims, which tend to follow a romantic bent, are important, but they do not always acknowledge the ambiguous nature of African American labor or examine their contradictory accommodation of the demands of the market for popular entertainment. To a certain extent, Carter was complicit in perpetuating racial stereotypes that supported white colonial rule in Asia. As I noted above, Carter's overwhelmingly white audiences appeared to revel in his ability to meet their preconceptions about black performance. British reviewers in Shanghai delighted in Carter's ability to perform what they describe as "real southern 'nigger' jazz."[165] Singapore audiences explained that Carter's two stars, Valada Snow and Bo Diddley confirmed local audience expectations about African American eccentric and comedic dancing as "the fare which coloured performers have made famous."[166] By sonically catering to local audiences, Carter helped to perpetuate a mode of imagining blackness that reinforced western imperial ideologies, especially white racial supremacy, amidst an environment of racial anxiety. As Michael Pickering argues in his study of blackface minstrelsy in Britain, the "racial mockery" that was a critical part of these performances helped to reinforce the racial science of racial evolution that contributed to the idea that colonial endeavors ultimately served as a way to improve the situation of non-whites.[167] The violence and subjugation of European and American imperial

ambition was justified through the language of white supremacy by depicting these actions as benevolent gifts of civilization to under-developed and child-like non-whites.[168] By adhering to a notion of black performance that appeared to confirm the basis of this race-based logic, Carter may have done little to challenge the ways in which white audiences imagined the racial ordering of the world.

Hegamin's letter, though, clearly suggests that African American performers in Asia believed they were doing more than simply supporting the logic of the "white man's burden." David Gilbert's work on James Reese Europe is useful for thinking about the ways in which Hegamin, Carter, and other African American musicians performing minstrel tropes in colonial Asia might have also engaged in another kind of work. Gilbert revises the notion of resistance by exploring the ways in which Europe was able to increase the value of black musical labor. "Rather than work to transform the popular image of blacks," Gilbert writes, "Europe began by changing black musicians' material conditions, their professional value."[169] Europe did so in part, Gilbert argues, by organizing a labor force that could secure good working conditions and demand high wages. While Europe was able to reject minstrel tropes and move from dance halls to the concert stage, Gilbert points to the ways in which demanding professional respect and financial security could also affect a broader social transformation. Carter's ability to earn a good wage in a stable currency is critical here. Evidence of his business acumen suggests that Carter managed to establish a value for his professional labor that also enabled him to take advantage of the ways in which the racial hierarchies of colonial Asia were maintained.

While African American musicians such as Carter worked musically to confirm a particular way of imagining blackness, they found that, as individuals, they fit into the racial taxonomies governing much of daily life in colonial Asia in complex ways. They seemed to share similarities with both white Americans and Europeans as citizens of a colonizing state but they also appeared to face struggles similar to non-white Asian populations facing an imperial force based upon the logic of white supremacy. The complex ways in which African Americans fit into the racial taxonomies of colonial Asia, especially in the Philippines, has commonly been masked by the presence of a vocabulary drawn from American racism, especially the oft-repeated cases of white Americans and Europeans who described Indians, Malays, and Filipinos as "niggers."[170] As the historian Paul Kramer argues, however, this vocabulary did not mean that these various non-white groups were imagined to be the same as African Americans. "On the surface," Kramer writes, "the application of the term 'nigger' to Filipinos suggests the export of domestic U.S. racial formations. But in other ways it appears that the term itself was being transformed in the colonial setting."[171] Kramer's extensive body of work on what he describes as "the impossibility of racial 'export' and the reconstruction of race in colonial settings" is quite useful in this regard.[172] He shows that even if a discourse of white superiority is informing the racial hierarchies of the Philippines, as it was in much of colonial Asia, these hierarchies are distinct and specific to their new locales. Even if African Americans were still considered inferior to white Americans based on their skin color, the relations between whites, blacks, and various groups of Asians were not merely copies of the same relations in the U.S.[173]

While it may seem that African Americans would have sought to develop affinities with other non-white populations instead of aspiring to a social status of "white folks," focusing exclusively on this sort of affinity ignores a far more complicated set of experiences African American performers faced in colonial Asia. This may seem to be a counter-intuitive claim, for there has been a body of work exploring the ways in which African Americans and Asians imagined themselves as sharing a single struggle against imperialism and white supremacy.[174] Certainly, in many cases African Americans in colonial Asia found common ground by working alongside Filipino, Chinese, or Japanese coworkers or by marrying Asian spouses. These broad imaginings of global solidarity between those facing various modes of white oppression, however, imply a sense of universal camaraderie that did not always match the experiences of African Americans in 1920s colonial Asia. As various scholars have shown, there was a diverse range of encounters between African Americans and Asians.[175] When Buddy Brown embarked on an Asian tour with Wilbur's Blackbirds in August 1928, he was disappointed to find "prejudice" from various Asian peoples he encountered. In Manila, he noted, Filipinos "would point the finger of scorn at you and make remarks, …and call you – well, you know the word."[176] Brown reciprocated with the prejudice in his letters home. In Hong Kong, he wrote disparagingly about "the Chink" and, in Manila, argued that if the Americans left Filipinos "would go right back to the state of barbarism in less than five years."[177] African Americans did not necessarily identify with colonial subjects of Asia, and did not always seek to further their struggle against imperialism.

Instead, as Teddy Weatherford quipped in India, some African American performers used the financial and social capital they accumulated from their work to

move through the social and racial hierarchies of colonial Asia. The seeming rigidity of racial hierarchies in colonial rhetoric belies the number of examples of people who moved from one racial category to another, or who boldly attempted to purchase whiteness, suggesting that race was also about money and status, not just phenotype. As Weatherford implied, financial success and social demand could result in a kind of racial passing: not a passing in which African Americans were mistaken for phenotypical whites, but rather a passing in which they occupied a place on social and racial hierarchies that was akin to "white folks." This sort of social ascendance would not be unprecedented for African Americans in colonial settings: until 1902, African American entertainers in South Africa were treated as "honorary whites" by the government.[178]

African American musicians' status as a kind of "honorary white" in colonial Asia is especially apparent compared to the experiences of local Asian populations. Even when African Americans did claim a sense of solidarity with Chinese, as Buck Clayton appeared to do in his autobiography, they also claimed access to a kind of financial and social standing that was not always available to Asians.[179] Nan Enstad explores the ways in which African Americans benefited from the infrastructures of western imperialism through an analysis of a photograph of Buck Clayton posing next to a Chinese rickshaw runner. She argues that Clayton's "status as a jazz musician is rendered here as a resolute claim to imperial power, reaping and representing the benefits of western privilege in Shanghai."[180] During his time in Shanghai, Clayton did claim many of the trappings of white imperial privilege, including the controversial position of taking rickshaws around the city and employing Chinese "boys" as servants in their homes.[181]

The ways in which African Americans took on the trappings of white colonials came to inform their racial status in relation to various Asian populations. The African American bandleader Herb Flemming described how his time in Calcutta in 1933 was marked by a distinct sense of disconnect between the band members and the Indians in the city. According to Flemming, one day his Cuban drummer Luis Pedroso "wandered too far into the native quarter." Pedroso nearly caused a riot after he tried to break through a thick crowd around him that was "curious to see a man of color dressing as a white man and speaking only Spanish or English."[182] On the heels of this event, Flemming and his band avoided the "native quarter" for the rest of their stay. Pedroso's dress and trappings of the white colonial life caused confusion amongst Calcutta's Indian population. In a manner similar to Clayton and many other African American entertainers, their social and financial privileges did not seem to match their dark skin color.

Carter also clearly expected that the social and financial capital he accumulated afforded him a dignity and privilege that was perhaps more typically the domain of white residents of colonial Asia. As I noted earlier, Carter's negotiations with Gregory Arratoon, the manager of Calcutta's Grand Hotel, ended up in an acrimonious lawsuit.[183] During the course of these negotiations, from December 18th through the 25th, 1928, Carter had been housing his 10-piece ensemble in the Grand Hotel. During their negotiations, Arratoon began to employ some unsavory tactics to persuade Carter to sign a contract. After they first tentatively agreed upon a deal, Arratoon snuck a new clause into the paper copy that Carter noticed only when he was about to sign, thus prompting Carter to reject the offer. As the negotiations dragged on, Arratoon threatened to increase

the rates of the musicians' hotel rooms unless Carter agreed to a contract on Arratoon's terms. Upon receiving this threat, Carter promptly looked for work elsewhere in the city and quickly secured a contract with Firpo's restaurant. In response, Arratoon filed suit against Carter for a four-week injunction, charging Carter with breaking their contract. During the hearing of the case, Carter reportedly explained that no matter the pay, he would not work at the Grand Hotel "because of the manner in which he was treated."[184] After hearing Carter's defense in court, the judge ruled Carter free to continue working at Firpo's and the Grand Hotel settled for a new dance band from London.[185]

Carter's negotiations and his final refusal of Arratoon's offer suggest that the demand for black musical labor in the guise of "The Paul Whiteman of the East" had afforded Carter a privileged position. Despite Calcutta's saturated music market as Christmas and New Year's Eve neared, Carter assumed correctly that the demand for ensembles featuring African Americans was so great that he would be able to secure a favorable job, even without the normal practice of employing an advance manager to scope out possible jobs before the band arrived.[186] During his negotiations, Carter was able to hold out for high wages and favorable working conditions. It is rather remarkable that, when Arratoon finally met his financial terms, Carter decided that he would rather continue searching for employment opportunities rather than work for someone who did not show him the respect he demanded. Furthermore, despite the highly segregated society of Calcutta and the racial hierarchies of British colonialism, the legal system supported Carter against Arratoon's suit.

Carter had clearly managed to leverage the demand for African American performers for his own benefit. As the details of his negotiations demonstrate, Carter

believed the value of black labor allowed him to expect to be paid and treated in a manner that reflect his considerable social capital. We might even say that Carter did not settle until he was treated like "white folk." Carter's popularity may have been based upon his ensemble's ability to perpetuate racial stereotypes that supported the rationale for European and American imperialism, but he was simultaneously able to use the value of black musical labor to trouble these same racial hierarchies.

Conclusion

Carter would not continue his prosperous career as a professional musician for much longer after he finished his Asian tour. He continued performing with Noble Sissle's band through the early 1930s but then retired from music to focus on other opportunities.[187] In 1938, Carter drew on his considerable financial capital to open a Harlem restaurant called Jack Carter's Barbecue Pit, a venue that was noted for its distinct lack of music. He eventually opened up another restaurant in Harlem with several of his brothers.[188] In addition to acting as a restaurateur, Carter reportedly also kept a hand in the entertainment industry by acting as a manager for several performers, including his former bandmate who by then went by the name Valaida Snow.[189]

Carter did quite well financially during these years. When he died of a heart attack at age 53, he was vacationing on Martha's Vineyard with $50,000 in his savings account, and a jewelry collection worth $15,000. Two women who both claimed to be his wives were left to fight over his considerable property.[190] Carter had also earned the respect of countless African American performers. His funeral brought together a

veritable who's who of the African American entertainment world: Carter's honorary pallbearers included figures such as Sidney Bechet, Eubie Blake, and Tom Fletcher.[191]

As "The Paul Whiteman of the East," Carter took part in the ambiguous and contradictory practice of jazz labor in colonial Asia. He was one of dozens of African Americans in colonial Asia who adjusted and calibrated their performances according to representations of blackness that circulated around the globe through a variety of media, including Hollywood films and recordings by white American dance bands. As I have sought to show in this chapter, Carter negotiated the complex ways in which race, labor, and practices of different performance traditions – especially blackface minstrelsy and Whiteman-esque jazz – all interacted to form a colonial hierarchy that involved the racial, the economic, and the musical.

In some ways, Carter seemed to perpetuate a particular part of this hierarchy: his performances appeared to maintain the ideology of white supremacy that served to justify imperial rule. White audiences saw and heard his performances as confirmation not only of their particular understanding of blackness, but also of the seemingly natural qualities of racial hierarchies supporting white domination. The opportunities that emerged from Carter's musical work, however, also afforded him and other African Americans opportunities that exceeded the supposed limitations of blackness. The social and financial status they achieved through their work as jazz laborers revealed the ways in which imperial whiteness was also a construct based upon financial and social capital. Carter's turn as "The Paul Whiteman of the East," then, was one of multiple contradictions, of sounding out blackness through Whiteman-esque rhythms and of

simultaneously maintaining and challenging the racial logic that served to justify European and American empire.

Notes for Chapter Five

[1] For a detailed examination of Carter's biography and touring schedule see Appendix E.

[2] This group included the African American performers Jack Carter, Clarence "Bo Diddley" Williams, Teddy Weatherford, James Carson, and Valada Snow (who became "Valaida" in 1930). The three Hawaiian musicians were Joe Kanepuu, David Pokipala, and Medez Louis. The Filipino was Angelo "Jimmy Angel" Jimenez. The final member of the group, which was advertised as featuring eight musicians and two dancers, was likely Carter's older brother, Herman. See Appendix E.

[3] "Cabaret at Adelphi Hotel," *The Straits Times* (26 November 1928), 1.

[4] "Adelphi Hotel Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (30 November 1928), 10.

[5] "Adelphi Hotel Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (30 November 1928), 10.

[6] Cabaret at the Adelhi [sic]," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 November 1928), 8; "Cabaret at Adelphi Hotel," *The Straits Times* (26 November 1928), 1.

[7] For examples of Whiteman's records on sale around the globe see "S. Moutrie ad," *The China Press* (4 April 1924), 5 [Shanghai]; "Erlanger & Galinger ad," *The Manila Times* (13 February 1921), 5 [Manila]; "Victor Records ad," *The Straits Times* (5 December 1921), 1 [Singapore]; "S. D. Kaper & Co. ad," *De Sumatra Post* (17 April 1924), 9 [Medan]; "Gramophone Company ad," *The Statesman* (10 May 1925), 17 [Calcutta]; "Gramophone Coy. ad," *The Times of India* (13 March 1921), 20 [Bombay]; "A. P. Sykes Ad," *The Argus* (31 October 1921), 14 [Melbourne]; "The Talkeries Ad," *The Evening Post* (24 June 1922), 19 [Wellington]; "Victrola ad," *La Nacion* (23 August 1922), 11 [Buenos Aires]; "Blantyre Printing & Publishing Co. ad," *The Nyasaland Times* (4 May 1922), 4 [Blantyre, Nyasaland].

[8] Performers with Whiteman-esque nicknames included Whitey Smith in Shanghai ("the Paul Whiteman of the Orient"), Jean Goldkette ("The Paul Whiteman of the West") and The Starita Brothers ("The Paul Whiteman of New England"). Whiteman also had multiple "satellite" ensembles that bore his name: "Xmas Eve in Shanghai is Marvelous Spectacle," *The China Press* (25 December 1926), 1, 7; Albert McCarthy, *The Dance Band Era: The Dancing Decades from Ragtime to Swing, 1910-1950* (London: November Books Ltd., 1971), 23, 45; Don Rayno, *Paul Whiteman: Pioneer in American Music, Volume I: 1890-1930* (Lanham, MD: 2003), 50-51; Susie Sexton, "Paul Whiteman Made Jazz Contagious," in *Jazz in Print (1856-1929): An Anthology of Selected Early Readings in Jazz History*, ed. Karl Koenig (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002) [*American Magazine*, June 1924]), 319-320.

[9] "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (27 December 1928), 4. Promotions for the group in Singapore made a similar claim: "Cabaret at the Adelhi [sic]," *The Singapore Free Press*

(23 November 1928), 8. Mark Miller's biography of Snow, and personal communication with Miller, suggests that there is no evidence that Snow worked with Whiteman's group before 1930. Similarly, Whiteman's premier biographer, Don Rayno, does not include any mention of Snow until 1948, when Whiteman introduces her at one of his shows as a "new singing discovery": Mark Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm: The Life and Music of Valaida Snow* (Toronto: The Mercury Press, 2007); Rayno, *Paul Whiteman, Vol. I*; Don Rayno, *Paul Whiteman: Pioneer in American Music, Volume 2: 1930-1967* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012), 562.

[10] "Roxy ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (17 April 1929), 4. I have spent considerable time searching for the article referenced in this ad in several New York newspapers but have thus far been unable to locate anything that matches.

[11] This phrase comes from "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (27 December 1928), 4.

[12] "Plaza Stars will Shine on Christmas Eve," *The China Press* (23 December 1926), 6; "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (28 December 1928), 4.

[13] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6.

[14] Quoted in Peter Darke and Ralph Gulliver, "Teddy Weatherford," *Storyville* 65 (June/July 1976), 185.

[15] Thus far, the most complete coverage of Jack Carter can be found in Allard J. Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra," *Storyville* 63 (February-March 1976): 97-103, and Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm*. Neither, however, attempt to be exhaustive accounts of his career. For a fuller account of Carter's travels see Appendix E.

[16] Clinton Moorman replaced Yates in September 1924 after the group visited Shanghai. The details of Edwards' death are unclear. "Watch 'Em Step High and Wide at Hotel," *The Manila Times* (15 August 1923), 2; "Jazz Babies Meet Rotarians," *The Manila Times* (23 August 1923), 2; "Orchestra Returns," *The Manila Times* (30 September 1924), 1. For brief mentions of Edwards, see Garvin Bushell, Mark Tucker, *Jazz from the Beginning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 179; Mark Berresford, *That's Got 'em! The Life and Music of Wilbur C. Sweatman* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 126.

[17] "Manila hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (24 December 1923), 4.

[18] "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (19 November 1924), 1; "Society," *The Manila Times* (9 November 1924), 15.

[19] They broadcast from Shanghai's Plaza Hotel 9:30-11:00 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday nights. Their performances were preceded by news in Chinese, Chinese

recorded music on Pathé, stock quotes in English, Chinese stories, live music from the Astor House tiffin orchestra, American dance music on record, and popular dance music performed in the studio by Whitey Smith's Majestic Orchestra: "Daily Wireless Programmes," *North China Herald* (15 May 1926), 302; "Race Band Going Big in Manila," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (9 May 1925), 10. Information about their contract comes from "New York Singing Syncopators Contract with Hotel Parisien, Shanghai" (19 September 1925), courtesy of Mark Miller and Robert Hegamin. See Appendix F.

[20] For full details about the various personnel of Carter's groups see Appendix E.

[21] For full details of Carter's tour, see Appendix E.

[22] "Scheepsberichten," *De Indische courant* (3 June 1929), 2; "Noble Sissle and His Orchestra Center of Attraction in Paris," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (2 August 1930), 6; Bo Lindstrom and Dan Vernhettes, *Traveling Blues: The Life and Music of Tommy Ladnier* (Paris: Jazz Edit, 2009).

[23] Quote from Bradley Shope: "'They Treat Us White Folks Fine': African American Musicians and the Popular Music Terrain in Late Colonial India," *South Asian Popular Culture* 5, no. 2 (October 2007): 97-116. See similar claims about Roy Butler's 1933 band and Leon Abbey's 1935 group in Stephane Dorin, "Jazz and Race in Colonial India: the Role of Anglo-Indian Musicians in the Diffusion of Jazz in Calcutta," *Jazz Research Journal* 4, no. 2 (2010): 130; Naresh Fernandes, *Taj Mahal Foxtrot: The Story of Bombay's Jazz Age* (New Delhi, India: Lustre Press/Roli Books, 2012), 23.

[24] See Appendix B.

[25] For a sampling of literature on African American performers outside the U.S., see Brown, *Babylon Girls*; Andrew Ward, *Dark Midnight When I Rise: The Story of the Fisk Jubilee Singers Who Introduced the World to the Music of Black America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000); James W. Cook, "Master Juba, the King of all Dancers! A Story of Stardom and Struggle From the Dawn of the Transatlantic Culture Industry," *Discourses in Dance* 3, no. 2 (2006): 3-20; Matthew Wittmann, "Chapter Six: The 'Big Black Boom' in Maoriland: African American Entertainers in Colonial New Zealand," in "Empire of Culture: U.S. Entertainers and the Making of the Pacific Circuit, 1850-1890," Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan (2010); Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Rainer E. Lotz, *Black People: Entertainers of African Descent in Europe, and Germany* (Bonn: Birgit Lotz Verlag, 1997); Howard Rye, "The Southern Syncopated Orchestra," *Black Music Research Journal* 29, no. 2 (2009): 153-228.

[26] The Ninth Cavalry performed minstrel shows in the Philippines before most of them left in 1902: Paul T. Gilbert, *The Great White Tribe in Filipinia* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Pye, 1903), 47.

[27] During his tour with Wilbur's Blackbirds in 1928 and 1929, Buddy Brown recounted performing for exclusively European audiences: Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7. In Manila, the Filipino press completely ignored the presence of the African American band at the Manila Hotel.

[28] Mark Miller, *Some Hustling This! Taking Jazz to the World, 1914-1929* (Toronto: The Mercury Press, 2005), 128.

[29] "Watch 'Em Step High and Wide at Hotel," *The Manila Times* (15 August 1923), 2.

[30] The Ninth Cavalry band would most frequently perform dance music at the Officers Club at Camp Stotsenberg (near Angeles, Pampanga) but would come to Manila on occasion: e.g., "Ninth Cavalry Minstrels Take," *The Manila Times* (14 June 1919), 2; "Switzer-Madsen Despedida Luncheon," *P.C.C. News* (July 1919), 14-15; "Lyric ad," *The Manila Times* (30 January 1920), 2; "Social Activities," *The Manila Times* (5 June 1921), 5; "Fancy Dress Will be in order at Charity Ball on February 22," *The Manila Times* (15 February 1922), 1. For more on Camp Sotsenberg, see Richard Meixsel, "American Exceptionalism in Colonial Forces? The Philippine Scout Mutiny of 1924," in *Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia*, eds. Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig (New York: Routledge, 2006), 171-194.

[31] See Chapter Two.

[32] Harry Langhams – also spelled "Langums" – remains an enigmatic figure who appeared repeatedly during my research. For reference to his time on the S.S. Empress, see "A Correspondent Says," *The Straits Times* (14 September 1921), 8; "Menu SS Empress Russia 1921 Canadian Pacific Line Flags," http://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/menu-ss-empress-russia-1921-canadian-pacific-line Accessed June 19, 2011.

[33] E.g., "Santa Ana Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (22 January 1921), 6; "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (31 December 1921), 7; "Rivoli," *The Manila Times* (24 September 1923), 8; "San Juan Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (26 November 1924), 1;

[34] E.g., "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (2 April 1925), 4; "Mumm's ad," *The China Press* (11 December 1926), 2; "Peliti's Ad," *The Statesman* (30 December 1928), 5; "Thompson Going Big in Shanghai: Many Other Actors Scoring," *The Chicago Defender* (28 February 1931), 5.

[35] E.g., "Local Wires," *The Singapore Free Press* (5 December 1925), 8; "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (14 December 1925), 10; "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (26 February 1926), 7; For a photo of Lewis's group in Singapore see "Bands and Bandsmen," *The Era* (25 August 1926), 14-15. Thanks to Howard Rye for this last citation.

[36] "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; "A. E. Baldwin Signs Year Contract in China," *The Chicago Defender* (24 August 1929), 7.

[37] The group was later billed as "The Jubilee Entertainers" and the "Darktown Minstrels." The trio began with William H. Cheeks, Louis Rees, and Anna Rees but later included William Smith and Bella Jackson. E.g., "University Club to Stage Entertainment," *The Manila Times* (3 November 1920), 4; "Empire Theater ad," *The Independent* (18 December 1920), 13; "The Excelsior Ad," *Times of India* (4 July 1921), 5; "Yokohama to Hear Oldtime Minstrels," *The Japan Advertiser* (11 May 1922), 1; "Enthusiastic Audience at Minstrel Concert," *The Japan Advertiser* (13 May 1922), 5; "The Darktown Minstrels," *The Straits Times* (10 November 1922), 8; "Rialto Theatre," *The Straits Times* (22 November 1922), 6.

[38] Carter's tour coincided almost exactly with that of Wilbur's Blackbirds, a group of thirteen to fifteen African Americans who left from San Francisco in August 1928. For more on the Blackbirds, see Appendix B.

[39] "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (19 August 1923), 1.

[40] "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (19 August 1923), 1; "Dusky Jazz Babies Coming, Says Monk," *The Manila Times* (21 August 1923), 4; "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (22 August 1923), 1; "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (23 August 1923), 1.

[41] "Tonight's The Night Jazz Babies Perform," *The Manila Times* (24 August 1923), 11.

[42] "Carter's Serenaders to Appear at the New World on Sunday." *The Straits Times* (5 April 1929), 12; "The Serenaders," *South China Morning Post* (7 November 1928), 7; "The Serenaders," *South China Morning Post* (9 November 1928), 12.

[43] "Hawaiian Troubadours," *The Straits Times* (6 March 1923), 10.

[44] Calcutta alone was home at various points to "White's Syncopating Hounds," the "Stellar Syncopating Orchestra," and the "Philippino Syncopating Orchestra [sic]": "Wallace's Restaurant ad," *The Statesman* (12 September 1925), 4; "Volunteer Headquarters dance," *The Statesman* (1 November 1925), 8; "Programme dance," *The Statesman* (17 May 1925), 12.

[45] "Elks make a Big Hit," *The Manila Times* 24 January 1920), 1.

[46] Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: 1993), 33, 99-100.

[47] E.g., Lott, *Love and Theft*, 97.

[48] As Louis Chude-Sokei argues, this question about how to perform, claim, and write blackness in relation to the suffocating legacy of minstrelsy became the critical question driving the theorizing of black modernism during the Harlem Renaissance. Louis Chude-Sokei, *The Last "Darky": Bert Williams, Black-on-Black Minstrelsy, and the African Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). See also Shelly Eversley, *The* Real *Negro: The Question of Authenticity in Twentieth-Century African American Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004); J. Martin Favor, *Authentic Blackness: The Folk in the New Negro Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Martin Japtok and Jerry Rafiki Jenkins, eds., *Authentic Blackness/"Real" Blackness: Essays on the Meaning of Blackness in Literature and Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011).

[49] For more on the influence of vaudeville on jazz, see Berresford, *That's Got 'em!*; William Howland Kenney III, "The Influence of Black Vaudeville on Early Jazz," *The Black Perspective in Music* 14, no. 3 (1986): 233-248; Jennifer Griffith, "Mingus in the Act; Confronting the Legacies of Vaudeville and Minstrelsy," *Jazz Perspectives* 4, no. 3 (2010): 337-368.

[50] Erlmann, *African Stars*, 33.

[51] Catherine Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880-1935* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2005), 122. For France, see Andy Fry, *Paris Blues: African American Music and French Popular Culture, 1920-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[52] Examples of transatlantic studies include Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Burlington, VT: 2008); Jill Lane, *Blackface Cuba, 1840-1895* (Philadelphia: 2005); Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: 1997); Christopher Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville* (Johannesburg: 1993); Catherine Cole, *Ghana's Concert Party Theatre* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Denis-Constant Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town, Past to Present* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1999). Some of the exceptions to Atlantic-focused studies of minstrelsy include Richard Waterhouse, *From Minstrel Show to Vaudeville: The Australian Popular Stage, 1788-1914* (Kensington, Australia: 1990); Wittman, "Empire of Culture"; Ian Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 38-41.

[53] For accounts of Perry's minstrels see: Victor Fell Yellin, "Mrs. Belmont, Matthew Perry, and the 'Japanese Minstrels,'" *American Music* 14, no. 3 (1996): 257-275; Arthur Walworth, *Black Ships Off Japan: The Story of Commodore Perry's Expedition* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 202-203; John Glendy Sproston, *A Private Journal of John Glendy Sproston, U.S.N.*, ed. Shio Sakanishi (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1940), 15-16, 58; William Heine, Frederic Trautmann, trans., *With Perry to Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 154-155.

[54] For a brief biography of Dave Carson, an American minstrel performer active in India in the late nineteenth century, see William L. Slout, ed., *Burnt Cork and Tambourines: A Source Book for Negro Minstrelsy* (Rockville, MD: Borgo Press, 2007), 147-149.

[55] "The Christy's Minstrels," *The Straits Times* (19 March 1864), 1; "De Christy's Minstrels," *Java-bode* (16 April 1864), 5; "The Christy's Minstrels," *The Straits Times* (23 April 1864), 2. For a sampling of minstrel performances in Singapore after their tour, see "The Autumn Races," *The Straits Times* (6 November 1875), 1; "Tuesday, 8th February," *Straits Times Overland Journal* (9 February 1881), 9; "The R. A. 'Christy Minstrels,'" *Straits Times Weekly Issue* (15 December 1883), 3; "Concert on Board H.M.S. 'Orion,'" *The Straits Times* (20 August 1889), 2; "The Magpie Minstrels," *Straits Times Weekly Issue* (8 October 1890), 5.

[56] E.g., U.S. Flagship Olympia, "Asiatic Station Orchestra Programme, Woosung, China" (29 October 1897); U.S. Flagship Olympia, "Program from July 4th, 1897, Yokohama, Japan; "The Show," *The Bounding Billow* [Nagasaki, Japan] (November 30, 1897), 2; "Doings in Society," *The Bounding Billow* [Nagasaki, Japan] (November 30, 1897), 5; "Grand Entertainment," *The Bounding Billow* [Manila, Philippines] (August-September 1898), 12; all from the U.S.S. Olympia collection in Philadelphia's Independence Seaport Museum.

[57] "Americans are Coming to Front," *The Manila Times* (9 December 1904, 3. See also "British Sailors Please Crowd with Entertainment at Gaiety," *The Japan Advertiser* (15 October 1921), 5; "Huron Arrives; Will Stay a Week; Admiral Strauss Makes Calls," *The Japan Advertiser* (6 December 1921), 9; "Naval Concert," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (21 April 1926), 315.

[58] For examples from Japan see: "'Dixie Minstrels' Are Successful in Kobe," *The Japan Advertiser* (27 January 1921), 6. For Shanghai, see: "Shanghai American School," *The North China Herald* (21 June 1919), 37; "St. John's Gives Benefit Minstrel Show and Dance," *The China Press* (1 December 1926), 3, Sports Section. For Hong Kong, see: "St Peter's Fete," *South China Morning Post* (5 November 1928), 14. For the Philippines, see: "Baguio Entertainments," *The Teachers' Assembly Herald* (18 April 1911), 27-8; "Social Event of Week at Army and Navy Club Last Night," *The Manila Times* (21 December 1924), 9. For the Straits Settlements, see: "Pierrot Pie Company," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 April 1920), 220; "The Mayfair Four," *The Malacca Guardian* (8 April 1929), 7; "Naval Concert," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (21 April 1926), 315. For India, see: "Y.W.C.A. ad," *The Statesman* (1 July 1925), 4; "Excelsior ad," *Times of India* (12 July 1919), 5.

[59] For more on Strickfaden see Rayno, *Paul Whiteman, Vol. I*, *passim*.

[60] For a sampling of their shows and a brief overview of their entire tour see: "University of California Glee Club," *Hongkong Daily Press* (8 July 1920), 5; "California Club's Last Concert at Yokohama," *The Japan Advertiser* (1 August 1920), 7; *The Blue and*

Gold: A Record of the College Year, 1920-1921. Berkeley: University of California, 1922), 45.

[61] "American School Entertainment," *The China Press* (5 December 1926), 4, section 3.

[62] E.g., "Minstrels at Pasay," *The Manila Times* (9 January 1904), 5; "The Minstrels," *The Manila Times* (16 August 1904), 1; "Orpheum theater ad," *The Manila Times* (16 December 1904), 5; "Some Echoes of the Elks Minstrels," *The Manila Times* (2 January 1905), 5; "Grand Opera House," *The Manila Times* (7 July 1905), 7; "Paz Theatre ad," *The Manila Times* (7 July 1905), 7.

[63] "Minstrels Soon in a New Repertoire, *The Manila Times* (7 May 1919), 3; "Minstrel Show to Be Given by Boys," *The Manila Times* (4 March 1920), 3.

[64] "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (9 November 1921), 3; "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (25 December 1921), 8.

[65] E.g., "Variety Marks Riverside Bill," *New York Dramatic Mirror* (8 May 1920), 898. For more on Borromeo, see Peter Keppy, "Southeast Asia in the Age of Jazz: Locating Popular Culture in the Colonial Philippines and Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (October 2013): 444-464; Frederick Schenker, "Luis F. Borromeo," *Cultural Center of the Philippines Encyclopedia of Philippine Art,* Volume on Music, second edition (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, forthcoming).

[66] "Pictorial Section," *Graphic* (23 March 1929), 25.

[67] "Pictorial Section," *Graphic* (23 March 1929), 25. Courtesy of the Lopez Museum, Metro Manila.

[68] "Pretty Chinese Wedding," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (28 September 1905), 3; "The Town Hall," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (27 November 1905), 2;
Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967), esp. 378-379

[69] William Black, *Winter Days in India and Elsewhere* (Privately printed: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908), 53-54.

[70] William Martinus oral history, reel 4, accession #000446, Singapore National Archives, Oral History Collection.

[71] e.g., "Geyland Fire Relief Fund," *The Straits Times* (10 March 1926), 10; "Grand Charity Show," *The Malacca Guardian* (29 October 1928), 11.

[72] "New World Show," *The Straits Times* (15 March 1929), 8.

[73] Oral history of Ong Cheng Hoe in the Oral History Collection of the Singapore National Archives, accession number 000728.

[74] Ann L. Foster, *Projections of Power: The United States and Europe in Colonial Southeast Asia, 1919-1941* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 76.

[75] For tourist's accounts of Asian audiences watching American films see: Louis Couperus, J. Menzies-Wilson and C. C. Crispin, trans., *Eastward* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924), 269; Norden Hermann, *From Golden Gate to Golden Sun: A Record of Travel, Sport and Observation in Siam and Malaya* (London: H. F. and G. Witherby, 1923), 62; Lord Northcliffe, *My Journey Round the World: 16 July 1921-26 Feb. 1922*, eds. Cecil and St. John Harmsworth (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923), 114.

[76] *"Ang sine'y siyang pangalawang mahalagang bagay ng aking buhay. .... Lahat halos ng artista'y nakikilala ko na, nguni't ang ibig ko sa lahat ay si Gloria Swanson."* Quoted in Deogracias A. Rosario, "Si 'Katy' De La Cruz: Ang Sultana Sa Vod-A-Vil," *Liwayway* (15 September 1923), 12-13.

[77] Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900-1942* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[78] "'Nifties' To Stage Minstrel Show at the Savoy," *The Manila Times* (7 October 1924), 8.

[79] The Lyric showed the film from October 10 to 13 while the Savoy's minstrel show ran twice daily from October 7 to 13. Their show featured their regular troupe, the "Nifties," which included Domingo "Sunday" Reantaso (end man), Tex Corder (end man with Tambo), J. C. Cowper (interlocutor), as well as Katy de la Cruz, Dionisia "Toy Toy" Castro, Pacita Sanchez, Leonora Reyes, Aurelia "Hanasan" Alado, Agustin Llopis, and Chabeng Garcia. While the show incorporated local elements –Sanchez and Reyes sang three songs together in Filipina garb – American audiences recognized a clear connection to U.S. minstrelsy, noting. One reviewer noted that the Savoy show featured "shades of Billy Emmerson, Lew Dockstadter and George Primrose," all of whom were famous white American minstrel performers. See "J. Pluvius Can't Keep 'Em Away from Savoy," *The Manila Times* (6 October 1924), 8; "'Nifties' To Stage Minstrel Show at the Savoy," *The Manila Times* (7 October 1924), 8; "Nifties Minstrels. Yes, We'll Say They're Good," *The Manila Times* (8 October 1924), 4; "'Let It Rain' Say Savoy Fans," *The Manila Times* (9 October 1924), 8; "Savoy Nifties' Minstrels Pleases," *The Manila Times* (11 October 1924), 3.

[80] Drawings of jazz bands common featured musicians in blackface while sheet music of popular songs regularly included minstrel iconography: e.g., "Puzzle Picture," *P.C.C. News* (June 1919), 24; "How Are You Going to Dance at the Carnival? *The Philippines*

Free Press (31 January 1920), 20, 21; "Beck's ad," *The Manila Times* (13 March 1921), 12. Sheet music examples from the Raymundo C. Bañas collection at the National Library of the Philippines include A. Holzmann, "Smoky Mokes" (New York: Feist and Frankenthaler, 1899); Chris Smith, Jesse G.M. Glick, Arr. Lester E. Stevens, "My Waikiki Ukulele Girl" (San Francisco: Sherman Clay & Co., 1916). For more on the significance of visual representations of African Americans in relation to jazz, see Michael J. Schmidt, "Visual Music: Jazz, Synaesthesia and the History of the Senses in the Weimar Republic," *German History* 32, no. 2 (2014): 201-223; Parsonage, "The Evolving Image of Jazz in Britain in Sheet Music," in *Evolution of Jazz in Britain*, 13-34.

[81] To be certain, I do not claim that that the presence of blackface minstrelsy in Asia meant that all audiences interpreted performances in the same manner. As Michael Pickering and Catherine Cole have both explored, blackface minstrelsy, just as the notion of blackness itself, came to take on new meanings in different locations: Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain*; Catherine Cole, "Reading Blackface in West Africa: Wonders Taken for Signs," *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 1 (1996): 183-215. In the early 1900s, for example, the American teacher Mary Fee observed that Filipinos were slightly mystified by the minstrel shows staged by American soldiers: "The Filipinos all go to these, but they don't understand them very well and are not edified." Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 274.

[82] Elizabeth Calloway, "Filipino Finds 'Negro is Typically American,'" *The Pittsburgh Courier* (6 August 1927), 2.

[83] Elizabeth Calloway, "Filipino Finds 'Negro is Typically American,'" *The Pittsburgh Courier* (6 August 1927), 2.

[84] *"Era un negro auténtico y magnífico. Es decir, un negro prieto y total, de un negror profundo y sin redención possible. Parecía haber salido del mismo fondo de la selva de Guinea. …Y con su enorme boca de gruesos labios de color de sangre, el bueno del del negro sabia intercalary, en el momento oportuno, unas delirantes carcajadas propiamente negrescas que a mí, por qué negarlo, me hacían verdadera gracia*." Jose Ma. Salaverria, "El Negro del Jazz-Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 February 1928), 62-63.

[85] E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 59-60.

[86] Atkins, *Blue Nippon*, 62-63.

[87] For examples of musical instruments ads that promote performing alongside recordings see: "Swanee Whistle," *The Straits Times* (11 April 1922), 2; "Lyric Music House ad," *The Independent* (19 July 1924), 10. For depictions of dancing at home to recordings, see: "Columbia Shop ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (7 October 1921), 4; "Lyric Music

House ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 August 1926), 17; "Jazz Dance Before Death, *The Statesman* (16 May 1925), 9.

[88] E.g., "Philippine Phonograph ad," *The Manila Times* (26 August, 1923), 4; "Beck's ad," *Graphic* (31 July 1929), 1.

[89] "Columbia Records ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (16 June 1921), 10.

[90] "S. Moutrie ad," *The China Press* (4 April 1924), 5; "Moutrie's ad," *Hongkong Daily Press* (1 November 1928), 4; "The Gramophone Co., ad," *Times of India* (25 March 1919), 12; "The Gramophone Company ad," *The Statesman* (14 February 1926), 30; "The Gramophone Co. ad," *De Indische courant* (9 November 1922), 10. In some cases advertisements only list the title of the song, not the performer. In order to determine performers for many recordings I cross-referenced song titles and record numbers with discographies (as I did in Appendix I).

[91] Manila publications in English, Spanish, and Tagalog listed radio programs, e.g., "Listen in on This," *The Manila Times* (11 September 1924), 2; "Radio," *Taliba* (13 December 1926), 5. Shanghai's radio programs were also documented regularly in both *The China Press* and *The North China Herald*: e.g., "On the Air," *The China Press* (1 December 1926), 16; "Daily Wireless Programmes," *The North China Herald* (15 May 1926), 302. Similar listings are common in other cities as well, including Surabaya, Calcutta, and Bombay: e.g., "Radio-Rubriek," *De Indische courant* (25 September 1929), 10; "Radio Concerts," *The Statesman* (5 April 1925), 13; "Bombay Broadcasting," *The Times of India* (6 February 1928), 5.

[92] My findings match those of Atkins, who seems to have relied upon interviews and oral histories to reach a similar conclusion: Atkins, *Blue Nippon,* 99.

[93] Benito Trápaga's collection of sheet music from his time performing at the Manila Hotel includes James Reese Europe's one-step "Hi! There!" (New York: G. Ricordi & Co., 1915). The cover page shows that it was sold as Parsons [sic] Hardware Store in Manila. The Bañas collection also includes a stock dance band arrangement of Duke Ellington and Will Donaldson's fox-trot "Gold Digger" (New York: Denton & Haskins Publishing Co., 1927).

[94] Bruce Johnson calls for thinking of sound technology as "both channel and filter, determining which forms and examples of jazz would be disseminated, depending on access to recording, marketing and distribution." Bruce Johnson, "The Jazz Diaspora," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*, eds. Marvyn Cooke and David Horn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 38. For a similar idea in communication systems, see Simon T. Potter, "Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire," *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 3 (July 2007): 621-46.

[95] While my investigation of recording advertisements has surely not uncovered every single release by African American performers before 1929, I have thus far only managed to identify two: Wilbur Sweatman's June 1918 recording of "Indianola" and "Oh! You La! La!" (Columbia A2611) reached Hong Kong by the summer of 1920: "Anderson's Ad," *Hongkong Daily Press* (8 July 1920), 3. Fletcher Henderson's 1926 recording of "Henderson Stomp" and "The Chant" (Columbia 817-D) also appeared in Manila in March 1927. It was sold at Beck's music store and broadcast over Beck's radio station, KZIB: "On the Air," *The Manila Times* (9 March 1927), 10. Recordings by performers such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington only seem to appear beginning in late 1929. Armstrong's "Save it Pretty Mama" and "St. James Infirmary," as well as Ellington's "Black and Tan Fantasy" appeared in Surabaya in September and October 1929 (respectively): "Radio-Rubriek," *De Indische courant* (25 September 1929), 10; "Radio-Rubriek," *De Indische courant* (1 October 1929), 11). Armstrong's "West End Blues" appeared in Australia and New Zealand in October and November 1930, while more Ellington records begin to appear in Australia in early 1931: "5 AD-229 Metres," *The Advertiser* [Adelaide] (25 November 1930), 6; "Music from the Disc," *The Evening Post* (4 October 1930), 26. In British Malaya, both Ellington and Armstrong appeared on the radio slightly later with sweet-styled songs on Kuala Lumpur's stations in the summer of 1933: "Malayan A.R.S. Kuala Lumpur," *The Straits Times* (11 May 1933), 5; "Malayan A.R.S. Kulala Lumpur," *The Straits Times* (15 June 1933), 5.

[96] Eric Porter, *What is this Thing Called Jazz? African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 10. See also Lawrence Gushee's careful study of the influence of Armstrong's Hot Five and Hot Seven recordings on American musicians Lawrence Gushee, "The Improvisation of Louis Armstrong," in *In the Course of Performance: Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation*, ed. Bruno Nettl with Melinda Russell *(*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 290-334. For more on African Americans in the recording industry see Tim Brooks, *Lost Sounds: Blacks and the Birth of the Recording Industry, 1890-1919* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

[97] Iain Lang, "A Pilgrim's Progress," in *This is Jazz*, Ken Williamson, ed. (London: Morrison & Gibb Ltd., 1961), 123-130.

[98] Lang, "A Pilgrim's Progress,"126.

[99] See Matthew Jordan, "The Jazz Hot Years," *Le Jazz: Jazz and French Cultural Identity* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 141-184.

[100] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 180.

[101] "Is Jazz Doomed?" *The Singapore Free Press* (10 February 1925), 4.

[102] "The Jazz Craze: What the Negro Has Done," *The Times of India* (6 May 1921), 11. For similar accounts, see "How We Got the Jazz," *The Wanganui Chronicle* (1 September 1919), 2; "Humour in Music," *The North China Herald* (18 September 1920), 67; "Jazz a Travesty of Music," *The Statesman* (16 May 1926), 23.

[103] Paul Whiteman and Mary Margaret McBride, *Jazz* (New York: Arno Press, 1974 [1926]), 4, 20; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Gift of Black Folk: The Negroes in the Making of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 [1924]).

[104] In Shanghai, this included performing classical music for the Plaza's Russian dancers and, on at least one occasion, arranging a Chinese song for the band, e.g., "Plaza Program," *The China Press* (10 December 1926), 2, sports section. For more on Carter's repertoire, see Appendix E.

[105] A full program is listed in "Serenaders," *Hongkong Daily Press* (7 November 1928), 6. I have re-printed the program in Appendix E.

[106] I have thus far been unable the specific songs and acts featured in "Plantation Variations."

[107] For more on "O Kalena," Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman discusses it in some detail in a blogpost from May 2010: "Songs: Kalena Kai," https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2010/05/09/songs-kalena-kai/ Accessed 12 December 2015.

[108] It was actually common to find pairings of Hawaiian music and jazz. Garvin Bushell notes that Florence Mills performed in an early 1920s show in New York titled "Hawaiian Night in Dixieland": Bushell, *Jazz from the Beginning*, 55. Ernest Kaai's Royal Hawaiian Troubadours performed a mix of Hawaiian songs and jazz as they traveled across Asia and Australia from the late 1910s through the early 1930s. E.g., "The Hawaiians," *The Straits Times* (29 August 1922), 10; "The Hawaiians Reappear," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (9 January 1924), 23; "De Troubadours van den Pacific," *De Indische courant* (20 June 1929), 1; "Kaai's Hawaiians," *The Times of India* (24 February 1930), 5. For more on the popular circulation of Hawaiian musicians and music see Charles Hiroshi Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 165-214; John Troutman, "Steelin' the Slide: Hawai'i and the Birth of the Blues Guitar," *Southern Cultures* 19, no. 1 (2013): 26-52; Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2015).

[109] Alexander G. Weheliye, *Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 5.

[110] For more on Wooding's tour see Samuel Wooding, "Eight Years Abroad with a Jazz Band," *The Etude* (April 1939): 233, 234, 282; Björn Englund, "Chocolate Kiddies: The

Show that Brought Jazz to Europe and Russia in 1925," *Storyville* 62 (December 1975-January 1976): 44-50; Jonathan Wipplinger, "The Aural Shock of Modernity: Weimar's Experience of Jazz." *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 82, no. 4 (2007): 299-320; S. Frederick Starr, *Red & Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1985); Bushell, *Jazz from the Beginning.*

[111] Bushell, *Jazz from the Beginning*, 68.

[112] Even though the Blackbirds regularly advertised that they had 18 or even 22 members, their group only seemed to have 14 members at most, a discrepancy that several reviewers noted. "Star Theater Ad," *South China Morning Post* (8 October 1928), 4; "Serenaders Ad," *South China Morning Post* (7 November 1928), 4.

[113] "Wilbur Black Birds," *Hongkong Daily Press* (15 October 928), 6. A critic in one of Hong Kong's other British papers offered a contrasting opinion, noting that the Blackbird's Hong Kong show received "another enthusiastic reception." "The Blackbirds," *South China Morning Post* (12 October 1928), 1.

[114] In Manila, their minstrel show garnered so much appreciation that audiences requested them to perform it again towards the end of their engagement: "Birds Change Program," *The Manila Times* (24 October 1928), 2; "Wilbur 'Black Birds,'" *The Manila Times* (30 October 1928), 2. In Singapore, though, at least one critic was critical of their minstrel turn. "Perhaps the minstrel show of former days has lost something of its appeal in this sophisticated age of jazz," he wrote. "A few of the jokes had a friendly ring…but the new generation found them a little bewildering": "Wilbur's Black Birds," *The Straits Times* (4 December 1928), 10.

[115] "They do not begin to know the first principles of the show business and don't care to learn," he wrote. They are "a bunch of amateur never-have-beens on this show whose only desire is to get drunk and have what they call 'a good time.'" Buddy Brown, "Buddy's Letter," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[116] "Cabaret at the Adelphi Hotel," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 20.

[117] For examples of demanding audiences, see my discussion of the Japanese band that replaced the Filipino band of Jose "Joe" Fernandez in Kobe in Chapter Two. See also my discussion of Leon Abbey at the Taj Hotel below.

[118] See Appendix J.

[119] Quoted in Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey," 102.

[120] "Adelphi Hotel Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (30 November 1928), 10; Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey," 102. For more of Carter's repertoire see Appendix E.

[121] For examples of how recordings of these three songs were newly circulating in colonial Asia during or slightly before Carter's tour, see: K. K. Knies ad, *De Indische courant* (18 May 1928), 4; "Season Co. ad," *The Straits Times* (12 June 1928), 16; Gramophone Co. ad., *The Times of India* (26 September 1928), 3; "On the Air," *The Manila Times* (23 October 1928), 8; "Tsang Fook Piano co.," *South China Morning Post* (31 October 1928), 4; "Anderson Music Co. ad," *Hongkong Daily Press* (9 November 1928), 5. For American recordings of these songs, see Edward Foote Gardner, *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century: Vol. 1 -- Chart Detail and Encyclopedia, 1900-1949* (St. Paul, MN: 2000).

[122] John Chilton, *Who's Who of Jazz (Storyville to Swing Street)* (London: Bloomsbury, 1970), 293; Roger Richard, "Talks to Albert Nicholas," *Storyville* 57 (February-March 1975), 86-96.

[123] Quoted in Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey," 98.

[124] "That Trillion-Mark Piano," *The Philippines Free Press* (3 November 1923), 24-25.

[125] Miller quotes Powers and Augustin from an article in *The Metronome:* "We find the fox-trot (slow) to be the most favored dance, with the waltz a close second." Miller, *Some Hustling This!*, 128.

[126] Whitey Smith with C. L. McDermott, *I Didn't Make a Million* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1956), 27-28. Miller quotes Powers and Augustin from an article in *The Metronome:* "We find the fox-trot (slow) to be the most favored dance, with the waltz a close second." Miller, *Some Hustling This!*, 128.

[127] Fernandes, *Taj Mahal* Foxtrot, 21-33; "Leon Abbey's Swing Band Opens Smart Nitery in Bombay, India," *The Chicago Defender* (19 December 1936), 20.

[128] Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Kennikat Press, 1938), 290.

[129] If counted in 2/4, "Weakness" is about 117 beats per minute (bpm), while "Merry Widow's" downbeats occur roughly 54 times a minute. See Paul Whiteman*, Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra, 1920-1934* (M. C. Productions Vintage Recordings, 2011).

[130] Lequime's "House Where the Shutters are Green" is about 121 bpm: *Jazz and Hot Dance in India, 1926-1944.* Harlequin, 1984 (LP). For a discussion of the differences between recordings and dance band performances, see Elijah Wald, *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock 'n' Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press 2009), 91.

[131] See Chapter Four.

[132] "Summer Dancing," *The Statesman* (6 September 1925), 27.

[133] "Summer Dancing," *The Statesman* (6 September 1925), 27.

[134] See Appendix J, especially dance programs 1, 11, 32.

[135] American musicians occasionally had to make similar adjustments in Europe. When he was in London in 1928, Abbey recounted how he had commissioned all new arrangements for his engagement there. After the first night, however, the manager forced him to jettison them in favor of arrangements that focused on "melodies and popular tunes." Abbey described how the manager told him: "that screaming of the horns *isn't done heah!*'" Ralph Gulliver, "Leon Abbey," *Storyville* 73 (October-November 1977), 11. See also Howard Rye, "Fearsome Means of Discord: Early Encounters with Black Jazz," in *Black Music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian Contribution to Popular Music*, ed. Paul Oliver (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990), 53-54.

[136] E.g., Anatol Schenker, "Liner notes" to *Valaida Snow, 1933-1936* (Classics Records 1158, 2000).

[137] I have found very few reviews that mention her trumpet features. Audiences focused instead on Snow's dancing and Bo Diddley's comedic act. For examples of typical reviews, see: "Serenaders," *Hongkong Daily Press* (7 November 1928), 6; "Adelphi Hotel Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (30 November 1928), 10; "The Serenaders," *The Statesman* (28 December 1928), 6; "De 'Serenaders,'" *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (22 April 1929), 1.

[138] Henry T. Sampson, *Blacks in Blackface: a Source Book on Early Black Musical Shows* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980); James Weldon Johnson, ed., "Preface (1931)," and "Preface (1922); *The Book of American Negro Poetry*, revised edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1931), 1-41; James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (New York: The Viking Press, 1935), 159.

[139] Sissle explained: "White musicians, who had been imitating Negroes, used [their brains], while the Negroes continued to rely on their natural talent. Entertaining calls for brains and real cleverness these days." "Noble Sissle and His Orchestra Center of Attraction in Paris," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (2 August 1930), 6.

[140] David Gilbert, *The Product of Our Souls: Ragtime, Race, and the Birth of the Manhattan Musical Marketplace* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); David Krasner, "The Real Thing," Brundage, in *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890-1930*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 99-123; Chude-Sokei, *The Last "Darky"*; Scott Carter, "Vox Americana: Voice, Race, and Nation in U.S. Music, 1890-1924," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison (2014); Porter, *What is this Thing Called Jazz?*.

[141] Gilbert, *The Product of Our Souls*; David Gilbert, "Clef Club Inc.: James Reese Europe and New York's Musical Marketplace," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 24, no. 4 (2012): 430-56.

[142] Krasner, "The Real Thing," 99-123; Chude-Sokei, *The Last "Darky"*; Carter, "Vox Americana."

[143] Hegamin worked with Carter in Manila and Shanghai and named his second son Jerome Melville Hegamin in honor of Carter (whose real name was Melville Jerome Carter). Nora Holt, "After Two Years in Jap Prison, Famed Musician, Family Return," *New York Amsterdam News* (17 November 1945), 1, 27.

[144] William Hegamin, "In Manila," *The Chicago Defender* (22 December 1923), 6. Hegamin's letter was likely written some time between November 15 and 22. He refers to an event in Manila on November 14 and, since it was not received by cable, the letter would have taken roughly 30 days to reach the U.S. from Manila.

[145] For glowing accounts of China from African American performers in the 1930s, see "Stage Stars Rush China for Big Pay," *The Chicago Defender* (31 March 1934), 8; Harry Levette, "China Resembles U.S. as Bands Pack the Theatres," *The Chicago Defender* (14 July 1934), 8.; Harry Levette, "Coast Codgings," *The Chicago Defender* (1 September 1934), 9; "Buck Clayton Drops a Line from Shanghai," *The Chicago Defender* (5 October 1935), 8.

[146] Leon Cornick, "Florida Mob's Atrocities put 'Huns' to Shame," *The Chicago Defender* (25 February 1922), A3. See also "Six in Colored Orchestra Flogged by Florida Mob," *The Broad Ax* (24 January 1922), 2; "Colored Musicians Hastily Leave City After Being Beaten," *The Miami Daily Metropolis* (25 January 1922), 3; "Musicians Home," *The Chicago Defender* (4 February 1922), 7; "White Musicians Were Cause of Miami Flogging," *The Chicago Defender* (4 February 1922), 15.

[147] For more on the strategic ways in which African American performers approached working abroad, see Jayna Brown, *Babylon Girls: Black Women Performers and the Shaping of the Modern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[148] Within a week of their arrival, local audiences were also clamoring for a more minstrel-themed show. One American journalist wistfully suggested: "why not some evening have a program of a lot of old southern melodies[?]" "The Manila Hotel," *The Manila Times* (26 August 1923), 24.

[149] "Southern Melodies at Manila Hotel Tonight," *The Manila Times* (20 September 1923), 9; "Social Activities," *The Manila Times* (21 September 1923), 11.

[150] Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope," *The Chicago Defender* (18 August 1928), 6.

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[151] Bushell, *Jazz from the Beginning*, 55. Andy Fry's description of African American cabaret shows in interwar Paris are remarkably similar: Fry, *Paris Blues,* 48.

[152] The quotation continues: "He has one ring so large that a gendarme walked up to him the other night and threatened to hand him a ticket for blinding passing motorists." Norman Thomas, "With Our Performers in Paris," *The New York Amsterdam News* (3 September 1930), 8.

[153] The New York Singing Syncopators featured Jack Carter, William Hegamin, Clinton Moorman, Bailey Jackson, and Darnell Howard. I am grateful to Mark Miller for generously sharing his copy of this contract. See Appendix F for the contents of this contract.

[154] For the New York Singing Syncopator's contract, see Appendix F. For Armstrong's salary, see James Lincoln Collier, *Louis Armstrong: An American Genius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 127. By comparison, in 1926 Paul Whiteman wrote that he paid his musicians "$150 and up." Given Whiteman's popularity, this salary was likely atypical. Paul Whiteman and Mary Margaret McBride, *Jazz* (New York: Arno Press, 1974 [1926]), 147.

[155] "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6.

[156] I have yet to come across a case where Filipino musicians received wages in $U.S. The Hawaiian musician Ernest Kaai was paid in Dutch Florins when he signed a contract to perform in Surabaya in 1918. "Ernest Kaai contract with Stan & Weijns," Surabaya (7 November 1918), courtesy of Andrea Lowe.

[157] Jane Sherman explained that, during the Denishawn Dancers' tour of Asia in 1925, the group's paymaster would consult the exchange rates for the U.S. dollar and dispense salaries in the currency of whatever city they were in. Jane Sherman, *Soaring: The Diary and Letters of a Denishawn Dancer in the Far East, 1925-1926* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 183.

[158] John Pal, *Shanghai Saga* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1963), 159-160; Paul Hallwood, Ronald MacDonald, Ian Marsh, "An Assessment of the Causes of the Abandonment of the Gold Standard by the U.S. in 1933," *Southern Economic Journal* 67, no. 2 (2000): 448-459.

[159] Although, as I noted in Chapter Two, this caused a problem for the African American trumpeter and bandleader Buck Clayton when the value of the Shanghai dollar went down in the mid-1930s and his contract in $U.S. proved to be prohibitively costly.

[160] "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6.

[161] Krasner, "The Real Thing," 100.

[162] Chude-Sokei, *The Last "Darky,"* 5.

[163] Jeffrey Magee, "Ellington's Afro-Modernist Vision in the 1920s," in *The Cambridge Companion to Duke Ellington*, ed. Edward Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 101.

[164] Burton W. Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 9, 177-210.

[165] "Plaza Ballroom Reopening," *North China Daily News* (2 October 1926), 12.

[166] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (11 April 1929), 10.

[167] Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain*, 109-118.

[168] See the discussion of McKinley's phrase "benevolent assimilation" in Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: 2000), 21-25. See also Sarah Isabel Keenan, *Our Brown Brother* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924).

[169] Gilbert, "Clef Club Inc.," 432.

[170] E.g., Michael B. Leavitt, *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management* (New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1912), 675; W. Somerset Maugham, *Collected Stories* (New York: Everyman's Library, 2004), 608; George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950 [1934]), *passim.*

[171] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 128. For his examination of the comparison between Filipinos and Native Americans see "Transits of Race: Empire and Difference in Philippine-American Colonial History," in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*, eds. Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt (New York: Berghalm Books, 2011), 163-191.

[172] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 25.

[173] Of course, as Lisa Lowe argues, the presence of Asian-Americans also played a critical role in the formation of race relations in the U.S.: Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

[174] E.g., Fred Ho and Bill V. Mullen, eds., *Afro Asia: Revolutionary Political & Cultural*

Connections Between African Americans & Asians (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Susan M. Asai, "Cultural Politics: The African American Connection in Asian American Jazz-based Music," *Asian Music* 36, no. 1 (2005): 87-108; Bill V. Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Scot Ngozi-Brown, "African American Soldiers and Filipinos: Racial Imperialism, Jim Crow and Social Relations," *The Journal of Negro History* 82, no. 1 (1997): 42-53.

[175] E.g., Etsuko Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth University Press, 2014); Ikuko Asaka, "'Colored Men of the East': African Americans and the Instability of Race in US-Japan Relations." *American Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (2014): 971-997; Atsushi Tajima and Michael Thornton, "Strategic Solidarity: Japanese Imaginings of Blacks and Race in Popular Culture," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13, no 3 (2012): 345-364; Shannon Steen, *Racial Geometries of the Black Atlantic, Asian Pacific and American Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Gretchen Murphy, *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: U.S. Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

[176] Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope," *The Chicago Defender* (18 August 1928), 6; Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[177] He described China as "barbarous" and made up of "masses" who are "worse than ignorant." Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]" *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[178] Erlmann, *African Stars*, 41-42.

[179] Buck Clayton tells a story about how he and his fellow African American musicians fought off a group of white American soldiers who called them all "niggers." He writes that "when it was all over the Chinese onlookers treated us like we had done something that they had always wanted to do and followed us all the way home cheering us like a wining football team." Buck Clayton and Nancy Elliott, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 71.

[180] Nan Enstad, "Smoking Hot: Cigarettes, Jazz, and the Production of Global Imaginaries in Interwar Shanghai" in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano and Teju Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 45-65.

[181] For examples of the discussions about the morality of rickshaw use, see W. Somerset Maugham, "Henderson," *On a Chinese Screen* (London: Vintage Classics, 2000 [1922]), 36-39; Sherman, *Soaring*, 36-37. For Chinese "boys, " see Clayton, *Buck Clayton's Jazz World*, 67; Thelma Porter, "Stage Stars in China Tell of Fine Treatment Abroad," *The Chicago Defender* (29 Sept. 1934), 9.

[182] Quoted in Egino Biagioni, *Herb Flemming: A Jazz Pioneer Around the World* (Alphen de Rijn, Netherlands: Micrography, 1977), 49.

[183] Information for this paragraph comes from: "Law Intelligence," *The Statesman* (3 January 1929), 16; "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6; "Carter's Jazz Orchestra," *The Straits Times* (16 January 1929), 15; "Jack Carter's Orchestra," *The Straits Times* (22 January 1929), 10.

[184] "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6.

[185] "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (30 December 1928), 26.

[186] When Carter arrived in Calcutta, Harry Langhams, another African-American bandleader, was actually already in place at Peliti's. E.g., "Amusements," *The Statesman* (22 December 1928), 4; "Amusements," *The Statesman* (30 December 1928), 5.

[187] E.g., "Noble Sissle's Band Here Next Thursday Nite," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (28 January 1933), 7.

[188] "Tavern Topics," *New York Amsterdam News* (5 April 1941), 20; "Tavern Topics," *New York Amsterdam News* (2 May 1942), 16; "Hundreds Attend Carter Rites," *New York Amsterdam News* (12 September 1953), 7.

[189] Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm*, 116.

[190] "Wives fight for Carter $$," *New York Age Defender* (26 September 1953), 1-2; "Hundreds Attend Carter Rites," *New York Amsterdam News* (12 September 1953), 7; Al Monroe, "Swingin' the News," *The Chicago Defender* (8 June 1940), 20.

[191] "Hundreds Attend Carter Rites," *New York Amsterdam News* (12 September 1953), 7.

Epilogue

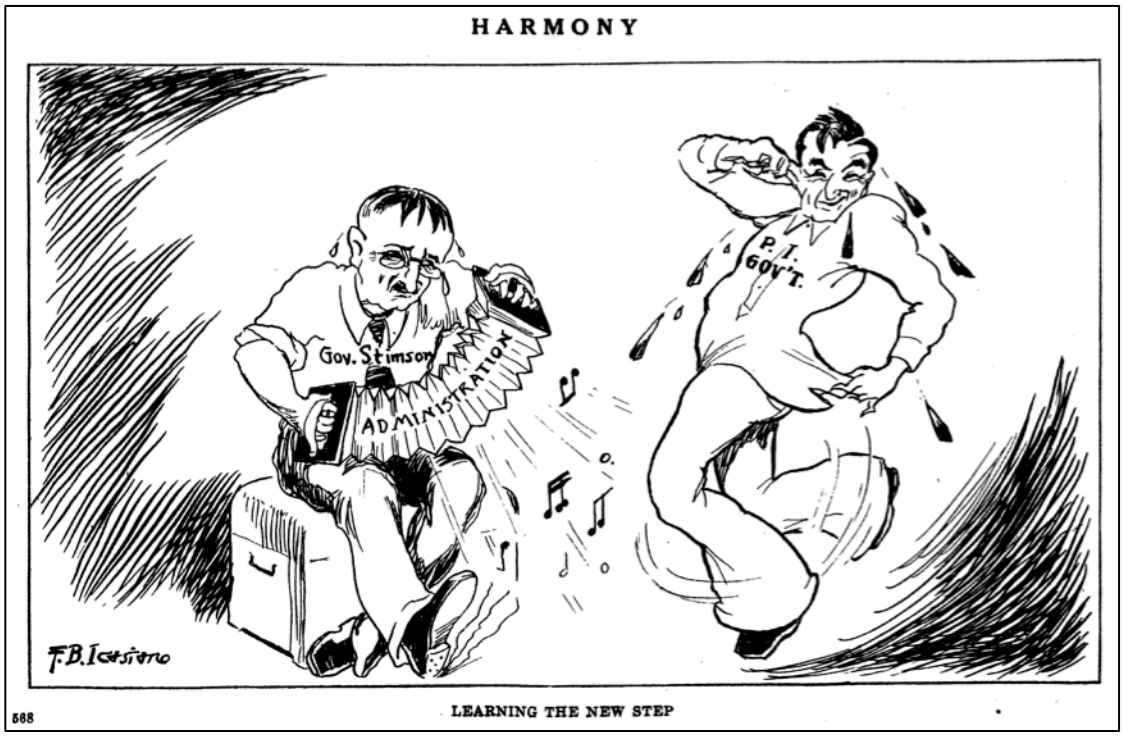


Figure 6.1[1]

The March 1928 issue of the *Philippine Education Magazine* featured an intriguing political cartoon comparing the relationship between musician and dancer to the interactions between metropole and colony (Fig. 6.1).[2] Francisco B. Icasiano's drawing**,** titled "Harmony: Learning the New Step," depicted two figures: the one on the left is a thin, mustached man labeled "Gov. Stimson." Icasiano here refered to the newly appointed Governor General Henry Stimson, the American official in charge of colonial Philippines.[3] Stimson sits on a stool with his sleeves rolled up. He is playing a concertina labeled "Administration" so vigorously that sweat drips from his brow. The figure on the right, labeled "P.I. [Philippine Islands] Government," is moving wildly to Stimson's music. The dancing man wears a combination of traditional Filipino clothing and modern garb. He has both a distinctive untucked *barong tagalog* shirt and also bell-bottom-like

pants worn by all the Filipino "sheiks" attuned to the fashions of the jazz age. The Filipino dancer's body is contorted: his upper half twists to the left, and his right hand grabs at his ear. His other hand is near his left hip, pulling on his shirt.[4] In the cartoon, the man meant to embody the Philippine government looks pained and exhausted. Both his feet are off the ground and the enormous beads of sweat shown shooting from his body suggest he is quickly becoming exhausted from moving to the beat of the American administration.

The magazine's editor, A. V. H. Hartendorp, offered his own interpretation of Icasiano's cartoon. Hartendorp's essay reflected a broader push to shift the *Philippine Education Magazine*'s content from educational issues to matters of politics and culture. This shift mirrored Hartendorp's own history: he was a Dutch-born American who moved to the Philippines in 1917 to oversee educational testing. After his first three-year appointment was over, and soon after starting a family with a Filipina wife, he became involved in journalism. He first served as the editor for the American newspaper *The Manila Times* before he took over *The Philippine Education Magazine*.[5] His column accompanying Icasiano's cartoon extended the metaphor comparing the interplay between musicians and dancers to the "expected harmony between" the U.S. government and the Philippines.[6] Hartendorp's basic thesis went as follows: "The Governor General will play the tune to which the Philippines will be supposed to dance," he wrote. Both Filipinos and Americans would be happier, he continued, if there were better "rapport" between the musicians and dancers. This was a veiled call, perhaps, for increased mutual respect between Filipino politicians and American lawmakers.[7] He concluded with a note of optimism: "What makes a good dance? Not the tune so much, nor the composer, but

the players and the dancers. …Any dance may be inspired by the poorest music and develop into a dithyramb to liberty and self-expression.[8]" The scope of Hartendorp's argument for political action was slightly muddled by his over-commitment to Icasiano's metaphor. It seems, however, that Hartendorp was arguing that even the worst colonial policy – the tune composed by the U.S. administration – could be overcome by developing good relations between bureaucrats such as Stimson and members of the Philippine government.

Even though it was never mentioned explicitly, and despite Stimson's depiction as a concertina player – an instrument whose extended bellows served as an open space for the cartoonist to write the word "administration" – the metaphorical music in Hartendorp's editorial was almost certainly jazz. It seems likely that many readers in Manila who encountered Hartendorp's description of U.S.-composed dance music would think of the wide circulation of jazz throughout various venues in colonial Asia. By 1928, jazz was gaining even greater prominence and ubiquity throughout the region than it had enjoyed when Burnett Hershey and Nobu Hara chronicled its wide circulation in 1922. With the exception of the Philippines, where public social dancing was already widely popular, in the first part of the decade jazz was largely confined to the small communities of European and American settlers, business people, and tourists in Asia. By the end of the decade, however, jazz and new genres inspired by jazz were quickly becoming the dance music of far more diverse audiences.[9] This shift was most notable in Shanghai. After the nationalist revolution of 1927, Chinese dancers began flooding into newly opened Chinese cabarets. Many of the city's American bands found they had to experiment with new Chinese-sounding styles to cater to these new audiences. Some

commentators, however, described scenes where Chinese dancers moved to the beat of music more familiar to American audiences. In the city's Chinese-run cabarets, a reporter wrote in 1929,

> one would find a ball room floor jammed with Chinese couples dancing to the strains of the latest jazz selections. What will surprise the visitor more is the fact that these couples appear to be well acquainted with Paul Whiteman. They understand rhythm and dance remarkably well.[10]

In Singapore, too, the opening of the New World Cabaret in December 1929 moved jazz dancing from the city's exclusive European hotels and social clubs to the center of an amusement park that was wildly popular among Singapore's diverse non-white community.[11] In India, the Dutch East Indies, and Japan, increasing numbers of local musicians began performing jazz as the 1920s turned into the 1930s.[12] The "conquering" force of "syncopated rhythm" that Hara described in 1922 had already swept through Asia's major urban colonial ports by the time that Hartendorp and Icasiano penned their thoughts about U.S. colonial governance.[13]

If Hartendorp and Icasiano were comparing the spread of jazz to U.S. colonial governance, then we should acknowledge that they were proposing a view that would run counter to conventional depictions of jazz today. The cartoonist and editor imagined jazz as an imperial, dominating force. In doing so, they anticipated a body of scholarship that explores the ways in which music became a critical part of European and U.S. colonialism, a disciplining force of colonial and tonal violence, an invasive sound that could drown out local musics and fundamentally transform local practices of music consumption and production.[14] It has not, however, been common to portray jazz in this manner. George McKay points out, for example, that in recent scholarship "jazz is always implicitly constructed as a culture of liberation, both because it was proscribed to varying

degrees by the totalitarians and because it was in fact the music of the liberators."[15] The notion that jazz represents liberation, though, is not timeless. John Gennari argues that the narrative McKay identifies, and more specifically the idea that jazz embodies U.S. democracy through collective improvisation, only became codified after World War II.[16] Indeed, upon closer investigation, the basic narrative about jazz as a form of liberation is inapplicable to much of the jazz of the 1920s. For example, a central element of this homology is an emphasis on jazz improvisation, what Ralph Ellison described as "an art of individual assertion within and against the group."[17] Yet this sort of improvisation rarely appears in the music of colonial Asia's jazz age. Even if it had, as Lawrence Gushee shows that improvisation has not always been valued as a sign of inspiration or genius.[18] Furthermore, instead of being associated with democracy, jazz was paired with a whole range of impulses and ideologies in the decade after WWI. Instead of being associated with U.S. democracy, in the early 1920s some saw jazz as part of the same zeitgeist of the Communist revolution in the Soviet Union: jazz was "musical Bolshevism."[19] It is not surprising, then, to find that in Hartendorp's metaphor the music of the American administration did not represent a "culture of liberation." For jazz was also a music of empire, a conquering rhythm of American colonizers.

But Hartendorp's editorial and Icasiano's cartoon could also be tweaked to better reflect the ambiguous and contradictory nature of popular music in colonial Asia's jazz age. Metaphors and homologies comparing music and society can be powerful and productive, but they can also distort and simplify both musical practices and the complexities of social life.[20] In some cases, Filipino political cartoonists and journalists developed concise, straight-forward critiques of politics through musical metaphors: in

1922, for example, a Tagalog-language political cartoon depicted the Philippine government as members of a dysfunctional jazz band.[21] Another cartoon from 1925 imagined Filipino politicians as brass band musicians torn between the two competing batons of Senate President Manuel Quezon and Governor General Leonard Wood.[22] While these cartoons made sense on both a musical and political level, Hartendorp and Icasiano's base premise that the U.S. administration was akin to an exacting musician forcing Filipinos to move their bodies in particular ways actually inverts, or at least mischaracterizes, the typical relationship between performers and dancers in Asia's jazz age. In many ways, it was the dancers who typically set the tune, not the musicians. As I noted previously, for example, José "Joe" Fernandez's ten-piece Filipino band at Kobe's Oriental Hotel built their programs on requests from dancer. When they were replaced by a band of Japanese musicians, the hotel's patrons were so dissatisfied with the new group that hotel management promptly recruited Fernandez to return from the Philippines.[23] Musicians may ultimately produce the sounds to which dancers move their bodies, but there is a dynamic interplay between the dance floor and the bandstand that can help us develop Hartendorp's one-dimensional editorial into a metaphor that takes into account the anarchic nature of imperial pop.

Jazz was not simply a totalizing force of U.S. empire. There is an inherent double-stake in imperial pop, a contradictory aspect through which the very qualities that prove to be dominant or transformative also generate new opportunities and possibilities. These opportunities can, in some cases, destabilize or disrupt imperial ambition. I have sought to explore various aspects of these contradictions through a series of five case studies. These include the ceaseless repetitions of "Hiawatha" that rendered the song as both an

invasive force as well as a song with the potential for unanticipated and even subversive expressions. I also explored the contradictions facing various workers in the vast jazz economy of colonial Asia: the migrant Filipino dance band musician, the Manila-based songwriters, and the Filipina bailarinas working on the outskirts of the Philippine capital. All of these workers sought to take advantage of the new opportunities generated by the capitalist ambitions of the popular music industries and the infrastructures of U.S. and European colonialism. These new opportunities, however, came from the same processes that created economic difficulties, perpetuated racial hierarchies and exploitation, and led to the need to master the musical language of Tin Pan Alley. The tensions of empire, music, and race are especially clear in the experiences of the African American musicians such as Jack Carter. They perpetuated stereotypes by catering to white audience expectations but, by doing so, gained access to new wealth and social status that ultimately challenged the very stereotypes they performed. Through these various case studies, I have analyzed imperial pop from different facets and angles, attempting to demonstrate a range of cultural contradictions that made jazz meaningful in colonial Asia.

In this dissertation, I have also attempted to avoid the kind of romantic narrative that Hartendorp employs in his conclusion. In the final paragraph of his editorial, Hartendorp suggested that Filipino dancers can remake "even the poorest music" to attain "liberty and self-expression." I do not mean to suggest that music cannot be an important medium for political action or can bring about social change. On the contrary, as I have shown, in colonial Asia jazz could provide a means for social mobility and a way to escape the economic strife of colonial rule. But jazz was also simultaneously a force of

domination and colonial transformation. If we focus entirely on tracing the path to "liberty and self-expression" we risk being diverted back onto jazz latitude. This is a narrative form in which stories of the circulation of U.S. popular song across Asia become secondary, lesser versions of U.S. jazz history. In this dominant narrative mode of jazz histories, jazz becomes a music that inevitably enables the expression of distinct nation-states against the forces of colonialism or oppression. In many ways, then, jazz latitude is also precisely the romantic narrative that, as David Scott argues, leads to a postcolonial utopia that never arrived.[24] Instead of following this narrative form, we might take Scott's suggestion and explore the possibilities of a tragic mode. Focusing on the contingency, ambivalence, and contradiction that constituted the empire of syncopation in colonial Asia' jazz age might allow us to make sense of the ways in which music was actually made meaningful in daily life.

Notes for Conclusion

[1] Francisco B. Icasiano, "Harmony: Learning the New Step," *Philippine Education Magazine* (March 1928), 568. https://ia600802.us.archive.org/25/items/acd5869.0024.010.umich.edu/acd5869.0024.010. umich.edu.pdf Accessed March 17, 2016.

[2] Francisco B. Icasiano, "Harmony: Learning the New Step," *Philippine Education Magazine* (March 1928), 568.

[3] He arrived in Manila on 1 March 1928, the same day the March issue of *The Philippine Education Magazine* hit the news stands.

[4] In some ways, this hand position ways mirrors older depictions of Filipinos dancing fandango and kundiman. E.g., José Honorato Lozano, *Vistas de las Islas Filpinas y Traces de sus Abitantes* ([Madrid?]: 1847), 35.

[5] For a full biography, see Frank H. Golay, "Hartendorp Remembered," *Bulletin of the American Historical Collection* V, no. 19, (1977): 41-45.

[6] A. V. H. Hartendorp, "Not the Tune but the Dance," *Philippine Education Magazine* (March 1928), 568.

[7] Hartendorp, "Not the Tune but the Dance," 568.

[8] Hartendorp, "Not the Tune but the Dance," 568.

[9] For examples of new genres, see: Andrew Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2001); Tôru Mitsui, "'Sing Me A Song of Araby' and 'My Blue Heaven': 'New Folksong,' Hybridization and the Expansion of the Japanese Recording Industry in the Late 1920s," *Popular Music History* 1, no. 1(2004): 65-82.

[10] "China Takes to Jazz," *The Straits Times* (9 October 1929) 12.

[11] "New World Cabaret ad," *The Straits Times* (13 December 1929), 9.

[12] E.g., Naresh Fernandes, *Taj Mahal Foxtrot: The Story of Bombay's Jazz Age* (New Delhi, India: Lustre Press/Roli Books, 2012); Andrew McGraw, "The Ambivalent Freedoms of Indonesian Jazz," *Jazz Perspectives* 6, no. 3 (2012): 273-310; E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[13] "Jazz Now Conquering World, Says Japanese Opera Singer," *The Japan Advertiser* (15 February 1922), 1.

[14] E.g., Kofi Agawu, "Tonality as Colonizing Force in Africa," in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano, Teju Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 334-356; Grant Olwage, "Discipline and Choralism: The Birth of Musical Colonialism," in *Music, Power, and Politics*, ed. Annie J. Randall (New York: Routledge, 2005), 25-46; Suzel Ana Reily, Katherine Brucher, "The World of Brass Bands," in *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making*, eds. Reily, Brucher (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 1-32. For more on music and violence beyond colonial context, see Bruce Johnson, Martin Cloonan, *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

[15] George McKay, *Circular Breathing: the Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 305, footnote 2.

[16] John Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 152. Gennari cites Marshall Stearns' 1956 book *The Story of Jazz* as a particularly influential source of this narrative. See, for example, Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958 [1956]), 214-216.

[17] Ralph Ellison, "The Charlie Christian Story," in *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison*, ed. John F. Callhan (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), 267.

[18] Lawrence Gushee, "Improvisation and related Terms in Middle-Period Jazz," in *Musical Improvisation: Art, Education and Society*, eds. Gabriel Solis and Bruno Nettl (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 263-280.

[19] "Music Will Replace Whisky, Says Scientist in America," *The Japan Advertiser* (29 June 1921), 2. See also "London, December 3," *The Rhodesia Herald* (9 December 1919), 24; "Bolshevism in the Belfry," *The Straits Times* (6 November 1920), 10.

[20] E.g., Ken Prouty, "Finding Jazz in the Jazz-As-Business Metaphor," *Jazz Perspectives* 7, no. 1 (2013): 31-55; Steven Feld, "Sound Structure as Social Structure, *Ethnomusicology* 28, no. 3 (1984): 383-409; Timothy Rice, "Toward a Remodeling of Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 31, no. 3 (1987): 469-488.

[21] "Ano ba iyang tugtug na-iyan…,"*Pakakak* (23 September 1922), 5.

[22] "¡Te-*le*-bong! ¡*Te*-le-*bong*! ¡Te-*le*-bong!" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 August 1925), 1.

[23] See Chapter Two.

[24] David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

Appendix A: Filipino Performers Abroad, c. 1910-1930

Filipino musicians were widespread across Asia during the 1920s. Commonly, however, their ubiquity has been recalled in anecdotal ways with little documentation. Residents of Singapore, for example, recalled how Filipinos made up most of the hotel and movie theater bands of the 1920s and 1930s while travelers in Shanghai reported the presence of Filipino musicians in many of the city's dance venues.[1] In order to complement these sorts of vague and generic descriptions, I have compiled documentation of Filipinos performing outside of the Philippines in a variety of settings during a period roughly from 1910 to 1930. My main focus is on musicians who primarily perform popular music, but I have also included a number of vaudeville performers who often incorporated musical elements into their acts. My research has focused chiefly on performers working in Asia, although I did include a small number here who were active in the U.S. and Europe. Thus, the geographic range here includes Filipinos who performed in cities in the U.S. and Europe as well as along a vast entertainment circuit that included Honolulu, Yokohama, Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Harbin, Peking, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Canton, Macau, Haiphong, Hanoi, Surabaya, Batavia, Medan, Singapore, Malacca, Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Bangkok, Mandalay, Calcutta, Bombay, Mussoorie, Lahore, and Port Said.[2]

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[1] E.g., from the Oral History collection of the Singapore National Archives, see Paul Abisheganaden, reel 38, accession number 001415; Alex Abisheganaden, Reel 8, accession number 001461; Ramon L. Navas, "They Call Them 'Mango Ladies' in Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 March 1921), 2, 4; John Pal, *Shanghai Saga* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1963), 85-86.

[2] I have thus far been unable to confirm scattered reports of Filipino musicians performing in Australia in the 1920s.

This appendix is divided into two sections. In the first section, I alphabetically list names of individual performers along with brief descriptions of their activities. In some cases, I had difficulty determining whether a performer was actually Filipino. This was particular true in Singapore and India, where Goan musicians with Portuguese names were also active on the popular music scene. In these cases, I noted my uncertainty. In the second section of this appendix, I list musical ensembles that included one or more Filipino members. In many cases these ensembles were merely described as a "Filipino band." I have identified these groups according to performance location when groups lacked a specific name. As a result, there may be some overlap between freelance ensembles that worked in a variety of different venues in the same city.

My intent with this list was merely to begin to give a concrete shape to the anecdotes about the ubiquity of Filipino musicians in Asia. The actual number of Filipino musicians working outside of the Philippines during this period must far exceed what I have managed to document thus far. This list does not begin to cover, for example, the hundreds of amateur Filipino musicians who performed on special occasions among the Filipino communities in the U.S., Europe, Russia, South Africa, Hawaii, and other parts of Asia.[3] Nor does it intend to document the presence of Filipino musicians in Hawaii or the U.S. Finally, given the marginal and mobile status of most Filipino musicians, it would be unlikely that even a majority of these performers were noted in print sources. What I have compiled below must be viewed as merely a starting point in documenting this history.

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[3] "Filipino Holidays Celebrated Abroad," *Graphic* (23 Feb 1929), 31.

A) Individual Filipino Performers

1. Raymundo Alarcon, from Iloilo, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[4]

2. Ricardo Alarcon, from Iloilo, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[5]

3. Mariano Albela, leader of Mariano's Band in Penang, had played in Penang Band but then formed his own band, 1907.[6]

4. T. Alberto, flute, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day, 1920.[7]

5. P. Alcantara, guitar, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921. Band had been in Kobe 3 years.[8]

6. Julian Alinsod, music teacher and performer in Shanghai, late 1910s.[9]

7. Felix Altura, from Iloilo, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[10]

8. Leon Altura, from Iloilo, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[11]

9. Andy Andico, active in Shanghai in early 1920s. In 1923 joined band at Carleton with newly-arrived American musicians.[12]

10. Federico de los Angeles, trombone, banjo, member of Smiles Club Jazz Band, Manila 1924, traveled to US to perform for fun.[13]

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[4] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[5] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[6] "Penang Notes," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (22 April 1907), 3.
[7] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.
[8] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[9] Ramon L. Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 October 1921), 31, 34.
[10] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[11] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[12] "Carleton ad," *North China Daily News* (15 December 1923), 16.

11. Nicanor "Nick" Amper, see Appendix C.

12. M. Anciano, piano, member of a Singapore hotel orchestra 1927.[14]
13. Marceliano Andres, pianist, from Guagua, Pampanga, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[15]

14. Sotero F. Angeles, pianist, from Sun Juan del Monte, Rizal, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[16]

15. Juanita Antido, singer and dancer, called queen of jazz in Orient. Performed with Antido Brothers in Singapore in 1922. In addition to active career in Manila, claims to have appeared in Europe, Shanghai, India, Java, Australia, Malay peninsula, Hong Kong, and "other countries of the Pacific." Adopted by Victor Antido at age 5 or 6, real name is Juanita Villamor, defeated Katy de la Cruz in jazz contest in early 1920s, also touring within Philippines. Had bobbed hair by age of 9.[17]

16. Pedro Antonio, Manila, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[18]

17. E. A. Arambulo, violin, member of Belmont Five Jazz band, Tientsin, China, 1922-1923.[19]

18. Antonio S. Asinas, violinist, Pakil, Laguna, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra 1923. As a young violinist he also played in a classical concert in Hanoi 1925.[20]

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[13] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.
[14] "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10.
[15] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[16] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[17] "Goodwood Hall," *The Singapore Free Press* (13 May 1922), 12; "Goodwood Hall nights," *The Straits Times* (11 May 1922), 10; "The Magallenes Carnival a Mammoth Show," *The Philippines Free Press* (5 February 1921), 2, 4, 5, 6; "Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31.
[18] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[19] "Are 'Jazzers and Soldiers Too,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (12 August 1922), 2.
[20] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2; "Los dorados palacios de Hanoi...," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 May 1925), 38, 46.

19. Andres Baclig "Prof. Baki," violin, xylophone. Member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921. He enjoys active career in Manila with Borromeo Lou. Goes on tour with Atang de la Rama to Honolulu in 1926, violinist and xylophonist. Goes on to start Filipino plantation bands in Hawaii.[21]

20. P. Bacolod, member of New Oriental Café Filipino String Orchestra, Los Angeles, overlap with many of the same members as the Bluebird Café band.[22]

21. Pedro Baet, sax and violin. Member of Baclig's Manila Syncopators in Hawaii around 1926.[23]

22. Gervasio C. Bagasao, leader of band of Ilocanos in Los Angeles.[24]

23. F. Balingit, violin, member of a Singapore hotel orchestra, 1927.[25]

24. Gabriel Baltazar Sr. sax and clarinet. Member of Baclig's Manila Syncopators in Hawaii around 1926.[26]

25. Gregorio A. Barlos [?], bandmaster, from Santa Rosa, Laguna. Member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[27]

26. Pedro Bandalan, bass-guitar, member of Los Angeles Filipino String Orchestra at Bluebird Café, early 1920s.[28]

27. Richard Beltrano, mandolin, member of Los Angeles Filipino String Orchestra at Bluebird Café, early 1920s.[29]

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[21] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4; "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (11 December 1922), 4; "Lux Owner Asks for Injunction," *The Manila Times* (22 December 1922), 8; "El Poder del Kundiman," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 August 1926), 62, 63.

[22] K. G. Ormiston, "Students Heard Radio Program," *The Los Angeles Times* (8 December 1923), II5.

[23] Richie Quirino, *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines: 1970 to the Year 2010* (Manila: Anvil, 2011), 94.

[24] "Making Paoay Known in California," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 May 1929), 48.

[25] "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10.

[26] Quirino, *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines*, 94.

[27] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.

[28] Ben A. Markson, "Melody Lovers Get a Rare Treat," *Los Angeles Times* (22 June 1923), II3.

[29] Ben A. Markson, "Melody Lovers Get a Rare Treat," *Los Angeles Times* (22 June 1923), II3.

28. Victorio Blas, violin, member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies in 1927.[30]

29. Conchita Blus (sic), real name Enriqueta Discher, from German father and Filipina mother. Shimmy dancer touring with Antido Brothers Company in Singapore in 1922, Shanghai later on this tour in 1922. Also touring within Philippines.[31]

30. Benito L. Buenaventura, saxophone, Pililla, Rizal, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra 1923.[32]

31. Frederico Buenaventura, cornet, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day 1920. By 1926 was assist. bandmaster of Selangor State band, Kuala Lumpur.[33]

32. Baldomero Bustamante, flute, Tondo, Manila, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra 1923.[34]

33. S. Y. Cadis, drums, member of Belmont Five Jazz band, Tientsin, China, 1922-1923.[35]

34. Vicente Cadis, saxophone, member of Belmont Five Jazz band, Tientsin, China, 1922-1923.[36]

35. E. Calalo, San Jose, Batangas, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[37]

36. Crisanto Cardenal, tenor mandola, member of Los Angeles Filipino String Orchestra at Bluebird Café, early 1920s.[38]

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[30] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.
[31] "Arcadia Cinema ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (6 May 1922), 2; "Es Juanita Antido la Primera 'Flapper' Filipina?" *The Philippines Free Press* (2 December 1922), 31.
[32] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[33] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2; "'Fred' of Kuala Lumpur," *The Philippines Free Press* (3 July 1926), 8, 25.
[34] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[35] "Are 'Jazzers and Soldiers Too,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (12 August 1922), 2.
[36] "Are 'Jazzers and Soldiers Too,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (12 August 1922), 2.
[37] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[38] Ben A. Markson, "Melody Lovers Get a Rare Treat," *Los Angeles Times* (22 June 1923), II3.

37. Peti Carvajal, dancer from Manila, working and traveling with The Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. of Singapore to Malacca, 1928, in Singapore performing in December 1927 at New World.[39]

38. A. Castillo, violin, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day 1920.[40]

39. Louis Castillo, leading Hawaiian orchestra in Chicago in 1919.[41]

40. R. Castillo, piano, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day 1920.[42]

41. Burt de Castro, member of Filipino orchestra accompanying Dave Apollon's vaudeville revue in U.S. in 1929. Injured in fire in Kansas City 1929.[43]

42. Andres Ceballos, Iloilo, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[44]

43. Domingo Choa, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[45]

44. Juan J. Condez – member of Filipino Five, performing in Midwest at least 1920-1921.[46]

45. J. F. Coquia, banjo, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921.[47]

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[39] "The Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. of Singapore Will Visit Malacca," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5; "Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. ad," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5; "At The Club," *The Malacca Guardian* (3 December 1928), 11; "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 18.
[40] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.
[41] "Filipino Orchestra Head Jailed by Chinese Wife," *The Manila* Times(18 August 1919), 8.
[42] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.
[43] "Filipino Killed in Holland Hotel Fire," *Variety* (4 December 1929), 37.
[44] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[45] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.
[46] "At the Theaters," *The Columbia Missourian* [MO] (14 May 1921), 2.
[47] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.

46. Jorge Cosme, trombone, member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[48]

47. Ramon Crame, piano, member of Imperial hotel band, Tokyo, and ship band of Tayo Maru, 1924.[49]

48. Pedro Cristobal, piano, Member of Original Manila 5 jazz band touring Dutch East Indies with Harry Levine, 1923.[50]

49. F. Cruz, San Roque, Cavite, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[51]

50. Gil Cruz, saxophone, Member of Original Manila 5 jazz band touring Dutch East Indies with Harry Levine, 1923.[52]

51. S. Cruz, Jr., member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[53]

52. Tirso Cruz, violin and drums, member of Original Manila 5 jazz band touring Dutch East Indies, with Harry Levine, 1923.[54]

53. J. Cubinar, Iligan, Mindanao, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[55]

54. A. Curcuera, member of New Oriental Café Filipino String Orchestra, Los Angeles, group included many of the same members as the Bluebird Café band.[56]

55. Juan Decepida, Bulacan, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[57]

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[48] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.
[49] "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y Conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46.
[50] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[51] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[52] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[53] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[54] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[55] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[56] K. G. Ormiston, "Students Heard Radio Program," *The Los Angeles Times* (8 December 1923), II5.
[57] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.

56. R. O. Delfin/Delphin, clarinet, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day 1920.[58] Became leader of string band Philippine Troubadours, playing charity event in Mandalay, Burma 1923.[59]
57. D. Deocampo, Iloilo, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[60]

58. Bebe Didiers, active in Manila vaudeville scene, but also toured Hongkong and perhaps other parts of China in Floradora troupe.[61]

59. Felisa Domingo (Grace Darling), singer, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926, also at New World in Singapore in 1927.[62]

60. Antonio Egea, member of troupe from Manila performing at Singapore New World Shows, 1928.[63]

61. Gerardo Enriquez, before 1920 had led Filipino Quintet in English theaters of Beijing and Tientsin. In Manila in 1920 composing pieces and running music school. Left for Haiphong, French Indo-China, where he was leader of the 6-piece Enriquez Orchestra, playing at Grand Hotel du Commerce in 1923.[64] Returned to Manila to continue teaching music. Also became leader of "Apollo" orchestra and jazz band, offering music for all occasions, based in Santa Mesa, Manila.[65]

62. Vitang Escobar, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[66]

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[58] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.
[59] "Filipinos in Mandalay," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 15.
[60] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[61] "La historia del mas joven director...," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 September 1926), 59.
[62] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33; "The New World," *The Straits Times* (8 December 1927), 6.
[63] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (20 January 1928), 10.
[64] "Virginia Waltz ad," *The Independent* (18 December 1920), 40; "Escuela de Musica ad," *The Independent* (7 February 1920), 35; "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[65] See back cover of Gerardo O. Enriquez, Jose Corazon de Jesus, "Pusong Wasak" (Manila: c. 1930), in Raymundo C. Bañas collection, National Library of the Philippines.
[66] John Maynard, "Impressions of the Manila Theater" *Philippine Magazine* (November 1929), 332-333; "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

63. Martin Espelete, trombone, Batangas, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[67]

63. A. Estella, leader of Jazz Manillais, played in Java in 1923.[68]

64. N. Estoiste, in Hamburg, Germany, star performer of German band, the "Amerikanische Jazzband," advertised as "the famous Black and White orchestra."[69]

65. Joaquin "Ivan" G. Evangelista, violinist, Candaba, Pampanga, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra 1923. Also part of Filipino band that went to India in 1924. [70]

66. M. Evangelista, Bacoor, Cavite, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[71]

67. Antonio Evaristo/Everisto (drums), Singalong, Manila, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921.[72] Also a member of Hongkong Hotel Orchestra, 1923.[73]

68. Jesus Farolan, Bulacan, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[74]

69. Jose S. Felix, leader of 6-piece German band in Europe, late 1920s.[75]

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[67] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[68] "Agenda," *De Indische courant* (24 October 1922), 10; "Agenda," *De Sumatra Post* (23 February 1923), 10 .
[69] "Filipino Leads German Jazz-band in Sweden," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 May 1929), 15.
[70] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2; see also http://www.tajmahalfoxtrot.com/?p=875 accessed March 25, 2016.
[71] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[72] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[73] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[74] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[75] "Filipino Leads German Jazz-band in Sweden," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 May 1929), 15.

70. Jose "Joe" L./F. Fernandez, leader of Manila Jazz Band in Oriental Hotel in Kobe, 1919-1921. Returned in October 1921 as leader of new Manila Jazz Band.[76] Possibly went on to work in non-Filipino ensemble in Singapore in 1925.[77]

71. Rosendo Florentino, banjo, member of Imperial hotel band, Tokyo, and ship band of Tayo Maru, 1924.[78]

72. Vincent B. Fondevilla, guitar, member of Los Angeles Filipino String Orchestra at Bluebird Café, early 1920s.[79] Toured U.S. as member of Filipino orchestra accompany Dave Apollon vaudeville revue in U.S. in 1929. Killed by fire in Kansas City in 1929.[80]

73. Saturnmo T. Foronda, piano, member of Belmont Five Jazz band, Tientsin, China, 1922-1923.[81] Later performing in classical concert in Hanoi, 1925.[82]

74. T. Francisco, Sampaloc, Manila, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[83]

75. Francisco Galvez, drums, member of Imperial hotel band, Tokyo, and ship band of Tayo Maru, 1924.[84]

76. Domingo Garcia, Laguna, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[85]

77. Flo Garcia, vaudeville, possibly went to Java with Canuplin in 1930.[86]

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[76] "Hotel Gets Orchestra," *The Japan Advertiser* (14 October 1921), 3; Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[77] "The Children's Concert," *The Straits Times* (27 November 1925), 8.
[78] "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y Conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46.
[79] Ben A. Markson, "Melody Lovers Get a Rare Treat," *Los Angeles Times* (22 June 1923), II3.
[80] "Filipino Killed in Holland Hotel Fire," *Variety* (4 December 1929), 37.
[81] "Are 'Jazzers and Soldiers Too,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (12 August 1922), 2.
[82]"Los dorados palacios de Hanoi...," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 May 1925), 38, 46.
[83] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[84] "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y Conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46.
[85] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[86] John Maynard, "Impressions of the Manila Theater" *Philippine Magazine* (November 1929), 332-333; "La Gaiete ad," *De Indische courant* (25 October 1930), 13.

78. Alberto Garcia, banjo, Arayat, Pampanga, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[87]

79. M. A. Garcia, octavina, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921.[88]

80. Modesta Garcia, vaudeville, possibly went to Java with Buster and Canuplin in 1930.[89]

81. Pantaleon Garcia, piano, member of Baclig's Manila Syncopators in Hawaii around 1926.[90]

82. Prima Garcia, leader of Manila Jazz Band/Garcia and Five Stompers in Java, 1928.[91]

83. Reinaldo Garcia, bandleader in Batavia 1926.[92]

84. Mr. A. Garland, Filipino lawyer in Singapore, working as a musician in movie theater, 1924.[93]

85. Mr. A. A. or M. A. Gomes (possibly Goan, not Filipino), leader of jazz band in Malacca, 1927-1928.[9495] Possibly active leading band in Kuala Lumpur in 1914.[96]

86. Mr. F. Gomez (possibly Goan), leader of orchestra in Penang, playing private events in 1923.[97]

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[87] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[88] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[89] John Maynard, "Impressions of the Manila Theater" *Philippine Magazine* (November 1929), 332-333; "La Gaiete ad," *De Indische Courant* (25 October 1930), 13.
[90] Quirino, *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines*, 94.
[91] "Globe Garden ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (16 July 1928), 3; "Globe Garden ad 1, *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (4 August 1928, 8; 4; "Globe Garden ad," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (10 December 1929), 8.
[92] Allard Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town! Dansorkesten en jazzbands in Batavia, 1922-1949* (The Hague: Moesson, 1987), 20.
[93] "An action over an alleged assault….," *Singapore Free Press* (4 July 1924), 6.
[94] "Farewell to Resident," *The Malacca Guardian* (12 November 1928), 7; "Notice," *The Malacca Guardian* (19 November 1928), 2; "Volunteer Dance," *The Malacca Guardian* (8 April 1929), 7.
[95] "Malacca Notes," *The Singapore Free Press* (25 February 1927), 9.
[96] "A Malay Wedding," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 October 1914), 2.
[97] "Social and Personal," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (28 November 1923), 1882.

87. Francisco Gonsales, Bicol, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[98]

88. Louis Gonzaga (possibly Goan), offering violin lessons in Singapore, 1925, jazz or classical, had played in Raffles Hotel Orchestra.[99]

89. Anita Gonzales, singer at Singapore's New World cabaret.[100]

90. Mr. Gonzales, leader of dance band at Taikoo Club in Hong Kong, 1920. Also a popular music teacher. Became leader of O.K. Jazz Band, played dances at Lee Garden, Hong Kong, 1926.[101]

91. Jacinto Gutierez, trumpet, violin, member of Imperial hotel band, Tokyo, and ship band of Tayo Maru, 1924.[102]

92. Conrado Guzman, Cavite, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[103]

93. Sulpido Itonactoc, bass, member of Baclig's Manila Syncopators in Hawaii around 1926.[104]

94. Luis Jante, member of 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan, 1923.[105]

95. Daniel Jimenez, leader of band on S.S. President Lincoln, 1926.[106]

96. Jimmy "Angel" Jimenez, trombonist. At some point before 1928 he moved to Shanghai. He replaced Nick Amper with Jack Carter's band during Carter's 1928-1929 tour (see Appendix E). He likely stayed in Batavia instead of continuing on

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[98] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[99] "Classified Advertisements," *The Straits Times* (23 January 1925), 16.
[100] From the Oral History collection of the Singapore National Archives, see Anonymous 2, reels 1, 2, 3, accession number 000529.
[101] "Taikoo Club Annual Ball," *South China Morning Post* (31 December 1920), 12; Ramon L. Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 October 1921), 31, 34; "Lee Garden Dance," *South China Morning Post* (26 January 1926), 4.
[102] "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y Conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46.
[103] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[104] Quirino, *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines*, 94.
[105] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.
[106] "100 Filipinos Call on General Ricarte," *The Philippine Republic* (September 1926), 17.

to Surabaya with Carter. In Batavia, he reportedly joined the Hotel des Indes Dance orchestra led by Serge Guy in early 1929.[107]

97. Porfirio "Ping" Joaquin, member of President Lincoln jazz band 1924.[108]

98. Isidoro Lapus, member of 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan, 1923.[109]

99. Felicisimo G. Laysico, clarinet, saxophone, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921. Also member of Imperial hotel band, Tokyo, and ship band of Tayo Maru, 1924.[110]

100. Mr. Claro Legaspi, musical director of Filipino "Jazz Club" in Shanghai, also director of school band in Kiangwan, China in late 1910s.[111]

101. Dominador B. Ligon, saxophone, part of S.S. Empress of Canada band, November 1923 – July 1924, joined Manila's Sana Ana Cabaret orchestra.[112]

102. Jose Lim Jr., saxophone, member of Smiles Club Jazz Band, Manila 1924, traveled to US to perform for fun.[113]

103. Cielito Lindo, vaudeville performer at Spanish Tea Garden, Singapore, 1928.[114]

104. Gabriel Lingal, cornet, Member of Original Manila 5 jazz band touring Dutch East Indies with Harry Levine, 1923.[115]

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[107] "Serenaders," *Hongkong Daily Press* (7 November 1928), 6; "Jazz Madness," *South China Morning Post* (8 November 1928), 13; "Adelphi Hotel Cabaret," *Straits Times* (30 November 1928), 10; "Cabaret at the Adelphi Hotel," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 20; Allard Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra," *Storyville* 62 (1976): 97-103.

[108] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42; Tony Joaquin, *Simple Glories: A Memoir* (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2000), *passim.*

[109] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.

[110] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4; "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y Conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46.

[111] Ramon L. Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 October 1921), 31, 34.

[112] "El Instrumento del Futuro," *The Philippines Free Press* (31 July 1926), 62.

[113] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.

[114] "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Straits Times* (13 July 1928), 11.

[115] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.

105. Jimmie Little, leader of Filipino jazz band touring throughout India, 1927-1928 (may not have actually been Filipino himself).[116]
106. Agustin Llopis, born in Iloilo in 1901, started touring with acting troupes at age 8. Fond of jazz. Became director of Rivoli Vaudeville in 1922, married to Bebe Didiers. Toured Hongkong and elsewhere with Floradora troupe in late 1910s and early 1920s.[117]

107. Carmen Llopiz, member of opera troupe from Manila performing at Singapore New World Shows 1928, joined Spanish Tea Garden Singapore 1928. Traveling with The Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. of Singapore to Malacca, 1928.[118]

108. Adolfo Lopez, pianist and band-leader, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926, played at Rivoli Theater in Manila.[119]

109. Louisa, singer and cabaret performer at Spanish Tea Garden, Singapore, 1928.[120]

110. Amado Luna, trombone, Pandacan, Manila, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[121]

111. C. Luna, Jr. member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[122]

112. S. G. Luna, Sta. Mesa, Pandacan, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[123]

113. L. Lustri, Tayabas, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[124]

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[116] Mussoorie Season," *The Times of India* (9 May 1927), 14; "Current Topics: Bombay's New Orchestra," *The Times of India* (9 November 1927), 10; "Broadcasting Notes: Revival of Relaying," *The Times of India* (16 January 1928), 16.
[117] "La historia del mas joven director...," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 September 1926), 59.
[118] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (20 January 1928), 10; "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 18; "Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. ad," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5; "The New World," *The Straits Times* (8 December 1927), 6.
[119] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.
[120] "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Straits Times* (13 July 1928), 11.
[121] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[122] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[123] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.

114. Maggie, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926. Likely also part of City Opera troupe that appeared at Singapore's Victoria theater in 1928.[125]

115. Mr. M. Majurel, played with Jazz Manillais group in Surabaya, led Cabaret show at Adelphi Hotel in Singapore 1928.[126]

116. Daniel Mangabat, violin, member of Los Angeles Filipino String Orchestra at Bluebird Café, early 1920s.[127]

117. Matias Manuel, member of 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan, 1923.[128]

118. Vicente Manuel, Manila, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[129]

119. Roman Marigan, cornet, Binondo, Manila, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[130]

120. A. Martinez, banjo, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day 1920.[131]

121. Mr. C. Martinez, Pampanga, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra, 1921. Became leader of Singapore City Opera Orchestra in the New World Amusement Park by 1925. He organized the opera's jazz band and musical

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[124] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[125] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33; "City Opera Artists," *The Singapore Free Press*
(24 November 1928), 10.
[126] "Agenda," *De Indische courant* (24 October 1922), 10; "Agenda," *De Sumatra Post*, 23 February 1923), 10; "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (23 July 1928), 10.
[127] Ben A. Markson, "Melody Lovers Get a Rare Treat," *Los Angeles Times* (22 June 1923), II3.
[128] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.
[129] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[130] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[131] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.

accompaniment and appears to have written music and other material for the opera's various acts. He was still active at the New World Opera in late 1929.[132]

122. E. Martinez, Pampanga, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[133]

123. Eddie Mendieta, member of opera troupe from Manila performing at Singapore New World Shows 1928, performed at Victoria Theatre 1928, regular at Singapore's Spanish Tea Garden in July 1928.[134]

124. Gregorio Mendoza, member of 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan, 1923.[135]

125. Miles, vaudeville artist from Manila, performing in Singapore New World Shows, December 1927.[136]

126. Antonio J. Molina, composer and cellist, played for classical concert in Hanoi 1925.[137]

127. Mona, touring with The Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. of Singapore to Malacca, 1928.[138]

128. J. Montano, cello, featured performer of 22-piece band in Penang, Rizal Day 1920.[139]

129. Bessie Morales, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[140]

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[132] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19; "The City Opera Co. Of Singapore," *Malayan Saturday Post* (19 December 1925), 2; "Vaudeville at Victoria Theatre," *The Straits Times* (24 November 1928), 12; "New World Show," *The Straits Times* (15 March 1929), 8.

[133] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.

[134] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (20 January 1928), 10; "City Opera Artists," *The Singapore Free Press* (24 November 1928), 10; "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Straits Times* (13 July 1928), 11.

[135] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.

[136] "The New World," *The Straits Times* (8 December 1927), 6.

[137] "Los dorados palacios de Hanoi...," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 May 1925), 38, 46.

[138] "Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. ad," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5; "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 18.

[139] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.

[140] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

130. Peggy Morales, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[141]

131. Raymond Morales, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[142]

132. Taling Morales, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[143]

133. Mr. M. N. de Nonato, pianist of Grand Hotel in Beijing, returned to Philippines by October 1921.[144]

134. Basibio [?] Nuesca – member of Filipino Five, performed in Missouri in May 1921.[145]

135. Mariano Ocampo, piano, member of Smiles Club Jazz Band, Manila 1924, traveled to US to perform for fun.[146]

136. Alfred Oppos – member of Filipino Five, had studied at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, performed in Missouri in May 1921.[147]

137. Jose Paez, Manila, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[148]

138. Luis P. Palapo/Palape, saxophone, Liloan, Letye, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra 1923.[149] Joined a Singapore hotel orchestra by 1927.[150]

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[141] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

[142] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

[143] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

[144] Ramon L. Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 October 1921), 31, 34.

[145] "At the Theaters," *The Columbia Missourian* [MO] (14 May 1921), 2.

[146] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.

[147] "At the Theaters," *The Columbia Missourian* [MO] (14 May 1921), 2.

[148] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.

[149] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.

139. Roberto Pallate, cornet, member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[151]

140. Simon V. Palomique, bass, Santa Cruz, Laguna, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[152]

141. Fortunato Pineda, Manila, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[153]

142. Roman B. Pineda, leader of 6-piece Filipino jazz band looking for work in Singapore in July 1923. He later appears in Batavia.[154]

143. Martin Plano, trombone, member of Original Manila 5 jazz band, touring Dutch East Indies with Harry Levine, 1923.[155]

144. Purita, member of Singapore's City Opera Company, performed at Victoria Theatre, 1928.[156]

145. C. Puerto, Cebu, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[157]

146. R. Puerto, Cebu, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[158]

147. L. Queroga, Merigondon, Cavite, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[159]

148. P. P. Quevas, Bacoor, Cavite, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[160]

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[150] "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10.
[151] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.
[152] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[153] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[154] "Filipino Jazz Band ad," *The Straits Times* (20 July 1923), 6; Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*
[155] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[156] "City Opera Artists," *The Singapore Free Press* (24 November 1928), 10.
[157] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[158] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[159] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[160] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.

149. Honorata "Atang" de la Rama, star of "Manila Amusement" vaudeville troupe, traveled to Japan, Honolulu, 1926.[161]

150. P. Ramajo, member of New Oriental Café Filipino String Orchestra, Los Angeles, included many members of Bluebird Café band.[162]
151. Antonio Ramirez, saxophone, member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[163]

152. José Ramirez, cornet, leader, member of Smiles Club Jazz Band, Manila 1924, traveled to US to perform for fun.[164]

153. Remi Ramirez, guitar, member of Reinaldo Garcia's band in Batavia, 1926.[165]

154. Serapio Ramos, banjo and leader; member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[166]

155. Mr. A. Raquiza (possibly Goan), member of Singapore Hotel orchestra, also conductor, 1927.[167]

156. Hilarion Raymundo, leader of Ray's College Chum Orchestra, 5-piece band touring on Empress of Asia ship, 1926.[168]

157. Jose Raymundo, drums, member of Smiles Club Jazz Band, Manila 1924, traveled to US to perform for fun.[169]

158. Ray Raymundo, co-owner/leader of Ray's College Chum Orchestra, 5-piece band touring on Empress of Asia ship, 1926.[170]

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[161] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57.
[162] K. G. Ormiston, "Students Heard Radio Program," *The Los Angeles Times* (8 December 1923), II5.
[163] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.
[164] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.
[165] Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*, 20.
[166] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.
[167] "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10.
[168] "'Ray and His Orchestra' of the Empress of Asia…," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 December 1926), 40.
[169] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.
[170] "'Ray and His Orchestra' of the Empress of Asia…," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 December 1926), 40.

159. Domingo "Sunday" Reantaso, vaudeville performer. Reportedly lived in New York for eight years. Was back in Manila by 1919 where he staged several minstrel shows in 1919 and 1920. In the early 1920s, he performed in a variety of vaudeville troupes, including with Luis Borromeo at the Stadium. He became the leader of the Lux "Variety" stars in 1922, a group that included Atang de la Rama and Katy de la Cruz, and later led the Savoy "Nifties." In June 1927, he left Manila as leader of the Filipino Supreme Vaudeville Company for Hawaiian tour. He stayed on in Wailuku through at least 1930.[171]
160. Leonara Reyes, vaudeville performer, in Hawaii 1927, later in California to sing to Filipinos there.[172]

161. D. Romero, Libmanam, Camarines Sur, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[173]

162. Rose, working alongside Filipinos at Singapore's Spanish Tea Garden, 1928.[174]

163. Mr. Sabate, San Nicolas, Cebu, bandmaster of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[175]

164. E. Sabeniano, Laguna, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[176]

165. Civilo R. Salazar, Bulacan, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[177]

166. R. Saliano, Mactan, Cebu, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[178]

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[171] "Minstrels Soon in a New Repertoire," *The Manila Times* (7 May 1919), 3; "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (13 October 1921), 6; "Variety Stars to Appear At Lux," *The Manila Times* (21 December 1922), 2; "Sunday Reantaso," *The Manila Times* (5 October 1924), 18; "Filipino Troupe will Try Hawaii," *The Manila Times* (1 April 1927), 8; U.S. 1930 Census via www.ancestry.com Accessed March 25, 2016.
[172] John Maynard, "Impressions of the Manila Vaudeville Stage," *Philippine Magazine* (October 1929), 264-5, 305-7; "Vaudeville Artist 'Stories,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (23 April 1927), 34.
[173] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[174] "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 18.
[175] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[176] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[177] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[178] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.

167. Matilde Salming, Laguna, violinist for Borromeo Lou in Manila, engaged to play U.S. Keith vaudeville circuit, July 1924.[179]

168. E. Salonga, Bulacan, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[180]

169. Filemon Salonga, Bulacan, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[181]

170. R. Salvacion, saxophone, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921.[182]

171. Carmen "Miami" Salvador, vaudeville performer, in 1929 back from a year-and-a-half tour of Japan, Hawaii, and Pacific coast of U.S.[183]

172. Miguel Sais, Marinduque, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[184]

173. Mino Sambayon, tenor sax, member of Reinaldo Garcia's band in Batavia, 1926.[185]

174. Nacisco "Siso" Sambayon, trumpet, member of Reinaldo Garcia's band in Batavia, 1926.[186]

175. Tequio Sambayon, alto sax, member of Reinaldo Garcia's band in Batavia, 1926.[187]

176. A. Sanches, bass, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921, been there 3 years.[188]

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[179] "Matilde Salming...," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 July 1924), 6; "Artistas Populares," *The Independent* (23 August 1924), 33.
[180] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[181] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[182] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[183] John Maynard, "Impressions of the Manila Theater" *Philippine Magazine* (November 1929), 332-333; "La Miami vuelve aqui con mas carnes...," *The Philippines Free Press* (13 April 1929), 56.
[184] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[185] Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*, 20.
[186] Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*, 20.
[187] Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*, 20.

177. Charito Sanchez, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China 1926.[189]

178. D. Santiago, drums and xylophone, member of Baclig's Manila Syncopators in Hawaii around 1926.[190]

179. Francisco Santiago, briefly directed orchestra in Shanghai, 1914.[191]

180. Eusebio Santillan, member of 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan, 1923.[192]

181. L. Santos, Pandacan, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[193]

182. M. L. Santos, Pasig, Rizal, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[194]
183. F. Socioyo, leader of Filipino band playing for Cinematograph, Singapore, 1907.[195]

184. Sisenando Socorro, member of President Lincoln jazz band 1924.[196]

185. Bernabe S. Solis, pianist, left Manila to join 4-piece Filipino band in Cabaret Maxim, Bangkok in 1913. He ended up touring Straits and Dutch East Indies with three Australian women, toured Java solo, became accompanist to Russian violinist, toured up to Port Said. In 1902 came back to Manila on way to U.S.[197]

186. Millie Sparks, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China, 1926.[198]

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[188] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[189] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.
[190] Quirino, *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines*, 94.
[191] E. Arsenio Manuel, *Francisco Santiago: Composer and Pianist Virtuoso* (Quezon City: Varlerio Publishing House, 1997), 7.
[192] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.
[193] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[194] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[195] "Love and Music," *The Straits Times* (18 October 1907), 7.
[196] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.
[197] Ramon L. Navas, "Royalty Honors Filipino Pianist," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 August 1920), 2, 4.
[198] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926),

187. Richard Sparks, member of vaudeville troupe that toured China, 1926.[199]

188. E. Suesa, Nagcarlang, Laguna, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[200]

189. Theodore Tapia, worked at French Club Orchestra, Shanghai. Had played previously in Shanghai at Del Monte 1924. His parents are also in Shanghai.[201]

190. Carlos Tempongko, mando-cello, member of Los Angeles Filipino String Orchestra at Bluebird Café, early 1920s.[202]

191. Antonio Tobis, Laguna, member of Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, 1928.[203]

192. Mr. Tony, (possibly Filipino), working and traveling with The Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. of Singapore to Malacca, 1928.[204]

193. Rosendo Torres, member of 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan, 1923.[205]

194. Signor Troni, leader of The Seven Hollywood Melodians, active in Dutch East Indies late 1920s.[206]

195. Nemesio Trono, piano, member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[207]

64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

[199] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.

[200] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.

[201] "Sequel to Shanghai Elopement," *North China Herald* (21 June 1924), 468.

[202] Ben A. Markson, "Melody Lovers Get a Rare Treat," *Los Angeles Times* (22 June 1923), II3.

[203] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.

[204] "Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. ad," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5; "Spanish Tea Garden ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 December 1928), 18.

[205] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.

[206] "Hollwood's Dancing ad," *De Indische courant* (3 April 1928), 9; "Hollwood's Dancing ad," *De Indische courant* (10 April 1928), 11.

[207] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.

196. Mr. S. L. Ubag – member of Filipino Five, performed in Missouri in May 1921.[208]

197. Mrs. S. L. Ubag – member of Filipino Five, performed in Missouri in May 1921.[209]

198. Helen Van, the Manila "Kid", 8 year-old vaudeville star touring California with Vicente Yerro, had worked in Honolulu for 5 months, plays ukulele and saxophone.[210]

199. Pedro Valencia, drums, member of 7-piece band going to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[211]

200. Valencia [unclear if first or last name], trombonist, member of Reinaldo Garcia's band in Batavia, 1926.[212] [Possibly same as above]

201. Eulalio A. Valeroso, cellist, Siniloan, Laguna, member of Hongkong Hotel orchestra, 1923.[213]

202. F. Varela, mandolin, member of Manila Jazz Band, Oriental Hotel, Kobe before band returns to Manila in late 1921.[214]

203. Sr. Francisco D. Veloso, leading brass band in Beijing at University of Tsing Hwa, had studied in U.S., banjo, of Lukban, Tayabas, had been instructor at Tsinghua University in Beijing, had organized student band there, member of Belmont Five Jazz band, Tientsin, China, 1922-1923.[215]

204. Cipriano Vidal, member of opera troupe from Manila performing at Singapore New World Shows, 1928.[216]

205. J. Villanueva, Baliuag, Bulacan, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[217]

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[208] "At the Theaters," *The Columbia Missourian* [MO] (14 May 1921), 2.
[209] "At the Theaters," *The Columbia Missourian* [MO] (14 May 1921), 2.
[210] "Manila 'Kid' Making Good in States," *Graphic* (27 August 1927), 22; "Manila Artists in California. *Graphic* (31 Dec 1927), 31.
[211] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.
[212] Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*, 20.
[213] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[214] Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[215] Ramon L. Navas, "Musica 'Celestial,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (15 October 1921), 31, 34; "Are 'Jazzers and Soldiers Too,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (12 August 1922), 2.
[216] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (20 January 1928), 10.

206. L. Villanueva, Baliuag, Bulacan, member of Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra.[218]

207. Vicente Yerro, vaudeville, in Hawaii in 1926, 1927, possibly California, then Java in 1929.[219]

B) Ensembles with at least One Filipino Member

1. Adelphi Hotel, Filipino Band/Grand Filipino Band, Singapore, played dance music, operatic pieces, all through 1916, lots and lots of ads, through 1917.[220]

2. Admiral Line ships, Filipino bands common until begin to be replaced by American groups in October 1922.[221]

3. Aglow's Filipino string band, played event, likely in Malacca, 1921.[222]

4. Antido Brothers Company orchestra, touring Singapore in 1922, although perhaps used local orchestra led by a Mr. J. H. Brandon (who was still in Singapore at Adelphi in 1923 after Antido group left).[223]

5. Dave Apollon's Filipino orchestra, group accompanying his vaudeville show in U.S. in 1929.[224]

6. Alhambra Theater, Filipino brass band/string band for funeral in Singapore, 1909.[225]

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[217] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[218] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[219] "Filipino 'Harold Lloyd' Happy in Hawaii," *The Philippines Free Press* (5 February 1927), 12; "Vicente Yerro el Harold Lloyd Filipino," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 September 1922), 33; "Manila Artists in California," *Graphic* (31 December 1927), 31; "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "El Poder del Kundiman," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 August 1926), 62, 63.
[220] "Adelphi Hotel Ad," *The Straits Times* (22 February 1916), 8; "Masquerade Ball," *The Singapore Free Press* (1 July 1916), 7; "Willison's Circus," *Singapore Free Press* (15 November 1917), 10.
[221] "Beginning with the Steamer," *The Straits Times* (4 October 1922), 8.
[222] "On Sunday...," *The Straits Time* (7 January 1921), 8.
[223] "Goodwood Hall," *The Singapore Free Press* (13 May 1922), 12; "Goodwood Hall Nights" *The Straits Times* (11 May 1922), 10.
[224] "Filipino Killed in Holland Hotel Fire," *Variety* (4 December 1929), 37.

7. Andy Baclig's Manila Syncopators, 6 piece group in Hawaii (he led other groups on plantations there), around 1926.[226]
8. The Belmont Five, Filipino soldiers volunteering in American military group doubling as jazz band in Belmont Hotel, Tientsin, China will be there another year 1922-1923.[227]

9. Bluebird Cafeteria Filipino String Orchestra, Los Angeles, playing regularly on radio, 1923, 7-8 members (maybe turned into New Oriental Café Filipino String Orchestra).[228]

10. Cabaret Maxim, Bangkok, 4-piece Filipino band including pianist Bernabe S. Solis, begins 1913-1914.[229]

11. The "Californians," Yokohama c. 1928. A photo of this group shows three African American musicians (Gene Powers, Bill Powers, Buck Campbell), and six Filipino musicians (saxophone, guitar/banjo, drums, bass/tuba, trombone, trumpet). All are wearing suits and ties, trumpeter has music stand.[230]

12. Canton, Filipino jazz orchestra at large cabaret, 1928.[231]

13. Chinese New Year celebration, Filipino Band played event, Singapore, 1909.[232]

14. Chinese YMCA, Shanghai, Filipino orchestra at event, January 1908.[233]

15. Cinematograph, Filipino band, Singapore, 1907.[234]

16. Del Monte Orchestra, cabaret, Shanghai, has at least some Filipino members.[235]

17. Darul Adab Club, Filipino Band at sporting event, Singapore, 1907.[236]

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[225] "The Late Mr. Tan Keong Saik," *The Straits Times* (6 October 1909), 7.
[226] Quirino, *Contemporary Jazz in the Philippines*, 94.
[227] "Are 'Jazzers and Soldiers Too,'" *The Philippines Free Press* (12 August 1922), 2.
[228] Ben A. Markson, "Radioland Jury Won by Melody," *Los Angeles Times* (7 June 1923), II3; K. G. Ormiston, "Students Heard Radio Program," *The Los Angeles Times* (8 December 1923), II5.
[229] Ramon L. Navas, "Royalty Honors Filipino Pianist," *The Philippines Free Press* (21 August 1920), 2, 4.
[230] Tom Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast* (Enfield, GB: Storyville Publications, 1982), 168.
[231] "New Books," *Northern Star* [Lismore] (8 September 1928), 14.
[232] Chinese New Year Sports," *The Straits Times* (8 February 1909), 8.
[233] "The Chinese YMCA," *North China Herald* (31 January 1908), 255.
[234] "Love and Music," *The Straits Times* (18 October 1907), 7.
[235] "Sequel to Shanghai Elopement," *North China Herald* (21 June 1924), 468.

18. Deli company band, Medan, Sumatra, large ensemble with Filipinos, led by Mr. Sabate.[237]

19. Des Indies hotel, Batavia, Filipino band, c. 1921.[238]
20. Gerardo Enriquez Filipino Quintet, playing English theaters in Beijing and Tientsin before 1920.[239]

21. Enriquez Orchestra, playing at Grand Hotel du Commerce of Haiphong, French Indo-China, 6-piece band led by Mr. Gerardo Enriquez, 1923.[240]

22. Europe Hotel band, Singapore, 1928-1933 led by non-Filipino Claude Oliveiro, with 8 Filipinos.[241]

23. European Club's Filipino band playing weekly dances at in Shameen, Canton, 1923.[242]

24. Jose S. Felix's 6-piece German band in Europe, now in Sweden (only one Filipino).[243]

25. Filipino band from Singapore local hotels, 20 members, playing special event, 1923.[244]

26. Filipino band from Singapore local hotels, 20 members, coming together for Rizal Day in Singapore in 1927, band led by Mr. A. Raquiza, also featured, F. Balingit (violin), M. Anciano (piano), L. Palapo (saxophone). Played classical music then dance music, including Charleston.[245]

27. Filipino Christian Fellowship band in Los Angeles, 12-piece group, Made up of Ilocanos from Paoay, led by Gervasio C. Bagasao.[246]

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[236] "Darul Adab Sports," *The Straits Times* (5 August 1907), 8.
[237] V. P. Maddela, "Tells about 'Orang Manila' in Sumatra: Filipinos in Sumatra," *The Philippines Free Press* (22 October 1921), 2, 18, 19.
[238] Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5.
[239] "Escuela de Musica ad," *The Independent* (7 Feb 1920), 35.
[240] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[241] From the Oral History collection of the Singapore National Archives, see Claude Oliveiro, reels 1-4, accession number 001085.
[242] O. M. Green, "Shameen," *North China Herald* (22 December 1923), 84.
[243] "Filipino Leads German Jazz-band in Sweden," *The Philippines Free Press* (25 May 1929), 15.
[244] "Brother James, O.B.E.," *The Straits Times* (20 July 1923), 9.
[245] "Filipinos and Music," *The Straits Times* (19 February 1927), 10.
[246] "Making Paoay Known in California," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 May 1929), 48.

28. The Filipino Five, group of Filipinos who studied at U.S. colleges performing a mix of Filipino music and jazz in Columbia, Missouri for a two-day show in May 1921.[247]

29. Floradora acting/vaudeville troupe toured Hongkong and elsewhere before 1926, included Bebe Didiers and Agustin Llopis.[248]

30. French Club orchestra, Shanghai, includes Filipino members.[249]

31. Prima Garcia Manila Jazz Band/Garcia and his Five Stompers traveling through Java in 1928, 7 piece band (at least there are 7 instruments); Prima Garcia, band leader, went through Java 1928, with somebody called "Filipino Charlie Chaplin," Sticks around through 1929.[250]

32. Reinaldo Garcia orchestra in Batavia 1926, included Valencia (trombonist), Nacisco "Siso" Sambayon (trumpet), Tequio Sambayon (alto sax), Minoa Sambayon (tenor sax), Remi Ramirez (guitar).[251]

33. Golden Jade Hotel's Filipino band, mid-1920s, Shanghai.[252]

34. S. S. Golden State, 8-piece Filipino band, 1921.[253]

35. Godino Brothers and Filipino jazz band, adopted-Filipino Siamese twins and band doing vaudeville tour of U.S. 1929.[254]

36. Prof. Gonzales' Taikoo Club orchestra, Hong Kong, December 1920.[255]

37. Prof. Gonzalez' O.K. Jazz Band, regular band for Lee Garden dances in Hong Kong, 1926.[256]

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[247] "At the Theaters," *The Columbia Missourian* [MO] (14 May 1921), 2.
[248] "La historia del mas joven director...," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 September 1926), 59.
[249] "Sequel to Shanghai Elopement," *North China Herald* (21 June 1924), 468.
[250] "Globe Garden ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (16 July 1928), 3; "Globe Garden ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (4 August 1928), 8; "Globe Garden ad," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 10 December 1929, 8.
[251] Möller, *Batavia A Swinging Town!*, 20.
[252] Allard Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra." *Storyville* 62 (February/March 1976), 98.
[253] "Social and General," *Japan Advertiser* (3 February 1921), 5.
[254] "Whoopee-Making Samar Twins," *Graphic* (4 December 1929), 48; "Romance of the Yangco Twins," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 June 1929), 36-37; F. Bello-Bueno, "Godino Boys Going Strong," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 November 1929), 6, 42.
[255] "Taikoo Club Annual Ball," *South China Morning Post* (31 December 1920), 12.

38. Grand Hotel, Beijing, Filipino band, c. 1923.[257]

39. Grand Hotel, Yokohama, Filipino band, gone by September 1923.[258]

40. Hanoi, three Filipino musicians in Hanoi for classical concert in 1925.[259]

41. Hongkong Hotel, Hong Kong, Filipino band, c. 1921.[260]

42. Hongkong Hotel 15-piece orchestra, all Filipinos in 1923.[261]

43. House Hotel band, Shanghai, Filipino band, c. 1923.[262]
44. Hotel Riviera, Macau, Filipino band at party in 1928.[263]

45. Iberia Vaudeville Company of Manila, touring Singapore 1925.[264]

46. Imperial Hotel, Filipino band with 1-2 Americans, Tokyo, 1922.[265]

47. Imperial Hotel, 5-piece Filipino jazz band, Tokyo, 1924.[266]

48. Jimmie Little Filipino Orchestra, touring throughout India, 1927-1928.[267]

49. Jazz Manillais, led by A. Estella, playing Cabaret Mr. Bobino, Simpang Restaurant, Surabaya, Oct 1923 and onwards, Mr. Majurel joins.[268]

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[256] "Lee Garden Dance," *South China Morning Post* (26 January 1926), 4.
[257] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[258] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[259] "Los dorados palacios de Hanoi...," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 May 1925), 38, 46.
[260] Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5.
[261] R. McCulloch Dick, "Hongkong's Filipino Orchestra," *The Philippines Free Press* (17 March 1923), 2.
[262] "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[263] Neto Oswaldo Da Veiga Jardim, "The Role of the Military and Municipal Bands in Shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935," M.A. thesis (University of Hong Kong, 2002), 125, n. 366.
[264] "Saiful Kahar," *The Straits Times* (3 June 1925), 10; "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (17 June 1925), 10.
[265] "Opening Tiffin Is Served in New Hotel Dining Room," *The Japan Advertiser* (4 July 1922), 2.
[266] "'Jazzistas' Filipinos Invaden y Conquistan Tokyo," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 June 1924), 46.
[267] Mussoorie Season," *The Times of India* (9 May 1927), 14; "Current Topics: Bombay's New Orchestra," *The Times of India* (9 November 1927), 10; "Broadcasting Notes: Revival of Relaying," *The Times of India* (16 January 1928), 16.

50. Kaihin Hotel, Filipino orchestra, Kamakura, Japan (just south of Yokohama), dinner and dance music, May-June 1921, return to Manila in Sept 1921.[269]

51. S. S. Korea, Filipino band, 1910-1915.[270]

52. Los Angeles YMCA Filipino boys' orchestra, at event in 1920.[271]

53. S.S. Manchuria, Filipino band, 1910-1915.[272]

54. Manila Amusement vaudeville troupe, starring Atang de la Rama, trip to Hawaii and U.S. in 1926.[273]

55. Manila Band, playing event in Batavia in 1930.[274]

56. Manila Smiles Club Jazz Band, 5-piece, went on trip to perform in U.S. in 1924.[275]

57. Manila Vaudeville troupe did big tour of China 1926.[276]

58. Amie Maynard's former band, 7-piece group doing to Dutch East Indies, 1927.[277]

59. Mariano's Band, Filipino-led band in Penang, 1907.[278]

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[268] "Agenda," *De Indische courant* (24 October 1922), 10; "Agenda," *De Sumatra Post* (23 February 1923), 10.
[269] "Social and General," *Japan Advertiser* (21 May 1921), 5; "Social and General," *Japan Advertiser* (17 June 1921), 5; "Social and General," *Japan Advertiser* (17 September 1921), 5.
[270] "Korea Encounters Winter Weather," *San Francisco Call* (14 January 1911), 15; "The 'Emden's' Commander," *Ceylon Observer* (12 November 1914), 2024; "Pacific Mail SS ad," *The Times of India* (11 November 1912), 1.
[271] "Plan Goodwill Work," *Los Angeles Times* (9 October 1920), II9.
[272] "The 'Emden's' Commander," *Ceylon Observer* (12 November 1914), 2024; "Pacific Mail SS ad," *The Times of India* (11 November 1912), 1.
[273] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57;
[274] "Capitol ad," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (29 August 1930), 4.
[275] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.
[276] "En que consistio el maltrato a la Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (19 June 1926), 57; "Vitang en Shanghai," *The Philippines Free Press* (24 July 1926), 64; "Manila Vaudeville Stars Back From China After Stirring Experiences," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 October 1926), 32-33.
[277] "Land Javanese Contract," *Graphic* (20 August 1927), 31.

60. Marine Engineer's Institute Dance, Shanghai, Filipino band playing, January 1909.[279]

61. "Men o' Blues" Orchestra, from Pangasinan, contracted to play on Empress ships, 12-piece, reading band 1929.[280]

62. S. S. Minnesota Filipino band, 6-piece string band, on Great Northern Steamship Co. ship from Manila to Seattle, 1914.[281]

63. S. S. Mongolia, Filipino band, 1910-1915.[282]

64. Nanwo Dancing Club, Filipino Orchestra, Tokyo, 1922.[283]

65. New World, Singapore, Opera troupe from Manila, Manila performing 1928.[284]

66. New World Cabaret, Singapore, Filipino Band playing dance music, 1929.[285]

67. New York Manilla Jazz Orchestra, Harry Levine and Dan Hopkins, these two leaders are not Filipino, but are with a 9-piece group with Filipinos, in Batavia, 1924.[286]

68. Oriental Hotel, Bangkok, Filipino band, c. 1921.[287]

69. Oriental Hotel, Kobe, Filipino "Manila Jazz Band", 10-piece band, began there in 1919, took holiday in summer of 1921, included violinist J. F. Fernandez.[288]

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[278] "Penang Notes," *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser* (22 April 1907), 3.
[279] "[Social]," *North China Herald* (2 January 1909), 44.
[280] "Men o' Blues," *Graphic* (18 December 1929), 28.
[281] Noble H. W. Hale, *Pilgrimage to Manila, Philippine Islands: Nile Temple, A.A.O.N.M.S., December 30, 1913-March 12, 1914* (Seattle: Ivy Press, [1914?]), 21.
[282] "Newest 'Rag' Is Ocean Born," *San Francisco Call* (10 July 1913), 1; Mack P. Cretcher, *A Tenderfoot in the Tropics* (Topeka, KS: Crane & Company, 1918), 11; "The 'Emden's' Commander," *Ceylon Observer* (12 November 1914), 2024; "Pacific Mail SS ad," *The Times of India* (11 November 1912), 1.
[283] "Nanwo Shokai ad," *The Japan Advertiser* (4 February 1922), 10.
[284] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (18 January 1928), 10.
[285] "New Cabaret Show." *The Straits Times*. 20 December 1929, p. 14.
[286] "Restaurant Centraal Passar Gambir ad," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (14 August 1924), 7.
[287] Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5.
[288] "Social and General," *Japan Advertiser* (22 July 1921), 5.

70. Oriental Hotel, Kobe, new version of Fernandez's "Manila Jazz Band," 8-piece group, begin October 1921, includes some members of older band.[289]

71. Oriental Shows, New World Amusement Park, Singapore, Filipino Orchestra performing in 1924.[290]

72. Oriental Shows, New World Amusement Park, Singapore, a different Filipino jazz band from Manila arrives in April 1924.[291]

73. Palace Hotel, Shanghai, Filipino band, c. 1921.[292]

74. Penang, two Filipino bands played funeral, 1918.[293]

75. Penang, Rizal Day celebrations feature 22-piece Filipino orchestra playing dance and classical pieces, 1920.[294]

76. Philippine Troubadours, playing charity event in Mandalay, Burma 1923, led by Mr. Delphin.[295]

77. "Phillipino Band" [sic], playing various places in Calcutta in April 1926.[296]

78. R. B. Pineda's Filipino jazz band, 6 members looking for work in Singapore in July 1923.[297]

79. President Lincoln jazz band, 1924, included at least 2 Filipinos.[298]

80. S. S. President Pierce Filipino band, 1924.[299]

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[289] "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser* (6 September 1921), 5; "Social and General," *Japan Advertiser* (1 October 1921), 5; "Hotel Gets Orchestra," *The Japan Advertiser* (14 October 1921), 3; Pedro Jose Pido, "Manila Jazz Band," *The Philippines Free Press* (30 July 1921), 4.
[290] "The Oriental Shows," *The Straits Times* (18 March 1924), 6.
[291] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (28 April 1924), 10.
[292] Ramon L. Navas, "Filipino Seekers of Fortune in the Seven Seas," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 June 1921), 5.
[293] "Colombo Concert," *Singapore Free Press* (6 December 1918), 4.
[294] "Penang Filipinos Honor Memory of Rizal," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 February 1920), 2.
[295] "Filipinos in Mandalay," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 15.
[296] "Amusements," *The Statesman* (13 April 1926), 4; "Palais de Danse ad," *The Statesman* (17 April 1926), 4.
[297] "Filipino Jazz Band ad," *The Straits Times* (20 July 1923), 6.
[298] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.

81. Queen's Theatre Symphony Orchestra, Hongkong, includes 20 Filipinos 1928.[300]

82. Ray's College Chum Orchestra, 5-piece band touring on Empress of Asia ship 1926.[301]

83. "Real Original Manila Jazz Band"/Manila Orchestra/Manila Jazz Band/Original Manila 5, led by American Harry Levine, includes Nina, Kitty Barlow, Gomez, Marie Segon playing in Java (Surabaya and Jakarta), 1923, four months in Surabaya, more in other cities in Java see members above.[302]

84. Red Cross Fundraiser, Filipino string band at Raffles Place, Singapore, 1918.[303]

85. Royal Manila Orchestra, playing on vaudeville circuit, in Providence, RI in 1929.[304]

86. Royal "Philippino" Sextet, rondalla-like ensemble in Washington state, personnel same since 1914, classical, popular, Filipino music, 1920.[305]

87. St. Andrew's school, Singapore, Filipino band playing event, 1919.[306]

88. Selangor State band, Kuala Lumpur, led by Federico Buenaventure, not sure how many are Filipino.[307]

89. The Seven Hollywood Melodians, led by Sign. Troni, in Surabaya, 1928, "First class Manila band."[308]

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[299] John Hudson Poole, *Buena Vista: An American View of the Philippine Islands* (Pasadena: Privately Printed, 1925), 15.
[300] "Filipinos Dominate Hongkong Orchestras," *The Philippines Free Press* (28 July 1928), 35.
[301] "'Ray and His Orchestra' of the Empress of Asia…," *The Philippines Free Press* (18 December 1926), 40.
[302] "Simpang Varietes & Restaurant ad," *De Indische courant* (7 July 1923), 4; "Decapark," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (1 September 1923), 2; "Filipino Musicians Abroad," *The Philippines Free Press* (29 September 1923), 2.
[303] "Our Day," *The Singapore Free Press* (29 October 1918), 8.
[304] "Variety Bills," *Variety* (18 December 1929), 44.
[305] "Royal 'Philippino' Sextet Makes a Hit in the United States," *The Philippines Free Press* (14 August 1920), 20.
[306] "St. Andrew's School," *Singapore Free Press* (7 August 1919), 84.
[307] "'Fred' of Kuala Lumpur," *The Philippines Free Press* (3 July 1926), 8, 25.
[308] "Hollwood's Dancing ad," *De Indische courant* (3 April 1928), 9; "Hollwood's Dancing ad," *De Indische courant* (10 April 1928), 11.

90. Shanghai Municipal Band, from 1879 through 1920s includes up to 30 Filipinos.[309]
91. S. S. Siberia, Filipino band, 1910-1915.[310]

92. Singapore Anglo-Chinese school, Filipino band played at sporting event, Singapore 1909.[311]

93. Singapore City Opera Orchestra/Jazz Band, 1925, includes Filipino musicians.[312]

94. Singapore Philharmonic Orchestra, includes many Filipino players, as well as British, French, German, Swiss, American, Spanish, Dutch, Belgian, Russian, Maltese, Portuguese, 1 Chinese now, founded in 1891 so personnel shifts around.[313]

95. Smiles Club jazz band, 6 members when took tour to U.S. in 1924.[314]

96. Spanish Tea Garden, Singapore, 1928, has "excellent Filipino band" for dance music, also appears in Malacca.[315]

97. Straits Chinese Recreation Club, Filipino band playing at Straits Chinese Recreation Club Chinese New Year event, Singapore 1908.[316]

98. Tokyo, 6-piece Filipino string band in Japan when earthquake hit 1923.[317]

99. S. S. Venezuela, Filipino band, 1919.[318]

100. Ylaya/Ilaya Manila Jazz Band, in Surabaya 1924 at Simpang Restaurant.[319]

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[309] "Music in Shanghai," *The Musical Times* (1 October 1904), 642-643; Francisco M. Benedicto, "Shanghai, the New York of China," *The Philippines Free Press* (26 June 1920), 20, 21.
[310] "Korea Encounters Winter Weather," *San Francisco Call* (14 January 1911), 15; "The 'Emden's' Commander," *Ceylon Observer* (12 November 1914), 2024; "Pacific Mail SS ad," *The Times of India* (11 November 1912), 1.
[311] "School Sports," *The Straits Times* (19 July 1909), 8.
[312] "The City Opera Co. Of Singapore," *Malayan Saturday Post* (19 December 1925), 2.
[313] "Philharmonic Orchestra," *The Straits Times* (14 February 1922), 9.
[314] "Es mas facil salvar America que aduanas?" *The Philippines Free Press* (22 November 1924), 39, 42.
[315] "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (2 July 1928), 10; "Spanish Tea Garden Vaudeville Co. ad," *The Malacca Guardian* (26 November 1928), 5.
[316] "New Year Sports," *The Straits Times* (2 March 1908), 8.
[317] "Mga musikong Pilipinong…" *Liwayay* (13 October 1923), between pp. 12-13.
[318] "May be Fiddlers but Classification is that of Seamen," *The Manila Times* (24 November 1919), 2.

[319] "Jazz-Band," *De Indische courant* (5 May 1924), 6; "Simpang Varietes & Restaurant ad," *De Indische courant* (, 13 August 1924), 11.

Appendix B: African American Performers in Asia, c. 1920-1930.

Despite the relative lack of scholarship on this subject, African American performers were working in colonial Asia well before the start of the 1930s. In this appendix, I begin to document their presence by providing some of the evidence I found during my course of research. This is by no means an exhaustive list. Based on observations published in *The Chicago Defender*, though, it seems likely that the community of African American performers in the region remained under one hundred individuals until the early 1930s.

While this appendix seeks to include a range of performers, not simply instrumentalists, I should note what this appendix does not cover. I do not include, for example, those musicians whose planned tours to Asia did not materialize. Several groups performed in Honolulu with the option of continuing on to Asia. Sid LeProtti and his band worked in Honolulu for six months in 1916 and received an offer to play in Shanghai and Hong Kong. Before they could continue on across the Pacific, however, they were drafted to enter the U.S. military.[1] Similarly, in 1928 a group of twenty-two entertainers led by Buddy DeLoach performed in Honolulu. They also planned to continue on to Asia but returned to the U.S. instead.[2] Through the mid-1930s, other

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[1] Tom Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast* (Enfield, GB: Storyville Publications, 1982), 140.

[2] Members of his troupe who only went to Honolulu and did not later join Wilbur's Blackbirds included Thelma Porter, George Green, Upshaw and Johnson, Eva Bates, B. Rogers, Pauline Jones, Eva Bates, Ed Barnett, Baron Moorhead, James Rogers. T.O. Hunt, and William Hendricks. See Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope," *The Chicago Defender* (21 April 1928), 6; "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope," *The Chicago Defender* (18 August 1928), 6.

groups, such as Sonny Clay's ensemble, reported receiving offers to perform in Asia that they may have never actually capitalized upon.[3] My focus on colonial Asia also means that I do not include African Americans who performed in Hawaii, Australia, or New Zealand. While a search in these regions would doubtless reveal several performers, Australia became a largely inhospitable to African American entertainers after Sonny Clay's group was effectively thrown out of the country in 1928.[4] In addition, I focus on those who traveled primarily as performers. Thus, I do not include here soldiers who also performed music on the side. These amateur musicians would have included members of the Ninth Cavalry Jazz Band stationed at Fort Stotsenberg, Philippines from the late 1910s to 1922, and a small number of African American soldiers who traveled from the Philippines to be stationed in Vladivostok from 1918 to 1920.

I would like to provide a brief note about Wilbur's Blackbirds, a large ensemble whose members comprise just over a quarter of the list below. This group was formed after Buddy DeLoach returned from his engagement in Honolulu in 1928. He helped organize a group of fourteen African Americans for a 14-month tour of Asia from August 1928 to May 1929.[5] The group, which staged variety shows with minstrelsy and jazz, traveled to Honolulu, Tokyo, Kobe, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Surabaya, Batavia (and smaller cities in central Java), Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and other cities in

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[3] Harry Levette, "Coast Codgings," *The Chicago Defender* (9 June 1934), 8.
[4] Dave Peyton, "The Musical Bunch: Things in General," *The Chicago Defender* (5 May 1928), 6; Bruce Johnson, "Deportation Blues: Black Jazz and White Australia in the 1920s," *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, 1, no. 1 (2010): 1-13; Jack Mitchell, "Colored Ideas," *Storyville* 61 (October-November 1975), 19-23.
[5] The group featured the two Burns Brothers, Morgan Prince, Harvey Jackson, Norman Steward, Burton Dunson, Frank Rogers, Frank Shriver, Buddy DeLoach, Gladys Jackson, Lottie Brown, Evan Kelly, Marie Lewis, and Buddy Brown.

the Federated Malay States, Bangkok, Rangoon, Mandalay, Calcutta, and Agra.[6] Their trip would have likely extended on to Bombay but they cut their tour short after Marie Lewis died from pneumonia.

African American Performers in Asia, c. 1920-1930.

1. Abrahams, J. M. – leader of string band in Hong Kong by 1929, was still in Hong Kong in late 1930.[7]

2. Augustine, Frank – bandleader, had been in Shanghai since at least 1921 leading group at Del Monte Café. He began leading a group in Shanghai's Tavern Café on April 5, 1924. He remained in Shanghai through at least February 1931, when he was leading a band at the Savoy.[8]

3. Baldwin, Al E. – Was in Honolulu with DeLoach in April 1928. Within the year, was performing in Shanghai with William Hegamin at the Little Club. He may have also toured to Calcutta at some point. He was still in Shanghai through April 1934.[9]

4. Brown, Buddy – left San Francisco on Aug 15, 1929. Toured Asia as part of Wilbur's Blackbirds.[10]

5. Brown, Lottie – Singer, toured Asia as a member of Wilbur's Blackbirds.[11]

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[6] For a photo of the group, see Lawrence Gushee, *Pioneers of Jazz: The Story of the Creole Band* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 237.
[7] "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5.
[8] Mark Miller, *Some Hustling This! Taking Jazz to the World, 1914-1929.* Toronto: The Mercury Press (2005), 128; "Tavern café ad," *North China Daily News* (5 April 1924), 17; Tavern Café ad, *The China Press* (12 April 1924), 4; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; "Thompson Going Big in Shanghai: Many Other Actors Scoring," *The Chicago Defender* (28 February 1931), 5.
[9] Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope." *The Chicago Defender* (21 April 1928), 6; "Al Baldwin Sends News from China," *The Chicago Defender* (19 October 1929), 7; "A. E. Baldwin Signs Year Contract in China," *The Chicago Defender* (24 August 1929), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; Harry Levette, "The Drinkards Score in Shanghai; Talk of Others," *The Chicago Defender* (28 April 1934), 8.
[10] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

6. Claude Burns – entertainer, singer, specialized in blackface minstrelsy. Toured Asia as a member of Wilbur's Blackbirds.[12]

7. Burns Brother number two – Claude Burns' unnamed brother, entertainer, toured Asia as a member of Wilbur's Blackbirds.[13]

8. Campbell, Buck – reeds, probably left U.S. between 1918-1922 for Asia, appears in a photo of a band in Yokohama c. 1925-1928.[14]

9. Carson, James "Jimmy"/"Jack" – recruited by Valaida Snow in 1927 to join Jack Carter's group in Shanghai. Carson toured with Carter through Asia and stayed on in Shanghai through at least 1935.[15]

10. Carter, Jack – see Appendix E.

11. Cheeks, William H. – with Louis and Anna Reese was part of the minstrel troupe first described as the "Louisiana Trio" and later called "The Jubilee Entertainers" and the "Darktown Minstrels." They were active in Manila in late 1920 and staged minstrel shows with "up-to-date jazz songs" over the next two years, performing in Shanghai, Yokohama, Singapore, Malacca, and in cities throughout India.[16]

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[11] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.
[12] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7; "Vaudeville Stars Coming," *The Manila Times* (17 October 1928), 2.
[13] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.
[14] Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast*, 140, 168.
[15] "Cabaret at the Adelhi [sic]," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 November 1928), 8; Mark Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm: The Life and Music of Valaida Snow* (Toronto: The Mercury Press, 2007), 47; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; Thelma Porter, "Stage Stars in China Tell of Fine Treatment Abroad," *The Chicago Defender* (29 September 1934), 9; Harry Levette, "The Drinkards Score in Shanghai; Talk of Others," *The Chicago Defender* (28 April 1934), 8; Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras" *The Chicago Defender* (16 March 1935), 10.
[16] E.g., "University Club to Stage Entertainment," *The Manila Times* (3 November 1920), 4; "Empire Theater ad," *The Independent* (18 December 1920), 13; "The Excelsior Ad," *Times of India* (4 July 1921), 5; "Yokohama to Hear Oldtime Minstrels," *The Japan Advertiser* (11 May 1922), 1; "Enthusiastic Audience at Minstrel Concert," *The Japan Advertiser* (13 May 1922), 5; "Victoria Theatre ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (8 November 1922), 2.

12. DeLoach/De Loach, Buddy – Was leading a large group in Honolulu in 1928. He planned to take the group to tour Asia but returned to the U.S. where he became part of Wilbur's Blackbirds. He toured Asia with the group.[17]

13. Dunson [Dunston], Buster [Burton] – female impersonator, toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds. Remained in Asia. Performed in Manila for a year around 1930 and was in Shanghai in 1933.[18]

14. Ethridge, Frank – banjo/violin, left U.S. in August 1926 to perform with Jack Carter in Shanghai. After his first contract expired, likely mid 1927, left with Albert Nicholas for Europe. They stopped to perform briefly in Singapore, and worked for six months performing in Cairo before continuing on to Paris.[19]

15. Farmer, Sheik – drummer, singer, trumpeter, in Shanghai 1929, in Japan by 1930, where he worked in Tokyo's Kiuze Social Club. Still in Tokyo in 1935.[20]

16. Grant, Archie – had been in Honolulu with DeLoach 1928. He worked in Tokyo's Kiuze Social Club in 1930 and by 1935 was still a bandleader in Tokyo.[21]

17. Graw, Archie – described as a "new performer" in Shanghai in October 1929.[22]

18. Hegamin, William O. – pianist, arranger, bandleader. First appeared in Asia as a member of the Manila Hotel Band in August 1923. He stayed in Manila until late 1925, with a brief stint in Shanghai with other members of the Manila Hotel band roughly from July to September 1924. By September 1925, he was back in Shanghai as a member of the New York Singing Syncopators. By December 1926 he was leading a band at Shanghai's Little Club. He remained working in Shanghai through the early 1930s, including seven years at the Cathay Hotel.

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[17] Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope." *The Chicago Defender* (21 April 1928), 6; "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.
[18] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; Bob Hill, "American Theater Stars Steal Show in Shanghai," *The Chicago Defender* (27 May 1933), 5.
[19] Richard Roger, "Albert Nicholas," *Storyville* 57 (February/March 1975), 91-92; Allard Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra," *Storyville* 62 (February/March 1976), 98.
[20] "Al Baldwin Sends News from China," *The Chicago Defender* (19 October 1929), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras" (16 March 1935), 10.
[21] "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras" (16 March 1935), 10.
[22] "Al Baldwin Sends News from China," *The Chicago Defender* (19 October 1929), 7.

Around 1942, he was put in a Japanese concentration camp in Shanghai. He finally returned to the U.S. with his family in late 1945.[23]

19. Hill, Bob – was with DeLoach in Honolulu in 1928. Played in Tokyo for several months during the Emperor's coronation in 1928 and reportedly was in Calcutta later that year. He was a "new" performer in Shanghai in October 1929. In 1935, he was a bandleader in Yokohama. In 1937, he took a band of African-Americans, Filipinos, and Hawaiians to perform in Singapore.[24]

20. Howard, Darnell – featured performer with the New York Singing Syncopators in Shanghai in late 1925, he replaced Andrew Rosemond when the Manila Hotel Band moved to China.[25]

21. Jackson, Bailey W. – saxophonist, arrived in Manila on 22 August 1923 to work in the Manila Hotel Band. Performer in Shanghai with Andrew Rosemond in 1925. [26]

22. Jackson (Smith), Bella – likely toured Europe with her partner William Smith from 1906 to 1913. By 1919, Jackson and Smith had reached Bombay with their act of "coon songs." They continued touring the region, appearing in Manila several times between 1921 and 1923. They also joined up with members of the Louisiana Trio (Cheeks, Rees, and Rees) to perform in cities such as Yokohama in 1922.[27]

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[23] "Jazz Babies Meet Rotarians," *The Manila Times* (23 August 1923), 2; "Orchestra Returns," *The Manila Times* (30 September 1924), 1; "The Little Club ad," *The China Press* (2 December 1926), 2; Harry Levette, "The Drinkards Score in Shanghai; Talk of Others," *The Chicago Defender* (28 April 1934), 8; Nora Holt, "After Two Years in Jap Prison, Famed Musician, Family Return," *New York Amsterdam News* (17 November 1945), 1, 27.

[24] "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; "Al Baldwin Sends News from China," *The Chicago Defender* (19 October 1929), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras" (16 March 1935), 10; "Real Red-Hot Music for Singapore," *The Singapore Free Press* (22 April 1937), 9; "Opening of Happy World," *The Singapore Free Press* (7 May 1937), 9.

[25] Dave Peyton, "The Musical Bunch: The Origin of Jazz," *The Chicago Defender* (12 December 1925), 7; Appendix F.

[26] "Pierce Arrives on Schedule," *The Manila Times* (22 August 1923), 6; "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (27 November 1923), 1; "Greetings From Manila," *The Chicago Defender* (11 April 1925), 6.

[27] Rainer Lotz, "Black Diamonds are Forever: A Glimpse of the Prehistory of Jazz in Europe," *The Black Perspective in Music* 12, no. 2 (1984): 221; "Gaiety Cinema ad," *Times of India* (8 August 1919), 3; "Lyric ad," *The Manila Times* (7 January 1921), 2; "Yokohama to Hear Oldtime Minstrels," *The Japan Advertiser* (11 May 1922), 1;

23. Jackson, Harvey "Harry" – singer, toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds.[28]

24. Jackson, Gladys – singer, with DeLoach in Honolulu in 1928. Toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds.[29]

25. Joyner, Bud – bandleader, was with DeLoach in Honolulu in April 1928. In August 1930, he was planning a "return to the Orient," implying that he had been to Asia before.[30]

26. Kelly, Evan – toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds.[31]

27. Langhams/Langum, Harry B. – drummer, at the start of the decade, he led a group of Filipinos while traversing the Pacific in the S.S. Empress of Russia's dance band. He continued working with Filipinos while performing in Manila from late 1921 to late 1924 before spending the rest of the decade traveling back and forth for engagements in Calcutta and Shanghai. He was still in Shanghai leading a band at Rector's Country Club in February 1931.[32]

28. Lewis [Louis], Ted – After reportedly performing in Europe in the early 1920s, Lewis made his way through India to Singapore. In December 1925 he began a residency leading a Filipino band at the Adelphi Hotel, eventually making his way to Shanghai by August 1929, where he continued to work with Filipino musicians. He was still leading a band at Shanghai's Mumm's Café by August 1930.[33]

"Enthusiastic Audience at Minstrel Concert," *The Japan Advertiser* (13 May 1922), 5; "The New Ambassador Theater," *The Manila Times* (1 October 1923), 9.

[28] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[29] Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope," *The Chicago Defender* (21 April 1928), 6; Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[30] "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5.

[31] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[32] "Santa Ana Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (22 January 1921), 6; "A Correspondent Says," *The Straits Times* (14 September 1921), 8; "Lerma ad," *The Manila Times* (31 December 1921), 7; "Rivoli," *The Manila Times* (24 September 1923), 8; "San Juan Cabaret ad," *The Manila Times* (26 November 1924), 1; "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (2 April 1925), 4; "Mumm's ad," *The China Press* (11 December 1926), 2; "Peliti's Ad," *The Statesman* (30 December 1928), 5; "Thompson Going Big in Shanghai: Many Other Actors Scoring," *The Chicago Defender* (28 February 1931), 5.

[33] E.g., "Local Wires," *The Singapore Free Press* (5 December 1925), 8; "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (14 December 1925), 10; "Public Amusements," *The Straits Times* (26 February 1926), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; "A. E. Baldwin Signs Year Contract in China," *The Chicago Defender* (24 August 1929), 7. For a photo of

29. Lewis, Marie – toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbird. Died at age 19 in 1929, buried in Kuala Lumpur.[34]

30. Moorman, Clinton R. – banjo and saxophone. Was in Shanghai in 1924, replaced Tony Yates in the Manila Hotel Band after the group made a trip to Shanghai in September 1924. He went back to Shanghai with members of the group in 1925. He died in Shanghai in December 1925.[35]

31. Nicholas, Albert – clarinetist, saxophonist. He left the U.S. in August 1926 to perform with Jack Carter in Shanghai. After his first contract expired, likely mid 1927, left with Frank Ethridge for Europe. They stopped to perform briefly in Singapore, and worked for six months performing in Cairo before continuing on to Paris.[36]

32. Paige, Billy – clarinet, sax, performed with Carter's band in Shanghai beginning August 1926. He was back in the U.S. by January 1927.[37]

33. Powers, Bill –piano, led band in Shanghai at Del Monte Café 1921, probably left U.S. between 1918-1922, was in Yokohama c. 1925-1928.[38]

34. Powers, Gene – reeds, (Bill's son) probably left U.S. between 1918-1922, photo of him in Yokohama c. 1925-1928.[39]

35. Prince, Morgan – toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds.[40]

36. Rees, Louis – was part of the minstrel troupe first described as the "Louisiana Trio." Performed in Manila in 1920 and toured widely over the next two years (See entry for William Cheeks).[41]

Lewis's group in Singapore see "Bands and Bandsmen," *The Era* (25 August 1926), 14-15. Thanks to Howard Rye for this last citation.

[34] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7; Buddy Brown, "Coast Dope," *The Chicago Defender* (27 April 1929), 6.

[35] "Orchestra Returns," *The Manila Times* (30 September 1924), 1; "Greetings From Manila." *The Chicago Defender* (11 April 1925), 6; Dave Peyton, "The Musical Bunch: Our Musicians in Europe," *The Chicago Defender* (2 January 1926), 7.

[36] Roger, "Albert Nicholas," 91-92; Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey, 98.

[37] Dave Peyton, "The Musical Bunch: Things in General," *The Chicago Defender* (29 January 1927), 6.

[38] Miller, *Some Hustling This!,* 128; Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast,* 140, 168.

[39] Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast,* 140, 168.

[40] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7. For more on the early part of his career see Lawrence Gushee, *Pioneers of Jazz: The Story of the Creole Band* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

37. Rees, Anna – was part of the minstrel troupe first described as the "Louisiana Trio." Performed in Manila in 1920 and toured widely over the next two years (See entry for William Cheeks).[42]

38. Rogers, Frank – ventriloquist, toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds.[43]

39. Rosemond, Andrew F. – violinist, member of Manila Hotel Band that began in August 1923 and continued through 1925, with brief trips to Shanghai. He was in Paris by late 1925 and later joined the faculty of the Tuskegee institute.[44]

40. Shiver [Shriver, Shyver, Shivers], Frank "Dr. Jazz" – pianist, with DeLoach in Honolulu 1928. Toured with Wilbur's Blackbirds then returned to Asia after 14 weeks working in Honolulu. In 1930 worked in Shanghai's Little Club before traveling to work in Surabaya by August of that year.[45]

41. Smith, William – likely toured Europe with his partner Bella Jackson from 1906 to 1913. By 1919, Jackson and Smith had reached Bombay with their act of "coon songs." They continued touring the region, appearing in Manila several times between 1921 and 1923. They also joined up with members of the Louisiana Trio (Cheeks, Rees, and Rees) to perform in cities such as Yokohama in 1922.[46]

42. Snow, Lavada – Traveled with her older sister Valada to Shanghai in either summer 1926 or late 1927. She may have performed as part of Carter's group in

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[41] "Enthusiastic Audience at Minstrel Concert," *The Japan Advertiser* (13 May 1922), 5; "Victoria Theatre ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (8 November 1922), 2.
[42] "Enthusiastic Audience at Minstrel Concert," *The Japan Advertiser* (13 May 1922), 5; "Victoria Theatre ad," *The Singapore Free Press* (8 November 1922), 2.
[43] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7; "Vaudeville Stars Coming," *The Manila Times* (17 October 1928), 2.
[44] "Greetings From Manila." *The Chicago Defender* (11 April 1925), 6; Dave Peyton, "The Musical Bunch: New Year's Eve," *The Chicago Defender* (9 January 1926), 6; "First Summer violin Classes in Closing," *The Chicago Defender* (2 September 1939), 12.
[45] "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; "Agenda," *De Indische courant* (6 August 1930), 2.
[46] Rainer Lotz, "Black Diamonds are Forever: A Glimpse of the Prehistory of Jazz in Europe," *The Black Perspective in Music* 12, no. 2 (1984): 221; "Gaiety Cinema ad," *Times of India* (8 August 1919), 3; "Lyric ad," *The Manila Times* (7 January 1921), 2; "Yokohama to Hear Oldtime Minstrels," *The Japan Advertiser* (11 May 1922), 1; "Enthusiastic Audience at Minstrel Concert," *The Japan Advertiser* (13 May 1922), 5; "The New Ambassador Theater," *The Manila Times* (1 October 1923), 9.

Shanghai but returned to the U.S. before Carter's tour of Asia began in November 1928.[47]

43. Snow, Valada [Valaida] – Was recruited to Shanghai in the summer of 1926 by Jack Carter. Performed with Carter's group in Shanghai, returned to U.S. in September 1927 to recruit new members for Carter's band. Toured with Carter through Asia until June 1929, when she left from Batavia for Paris alongside Carter and his brother Herman.[48]

44. Steward, Norman [Sonny Stewart] – toured Asia with Wilbur's Blackbirds.[49]

45. Thompson, U.S. – tap dancer, husband of Florence Mills. He opened at Shanghai's Little Club on December 25, 1930.[50]

46. Weatherford, Teddy – piano, recruited to Shanghai by Jack Carter in the summer of 1926. Toured Asia with Jack Carter in 1928-1929 then briefly went to Paris. Over the next decade he performed throughout the region in cities such as Shanghai and Surabaya before settling in Bombay until his death in 1945.[51]

47. White, Johnny – with DeLoach in Honolulu 1928. Was a "new" performer in Shanghai in October 1929. By August 1930 was working in Tokyo's Kiueze Social Club, Tokyo in August 1930.[52]

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[47] "Lincoln Perry's Letter," *The Chicago Defender* (15 October 1927), 8. While Allard Möller suggests that Lavada toured with Carter's group in 1928, there is no mention of her in any accounts of Carter's shows. Mark Miller's research shows that she actually returned to the U.S. before Carter's tour began: Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm*, 48. For Möller's article, see "A Jazz Odyssey," 97-103.

[48] Mark Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm*. See Appendix E for more details on her time with Carter.

[49] Buddy Brown, "Buddy' Letter [sic]," *The Chicago Defender* (5 January 1929), 7.

[50] "Thompson Going Big in Shanghai: Many Other Actors Scoring," *The Chicago Defender* (28 February 1931), 5.

[51] For a more detailed biography, see Peter Darke and Ralph Gulliver, "Teddy Weatherford," *Storyville* 65 (June-July 1976), 175-190. For his time with Carter, see Appendix E. For his time in India see Naresh Fernandes, *Taj Mahal Foxtrot: The Story of Bombay's Jazz Age* (New Delhi, India: Lustre Press/Roli Books, 2012), esp. 65-77. See also "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes," *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5; "Soerabaja's Ingezetenen," *Soerabaijasch handelsblad* (22 November 1935), 12; "Weatherford, Ace Pianist, Dies in India," *New York Amsterdam News* (14 July 1945), A1, B11.

[52] "Buddy De Loach Writes from Far Off Honolulu," *The Chicago Defender* (30 June 1928), 6; "Al Baldwin Sends News from China," *The Chicago Defender* (19 October 1929), 7; "Performer Tells of His Travels and Thrills of Oriental Climes." *The Chicago Defender* (23 August 1930), 5.

48. Williams, Clarence "Bo Diddley" – Recruited by Valaida Snow to join Jack Carter in Shanghai in October 1927. He toured Asia with Carter from 1928 to 1929 and appears to have remained in Asia after the tour. He was in Shanghai in early 1931 but was reportedly about to return to the U.S.[53]

49. Yates, Tony – banjo, arrived in Manila in August 1923 as part of the Manila Hotel band. He was replaced by Clinton Moorman in September 1924. He likely returned to the U.S. at that time.[54]

[53] See Appendix E; also "Aged Man is Stranded in Java Without Coin," *The Chicago Defender* (27 July 1929), 6; "Thompson Going Big in Shanghai: Many Other Actors Scoring," *The Chicago Defender* (28 February 1931), 5.
[54] "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (27 November 1923), 1.

Appendix C: Nicanor "Nick" Amper

This appendix offers a general chronology of the life of Filipino trombonist Nicanor "Nick" Amper. This fleshes out and provides some more specifics to the brief biography of Amper in Chapter Two.

1900

Hinunangan, Leyte: March 9.

Amper is born.[1]

c. 1915-1920

Manila

At some point during this period, Amper traveled to Manila to study at the University of Philippines music conservatory.[2] He likely also joined the Manila-based Philippine Constabulary Band around this time.

1921

Manila: November 20.

Amper was a featured member of a Philippine Constabulary Band concert at Manila's Luneta park. He participated in a quartette that performed a piece listed as "Musician Astray in the Forest," (idyll) by Herman.[3]

Manila: December 6.

Amper was featured as "The Musical Tramp" in Borromeo Lou's weekly Stadium vaudeville show.[4]

1923

Manila: July 29.

Amper was again listed as a featured soloist with the Philippine Constabulary band for their concert at the Luneta. He performed the "Miserere" from Verdi's *Il Travatore*. [5]

c. 1924

Manila or Shanghai.

During this year, Amper likely either traveled to Shanghai, where he would have performed with Jimmy Lequime, or he remained in Manila. If

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[1] Nicanor Amper, "Social Security Death Index," www.Ancestry.com, *U.S. Social Security Death Index, 1935-2014* [database on-line], accessed November 21, 2014; Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr. (12 March 2012).
[2] Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr. (12 March 2012).
[3] "Constabulary Band Program for Tonight," *The Manila Times* (20 November 1921), 8.
[4] "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (6 December 1921), 3.
[5] "Constabulary Band Program," *The Manila Times* (29 July 1923), 20.

he stayed in the Philippines then Lequime likely recruited to join him in Calcutta the following year.[6]

1925

Calcutta: May 14.

Amper begins a residency at the Grand Hotel as a member of Jimmy Lequime's band.[7]

Calcutta: c. mid-September.

Amper, along with other members of Lequime's ensemble, records "Soho Blues" and "The House Where the Shutters are Green" for the Gramophone Company.[8]

Calcutta: December 4.

Lequime's band celebrates the release of their record, which was first advertised in one of Calcutta's newspapers three days earlier.[9]

1926

Calcutta: c. April/mid-May.

Lequime's band ends their engagement at the Grand Hotel and they embark for Shanghai.[10]

Singapore: May 27-October 8.

Lequime's band, which is now a sextet that includes Amper, stops to perform at Raffles Hotel. They end up staying on through at least October 8. Amper is likely still with the group throughout this entire period.[11]

Shanghai: c. mid-October.

Amper joined Jack Carter's Plaza Hotel band, a group that debuted there on October 1.[12]

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[6] I have not been able to find mention of him in either city.

[7] "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (14 May 1925), 4.

[8] My estimate for this date is based on both the December release of this record and a September 9 advertisement for Lequime's group that does not mention the presence of banjoist Al Bowlly, who appeared on the record: "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (9 September 1925), 4.

[9] "L. C. Saha ad," *The Statesman* (1 December 1925), 4; "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (4 December 1925), 4.

[10] The last ad listing Lequime's group appears on March 27. They could have remained in Calcutta longer, however, since they did not appear in Singapore until May: "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (27 March 1926), 4.

[11] "Special Dance Band at Raffles," *The Straits Times* (27 May 1926), 10; "Charity Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (8 October 1926), 10.

[12] Peter Darke, Ralph Gulliver, "Teddy Weatherford," *Storyville* 65 (June/July 1976), 178; "Plaza Ballroom Reopening," *North China Daily News* (2 October 1926), 12.

Shanghai: December 24.

A photograph of Amper is included in an article about Jack Carter's band in Shanghai's American newspaper *The China Press* (Fig. 2.1).[13]

1927

Shanghai: July-October

Carter's band changes some personnel. It is unclear if Amper remains with his group after this period.[14]

1928

Shanghai (?): c. November.

By this point, Amper is no longer a member of Carter's group. He likely is either still in Shanghai but may have returned to Manila.

1929

U.S.: c. November.

Towards the end of 1929, Amper began a 10-month tour of the U.S. as a part of an all-Filipino band accompanying the conjoined Godino twins.[15]

1930

New York City.

Amper likely settled down in New York City by the later part of the year. Either in 1930 or 1931 he formed a band with at least two other Filipino members that began en engagement playing dance music at Chin-Lee's Restaurant in Manhattan.[16]

1931-1932

New York City: September 25.

Amper recorded two instrumentals for Victor Records with a group billed as "Nick Amper and his Filipino Stompers." The ensemble featured 11 pieces – two trumpets, trombone, three saxophones, violin, piano, banjo, tuba, drum set. They recorded two pieces by Vicente N. Villapando, likely a member of the band, titled "Manila Stomper Rag" and "Florence." These recordings were then exported to the Philippines.[17]

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[13] "Unrivalled Splendor at Plaza Tonight," *The China Press* (24 December 1926), 5.
[14] "Lincoln Perry's Letter," *The Chicago Defender* (15 October 1927), 8.
[15] F. Bello-Bueno, "Godino Boys Going Strong," *The Philippines Free Press* (2 November 1929), 6, 42.
[16] Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr. (12 March 2012);
[17] Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Volume 4: Spanish, Portuguese, Philippine, Basque* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2414; *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. :Victor matrix BRC-70257. Manila stomper rag / Nick Amper and his Filipino Stompers,"

New York City: August 23, 1931-mid-June 1932.

Amper appears for the first time on the radio station WRNY leading a group that is listed over the following months as "The Filipino Stompers," "Amper's Orchestra," and "Nick Amper's Manila Stompers." They begin playing in the evenings on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday but by mid-November cut back to Tuesday and Thursday nights. His listings stop appearing by mid-June 1932.[18]

Brooklyn, NY: August 11, 1932.

Amper married Filomena Engrasial.[19]

1933-1937

Brooklyn.

In 1933, Amper's first son, Nicanor Jr., was born. He and his wife had several other children over the next few years.[20]

1938

Brooklyn.

Amper divorced Filomena and moved to Florida.[21]

1972

Mobile, AL: June 30.

Amper died.[22]

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http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800036584/BRC-70257-Manila_stomper_rag accessed January 19, 2015,

[18] "Radio Programs Scheduled for Current Week," *The New York Times* (23 August 1931), X10; "Regular Radio Features," *The New York Amsterdam News* (25 November 1931), 7; "Regular Radio Features," *The New York Amsterdam News* (15 June 1932), 9.

[19] "Nicanor Amper," (11 August 1932), *New York, New York, Marriage Indexes 1866-1937* www.Ancestry.com, accessed November 21, 2014.

[20] Interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr.

[21] Interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr.

[22] "Nicanor Gallano Amper death index" (30 July 1972), *Alabama, Deaths and Burials Index, 1881-1974* [database on-line], www.Ancestry.com, accessed November 21, 2014; Phone interview with Nicanor Amper, Jr.

Appendix D: James "Jimmy" Gaston Lequime

As the bandleader of one of the better-known recordings of jazz in colonial Asia, Jimmy Lequime appears with some regularity in scholarship on this topic.[1] Yet, while Lequime is mentioned in several recent works on jazz in India practically everything written about him is based on Ranier Lotz's liner notes to *Jazz and Hot Dance in India*.[2] Lotz's notes, in turn, draw upon an older article by Henry Stonor.[3] These sources tend to repeat several errors, including the date of his recording in Calcutta and the claim that Lequime was French-Canadian. It is easy to see why this claim came to be, but it is not quite accurate. Lequime was born in Kelowna, British Columbia, Canada, a town his grandfather founded. Lequime's paternal grandparents were both French but they met in San Francisco.[4] Both of Lequime's parents, though, were American and he moved to the U.S. in 1916 to work as a soldier in Camp Lewis, Washington. Lequime became a naturalized citizen of the U.S. in 1918. This appendix offers a general chronology of his life.

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[1] Various Artists, *Jazz and Hot Dance in India, 1926-1944* (Harlequin, 1984 [LP]).
[2] E.g., Stephane Dorin, "Jazz and Race in Colonial India: the Role of Anglo-Indian Musicians in the Diffusion of Jazz in Calcutta," *Jazz Research Journal* 4, no. 2 (2010), 123-140; Bradley Shope, "'They Treat Us White Folks Fine': African American musicians and the Popular Music Terrain in Late Colonial India," *South Asian Popular Culture* 5, no. 2 (October 2007): 97-116),
[3] Henry Stonor, "They Played at Raffles," *Storyville* 42 (1972), 217-229.
[4] James Gaston Lequime, "U.S. Naturalization Records" (6 November 1918), National Archives and Records Administration, D.C., *Naturalization Records of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington, 1890-1957*, www.Ancestry.com, accessed November 21, 2014; Margaret A. Ormsby, *A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011), 118; James G. Lequime, *1930 United States Federal Census*, www.Ancestry.com, accessed 21 November 2014.

1895

Kelowna, British Columbia: February 14.

Lequime is born.[5]

1916

Camp Lewis, Washington: October 25.

Moves to U.S. Some time soon after begins work as soldier in Camp Lewis, Washington.[6]

1918

Seattle: November 6

Becomes U.S. citizen.
By this time, he is married to Anna Marie Lyden, from Missouri.
Lequime's wife is living in Seattle while he resides in Camp Lewis.[7]

c. 1918-1920

San Francisco.

At some point during these years, Lequime moved to San Francisco and began a career as a jazz musician.[8]

1921

Manila: January 6.

Lequime arrives in Manila on board the Empress of Asia.[9]

Manila: January 8.

Lequime, as a member of the "Jazz-o-Maniacs," begins an engagement at Manila's Legma Cabaret. His bandmates are Art Uggen, Dick Willis, Frank Blackinger, John Peters, and Claud Tucker (Fig. D.1).[10]

Manila: October 28.

Lequime, as a member of the "Jazz-o-Maniacs," performs with Borromeo Lou for one of his Olympic Stadium vod-a-vil shows.[11]

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[5] Lequime, "U.S. Naturalization Records" www.Ancestry.com, accessed November 21, 2014.
[6] Lequime, "U.S. Naturalization Records" www.Ancestry.com, accessed November 21, 2014.
[7] Lequime, "U.S. Naturalization Records" www.Ancestry.com, accessed November 21, 2014.
[8] "New Jazz Band Has Come to Lerma Park," *The Manila Times (*8 January 1921), 1.
[9] "Empress of Asia Arrived," *The Manila Times* (6 January 1921), 7.
[10] "Lerma's ad," *Manila Times (*7 January 1921), 3.
[11] "Stadium ad," *The Manila Times* (28 October 1921), 3.



Figure D.1: Advertisement showing caricatures of members of the Jazz-o-maniacs. From left to right, of Art Uggen, Jim Lequime, Dick Willis, Frank Blackinger, John Peters, Claud [sic] Tucker.[12]

1922-1923

Manila: to mid-December, 1923.

Lerma's ads stop mentioning the "Jazz-o-Maniacs" by October 1921 but it seems likely that the group could have continued to perform there after this point.[13]

Shanghai: mid-December, 1923.

Arrives in Shanghai and stays at Hotel Parisien with his wife.[14] This hotel would soon be renamed the Plaza Hotel.[15]

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[12] "Lerma Ad," *The Manila Times* (14 January 1921), 8.

[13] An article from Singapore states that Lequime performed in Manila for three years. While this information is clearly incorrect – Lequime was only in Manila for a little less than two years, it does imply that he continued to perform while he was there: "Special Dance Band at Raffles," *The Straits Times* (27 May 1926), 10.

1924-1925

Shanghai: c. early 1924-c. April 1925

Lequime is likely performing with a group at the Parisien/Plaza Hotel during this time.[16]

The "American Band" advertised at the Parisien/Plaza, which presumably had Lequime as a member, also had nightly radio broadcasts on a Shanghai station that reached Korea and Japan, as well as other parts of China.[17]

Lequime's group is reportedly recruited to Calcutta at some point during his residency in Shanghai.[18] The group that eventually arrives in Calcutta, though, is probably not the same as the one in Shanghai. The vocalist L. F. "Pete" Harmon, for example, was working in Shanghai at the Carleton, not the Parisien/Plaza. He had arrived in December 1923 after working in Max Fisher's Orchestra in Los Angeles.[19]

1925

Calcutta: May 14.

Lequime begins his residency as bandleader at the Grand Hotel.[20]

Calcutta: May 23.

One of Calcutta's English-language newspapers, *The Statesman*, features a photograph of Lequime's band from the Grand Hotel (Fig. D.2).

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[14] "Hotel Guests," *North China Daily News* (29 December 1923), 15. A mid-December gap in the microfilm of the *North China Daily News* means that I can only say that he arrived some time between December 11 and December 29. The American Shanghai newspaper *The China Press* does not list hotel occupants.

[15] "Shanghai Hotel and a Former Employee," *The North China Herald* (28 November 1925), 399.

[16] While Lotz reports that Lequime was performing at Mumm's Café an article from Singapore says he was at the Plaza. In addition, it was standard practice for musicians to secure free room and board at the hotels where they performed: "Special Dance Band at Raffles," *The Straits Times* (27 May 1926), 10.

[17] E.g., "Hotel Parisien ad," *The China Press* (11 May 1924), 20; "Hotel Parisien ad," *The China Press* (15 June 1924), 14.

[18] Stonor

[19] "Carleton ad," *North China Daily News* (15 December 1923), 16.

[20] "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (14 May 1925), 4.



Figure D.2: Lequime's band in Calcutta, 1925. From left to right: Claude "Sax" McGuire, Victor "Vic" Halek, Bill Houghton, Joe Speelman, L. F. "Pete" Harmon, Monia Liter, Jimmy Lequime, Nick Amper.[21]

Calcutta: c. mid-September.

Lequime's ensemble, with the addition of banjoist Al Bowlly, records "Soho Blues" and "The House Where the Shutters are Green" for the Gramophone Company.[22]

Calcutta: December 4.

Lequime's band celebrates the release of their record, which was first advertised in one of Calcutta's newspapers three days earlier.[23]

1926

Calcutta: c. April/mid-May.

Lequime's band ends their engagement at the Grand Hotel. They embark for Shanghai around mid-May.[24]

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[21] "Grand Hotel," *The Statesman* (23 May 1925), 14.

[22] My estimate for this date is based on both the December release of this record and a September 9 advertisement for Lequime's group that does not mention the presence of banjoist Al Bowlly, who appeared on the record: "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (9 September 1925), 4.

[23] "L. C. Saha ad," *The Statesman* (1 December 1925), 4; "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (4 December 1925), 4.

Singapore: May 27-October 8.

Lequime's band stops to perform at Raffles Hotel. They end up staying on through at least October 8. They are initially billed as a sextet and later described as both an "American" and a "European" orchestra.[25]

Shanghai (?): c. mid-October.

Lequime likely continued with his original plan and traveled on to Shanghai at this point.

1927

Shanghai (?).

It seems likely that Lequime would be in Shanghai during this year but he may have also traveled to Hong Kong.

1928

Hong Kong: February 15.

Lequime departs on the Empress of Canada.[26]

Victoria, British Columbia: March 4.

Lequime lands. His wife is already back in Yakima, Washington.[27]

1968

Washington state or British Columbia: May.

Lequime dies. Is buried just north of Vancouver near his hometown.[28]

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[24] The last ad listing Lequime's group appears on March 27. They could have remained in Calcutta longer, however, since they did not appear in Singapore until May: "Grand Hotel ad," *The Statesman* (27 March 1926), 4.

[25] They are not recruited for a long engagement in Singapore, as reported in Stonor. See: "Special Dance Band at Raffles," *The Straits Times* (27 May 1926), 10; "The management of raffles hotel…," *The Singapore Free Press* (28 May 1926), 8; "Lequime's American Sextette…," *The Straits Times* (31 May 1926), 10; "Raffles Hotel ad," *The Straits Times* (2 July 1926), 11; "Raffles Hotel ad," *The Straits Times* (26 August 1926), 11; "Charity Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (8 October 1926), 10.

[26] Empress of Canada, *Canadian Passenger Lists, 1865-1935*, www.Ancestry.com accessed November 21, 2014.

[27] Empress of Canada, *Canadian Passenger Lists, 1865-1935*, www.Ancestry.com accessed November 21, 2014.

[28] James Gaston Lequime, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&Grid ='109551444'&ref=wvr accessed November 21, 2014.

Appendix E: Melville "Jack" Carter

Jack Carter has been the subject of occasional interest among jazz scholars but the details of his career in Asia are usually vague. While there have been attempts to trace Carter's biography, often in relation to his recruits Teddy Weatherford and Valaida Snow, these accounts have largely remained speculative and incomplete.[1] In this appendix, I have attempted to flesh out as much of his biography as possible, especially regarding his time in Asia. I do not claim this to be a complete biography but I hope it can provide greater detail about his time in Asia. In particular, I seek to draw attention to some aspects of his career that have largely been ignored, even in his obituaries, particular his time in Manila and Calcutta. This appendix includes two sections: a chronology and a list of specific songs that comprised part of his repertoire in colonial Asia.

I. Chronology

1900-1914

Nashville, Tennessee: August 29, 1900.

Born Melville Jerome Carter to Phillip and Pauline Carter.

Carter had two older brothers, Herman and Percy, and would eventually have a younger sister, Lucille, and two younger brothers, Charles and Felix. As a child, Carter occasionally traveled alongside his father when

[1] E.g., Allard J. Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra," *Storyville* 63 (February-March 1976): 97-103; Mark Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm: The Life and Music of Valaida Snow* (Toronto: The Mercury Press, 2007). Miller's book was especially useful and he was quite helpful when I approached him with specific questions about his research

his barbershop quartet toured with tent shows. Carter attended Tennessee State Normal School and began his musical career at the age of 10.[2]

c. 1914

Columbus, Ohio.

Carter's family moved to Ohio before he began high school. Carter attended Ohio State Military Academy and was active in the school's music and theater programs.

c. 1918

Columbus, Ohio.

After graduating from high school, Carter joined Tom Howard's "Whispering Orchestra of Gold," a group popular in Columbus that also secured engagements in other parts of the U.S.[3]

1922

Miami, Florida: January.

Carter and five other members of Howard's "Whispering Orchestra of Gold" – Cline Tindull, Sylvester France, Chester Myers, Chauncey Lee, and Clarence Moore – began an engagement at Miami's Hotel Halcyon near the beginning of the month. On the 24th, they received an invitation for a lucrative midnight dance engagement at a rural estate. The invitation was a ruse by a mob of roughly 75 white men who were upset with how the musicians behaved in the city. This mob intercepted the musicians' cars, beat the musicians severely, and gave them 24 hours to leave Miami. Carter and his bandmates left Miami the following day under police escort.[4]

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[2] Information on Carter's early life (through 1918) largely comes from the following sources: "Musician Jack Carter Dies of Heart Attack," *New York Age* (5 September 1953), 1, 2; "Hundreds Attend Carter Rites," *New York Amsterdam News* (12 September 1953), 7; "Wives Fight for Carter $$," *New York Age* (26 September 1953), 1, 2; Carter's entry on the 1910 U.S. census, from *Nashville Ward 1, Davidson, Tennessee*, www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.

[3] Carter's draft card from September 12, 1918 lists his profession as "musician." See www.ancestry.com *U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918* accessed 21 November 2014.

[4] Leon Cornick, "Florida Mob's Atrocities put 'Huns' to Shame," *The Chicago Defender* (25 February 1922), A3. See also "Colored Musicians Hastily Leave City After Being Beaten," *The Miami Daily Metropolis* (25 January 1922), 3; "Six in Colored Orchestra Flogged by Florida Mob," *The Broad Ax* (28 January 1922), 2; "White Musicians Were Cause of Miami Flogging," *The Chicago Defender* (4 February 1922), 15; "Musicians Home," *The Chicago Defender* (4 February 1922), 7.

Chicago.

Within months of the Miami beating, Carter moved to Chicago where he continued his musical career and married Julia Palumbo. They soon separated but never officially received a divorce.[5]

1923

Chicago.

By early January, Carter was leading his own band at the Radio Inn. During his time in Chicago, which likely lasted from early 1922 to late 1924, Carter worked in the bands of Carl Dickerson, Charles Cooke, and Sammy Stewart. In Chicago, Carter also met and worked alongside Valada Snow.[6]

1924

Chicago and Seattle: October.

On October 13, Carter filled out his first passport in Chicago after receiving a request to joining the Manila Hotel band. He left Chicago on October 19 and traveled to Seattle. There, he boarded the steamship President McKinley on October 23 to travel to Manila.[7]

Manila: November 19.

Carter's first night with Manila Hotel Band. When Carter joined the group it included Andrew F. Rosemond (violin and leader), Bailey Jackson (reeds), William O. Hegamin (piano, arranger), and Clinton R. Moorman (banjo, sax).[8]

1925

Manila: until ?

Carter likely continued with the Manila Hotel Band, leaving for Shanghai no later than August and possible several months earlier.

Shanghai: September 1.

Carter, along with Hegamin, Moorman, Jackson, and Darnell Howard, begin playing at the Hotel Parisien at the beginning of September. Billed as "The New York Singing Syncopators," they sign a nine-month contract

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[5] "Wives Fight for Carter $$," *New York Age* (26 September 1953), 1, 2.

[6] E.g., "Radio Inn ad," *The Chicago Defender* (20 January 1923), 6; "Radio Inn ad," *The Chicago Defender* (21 July 1923), 6.

[7] Melville J. Carter passport, *Passport Applications: Chicago, New York City, New Orleans, San Francisco and Seattle, 1914-1925* from www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014; "Society," *The Manila Times* (14 November 1924), 9.

[8] "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (19 November 1924), 1; "Passengers Arriving," *The Manila Times* (30 September 1924), 2.

in late September that expires at the end of May 1926. The Hotel Parisien would soon change its name to the Plaza Hotel.[9]

1926

Shanghai: May.

By May, Carter and the New York Singing Syncopators were making radio broadcasts from the Plaza Hotel ballroom three times a week, from 9:30 to 11:00 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The Singing Syncopators were likely broadcasting even earlier, since the Hotel Parisien/Plaza Hotel had been airing music from their dance bands since at least the summer of 1924. Their broadcasts reached into Japan, Korea, and other parts of China.[10]

On May 31, the New York Singing Syncopators' contract with the Hotel Parisien/Plaza Hotel ended. It may have been at this point that Carter briefly found work playing at the Golden Jade Hotel alongside Filipino musicians.[11]

Chicago: July.

Carter returned to Chicago to recruit a new band for Shanghai's Plaza Hotel.[12] He successfully recruited the following musicians:

Valada Snow (trumpet, vocals, dance)
Albert Nicholas (tenor sax, clarinet)
Billy Paige (reeds)
Teddy Weatherford (piano)
Frank Ethridge (banjo, guitar, violin)

San Francisco: August 31.

Carter and his new recruits departed for Shanghai. They reportedly had a 10 week engagement at Shanghai's Plaza Hotel that they hoped to follow with a one year tour of Asia.[13]

Shanghai: October 1.

First night of Jack Carter's Plaza Syncopators. The Filipino trombonist Nicanor "Nick" Amper likely joined Carter's band by mid-October. In his

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[9] See Appendix F; "Shanghai Hotel and a Former Employee," *The North China Herald* (28 November 1925), 399.

[10] "Daily Wireless Programmes," *The North China Herald* (15 May 1926), 302;" Hotel Parisien ad," *The China Press* (15 June 1924), 14.

[11] Albert Nicholas made reference to Carter's time at the Golden Jade Hotel in Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey," 98.

[12] Dave Peyton, "The Musical Bunch: Thoughtful Musicians," *The Chicago Defender* (24 July 1926), 6.

[13] George Perry, "Orchestra Leaves for a Long Tour," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (11 September 1926), 10.

article on Carter, Allard Möller suggests that an Austrian bassist known as "Gus" may have also been in Carter's ensemble but I have found no evidence to support this claim.[14]

Shanghai: December 25.

Despite their initial ten-week contract, Carter's group was still active at the Plaza twelve weeks after their engagement began.[15]

1927

(Seattle: January, 1927.)

Billy Paige left Carter's band and returned to the U.S. He complained about the weather in China but reported that Carter's group planned to stay on at the Plaza for "some time."[16]

Shanghai: July 9.

A report in *The Chicago Defender* noted that Carter's group was still going strong at the Plaza Hotel.[17]

Roughly around this time, Frank Ethridge and Albert Nicholas left Carter's band. They headed to Paris via the Suez Canal and stopped to perform in Singapore, Cairo, and Alexandria along the way.[18]

(Shanghai: August 29)

Valada Snow left Shanghai on the S. S. "President Jackson" and arrived in San Francisco on September 11. Carter had likely sent her to recruit new members for his band so he could remain in Shanghai.[19]

(Los Angeles: early October.)

Snow departed for Shanghai with new recruits for Carter's band. These included: Clarence "Bo Diddley" Williams, saxophonist James Carson, her younger sister Lavada Snow and likely Carter's older brother Herman. They would arrive in Shanghai by late October or early November.[20]

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[14] "Plaza Hotel ad," *The North China Daily News* (28 September 1926), 14; "Plaza Ballroom Reopening," *North China Daily News* (2 October 1926), 12; Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey," 97.
[15] "Unrivalled Splendor at Plaza Tonight," *The China Press* (24 December 1926), 5.
[16] Dave Peyton, "The Music Bunch: Things in General," *The Chicago Defender* (29 January 1927), 6.
[17] Dave Peyton, "The Music Bunch: Responsibility of an Orchestra Leader," *The Chicago Defender* (9 July 1927), 6.
[18] Roger Richard, "Albert Nicholas," *Storyville* 57 (February-March 1975), 91.
[19] "Passenger list from President Jackson, August 29, 1927," from www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.
[20] "Lincoln Perry's Letter," *The Chicago Defender* (15 October 1927), 8.

Shanghai: December.

Carter's new group was performing in the city at this point although I am unable to determine the venue.[21]

1928

Shanghai: March 1928.

Carter's group continued to perform in the city until this month, at which point they disappeared from the Shanghai scene. Miller suggests that they may have gone on to perform in Tokyo and Honolulu at this point.[22]

Shanghai: c. September-November 2.

Carter's group returned to Shanghai for a brief engagement at the Carleton and a single night at the Majestic Hotel on November 2.[23]

By this point, Carter's personnel had changed again. Lavada Snow had departed from Shanghai to San Francisco in September 1928. Nicanor Amper had also likely been replaced by the trombonist Angelo Jimenez at some point in the previous months.[24]

Hong Kong: November 6-10.

Carter's group performed at Star Theatre. Carter's "Serenaders," as they are billed, consists of the following personnel:
Jack Carter (drums, vocals)
Clarence "Bo Diddley" Williams (vocals, dance)
Teddy Weatherford (piano)
Valada Snow (vocals, dance, trumpet)
James Carson (saxophone)
Angelo "Jimmy Angel" Jimenez (trombone) (Filipino)
Joe Kanepuu (banjo, guitar?) (Hawaiian)
David Pokipala (saxophones, clarinet) (Hawaiian)
Medez Louis (trumpet) (Hawaiian)[25]

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[21] Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet, and Rhythm*, 48. Miller suggests that they performed at a venue called the "Plantation," but this may have also simply been the title of one of their stage shows.
[22] Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet, and Rhythm*, 48.
[23] Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet, and Rhythm*, 48.
[24] Lavada Snow is listed on the passenger list of S. S. "Shinyo Maru" that arrived in San Francisco on October 12, 1928. From www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.
[25] The program of "Jazz Madness" printed in the *Hongkong Daily Press* only included the last names of the Hawaiian musicians. By cross-referencing these with Kanahele's book on Hawaiian performers (at Andrea Low's suggestion), I found their full names. See "Serenaders," *Hongkong Daily Press* (7 November 1928), 6; George Kanahele, ed., *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1979), 179-180. See also "Cabaret at the Adelhi [sic]," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 November 1928), 8.

Herman Carter (?) (dance?, manager)[26]

Bangkok?: mid-November.

According to a later report from Snow, she performed in Bangkok and Manila with Carter's group. The nearly three-week break between Hong Kong and Singapore in Carter's schedule could logically have been filled by engagements in Bangkok and Manila. Carter's home-coming would have been major news in Manila yet there is no mention of Carter in Manila newspapers during the entire month of November. While I have been unable to check sources from Bangkok, it seems possible that they stopped there at least briefly.[27]

Singapore: November 29 to December 6.

Carter's group played at dinner dances and tea dances, and performed stage shows at the Adelphi hotel every day except for Sunday. On the night of November 30, they stage a special "Scotch Dinner and Dance" for St. Andrew's Day.[28]

Calcutta: December 15 to (January 26, 1929)

Carter arrived in Calcutta on December 15 and lodged in the Grand Hotel. On the 18th, Carter began negotiations with the hotel management after they approached him about performing there. These negotiations continued until the 22nd, when Carter gave a free performance to help demonstrate their worth. On the 24th, Carter had still not agreed to a contract but agreed to play for one night. On the 25th, he rejected the Grand Hotel's final offer and began performing at Firpo's restaurant that night. He continued performing at Firpo's every night except Sunday.[29]

1929

Calcutta: (December 15, 1928) to January 26

The Grand Hotel management filed an injunction against Carter but it was settled in Carter's favor on January 3. On the 26th, Carter gave his farewell performance at Firpo's.[30]

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[26] Carter's group was normally listed as a 10 piece ensemble that included eight musicians and two dancers. Jack Carter's older brother, Herman, was likely the 10th member of the ensemble.

[27] "Toot Your Own Horn!" *The Pittsburgh Courier* (16 November 1929), 1.

[28] "Cabaret at the Adelhi [sic]," *The Singapore Free Press* (23 November 1928), 8; "Adelphi Hotel ad," *The Straits Times* (26 November 1928), 11; "Adelphi Hotel Cabaret," *The Straits Times* (4 December 1928), 10.

[29] "Firpo's ad," *The Statesman* (27 December 1928), 4; "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6.

[30] "Grand Hotel's Plea for Injunction Against Dance Band," *The Statesman* (4 January 1929), 6; "Firpo's Ad," *The Statesman* (26 January 1929), 4.

Colombo, Rangoon?: February-March.

Valaida Snow later reported that she had performed at the Eltinge Theatre in Colombo and the Odeon Plaza in Rangoon. It would have made geographic sense for Carter's troupe to travel to these locales and would help explain the two-month gap between their appearances in Calcutta and Singapore although I do not have definitive evidence of their presence in these cities.[31]

Singapore: April 11-16.

Carter returned to Singapore to play one show at the City Opera in the New World Amusement Park on April 11. On April 13 and 16, his group also performed at the Adelphi Hotel.[32]

Batavia: April 21-30.

Carter and his group performed at the Roxy Theater on the 21st and were hired to stay on for additional shows on the 27th through the 30th.[33]

Djember(?): May 20?

Carter and his group may have performed a show in this east Javanese town before they began their stay in Malang.[34]

Malang: May 21-23.

Carter performed at this city in east Java at the Emma Theater. Carter's group was down to eight members at this point. The Filipino trombonist Angel Jimenez had likely remained behind in Batavia. Snow, Diddley, and Carter all continued on but the other missing member is a mystery.[35]

Surabaya: May 24-27.

They performed at the Princess Theater (Princesse Schouwburg).[36]

Batavia: June 5.

Carter, along with Valada Snow and Herman Carter boarded the Dutch steamship S. S. "Slamat" to sail to Europe via the Suez Canal.[37]

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[31] "Toot Your Own Horn!" *The Pittsburgh Courier* (16 November 1929), 1.
[32] "New World ad," *The Straits Times* (11 April 1929), 6; "Adelphi Hotel ad," *The Straits Times* (15 April 1929), 8.
[33] "Roxy ad," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (20 April 1929), 7; "Vermakelijkheden," *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (25 April 1929), 3; "Roxy ad," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* (29 April 1929), 26.
[34] "Djember," *De Indische courant* (25 May 1929), 5.
[35] "Emma Theater Malang ad," *De Indische courant* (21 May 1929), 18; Allard Möller, "A Jazz Odyssey: Jack Carter's Orchestra," *Storyville* 62 (1976): 97-103.
[36] "Jack Carter en Valada Snow," *De Indische courant* (21 May 1929), 18; "Jack Carter en Valada Snow," *Soerabaijasch handelsblad* (24 May 1929), 14.

Paris or London?: late June onwards.[38]

1930

Paris and Monte Carlo: until early 1930.

Carter had joined Sissle's group in Paris by April, but had possibly joined the ensemble in late 1929. They traveled between Paris and Monte Carlo for much of the year, with a summer-long engagement at Paris' Les Ambassadeurs that ended September 1 followed by a two-week job in Monte Carlo. Carter reunited with his former bandmate Frank Ethridge in Sissle's band.[39]

London: c. late October/early November to December 16.

Carter traveled with Sissle's band by airplane from Paris to London for a special engagement in London. By mid-November they began a four-week engagement at Ciro's Club. They made several radio broadcasts, recorded, and were filmed by British Pathé.[40]

On December 16, Carter and the other members of Sissle's band departed from Plymouth on board the S. S. "Paris."[41]

New York: December 22.

Carter, and his fellow passengers on the S. S. Paris, arrived in New York.[42]

New York: December 24.

Carter, with Sissle's band, began performing at Harlem's Rockland Palace.[43]

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[37] "Passagiersiljsten," *Soerabaijasch handelsblad* (5 June 1929), 13; "Passagiersiljsten," *De Indische courant* (3 June 1929), 2.

[38] According to Howard Rye's research, Carter was still not yet a member of Noble Sissle's band by November 1929. He did note, however, that a newspaper report mentioned that Jack Carter had, likely around this time, traveled from Paris for a brief private engagement in London. Howard Rye, "Visiting Firemen 7: Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle," *Storyville* 105 (1983): 88-95.

[39] Rye, "Visiting Firemen 7," 93. "Noble Sissle and His Orchestra Center of Attraction in Paris," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (2 August 1930), 6. See also Norman Thomas, "With Our Performers in Paris," *The New York Amsterdam News* (3 September 1930), 8.

[40] Rye, "Visiting Firemen 7," 94. To view the film they made, see http://www.britishpathe.com/video/noble-sissle-and-band accessed 13 May 2016

[41] From Melville Carter and Noble Sissle's entry on the passenger list for the S. S. Paris, departing Plymouth December 16, 1930. From www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.

[42] Melville Carter's entry on the passenger list for the S. S. Paris, arriving in New york on December 22, 1930. From www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.

1931

U.S.: until mid-May.

Sissle, with Carter in the group, reportedly toured regularly after his engagement in Harlem ended.[44]

Paris: c. mid-May until July 9.

Sissle's band, with Carter, returned to Paris for a six-week engagement at Les Ambassadeurs. Carter departed from La Havre on July 9, again abroad the S. S. "Paris."[45]

New York: July 15.

Carter arrived back in New York. Over the following years, he likely continued to tour with Sissle throughout the U.S.[46]

1932

At some point during the year, Carter was a featured member of Sissle's band as they performed at New York's Park Central Hotel. Their performances were broadcast over NBC.[47]

1933

Pittsburgh: January 28.

Carter was a featured member of Noble Sissle's band as they toured through Pittsburgh. Press for their performance describes Carter as "one of the greatest drummers of all time."[48]

1935

New York.

By this year, Carter may have already retired from music and was living with his second wife, "Jessie," at 80 St. Nicholas Ave.[49]

1938-1952

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[43] Rye, "Visiting Firemen 7," 95.
[44] Rye, "Visiting Firemen 7," 95.
[45] Melville Carter's entry from the S. S. Paris passenger list, departing La Havre on July 9, 1931. From www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.
[46] Melville Carter's entry from the S. S. Paris passenger list, departing La Havre on July 9, 1931. From www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014.
[47] "Noble Sissle's Band Here Next Thursday Nite," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (28 January 1933), 7.
[48] "Noble Sissle's Band Here Next Thursday Nite," *The Pittsburgh Courier* (28 January 1933), 7.
[49] Carter's entry from the 1940 U.S. census, New York City. From www.ancestry.com accessed 21 November 2014; "Wives Fight for Carter $$," *The New York Age* (26 September 1953), 1, 2.

New York.

Around 1938 or 1939, Carter started a restaurant called Jack's Barbecue Pit and Bar at 1890 Seventh Ave (near 115th St.). The bar was a block away from his apartment. Three of Carter's brothers, Charles, Percy, and Felix, also lived close by. Felix ran a restaurant on 141st street called Carter's Corner Bar

During his time in New York, Carter worked as an agent for numerous African American musicians, actors, and artists, including Nora Holt and Valaida Snow. While his restaurant was notable silent, it was advertised as a popular gathering spot for Harlem's celebrities.[50]

1953

Martha's Vineyard: August 28.

Carter died of a heart attack while on vacation.

For his funeral on September 2, his honorary pallbearers included Dr. Clarence Hogan, Edward Small, Slim Thompson, Sidney Bechet, Noble Sissle, Eubie Blake, Leigh Whipper, Dr. Douglas Speaks, Mussey Anderson, Tom Fletcher, William Hegamin, Col. Huburt Julian, Earl Moss, Shrimp Jones, and Walter Clark. Carter was buried at Mt. Holmes Cemetery, Butler, New Jersey.[51]

New York: September.

Two women claiming to be Carter's widow fight for his $50,000 estate and "small fortune" in jewelry worth at least $15,000. Mary "Jessie" Zorka Protich Carter, age 41, the common-law wife of Carter for 23 years and Julia Palumbo Carter, 60, his legal wife, draw Carter's brothers and sisters into a prolonged legal battle.[52]

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[50] "Tavern Topics," *New York Amsterdam News* (5 April 1941), 20; "Tavern Topics," *New York Amsterdam Star News* (26 April 1941), 21; "Tavern Topics," *New York Amsterdam News* (2 May 1942), 16; "Hundreds Attend Carter Rites," *New York Amsterdam News* (12 September 1953), 7; "Wives Fight for Carter $$," *The New York Age* (26 September 1953), 1, 2; Miller, *High Hat, Trumpet and Rhythm*, 116.

[51] "Musician Jack Carter Dies of Heart Attack," *New York Age* (5 September 1953), 1, 2; "Hundreds Attend Carter Rites," *New York Amsterdam News* (12 September 1953), 7.

[52] "Wives Fight for Carter $$," *The New York Age* (26 September 1953), 1, 2.

II. Examples of Repertoire Carter Performed in Asia

Manila:

November 19, 1924

Carter debuted his signature song, "Mandy Make Up Your Mind." This composition, first made famous by Florence Mills, would remain his trademark song over the next several years..[53]

November 21, 1924

The Manila Hotel band, which included Carter, introduced these new songs:
"Copenhagen," (Fox trot)
"I Can't Get the One I Want," (Fox Trot)
"Ray and His Little Chevrolet," (Fox Trot)
"Jealous," (Fox Trot)
"Suppose I had Never Met You," (waltz).[54]

December 5, 1924

The Manila Hotel band introduced these new songs:
"Eliza (Fox-Trot)
"The Heart of a Girl (Waltz)
"Blue Eyed Sally" (Fox-Trot)
"In a Rendezvous with you (Fox-Trot) (Sung by Bailey W. Jackson)
Lilly Strictland's "Mah Lindy Lou" (Sung by Clinton R. Moorman)
"Charley My Boy" (Sung by Jack Carter).[55]

Shanghai

When Carter opened with his ensemble at the Plaza he performed as part of a larger act that also included Russian dancers led by the choreographer Mr. Cherpino. Carter's group would perform their own vaudeville routines and dance music but some of the musicians, especially Weatherford, would also participate in performing music for Cherpino's ballets and dances.

October 2, 1926, Plaza opening

"Mandy Make Up Your Mind" (By request)
"Keep on Croonin' a Tune" – Snow and Carter
"Poem of Love" Ballet by Cook and Cherpino – Weatherford.[56]

October 11, 1926

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[53] "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (19 November 1924), 1.
[54] "Society," *The Manila Times* (21 November 1924), 11.
[55] "Society," *The Manila Times* (5 December 1924), 9.
[56] "Plaza Ballroom Reopening," *The North China Daily News* (2 October 1926), 12.

"Oh Gee, Oh Gosh, I'm Married but I'm Loving Some other Girl" – Billy Paige
"Nobody Knows De Trouble I've Seen" – Frank Ethridge on violin.[57]

December 11, 1926
"I Can't Get Over A Girl Like You Loving a Boy Like Me" – Billy Paige.[58]

December 14, 1926
"Tai-Ya-Pe", a Chinese Workman's song arranged by Billy Paige – played by orchestra.[59]

December 18, 1926
"Old Black Joe" – Albert Nicholas on saxophone.[60]

December 25, 1926
"The China Press", a new foxtrot written by members of Whitey Smith's band, about the American newspaper in Shanghai.[61]

Hong Kong

For their tour of Asia they seemed to do two main stage shows, "Jazz Madness" and "Plantation Variations," in addition to providing dance music.

November 7, 1928
"Jazz Madness Show" at Star Theatre

Part I.
1. "Gems from Jazz Madness" – Orchestra
2. "Hello Folks Hello" – Messrs. Jack Carter, Bo-Diddly
3. "Wolverine" – Jazz Orchestra Specialty, Jack Carter, at the drums
4. "My Dog" – Mr. Bo-Diddly
5. "I Just Roll Along" – Mr. Jack Carter
6. "Laugh Clown Laugh" – Mr. Bo-Diddly.
7. "Golden Gate" – Miss Valada Snow
8. "Russian Lullaby" – Mr. A. A. Jimenez
9. "I'm a Broken Hearted Blackbird" – Miss Valada Snow
   [Possibly "I'm a Little Blackbird Looking for a Bluebird"]
10. "Bye Bye Pretty Baby" – Mr. Bo-Diddly
11. "My Blue Heaven and Bugle Blues" – Miss Valada Snow
12. "Back in your own Backyard" – Mr. Jack Carter

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[57] "The Plaza Programme," *The North China Daily News* (11 October 1926), 20.
[58] "Plaza Program," *The China Press* (10 December 1926), 2, sports section.
[59] "Plaza Program," *The China Press* (10 December 1926), 2, sports section.
[60] "Plaza ad," *The China Press* (18 December 1926), 3.
[61] "Plaza Ad, *The China Press* (25 December 1926), 3, Sports Section.

13. “Sammy and Topsy” – Miss Valada Snow and Mr. Bo-Diddly
14. “Indian Love Call” – Mr. Teddy Weatherford
15. “Wooden Soldiers” – Miss Valada Snow, Messrs. Carter, Bo-Diddly

Part II
16. “Dark town Strutters Ball” – Miss Valada Snow, Mr. Bo-Diddly
17. “Hawaiian Love” – Mr. Joe Kanepuu
18. “I’m Brown” – Miss Valada Snow
19. “You’re So Ugly” – Mr. Bo-Diddly
20. “If I Could Be With You”– Miss Valada Snow, Mr. Jack Carter
21. “O Kalena” – Messrs. Kanepuu, Pokipala and Louis
22. “Negro Spiritual Quartette” – Miss Valada Snow and Messrs. Carter, Bo-Diddly and Weatherford
23. “Mary Ann” – Mr. Bo-Diddly
24. “Honey Bunch” – Miss Valada Snow
26. “Kitten on the Keys” – Mr. Teddy Weatherford
26. “Black Bottom” – Finale.
“God Save the King.”[62]

Singapore

30 November (St. Andrew’s Day):
Scottish dinner and dance
A “Black Bottom” number
“Ol’ Man River” – Snow.[63]

April 11-16, 1929
“Mama’s Going to Slow You Down.”[64]

Batavia and Surabaya

April 21-May 27, 1929
“My Blue Heaven” – Snow
“I Scream, You Scream, We All Scream for Ice Cream” – band.[65]

[62] “Serenaders,” *Hongkong Daily Press* (7 November 1928), 6.
[63] “Adelphi Hotel Cabaret,” *The Straits Times* (30 November 1928), 10.
[64] “Public Amusements,” *The Straits Times* (11 April 1929), 10.
[65] Möller, “A Jazz Odyssey,” 102.

Appendix F: New York Singing Syncopators' Contract, Shanghai, 1925.

Reprinted below are the contents of the 1925 contract between Shanghai's Hotel Parisien and the New York Singing Syncopators, an ensemble that included William Hegamin, Clinton Moorman, Jack Carter, Bailey Jackson, and Darnell Howard.[1]

This AGREEMENT made and entered into at Shanghai, China, this 19th day of September, 1925, by and between the Hotel Parisien Limited, of Shanghai, China ([sic] hereinafter called the 'COMPANY', which expression shall include its successors (or assigns) of the First Part and, William O. Hegamin, Clinton R. Moorman, Jack Carter, Bailey W. Jackson, and Darnell Howard, consisting of five musicians in all, describing themselves as the NEW YORK SINGING SYNCOPATORS, of the Second Part, WHEREAS the Company is desirous of employing musicians to play certain musical instruments in its orchestra, and WHEREAS the abovenamed [sic] musicians are skilled to play certain musical instruments, particularly Piano, Violin, Saxophone, Drums and Banjo, and they are willing to serve the Company, NOW IT IS HEREBY AGREED as follows:

1. The Company shall employ the NEW YORK SINGING SYNCOPATORS and the NEW YORK SINGING SYNCOPATORS shall serve the Company for the term of nine months from the first of September, 1925.

[1] This contract comes from the collection of Mark Miller. He generously granted me permission to reprint its contents here.

2. The Company shall pay the New York Singing Syncopators, during the term of the AGREEMENT, a salary of U.S. $450.00 (Gold) per week payable at the end of each week, and in addition thereto shall provide the Parties of the Second Part (and their wives) with suitable board and lodging (five rooms).

3. The Parties of the Second Part shall fulfill their engagement with the Company, diligently and in a manner which will at all times, serve the best interests, of the Company, and shall not engage themselves with or work or play for any party other than the Company, by a person duly authorized, to give such consent.

4. The Parties of the Second Part shall commence their engagement nightly at 8:30 P.M. and terminate said nightly engagement, at 2:00 A.M. except Saturdays and Special Holidays, when the Parties of the Second Part shall work from 8:30 P.M. to 3 A.M.

5. If the Party of the First Part wishes the Parties of the Second Part to work at hours other than those stipulated above, same shall be considered as extra hours and compensated for accordingly.

6. The Parties of the Second Part agree to entertain with Specialties (extra features), in addition to their regular performance of Orchestral Dance Music) [sic], as mutually arranged between the parties of the first and second part.

7. The Parties of the Second Part will not play for, or rehearse any Show Features or Acts (including Russian Ballet, Dancing or Singing Acts, or any extra features) other than those within their own immediate orchestra.

8. The Company shall allow the Members of the New York Singing Syncopators the regular staff discount on all refreshments ordered by them upon the Company's premises.

IN WITNESS whereof, Jacques Klass, the duly authorized Manager of the Company and William O. Hegamin, Clinton R. Moorman, Jack Carter, Bailey W. Jackson, and Darnell Howard have hereunto set their hands, the day and year first written above.

[Signatures of all parties named, as well as a witness: W. R. Lynch]

Appendix G: Transcriptions of 1923 Advertisements for "Filipino" Records

I have printed below the contents of two advertisements for "Filipino" records published a week apart in Manila in August 1923 (images of the ads can be found in Chapter 3, Fig. 3.3). These recordings feature compositions by Filipino authors interpreted by American ensembles.

1. "Beck's Ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (4 August 1923), 37.
El patriotism se demuestra por la proteccion que damos a los productos del pais.
Los Discos Columbia de Piezas Filipinas
Proporcioman alegría y mayor animación en vuestras fiestas y bailes porque son música filipina que apela al sentimiento filipino.

Discos Bailables por Autores Filipinos

[Patriotism is demonstrated by the "protection" that we give to the products of our country. Columbia Records with Filipino Pieces. Provide joy and more animation to your parties and dances because these have Philippine music that appeals to Philippine sentiments. Dance records by Filipino composers]

Serie M de 10" a ₱2.00

M-78	"Dalagang Bukid"	Fox-trot	Leon Ignacio
	"Dejame Llorar"	Vals	Leon Ignacio
M-79	"Dalisay"	Fox-trot	Rivera
	"Mar y Cielo"	Vals	Rivera
M-80	"Bachelor's Club"	Fox-trot	Francisco Santiago
	"Flores Marchitas"	Vals	
M-81	"Via Bokawe"	One-step	David Cruz
	"Los Sueños Locos"	Fox-trot	
M-82	"Dolly Dance"	Fox-trot	J. S. Hernandez
	"Rigoletto Rag"	One-step	
M-84	"Guevara"	Fox-trot	C. Jacobe
	"Confetti"	One-step	
M-85	"Mutya ng Silangan"	Fox-trot	J. Silos
	"Dame un Beso"	One-step	
M-86	"Philippine Beauty"	Fox-trot	J. S. Hernandez
	"Rag A Minor"	One-step	
M-87	"La Cita"	Fox-trot	Ramos
	"Vamos Arriba"	One-step	
M-88	"El Aguila"	Marcha	T. Zapata

	"Nido de Amor"	Fox-trot	
M-90	"Dalaga't Bagongtao	Fox-trot	Leon Ignacio
	"Kay Ganda mo Ngayon"	Fox-trot	
M-91	"Visayas"	Fox-trot	F. Buencamino
	"Jardin del Amor"	Fox-trot	Facundo Perez
M-92	"Tus Miradas"	Fox-trot	F. Buencamino
	"Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas"	One-step	Facundo Perez
M-93	"Isang Halik Pa"	Fox-trot	Maximo Nazario
	"Mameng"	Fox-trot	Juan Silos, Jr.
M-94	"Cabezas de Barangay"	Fox-trot	Francisco Santiago
	"Josefina"	Vals	J. Rosas
M-95	"Dalagang Kampam-Pangan"	Fox-trot	J. B. Balingit
	"Maloleño"	Tango-fox-trot	Era Cervantes
M-96	"Ang Mestisa"	Fox-trot	Leon Ignacio
	"Visayan Moon"	Fox-trot	Jose A. Estella
M-97	"Manila Blues"	Fox-trot	Maximo Nazario
	"Once More"	Fox-trot	J. Z. Rivera

Serie M de 12" a ₱3.00

M-1003	"Ang Krus na Pula"	One-step	J. S. Hernandez
	"Hawaiian Butterfly"	Fox-trot	
M-1004	"Mekeni Kuyog"	Fox-trot	C. Jacobe
	"Peter Gink"	One-step	
M-1005	"Halikan Mo Ako"	Fox-trot	David Cruz
	"Madelon"	One-step	
M-1006	"Ang Gayuma"	Fox-trot	Tereso Zapata
	"Hong Kong"	One-step	

Pidan Catálogos Beck's
Plaza Moraga & Escolta, Manila

2. "Erlanger and Galinger ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (11 August 1923), 11.

New Filipino Victor Records
Made Especially For You
Don't Fail To Buy Them. Price – ₱1.80

73817 A. Philippine National Hymn
(Sung in English)
B. Hail Philippines
(Both by William Robyn, tenor)
73667 A. Amorosa (Fox-trot)

composed by Nicanor Abelardo)
B. Penumbra (Fox-trot)
(Both by International Orchestra)
73892 A. Samuel Bilibet Blues (Fox-trot)
B. Saxophonista (Fox-trot)
(composed by Mr. Trapaga, played by the International Orchestra)

Other Filipino Victor dance records which everybody should have in their home.

72263 A. Aray (One-step)
B. A Little Bit More (Fox-trot)
72694 A. Dalagang Bundok (Fox-trot)
B. Walang Hindi (Fox-trot)
72695 A. Malayan (Fox-trot)
B. Kagabi (One Step)
72993 A. Luha Ng Isang Dalaga (Fox-trot)
B. Tonga (Fox-trot)

If you can not come in to get these Victor Records, write us and we will send them to you
C.O.D. Parcels Post
Erlanger & Galinger, Inc.
Roxas Bldg. Manila, P.I.
Wm. H. Anderson & Co., Cebu

Appendix H: Filipino Electric Records in Manila 1925 to January1930

This appendix documents the presence of recordings made specifically for Filipino audiences in Manila between 1925 and early 1930.[1] The recordings that appeared in the Philippine capital before July 1929 were recorded either in the U.S. (for Columbia) or Berlin (Parlophon). It is not until the summer of 1929 that recordings made in Manila – from sessions organized by the German record company Odeon in April 1929 and by Columbia in September 1929 – began to appear in the city. These recordings comprise numbers 89-139 on the list below.

This list is almost certainly not fully comprehensive but it likely identifies a high percentage of Filipino records available in the city. I have included every "Filipino" record I found advertised in Manila that was recorded after late 1925 and that had arrived by January 1930. My main sources include lists from record store advertisements, radio playlists in Manila newspapers, and advertisements on sheet music published in the city. Whenever possible, I cross-referenced titles with discographies to flesh out information. Richard Spottswood's discography *Ethnic Music on Records, Volume 4*, identifies at least 26 other records (13 discs) that were likely present in Manila before the beginning of 1930 but that did not appear in my research.[2] I included them in a separate section.

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[1] For examples of some of the earlier "Filipino" records, see Appendix G and Lisa Decenteceo, "An Americanization of Musics in the Early History of Philippines Recordings, 1900s to 1930s." B.A. Thesis (University of Philippines, Diliman, 2012).
[2] Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Volume 4* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

ELECTRIC "FILIPINO" RECORDS AVAILABLE IN MANILA BEFORE 1930						
Number	**Record information**	**Song Title**	**Genre**	**Performer**	**Composer/arranger**	**Source advertised in Manila**
1	Columbia X-2441	Kundiman ng Luha	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. N. Abelardo	"Beck's ad," The Manila Times (16 October 1926), 4.
2	Columbia X-2441	Kundiman	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. B. Abdon	*Ibid.*
3	Columbia X-2442	Kung Hindi Man	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*
4	Columbia X-2442	Na Saan Ka Irog	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*
5	Columbia X-2443	Kundiman	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. F. Santiago	*Ibid.*
6	Columbia X-2443	Pag-ibig	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. F. Santiago	*Ibid.*
7	Columbia X-2444	Ave Marie	[listed as kundiman]	J. M. Santiago	Arr. F. Santiago	*Ibid.*
8	Columbia X-2444	Mi Querida	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Arr. A. S. Doda	*Ibid.*
9	Columbia X-52009	Madaling Araw	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	F. Santiago	*Ibid.*
10	Columbia X-52009	Pahimakas	kundiman	J. M. Santiago	N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*
11	Columbia X-2548	Nena's Lullaby - Medley		J. M. Santiago		"Beck's ad," *Philippine Education Magazine* (January 1927), 525.
12	Columbia X-2548	Planting Rice - Medley		J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
13	Parlophon B. 33347	Noche de Luna	Danza Capricho		B. Trápaga	B. Trapaga, "Gloriana," (Manila: Self-published, 1927).
14	Parlophon B. 33347	Seti	Fox-trot Oriental		B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
15	Parlophon B. 33595	Manila's Jazzy Scandal	Fox Trot	Orchester Dobbri	B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
16	Parlophon B. 33595	Granada Encantadora	Fox Trot	Orchester Dobbri	B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
17	Parlophon B. 33596	Magallanes	Marcha Militar	Orchester Dobbri	B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
18	Parlophon B. 33596	Idilio Filipino	Intermezzo	Orchester Dobbri	B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
19	Parlophon 34235	Ay Calisud	Regional songs	Jovita Fuentes		"Parsons Hardware Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press (*28 January 1928), back cover.
20	Parlophon 34235	Walay Angay	Regional songs	Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*
21	Parlophon 34224	Kundiman	kundiman	Jovita Fuentes	B. Adbon	*Ibid.*
22	Parlophon 34224	Kung Hindi Man	kundiman	Jovita Fuentes	N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*
23	Parlophon 34230	Madaling Araw	kundiman	Jovita Fuentes	F. Santiago	*Ibid.*
24	Parlophon 34230	Halika Na Giliw	kundiman	Jovita Fuentes	A. Montenegro	*Ibid.*
25	Parlophon 34229	Halika	kundiman	Jovita Fuentes	J. S. Hernandez	*Ibid.*
26	Parlophon 34229	Kundiman ng. Luha	kundiman	Jovita Fuentes	N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*

27	Parlophon 9106	Escena Ultima	Opera (Madame Butterfly)	Jovita Fuentes	Puccini	*Ibid.*
28	Parlophon 9106	Un Dia Veremos	Opera (Madame Butterfly)	Jovita Fuentes	Puccini	*Ibid.*
29	Parlophon	Recuerdos de Capiz	Philippine Orchestral music			*Ibid.*
30	Parlophon	Kabanatuan	Philippine Orchestral music			*Ibid.*
31	Parlophon	Takip Silim Pacing	Philippine Orchestral music			*Ibid.*
32	Parlophon	How Are You Jack	Philippine Orchestral music		B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
33	Parlophon	Marina	Philippine Orchestral music		B. Trápaga	*Ibid.*
34	Columbia	Napintaska	Tagalog Kundiman			"Radio Programs," *The Manila Times* (29 May 1928), 12.
35	Columbia	Ang Nailawang Halik	Ilocano Kundiman			*Ibid.*
36	Columbia X-2988	Ma-Awa-Ka	vocal solo	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
37	Columbia X-2988	Isang Gabing Mapanglao	vocal solo	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
38	Columbia X-2504	Hibik ng Pilipinas	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago		"Beck's Radio," *The Manila Times* (20 September 1928), 8.
39	Columbia X-2504	Ako-y Isang Ibong Sawi	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
40	Columbia X-3033	Ang Puso K'oy Lamang	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
41	Columbia X-3033	Essem	Kundiman, Illocano	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
42	Columbia X-2909	Sawing Palad	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		"Radio," *The Manila Times* (21 September 1928), 10.
43	Columbia X-2909	Bagong Liwayway	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
44	Columbia X-2659	Walay Angay ang Camingao	Visayan kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
45	Columbia X-2659	Paalam sa Pagkadalaga	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
46	Columbia X-3064	Princesa de Komintang	Tango	G. Espiritu and Filipino Serenaders	F. Buencamino	*Ibid.*
47	Columbia X-3064	Belleza Filipina	Fox Trot	G. Espiritu and Filipino Serenaders		*Ibid.*
48	Columbia X-3122	Pakiusap	kundiman tagalog	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago	F. Santiago	"Becks' ad," *The Manila Times* (23 September 1928), 10.
49	Columbia X-3122	Sud-Onga	Kundiman, Visayo	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
50	Columbia X-3123	Irog Halikana	Danza Tagalog	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago		*Ibid.*
51	Columbia X-3123	Makalulooy	Vals, Visayo	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
52	Columbia X-2910	Luha ng Pag-Ibig	kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		"Radio" *The Manila Times* (25 September 1928), 8.
53	Columbia X-2910	Panaguinip	kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn	C. de Guzman	*Ibid.*
54	Columbia X-3124	Samad sa Limbong	Cebuano kundiman	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago		*Ibid.*
55	Columbia X-3124	Sa Laot ng Dagat	Kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*

56	Columbia X-2547	Ikaw Rin! (Sola tu!)	Kundiman	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago	Abelardo	*Ibid.*
57	Columbia X-2547	Ang Ulila Sa Pag-Ibig	Tagalog kundiman	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago		*Ibid.*
58	Columbia X-3034	Panambitan	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago		"On the Air," *The Manila Times* (23 October 1928), 8.
59	Columbia X-3034	Hunio "19" Samahang Laguna	Vals Tagalog	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
60	Columbia X-3125	Saling Kanako	Visayo Kundiman	Isabel Llewellyn		"On the Air," *The Manila Times* (24 October 1928), 12.
61	Columbia X-3125	Mameng	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn	Mauro Zamora	*Ibid.*
62	Columbia X-2989	Sa Liwanag ng Buwan	Danza	J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
63	Columbia X-2989	Ala Ala Kita	Danza	J. M. Santiago	Arr. F. Santiago	*Ibid.*
64	Columbia X-2660	May Isang Bulaklak	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago, Natty O. De Arellano		"On the Air," *The Manila Times* (30 October 1928), 8.
65	Columbia X-2660	Jardin de Ensuenos	Spanish kundiman	J. M. Santiago, Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
66	Columbia X-2703	Oh Bulaklak!	Tagalog kundiman	J. M. Santiago		"On the Air," *The Manila Times* (1 November 1928), 8.
67	Columbia X-2703	Sukat Ay-Ayatec	Ilocano Kundiman	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
68	Columbia X-2610	Aking Bituin	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago, Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
69	Columbia X-2610	Halika!	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago, Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
70	Columbia X-3209	Tantuin Mo Ninang	Tagalog kundiman	Fortunato Ramos Galong		On the Air," *The Manila Times* (9 November 1928), 10.
71	Columbia X-3209	O Filipinas	Visayan Kundiman	Fortunato Ramos Galong		*Ibid.*
72	Columbia X-3194	My Message to My People	Patriotic Speech	Manuel Quezon		*Ibid.*
73	Columbia X-3194	Himno Nacional Filipino		J. M. Santiago, Isabel Llewellyn		*Ibid.*
74	Columbia X-3195	Huling Paalam Ni Dr. Rizal, pt. 1	Rizal poem, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago	Rizal	"On the Air," *The Manila TImes* (13 November 1928), 8.
75	Columbia X-3195	Huling Paalam Ni Dr. Rizal, pt. 2	Rizal poem, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago	Rizal	*Ibid.*
76	Parlophon 161412	La Bella Filipina		Jovita Fuentes		"Parson's Ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (20 July 1929), back cover.
77	Parlophon 161412	La Flor de Manila		Jovita Fuentes	Dolores Paterno	*Ibid.*
78	Parlophon 16028	Poema		Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*
79	Parlophon 16028	Seguidilla Muciana		Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*
80	Parlophon 16029	Nana (Berceuse)		Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*
81	Parlophon 16029	La Partida		Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*

82	Parlophon 16030	A Granada (Cancion Andaluza)		Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*
83	Parlophon 16030	Estrellita (Cancion)		Jovita Fuentes		*Ibid.*
84	Parlophon 9319	Iris	opera	Jovita Fuentes	Pietro Mascagni	"Parsons Hardware Company, Inc. ad.," *Graphic* (13 April 1929), 17.
85	Columbia X-2658	Paalam na Sinta	Tagalog Kundiman	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago		"Beck's ad," *Graphic* (3 July 1929), 31.
86	Columbia X-2658	Ang Nailo sa Kalipay	Visayan Song	Jose Mossesgeld Santiago		*Ibid.*
87	Columbia X-3063	Pioridel	Marcha	G. Espiritu and Filipino Serenaders		*Ibid.*
88	Columbia X-3063	Himno Filipino		G. Espiritu and Filipino Serenaders		*Ibid.*
89	Odeon 225307	Noong Ako'y Dalaga	Philippine Selections	Monserrat Iglesias	J. Silos, Jr.	"Behn, Meyer & Co. ad," *The Philippines Free Press* (27 July 1929), 14.
90	Odeon 225304	Sa Iyong Paglimot	Philippine Selections	Monserrat Iglesias	J. Silos, Jr.	*Ibid.*
91	Odeon 225304	Ay Kalisud	Philippine Selections	Monserrat Iglesias	Trans. J. Silos, Jr.	*Ibid.*
92	Odeon 225306	A las Nueve y Media	Philippine Selections	Asuncion Loanco	Lucente	*Ibid.*
93	Odeon 225302	Ang Aking Bayan	Philippine Selections	Lourdes Corrales	N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*
94	Odeon 225004	Auras del Terruno	Philippine Selections	Joaquin L. de Silos	U. Silos	*Ibid.*
95	Odeon 225308	Balitaw	Philippine Selections	Manuel Silos (xylophonist)	J. Silos	*Ibid.*
96	Odeon 225301	El Beso Santo	recitation	Delfina de San Augustin	F. M. de Guerrero	*Ibid.*
97	Odeon 225305	Te Amaba Innocente	Philippine Selections	Mercedes Carrion	trans. B. Abdon	*Ibid.*
98	Columbia X-50000	Oh Guiliw	Danza Filipina	Dionisia (Toy Toy) Castro	J. Ma. Jacinto	"Beck's ad," *Graphic* (8 January 1930), 21.
99	Columbia X-50000	Ang Mahirap	Declamation	Simplicio Hernandez	Simplicio Hernandez	*Ibid.*
100	Columbia X-50001	Ang Kundiman	Declamation	Simplicio Hernandez	Simplicio Hernandez	*Ibid.*
101	Columbia X-50001	Hibik ng Ulila	Danza Filipina	Dionisia (Toy Toy) Castro	A. C. Montenegro	*Ibid.*
102	Columbia X-50002	I Love Only You	Filipino Waltz	Socorro Vazquez	C. R. Llamas	*Ibid.*
103	Columbia X-50002	Paguulayaw	kundiman	Julia M. Gonzalez & J. B. Robies	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
104	Columbia X-50003	Ako'y Mahalin	kundiman	Socorro Vazquez	C. R. Llamas	*Ibid.*
105	Columbia X-50003	Tanging Ligaya Ko	kundiman	Maria Luisa Danao	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
106	Columbia X-50004	Tampuhan	Danza Filipina	Rosa Jose	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
107	Columbia X-50004	Ulila Sa Pag-Ibig	Danza Filipina	Maria Luisa Danao	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
108	Columbia X-50005	Paquita	kundiman	Maria Luisa Danao	Rodolfo R. Cornejo	*Ibid.*
109	Columbia X-50005	Cancion de Anita	Danza Filipina	Emilia Cobarrubias	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*

110	Columbia X-50006	Pangarap	Vals Filipina	Jose L. Cortes	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
111	Columbia X-50006	Lantang Bulaklak	kundiman	Maria Luisa Danao	Rodolfo R. Cornejo	*Ibid.*
112	Columbia X-50007	Maria Clara	Patriotic Song	Enya Gonzalez	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
113	Columbia X-50007	Milaum Ako	Cebuano Balitaw	Jose L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
114	Columbia X-50008	Awit ng Inang Bayan	kundiman	Dionisia (Toy Toy) Castro	P. M. Cadsawan	*Ibid.*
115	Columbia X-50008	Daing ng Puso	kundiman	Socorro Vazquez	C. R. Llamas	*Ibid.*
116	Columbia X-50009	Lulay	Serenata Tagalog	Vicente Ocampo	Vicente Ocampo	*Ibid.*
117	Columbia X-50009	Halika	Danza Filipina	Enya Gonzalez	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
118	Columbia X-50010	Duo de Amor	kundiman	Rosa Jose & J. L. Cortes	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
119	Columbia X-50010	Mindanao	Fox-trot Oriental	Emilia Cobarrubias	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
120	Columbia X-50011	Kundiman-1800	kundiman	Vicente Ocampo	Vicente Ocampo	*Ibid.*
121	Columbia X-50011	Sa Iyo'y Di Sasawa	Danza-Visayo, Tagalog	Rosa Jose & J. L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
122	Columbia X-50013	Nahandum Ka	Cebuano, Visayan-Danza	Jose L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
123	Columbia X-50013	Ay! Kaalaut Ko	Visayan-Balitaw	Jose L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
124	Columbia X-50014	Sa Liwanag ng Buan	Vals-Filipinoa, Tagalog	Atang de la Rama	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
125	Columbia X-50014	Bonita	Tango-Filipino	Maria Ripoli & J. L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
126	Columbia X-50015	Magandang Bulaklak	kundiman	Rosa Jose	P. N. Baet	*Ibid.*
127	Columbia X-50015	Bakit Ka Lumuluha	Danza Filipina	Atang de la Rama	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
128	Columbia X-50016	Sawing Pagtitiwala	kundiman	Atang de la Rama	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
129	Columbia X-50016	Ay Anong Lungkot	Danza-Visayo, Tagalog	Rosa Jose	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
130	Columbia X-50018	Ikaw at Ikaw Lamang	Danza-Visayo, Tagalog	Rosa Jose	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
131	Columbia X-50018	Pagkalaay	Visayan-Balitaw	Jose L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
132	Columbia X-50019	Paraluman	Vals Filipina	Rosa Jose	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
133	Columbia X-50019	Dahil Sa Iyo	Romanza Tagalog	J. B. Robles	J. S. de Hernandez	*Ibid.*
134	Columbia X-50020	Mag Antus Lang Ako	Danza-Visayo	Jose L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
135	Columbia X-50020	Ang Pangako	Visayan-Balitaw	Jose L. Cortes	Jose L. Cortes	*Ibid.*
136	Columbia X-50021	Lapitan Mo Ako	kundiman	Maria Ripoli	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
137	Columbia X-50021	Luha at Pag-Ibig	Vals Filipina	Atang de la Rama	Leon Ignacio	*Ibid.*
138	Columbia X-50022	May Isang Bulaklak	Filipino Folk Song	Vicente Ocampo	"Very Old Song"	*Ibid.*
139	Columbia X-50022	Chichiritchit Alibambang	Filipino Folk Song	Vicente Ocampo	"Very Old Song"	*Ibid.*

ADDITIONAL RECORDS THAT MAY HAVE BEEN CIRCULATING IN MANILA BEFORE 1930 (recorded in U.S. between 1926 and Dec. 1928)						
1	Columbia X-2611	Ang Dalagang Filipina		J. M. Santiago and Natty O. De Arellano	Jose Santos	Richard Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Volume 4* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2422.
2	Columbia X-2611	Kantahin ng Hulilang Bayan		J. M. Santiago and Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
3	Columbia X-2661	Ang una Kong Pag-Ibig	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago and Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
4	Columbia X-2661	Huwag Mo Akong Lilimutin	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago and Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
5	Columbia X-2662	May Isang Lupain	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago and Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
6	Columbia X-2662	Mahal Ka Sa Akin	Kundiman, Tagalog	J. M. Santiago and Natty O. De Arellano		*Ibid.*
7	Columbia X-3372	Langit ng Pag-Ibig	danza	J. M. Santiago and Isabel Llewellyn	Catalino B. Perez	Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records*, *Vol. 4,* 2434.
8	Columbia X-3373	Ang Dalaga	vals	J. M. Santiago and Isabel Llewellyn	Cirilo R. Zalazar	*Ibid.*
9	Columbia X-3373	Su Duyan ng Pag-Ibig	kundiman	J. M. Santiago and Isabel Llewellyn	Dominador Rivera	*Ibid.*
10	Columbia X-2488	The Land I Love		J. M. Santiago		Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 4*, 2444.
11	Columbia X-2503	Huling Awit		J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
12	Columbia X-2503	Magbalik Ka, Hirang!		J. M. Santiago	N. Abelardo	*Ibid.*
13	Columbia X-2586	Aking Sinta	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
14	Columbia X-2779	Pusong Ginto	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago with Pilar Arcos		Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 4*, 2445.
15	Columbia X-2779	Isbalelita	Habanera	J. M. Santiago with Pilar Arcos	Albano Seismit-Doda	*Ibid.*
16	Columbia X-2778	Ang Sumpa MoIirog	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago with Pilar Arcos	Roman S. Salvacion	*Ibid.*
17	Columbia X-2778	Pusong Naghihirap	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago with Pilar Arcos	Primitivo A. Soles	*Ibid.*
18	Columbia X-2777	Lihim Na Pagibig	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago with Pilar Arcos		*Ibid.*
19	Columbia X-2777	Paglingap	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago with Pilar Arcos		*Ibid.*
20	Columbia X-2907	Dahil Sa Iyo	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
21	Columbia X-2907	Kundiman Ng Puso	Pampango Kundiman	J. M. Santiago		*Ibid.*
22	Columbia X-2908	Ultimo Adios, pt. 1	Rizal poem, Spanish	J. M. Santiago	Rizal	*Ibid.*
23	Columbia X-2908	Ultimo Adios, pt. 2	Rizal poem, Spanish	J. M. Santiago	Rizal	*Ibid.*
24	Columbia X-3374	Matuym nga Gugma	Visayan Waltz	J. M. Santiago	J. E. paterno	*Ibid.*
25	Columbia X-3372	Hatulan Mo Ako	Tagalog Kundiman	J. M. Santiago	Hilario P. Rubio	*Ibid.*
26	Columbia X-3371	Panaghoy	Kundiman Ilocano	J. M. Santiago	F. M. Cadsawan	*Ibid.*

Appendix I: "The Week's Best-Selling Records" from *The Manila Times*

From July 1923 through at least January 1924 *The Manila Times* ran a brief column called "The Week's Best-Selling Records" in the newspaper's "Social Pages."[1] The list would feature the top-sellers from each record label available in the city (Victor, Columbia, Edison, Pathé, Brunswick), meaning that this list did not necessarily represent all of the most popular records each week. The second or third most popular Victor record, for example, could have outsold recordings from other labels but still would not be included on the list. I have printed below the listings from September to October 1923. *The Manila Times* would only print the record label and the title of the song, so I have drawn on additional discographies to fill in other information.

1. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (9 September 1923), 17.

Victor (7491)
"The Lost Chord" – Song
John McCormack (tenor vocal), with orchestra conducted by Josef Pasternack
Recorded New Jersey, October 1922[2]

Columbia (A3850)
"Crying for You" – Fox-trot
"You Know You Belong to Some Body Else" – Fox-trot
The Lanin Orchestra
Recorded New York, February 1923, released 1923[3]

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[1] I have not examined the microfilm of *The Manila Times* between February 1 and October 31, 1924, but when I resumed examining the paper in September 1924 the column was no longer present.
[2] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor matrix C-27043. The lost chord / John McCormack," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800000977/C-27043-The_lost_chord.
[3] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3850 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192691/Columbia_A3850.

Edison (51149)
"Bambalina" – Fox-trot
"Wallflower" – Fox-trot
Broadway Dance Orchestra
Recorded New York, April 1923, released June 1923
[The B side is actually "La Mome Tango (The Tango Kid)." "Bambalina" was taking from the musical "Wildflower," which is likely the origin of the second title listed here][4]

Pathé (020981)
"Yes, We Have No Bananas" – Fox-trot
Golden Gate Orchestra
"Memphis Glide" – Fox-trot
Original Memphis Five
Recorded May 1923[5]

Brunswick (2375)
"Starlight [Bay]" – Fox-trot
"[Only Just Suppose]" – Fox-trot
Carl Fenton's Orchestra
Recorded New York, Dec 1922[6]

2. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (16 September 1923), 21.

Victor (19068)
"Yes, We Have No Bananas" – Fox-trot
Great White Way Orchestra, with Billy Murray
"Morning Will Come" – Fox-trot
Zez Confrey Orchestra
Recorded New York, April 1923, released July 1923[7]

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[4] Charles Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc Record Labels and Discography: Volume 2, 1920-1924* (Melvindale, MI: Charles Gregory, 2003), 574-575.
[5] Steven Abrams, "The Online Discographical Project," http://www.78discography.com/Pathe20500.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[6] Ross Laird, *Brunswick Records, A Discography of Recordings, 1916-1931, Volume 1: New York Sessions, 1916-1926* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 116-117. *The Manila Times* listed the two sides of this record as "Starlight Rag" and "Rosetime and You" yet the latter song was not recorded on Brunswick. The record above is likely the one circulating in Manila.
[7] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 19068 (Black label (popular) 10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/14021/Victor_19068.

Edison (51168)
"O Harold" – Fox-trot
Atlantic Dance Orchestra
"Cat's Whiskers" – Fox-trot
The Jazz-o-Harmonists
Recorded New York, June 1923, released July 1923[8]

Columbia – (A3813)
"Tiger Rag" – Fox-trot
"Memphis Blues" – Fox-trot
Ted Lewis Jazz Band
Recorded Chicago, January 1923, released 1923[9]

Pathé (020902)
"You Got to See Mamma Every Night" – Fox-trot
Hollywood Dance Orchestra
Recorded January 1923
"Aggravatin' Papa" – Fox-trot
New Synco Jazz Band
Recorded December 1922[10]

Brunswick (2424)
"Once Upon a time" – Fox-trot
"Argentina" – Fox-trot
Joseph C. Smith and His Orchestra
Recorded New York, May 1923[11]

3. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (23 September 1923), 13.

Edison (51165)
"Blue Hoosier Blues" – Fox-trot
Broadway Dance Orchestra
"Long Lost Mamma Daddy Misses You" – Fox-trot
The Jazz-o-Harmonists

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[8] Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc*, 582.
[9] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3813 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192662/Columbia_A3813.
[10] Abrams, "The Online Discographical Project," http://www.78discography.com/Pathe20500.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[11] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 127-128. While Laird's discography says this record was also pressed in Australia, in personal communication with Laird (12 March 2015) he explained that the records in Manila would have been distributed via the United States since the Australian pressing plant did not open until 1924.

Recorded New York, May 1923
Released July 1923[12]

Pathé (20994)
"Marcheta"
Hollywood Do
Recorded May 1923
"Wildflower"
Hazay Natzy and His Orchestra
Recorded April 1923[13]

Columbia (A3857)
"You've Got to see Mamma Ev'ry Night" – Fox-trot
"You Tell Her I Stutter" – Fox-trot
Georgians
Recorded New York, February 1923, released 1923[14]

Victor (19070)
"Beale Street Mamma" – Fox-trot
"Louisville Lou" – Fox-trot
Arthur Gibbs and his Gang
Recorded New York, April 1923, released July 1923[15]

Brunswick (2435)
"Some Day You'll Cry Over Someone" – Fox-trot
"Don't Be Too Sure" – Fox-trot
Bennie Kreuger's Orchestra
Recorded New York, April 1923.[16]

4. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (30 September 1923), 13.

Edison (51191)
"Carolina Mammy" – Fox-trot
Paul Victorin's Orchestra

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[12] Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc*, 581.
[13] Abrams, "The Online Discographical Project," http://www.78discography.com/Pathe20500.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[14] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3857 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192692/Columbia_A3857.
[15] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 19070 (Black label (popular) 10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/14024/Victor_19070.
[16] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 132.

"Toot, Toot, Tootie" – Fox-trot
Broadway Dance Orchestra
Recorded New York, June 1923
Released August 1923[17]

Columbia (A3786)
"Greenwich Witch" – Fox-trot
"Stop Your Kidding" – Fox-trot
Frank Westphal Orchestra
Recorded Chicago December 1922
Released 1923[18]

Victor (19087)
"Stella" – Fox-trot
"Carolina Mammy" – Fox-trot
Great White Way Orchestra
Victor 19087
Recorded New York, May 1923
Released August 1923[19]

Pathé (20886)
"Dumbell" – Fox-trot
Don Parker Western Melody Boys
"Bee's Knees" – Fox-trot
Gold Gate Orchestra
Recorded November 1922[20]

Brunswick (2423)
"Frankie & Johnnie" – Fox-trot
"Memphis Blues" – Fox-trot
Isham Jones' Orchestra
Recorded New York, January 1923[21]

5. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (7 October 1923), 13.

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[17] Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc*, 596.
[18] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3786 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192640/Columbia_A3786.
[19] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 19087 (Black label (popular) 10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/14040/Victor_19087.
[20] Abrams, http://www.78discography.com/Pathe20500.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[21] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 121.

Pathé (21020)
"Oh Gee, Oh Gosh, Oh Golly, I'm in Love" – Fox-trot
Lanin's Arcadians
Recorded June 1923
"Ducks Quack" – Fox-trot
Golden Gate Orchestra
Recorded May 1923[22]

Victor (19090)
"Oh Harold" – Fox-trot
"Rosetime and You" – Fox-trot
Zez Confrey Orchestra
Recorded New York, June 1923, released August 1923[23]

Columbia (A3902)
"Barney Google" – Fox-trot
"Old King Tut" – Fox-trot
Georgians
Recorded New York, April 1923, released 1923[24]

Brunswick (2428)
"Dreamy Melody" – Waltz
Oriole Orchestra
"A Kiss in the Dark" – Waltz
Carl Fenton's Orchestra
Recorded New York, April 1923[25]

Edison (51191)
"Carolina Mammy" – Fox-trot
Paul Victorin's Orchestra
"Toot, Toot, Tootie" – Fox-trot
Broadway Dance Orchestra
Recorded New York, June 1923, released August 1923[26]

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[22] Abrams, "The Online Discographical Project," http://www.78discography.com/Pathe21000.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[23] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 19090 (Black label (popular) 10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/14043/Victor_19090.
[24] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3902 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192753/Columbia_A3902.
[25] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 129, 133.
[26] Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc*, 596.

6. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (14 October 1923), 13.

Victor (19082)
"Medley of Old Time Songs"
"Victor Herbert Medley Waltz"
The Troubadours
Recorded New York, April 1923, released August 1923[27]

Columbia (A3874)
"Swingin' down the lane" – Fox-trot
"Some Little Someone" – Fox-trot
Columbians Dance Orchestra De Luxe
Recorded New York, April 1923, released 1923[28]

Brunswick (2426)
"Gone" – Fox-trot
"Dreams of India" – Fox-trot
Arnold Johnson and His Orchestra
Recorded New York, March 1923[29]

Pathé (21019)
"Annabelle" – Fox-trot
"My Sweetie Went Away" – Fox-trot
Lanin's Arcadians
Recorded June 1923[30]

Edison (51171)
"Stella" – Fox-trot
Atlantic Dance Orchestra
"Ain't Nobody Crazy Over Me" – Fox-trot
The Jazz-o-Harmonists
Recorded New York, May 1923, released July 1923[31]

7. "The Week's Best-Selling Records," *The Manila Times* (21 October 1923), 13.

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[27] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 19082 (Black label (popular) 10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/14035/Victor_19082.
[28] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3874 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192725/Columbia_A3874.
[29] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 127.
[30] Abrams, "The Online Discographical Project," http://www.78discography.com/Pathe21000.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[31] Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc*, 583.

Columbia (A3859)
"Wonderful One" – Waltz
"Red Moon" – Waltz
Columbia Dance orchestra
Recorded March 1923, released 1923[32]

Victor (19091)
"Born and Bred in Brooklyn" – Fox-trot
The Troubadours
"When June Comes Along with a song" – Fox-trot
Great White Way Orchestra
Recorded New York, June 1923, released August 1923[33]

Brunswick (2420)
"By the Shalimar" – Fox-trot
"Foolin' Around" – Fox-trot
Isham Jones' Orchestra
Recorded New York, 1923[34]

Pathé (21022)
"Love Tales" – Fox-trot
Hotel Biltmore Orchestra
"March of the Mannikins" – Fox-trot
Casino Dance Orchestra
Recorded June 1923[35]

Edison (51178)
"Benny! Be Yourself!" – Fox-trot
Green Brothers Novelty Band
"Now that I need you, you're gone" – Fox-trot
Kaplan's Melodists
Recorded New York, June 1923, released August 1923[36]

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[32] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Columbia A3859 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/192712/Columbia_A3859.
[33] *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "Victor 19091 (Black label (popular) 10-in. double-faced)," accessed March 8, 2015, http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/14044/Victor_19091.
[34] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* 120.
[35] Abrams, "The Online Discographical Project," http://www.78discography.com/Pathe21000.htm Accessed 11 March 2015.
[36] Gregory, *Edison Diamond Disc*, 586.

Appendix J: Selected Dance Repertoire

Newspapers throughout Asia printed the dances programmed for special events. Record companies also provided suggested dance programs using a selection of their recordings. Below is a sampling of such lists from throughout the region that are primarily geared towards European and American audiences. Note, several of these programs are for St. Andrew's Day balls, so they feature an unusual number of Scottish songs scattered in along with more typical repertoire. Also, many programs featured idiosyncratic titling practices such as describing songs by the first line of the song, a single word or two of a longer title, or misspelling a title entirely. For example, they might list "Bananas" instead of "Yes, We Have No Bananas," or "Chong," instead of "Chong, He Comes from Hong Kong." I have not changed these spellings in the list below.

Programs include:

1. December 3, 1919 – Colombo
2. December 5, 1919 – Penang
3. December 10, 1919 – Manila
4. December 31, 1919 – Nuwara Eliya (Ceylon)
5. April 4, 1920 – Radella (Ceylon)
6. April 4, 1920 – Radella
7. December 31, 1920 – Hong Kong
8. January 4, 1921 – Hong Kong
9. May 25, 1921 – Nuwara Eliya
10. September 14, 1921 –Kandy (Ceylon)
11. September 28, 1921 – Badulla (Ceylon)
12. December 17, 1921 – Colombo
13. January 6, 1922 – Penang
14. January 11, 1922 – Bandarawela (Ceylon)
15. October 29, 1922 – Manila
16. May 1, 1923 – Penang
17. November 21, 1923 – Penang

18. December 1, 1923 – Shanghai
19. December 5, 1923 – Penang
20. April 30, 1924 – Penang
21. August 6, 1924 – Penang
22. October 10, 1924 – Manila
23. October 24, 1924 – Manila
24. October 31, 1924 – Manila
25. November 14, 1924 – Manila
26. November 21, 1924 – Manila
27. December 5, 1924 – Manila
28. April 27, 1925 – Malacca
29. December 13, 1925 – Calcutta
30. January 23, 1926 – Hong Kong
31. March 27, 1926 – Calcutta
32. March 6, 1930 – Singapore

1. Colombo: "C.H & F.C. Fancy Dress Dance," *Ceylon Observer* (3 December 1919) 1813.

This program is for a Fancy Dress Dance at the Public Hall. The jazz band includes a pianist, a drummer, and two people on "effects (horns, whistles, etc.)."

Dance Program:

1. Waltz – "Destiny"
2. One-Step – "Raggin 'thro' the Rye"
3. Fox trot – "Smiles"
4. Waltz – "Please"
5. One-step – "You're Here and I'm Here"
6. Waltz – "Maid of the Mountains"
7. Fox-trot – "K-k-k-katie"
8. Waltz – "Les Contes d'Hoffmann"
9. One-step – "I Want Somebody to Love Me"
10. Fox trot – "The Ghost of the Saxophone"
11. Waltz – "Awakening of Love"
12. One-step – "In My Harem"
13. Waltz – "Lilac Domino"
14. Fox-trot – "By Heck"
15. Waltz – "Unrequited Love"
16. One-step – "Tickle the Ivories"
17. Fox-trot – "Crow Hollow"

    Extra: Waltz – "Missouri"

    "God Save the King"

2. Penang: "Penang St. Andrew's Society," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (5 December 1919), 1697.

This program is for a St. Andrew's Ball at the Penang Town Hall. Music was provided by Teddy Long and his Orchestra.

The Dances

1. Highland Schottische
2. Waltz – "The Pink Lady" – Caryll
3. Eightsome reel
4. Fox trot – "Hors d'Oeuvre" – Thoms
5. Waltz – "Missouri" – Logan
6. Caledonians
7. One step – "Down on the Farm" – Mason
8. Foursome reel
9. Fox trot – "The Honolulu Lou" – Giden
10. Waltz – "The Geisha" – Jones
11. Eightsome reel
12. One step – "All Over" – Kerry Mills
13. Fox trot – "Roses of Lorraine" – Smith
14. Caledonians
15. Waltz – "Sonia" – Zulueta
16. Foursome reel
17. One step – "Don't Cry Frenchy" – Donaldson
18. Waltz – "After the Girl" – Rubens

3. Manila: "A. and N. Club Thursday Program," *The Manila Times* (10 December 1919), 4.

This program is for a 90 minute dance at Manila's Army and Navy Club.

Program:

1. March – "Our Sammies"
2. One Step – "A Baby Prayer, At Twilight"
3. Waltz – "Blowing Bubbles:
4. One-Step – "Take It From Me"
5. Fox-trot – "Take It From Me"
6. One-Step – "Homeward Bound"
7. Waltz – "Weeping Willow Lane"
8. One-step – "The Boy and The Bird"
9. Fox-trot – "Out Of The East"
10. One-step – "The Gates of Gladness"

Extras
One-step – "As You Were"
Waltz – "Impassioned Dream"
One-Step – "Chinatown My Chinatown"

Fox-trot – "K. K. K. Katy"

4. Nuwara Eliya: "Christmas at Nuwara Eliya," *Ceylon Observer* (31 December1919), 1970.

This program is for a fancy dress dance at the United Club in Nuwara Eliya. The "Darrawela Orchestra" providing the music is an amateur band that includes violins, piano, tympanis, cello, clarinet, and flute. There is a large dark spot on the page that renders some of it illegible.

1. Extra Fox trot – "'n' Everything"
2. Valse – "Nights of Gladness"
3. Fox-trot – "Round the Map"
4. Valse – "Cecile"
5. One-step – "Ragtime Violin"
6. Valse – "Missouri"
7. Fox trot – "Good Bye"
8. One-step – "Ambolena Snow"
9. [?] – "Vive l'Amour"
10. Extra One-step – "Hong Kong"
11. Extra Valse – "Maid of the Mountains"
12. Extra One-step – "How You Gonna Keep 'em"
13. [?] – "Since I Met You"
14. [?] – "All Aboard for Dixie Land"
15. [? – "Ecstasy"
16. [? – "I'm Afraid to go Home"
17. [? – "Destiny"
18. [? – "Get a Move On"
19. One-step – "Happy Hippos"
20. Fox trot – "Coal Black Ross"

"God Save the King"

5. Radella: "Sports and Pastimes," *Ceylon Observer* (4 April 920), 178.

This program is for a dance at a sporting event in Radella where the Police Band played "lively music."

Band Program

1. March – "Belphegor" – Brepsant
2. Selection – "Harry Lauder's songs" – Hume
3. Valse – "Under My Darling's Window" – Lincke
4. Polka – "Bonne Bouche" – Waldtenfel
5. Selection – "Yes Uncle – Ayer
6. Valse – "Lilac Domino" – Cuvillier
7. Selection – "As You Were" – Darewski
8. Jazz – "Everybody's Jazzing Now" – Lister

9. Selection – “Bubbly” – Brahm
10. Fox trot – “Tickle Toe” – Douglas
11. Valse – “Mystery” – Baynes
12. Fox trot – “Everybody’s Jazzing Now” – Lister
13. Valse – “Missouri” – Logan
14. Two step – “Handel Wakes” – Morr
15. Fox trot – “Peaches Down in Georgia” – Meyer

6. Radella: “Sports and Pastimes,” *Ceylon Observer* (4 April 920), 178.

Below is the program listed for a dance on April 5, also for a sporting event in Radella with music by the Police Band.

Brand Programme
1. March – “Napoleon’s Last Charge” – Paul
2. Fantasia – “Britannia’s Pride” – Powell
3. Valse – “The Girl on the Taxi” – Gilbert
4. Selection – “The Bing Boys on Broadway” – Ayer
5. Fox trot – “Hindustan” – Wallace
6. Valse – “Brillante” – Chopin
7. Round dance – “Maxina” – Hurndall
8. Haydn’s celebrated – “Ox Minuet” – Hume
9. Fox trot – “Some Sunday Morning” – Whiting
10. Selection – “H.m.s. Pinafore” – Sullivan
11. Danse russe – “La Cosaque” – Henry
12. Valse – “Bells of Blighty” – Baker
13. March – “Colonel Bogey” – Alford
14. Selection – “High Jinks” – Clark

7. Hong Kong: “Taikoo Club Annual Ball,” *South China Morning Post* (31 December 1920), 12.

This program is for a large ball with music by a Filipino orchestra led by a Mr. Gonzales. The program appears to be for a St. Andrew’s Day ball.

Programme:
1. Lancers – “Country Girl”
2. Fox trot – “Whispering”
3. One step – “Cairo”
4. Eightsome reel – “De’il Among the Tailors”
5. Waltz – “On Miami Shore”
6. One step – “Swanee”
7. Barn dance – “Happy Go Lucky”
8. Fox trot – “So Long, So Long”
9. Caledonians – “Highland Home”
10. One step – “Bo La Bo”

11. Waltz – “That Naughty Waltz”
12. Quadrilles – “Newest Out”
13. Fox trot – “The Love Nest”
14. One step – “Down on the Farm”
15. Lancers – “The Girl from Kays”
16. Fox trot – “Venetian Moon”
17. Highland schottische – “Braes o’ Mare”
18. Waltz – “Kisses”
19. Fox trot – “Dardanella”
20. Eightsome reel – “De’il Among the Tailors”
21. One step – “Sand Dunes”
22. Waltz – “Loyalty”

Extras 1. One step – “Marie”
2. Fox trot – “Tell me Little Gipsy”
3. Waltz – “Carolina Sunshine”

8. Hong Kong: “St. George’s Ball,” *South China Morning Post* (4 January 1921), 4.

Dance for a ball with music provided by the military band on the H.M.S. Hawkins.

Programme: (numbers 9-12 are supper dances)

Extra waltz – “Beautiful Ohio”
1. Lancers – “Veronique”
2. One step – “Oh Helen”
3. Fox trot – “Whispering”
4. Waltz – “Oh What a Pal was Mary”
5. Barn dance – “Arcadian”
6. One step – “Taxi”
7. Fox trot – “Venetian Moon”
8. Waltz – “Missouri”
9. One step – “Hongkong”
10. Fox trot – “Vamp”
11. One step – “Cairo”
12. Fox trot – “Rose Room”
13. Lancers – “Orchid”
14. Waltz – “Destiny”
15. One step – “Oh By Jingo”
16. Fox trot – “Dardanella”
17. Waltz – “The Choristers”
18. One step – “Sand Dunes”
19. Fox trot – “So Long So Long”
20. “Sir Roger de Coverley”

Second extra – One step – “Wild Wild Women”
Third extra – Fox trot – “Indianola”

9. Nuwara Eliya: "Nuwara Eliya News," *Ceylon Observer* (25 May 1921), 14.

This program is for a tea dance at the United Club. The music is a mix of recordings and live music provided by members listed below.

Programme
1. Overture – The Jazz Band
2. Song – Miss Smith
3. Valse – Gramophone
4. Song – Mrs. Lawrence
5. Fox trot – Jazz Band
6. Violin solo – Mrs. Paterson
7. One step – Gramophone
8. Scarf dance – Mrs. Coleman
9. Valse – Gramophone
10. Song – Mrs. Milne
11. Fox trot – Gramophone
12. Whistling solo – Mrs. Owen Symons
13. One step – Gramophone
14. Valse – Jazz Band

Extras
"God Save the King:

10. Kandy: "Carnival Ball," *Ceylon Observer* (14 September 1921), 26.

This dance in Kandy has the Frenzied Six band performing the even numbers and the Colombo Jazz Band, a police band, playing the odd numbers.

Programme
1. "Irene"
2. "Somebody"
3. "Naughty princess"
4. "Dixie Bazaar"
5. "Ching-a-ling's Jazz Bazaar"
6. "Naughty Waltz"
7. "Laughing Vamp"
8. "O o La La Wee Wee"
9. "Little Dutch Girl"
10. "Avalon and Little Gipsy"
11. "Cairo"
12. "Dear Old Pal"
13. "Stay Away Pussyfoot"
14. "Old Man Jazz"
15. "Sybil"
16. "I've Got My Captain"

1st extra – "The Love Nest"

2nd extra – "Mary &c."

11. Badulla: "UVA Gymkhana Club," *Ceylon Observer* (28 September 1921), 9.

Dance at the New Town Hall in Badulla with music by the Police band.

1. One Step – "Key To My Cellar"
2. Fox Trot – "Chong"
3. Waltz – "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles"
4. One Step – "Wild Wild Women"
5. Fox Trot – "You'd Be Surprised"
6. Waltz – "That Naughty Waltz"
7. Fox Trot – "Dardanella"
8. Waltz – "If You Could Care"
9. Fox Trot – "Whispering"
10. Waltz – "Kissing Time"
11. Fox Trot – "Avatan"
12. Waltz – "Missouri"
13. One Step – "Cairo"
14. Fox Trot – "Mary"
15. Waltz – "Ecstasy"
16. One Step – "I've Got My Captain Working For Me Now"
17. Waltz – "Naughty Princess"
18. Fox Trot – "Ching-A-Ling's Jazz Bazaar"
19. One Step – "Swanee"
20. Waltz – "Destiny"
21. Fox Trot – "Feather Your Nest"
22. One Step – "Li'l Liza Jane"

"God Save The King"

12. Colombo: "Fancy Dress Dance," *Ceylon Observer* (17 December 1921), 22.

This Fancy Dress dance was a fundraiser for the Blind and Deaf School held at the Grand Od Hotel. The Frenzied Guys Jazz Band provided music for over 500 people until 3:30am.

Extra One-Step – "Cairo"

1. Fox Trot – "I Promise I'll Be Practically True To You"
2. Valse – "The Charm School"
3. Fox Trot – "That Coal-Black Mammy Of Mine"
4. One-Step – "Bo-La-Bo"
5. Fox Trot – "Marion"
6. Valse – "I Shall Remember Your Kisses"
7. Fox Trot – "The Old Nigger"
8. One-Step – "I'll Call You Sunshine"
9. Fox-Trot – "Look For The Silver Lining"

10. One-Step – "Mazie"
11. Fox Trot – "My Mammy"
12. Valse – "A Night Of Kisses"
13. One-Step – "Mary"
14. Fox-Trot – "When My Baby Smiles At Me"

Extra One-Step – "Old Man Jazz"

13. Penang: "The Passing of the Old Year," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (6 January 1922), 21.

This program is for a New Year's Eve celebration at the Eastern and Oriental Hotel. The hotel's orchestra provided music but after midnight Ernest Kaai's Royal Hawaiian Troubadours also performed. Their show at Town Hall earlier that night had been canceled.

Dinner Programme:

1. Overture – "Slavonic Rhapsody" – Friedmann
2. Waltz – "Bal Masque" – Fletcher
3. Selection – "The Yeoman Of The Guard" – Sullivan
4. Song – "I'll Say She Does" – Jolson
5. Selection – "Harry Lauder's Songs" – Arr. By Godfrey
6. Fox Trot – "Venetian Moon" – Magine
7. Jazz – "Tiger Rag" – Walkey
8.

Dance Program (Most of them encored)

1. One Step – "Ching Chong" – Weeks
2. Fox Trot – "Do You Ever Think Of Me" – Burtnett
3. Waltz – "Omaha" – Nicholls
4. One Step – "Sweden" – Burtnett
5. Fox Trot – "Murder" – Gay
6. Waltz – "Whispering" – Schonberger
7. Fox Trot – "Salome" – Stolz
8. One Step – "Swanee" – Gershwin
9. Fox Trot – "Capers" – Cohen
10. Waltz – "Mello Cello" – Moret
11. Fox Trot – "Answer" – Vause
12. One Step – "Speed" – Biese
13. Fox Trot – "Avalon" – Jolson
14. One Step – "By Jingo" – Perkins

14. Bandarawela: "Dance at Bandarawela," *Ceylon Observer* (11 January 1922), 8.

This program is for a dance at the Bandarawela Hotel with an amateur jazz band made up of Mrs. D. Ranken (piano), Mr. Bell (banjo), and Mr. W. C. C. King ("drums, cymbals, triangles, castanets, and other instruments.") The program below was modified in the

following way: “Each piece was repeated and in some cases played three times in response to insistent demands for an encore.”

Extra One Step – “Down On The Farm”

1. One Step – “May”
2. Fox Trot – “Coal Black Morning”
3. One-Step – “Happy”
4. One-Step – “I Will Call You Sunshine”
5. Fox Trot – “The Old Nigger”
6. One Step – “Avalon”
7. Valse – “The Charm School”
8. Fox Trot – “Humming”
9. One-Step – “Margie”
10. Fox Trot – “Amapu”
11. Valse – “I Shall Remember Your Kisses”
12. Valse – “Perfect Day”

3 Extras

15. Manila: “Erlanger & Galinger ad,” *The Manila Times* (29 October 1922), 8.

The Manila distributor for Victor records advertised a sample program for a gramophone dance. It seems likely that this is a not a specific dance program geared towards Manila audiences but rather is a generic program Victor used in advertisements throughout the world.

1. Fox Trot – “My Sweet Gal” – All Star Trio
2. Fox Trot – “I’m Laughing All The Time” – All Star Trio
3. Waltz – “Dreamland” – Farera & Franchini
4. Fox Trot – “Dear Old Southland” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
5. Medley Fox Trot – “They Call It Dancing” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
6. Fox Trot – “On The ‘Gin, ‘Gin, ‘Ginny Shore” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
7. Fox Trot – “Marie” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
8. Medley Fox Trot – “Cutie” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
9. Fox Trot – “Lonesome Hours” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
10. Fox Trot – “My Mammy Knows” – Benson’s Orchestra
11. Fox Trot – “Angel Child” – Benson’s Orchestra
12. Waltz – “Three O’clock In The Morning” – Smith’s Orchestra
13. Fox Trot – “Jimmy” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
14. Fox Trot – “After The Rain” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
15. Fox Trot – “Old Fashioned Girl” – Whiteman’s Orchestra
16. Medley Fox Trot – “Little Grey Sweetheart Of Mine” – Whiteman’s Orchestra

Intermission

17. “Valse From Serenade For String Orchestra” – Heifetz
18. Cavatina – “Don Pasquale” – Galli-Curci

19. Medley Waltz – "Swanee River Moon" – International Novelty Orchestra
20. Fox Trot – "Do It Again" – Whiteman's Orchestra
21. Fox Trot – "You Can Have Every Light On Broadway" – International Novelty Orchestra
22. Fox Trot – "Lovey Dove" – Club Royal Orchestra
23. Fox Trot – "California" – Club Royal Orchestra
24. Fox Trot – "Pick Me Up And Lay Me Down In Dear Old Dixieland" – Club Royal Orch.
25. Fox Trot – "Kitten On The Keys" – Zez Confrey And His Orchestra
26. Fox Trot – "Oogie Oogie Wa Wa" – Benson's Orchestra
27. Fox Trot – "Deedle Deedle Dum" – Benson's Orchestra
28. Fox Trot – "Who'll Take My Place (When I'm Gone)" – Club Royal Orchestra
29. Fox Trot – "Georgette" – Club Royal Orchestra
30. Medley Fox Trot – "My Rambler Rose" – Whiteman's Orchestra
31. Fox Trot – "Dancing Fool" – Club Royal Orchestra
32. "Home Sweet Home" – Conway Band

16. Penang: "St. George's Day at the E. and O.," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (1 May 1923), 593.

This program is for a fancy dress ball at the Eastern and Oriental hotel, with music provided by the hotel orchestra. A description of the dance implies that there were several other dances not listed on the program.

Dinner Programme:

1. Overture – "Semiramide" – Rossini
2. Waltz – "Whispering" – Schonberger
3. Intermezzo – "Chiquita" – Fernandez
4. Selection – "The Mikado" – Sullivan
5. Song – "On The Level" – Young
6. Selection – "Merrie England" – German
7. Fox Trot – "Serenade Blues" – Allen

Dance Programme:

1. One Step – "Golly Eyes" – Fairburn
2. Fox Trot – "Don't Say Good-Bye" – Holt
3. Waltz – "Allah" – Nicholls
4. One Step – "When You're Old" – Small
5. Fox Trot – "Hot Lips" – Snyder
6. Waltz – "When You Hold Me" – Kickmann
7. Fox Trot – "Cock-A-Doodle-Doo" – Hart
8. One-Step – "I'm Getting Better Every Day" – Brown
9. Fox Trot – "Dancing Time" – Kern
10. Waltz – "Imagination" – Williams
11. Fox Trot – "Wana" – Smythe
12. One Step – "When I'm Dressed In Blue" – Novella

13. Fox Trot – "I Want My Mammy" – Young
14. One-Step – "Cotton Town" – Kickmann

17. Penang: "The 'Bal Masque,'" *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle (*21 November 1923), 1811.

This program is for a costumed charity dance at the Eastern and Oriental Hotel with music provided by the hotel orchestra. Songs 8-10 were during supper and guests reportedly requested two extra songs not listed here.

Dance Programme
1. Fox Trot – "Wana"
2. Fox Trot – "Vamp Me"
3. Waltz – "3 O'Clock In The Morning"
4. Fox Trot – "Fate"
5. Fox Trot – "I Ain't Nobody's Darling"
6. One Step – "Golly Eyes"
7. Fox Trot – "Dancing Time"
8. Fox Trot – "My Mammy Knows"
9. Waltz – "Imagination"
10. Fox Trot – "All Muddled Up"
11. Fox Trot – "Yes, We Have No Bananas"
12. One Step – "I Want Some Money"
13. Fox Trot – "She Gives It All To Me"
14. Fox Trot – "Chicago"

18. Shanghai: "St. Andrew's Society Ball," *North China Daily News* (1 December 1923), 14.

This program is for a ball with over 1,400 guests in Shanghai. The music was provided by Shanghai's Municipal Orchestra and Jazz band, an organization with mostly Filipino members.

Extra – "Bananas"
Extra – "Love Sales"
1. Waltz (Old) – "Chocolate Soldier"
2. Fox Trot – "That Red Head Girl"
3. Fox Trot – "Farewell Blues"
4. Foursome Reel
5. Waltz (New) – "Les Millions d'Arlequin"
6. Caledonians
7. Fox Trot – "Midnight Rose"
8. Eightsome Reel
9. Waltz (Old) Supper Dance – "Waltz Dream"
10. Fox Trot. Supper Dance – "Two Time Dan"
11. One Step. Supper Dance – "Medley Of National Airs"

12. Fox Trot. Supper Dance – "You've Got To See Mamma Every Night"
13. Waltz (New) – "Ohio Shore"
14. Fox Trot – "Barney Google"
15. Eightsome Reel
16. Waltz (New) – "After Every Party"
17. Fox Trot – "Will You Always Love Me?"
18. Fox Trot – "Don't Send Me Posies"
19. Foursome Reel
20. Fox Trot – "Hollywood"
21. Eightsome Reel
22. Fox Trot – "Cut Yourself A Slice Of Cake"

19. Penang: "St. Andrew's Ball," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (5 December 1923), 1905.

This ball was at Penang's Eastern and Oriental Hotel, with dancing both outside on the lawn and in the ballroom. The hotel orchestra, directed by Neil Shaw, provided music. Supper was served during songs 8-11 and several extra songs did not make the program.

Dance Programme

1. Fox Trot – "She Gives It All To Me"
2. Fox Trot – "All Muddled Up"
3. Eightsome Reel
4. Waltz – "Nelly Kelly"
5. Fox Trot – "Nobody's Darling"
6. Caledonians
7. Fox Trot – "Nobody Lied"
8. One Step – "Golly Eyes"
9. Fox Trot – "Vamp Me"
10. Waltz – "Imagination"
11. Eightsome Reel
12. Fox Trot – "Chicago"
13. Fox Trot – "Who Cares"
14. Caledonians
15. Fox Trot – "Yes, We Have No Bananas"

20. Penang: "St. George's Ball," *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle (*30 April 1924), 518.

This ball in Penang's Town Hall featured music provided by the Eastern and Oriental Hotel orchestra.

Dance Programme

1. Fox Trot – "Where The Lazy Daisies Grow"
2. Fox Trot – "Rememb'ring"
3. Waltz – "A Cousin From No Where"

4. One Step – “Mimi”
5. Fox Trot – “My Sweetie Went Away”
6. Fox Trot – “Dancing Time”
7. One Step – “I’m Wild About Wild Men”
8. Waltz – “Mississippi Ripples”
9. Fox Trot – “Tell Me A Story”
10. Fox Trot – “Take, Oh Take Those Lips Away”
11. One Step – “Bebe”
12. Waltz – “Sleep”
13. Fox Trot – “Dancing Dan”
14. Fox Trot – “Down On The Farm”

Extra: 1. One Step – “Someone”
2. Fox Trot – “Last Night On The Back Porch”

21. Penang: “E & O Hotel,” *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* (6 August 1924), 966.

This fancy dress dance was for visitors in town for the Penang horse races. The Eastern and Oriental Hotel Orchestra provided music.

Dance Programme:
Extra – Fox Trot – “Tonight’s The Night” – Rupp

1. Fox Trot – “Remembrance” – Duncan Sisters
2. Fox Trot – “You Left Me Out In The Rain” – Violinsky
3. Waltz – “Waltz Me To Sleep In Your Arm” – Stasny
4. One Step – “Soms One [Sic]” – Gershwin
5. Fox Trot – “Sweet And Low” – Meyer
6. Fox Trot – “I Love You” – Chappelle
7. Waltz – “Dreamy Melody” – Magine
8. Fox Trot – “Tell Me A Story” – Schonberger
9. Fox Trot – “Since Ma Is Playing Mah Jongg” – Conrad
10. One Step – “Bebe” – Silver
11. Fox Trot – “Little Butterfly” – Berlin
12. Waltz – “When Lights Are Low” – Kahn
13. Fox Trot – “Linger Awhile” – Barry
14. Fox Trot – “Blue Evening Blues” – Burton
15. Extra Fox Trot – “Back Porch” – Brown

God Save The King

22. Manila: “Society,” *The Manila Times* (10 October 1924), 9.

The Manila Hotel Orchestra – which at this point consisted of the African-American musicians Andrew Rosemond, William Hegamin, Clinton Moorman, Bailey Jackson, and Jack “Junk” Edwards – regularly would announce a partial selection of new songs they would perform for their dances.

"Bagdad" (Foxtrot)
"After the Storm" (Foxtrot)
"Step, Henrieta" (Foxtrot) (One-Step)
"He's the Hottest Man in Town" (Foxtrot)
"Walter, Walter, Wildflower" (Foxtrot)
"Oh, If I Only Wish I Knew" (Waltz)

23. Manila: "Society," *The Manila Times* (24 October 1924), 9.

The Manila Hotel Jazz Orchestra played this night in conjunction with the Victor De Pinto Orchestra just arrived from the S.S. President Grant. They announced that they would perform the following new hit dance songs:

"Tropic Palm" (Foxtrot)
"Lonely Little Wildflower" (Foxtrot)
"Toy Doll Good-bye"
"Bad little boy" (Foxtrot)
"Lady of the Lake" (waltz)
"Drifting" (Foxtrot)
"Paradise Alley" (One Step)

24. Manila: "Manila Hotel ad," *The Manila Times* (31 October 1924), 9.

The Manila Hotel orchestra announced several songs they would play for a special Halloween dinner and dance for Halloween. Notably, this included an original composition by Hegamin.

(1) "By the Waters of Minnetonka" (waltz)
(2) "I'm Satisfied" (fox-trot)
(3) "Just Some Roses" (fox-trot)
(4) "My Dream Girl" (From the Dream Girl) (A Victor Herbert Waltz)
(5) "I Wonder What's Become of Sally" (Fox-trot)
(6) "Walla Walla" (Fox-trot)
(7) "Manila Hotel Trot" (Original Fox-trot composed by William O. Hegamin, pianist, and dedicated to the Manila Hotel)
(8) Tenor solos: "Adoring You (Ziegfield Follies)"
"I'm Somebody Nobody Loves"
Sung by Clinton R. Moorman, banjoist and saxophonist

25. Manila: "Society," *The Manila Times* (14 November 1924), 9.

The Manila Hotel orchestra introduced the following dance hits:

(1) "After All I Adore You" (Fox-Trot)
(2) "You Know Me Alabam" (Fox-trot)
(3) "Kismet" (Revival of the famous hit of yesterday) (Fox-trot)

(4) “Memory’s Garden (Waltz)
(5) “A Sun Kissed Cottage in California” (One-Step)

26. Manila: “Society,” *The Manila Times* (21 November 1924), 11.

The Manila Hotel Orchestra introduced the following “new music” for their regular Saturday dinner dance. At this point, Jack Carter was new to the band and was featured performing his special number “Mandy Make up Your Mind.”

“Copenhagen” – Fox trot
“I Can’t Get the One I Want” – Fox Trot
“Ray and His Little Chevrolet” – Fox Trot
“Jealous” – Fox Trot
“Suppose I Had Never Met You” – Waltz

27. Manila: “Society,” *The Manila Times* (5 December 1924), 9.

The Manila Hotel orchestra introduced the following new music:

“Eliza “(Fox-Trot)
“The Heart of a Girl” (Waltz)
“Blue Eyed Sally” (Fox-Trot)
“In a Rendezvous With You” (Fox-Trot)
(Sung by Bailey W. Jackson)
“Mah Lindy Lou” – Sung by Clinton R. Moorman
“Charley My Boy” – Sung by Jack Carter

28. Malacca: “St. George’s Day,” *The Malacca Observer* (27 April 1925), 6.

This program is for a fancy dress ball at the Malacca Club, attended by over 200 people.

1st extra Fox Trot “I Love Dancing With You”
1 Fox Trot, “Sun-uver-gun”
2 Valse, “Marchetta”
3. Fox-Trot, “The Marriage Moon”
4. One-Step, “That One Step”
5. Valse, “Coral Isle”
6. Lancers, “A Russian Lancers”
7. Fox-Trot, “The One I Love”
8. One-step, “If All the Girls”
9. Fox-trot, “Don’t Mind the Rain”
10. Tango Fox-Trot, “Spain”
11. Valse, “What’ll I do”
12. Blues, “Ukulele Blues”
13. Fox-trot, “It Ain’t Gonna Rain No Mo.”
14. Lancers – “Russian melodies.”

Interval

15. Fox-Trot, “Where The Lazy Daisies Grow”
16. One-Step, “Bebe Blue Eyes”
17. Fox-Trot, “She Loves Me”
18. Valse, “Rock-A-Bye My Baby Blues”
19. Fox-Trot, “Kiss Me Good Night”
20. “Sir Roger De Coverly”

29. Calcutta: “The Gramophone Company ad,” *The Statesman* (13 December 1925), 19.

Below is a sample dance program provided by a distributor of H.M.V. records with branches in both Calcutta and Bombay. Note that they include the specific record numbers in order to insure that customers will get the correct record.

An ideal “His Master’s Voice” Dance Programme

1. “The Toy Drum Major” – Fox-trot, B 2031
2. “Poem” – Waltz, B 1970
3. “Show Me the Way To Go Home” – Fox-trot, B 1997
4. “Stars and Stripes Medley” – One-step, B 1972
5. “Charleston” – Charleston, B 2076
6. “Rose Marie Medley” – Fox-trot, B 2077

INTERVAL

7. “Dollar Princess” – Waltz, B 1965
8. “I Want to be Happy” – Fox-trot, B 1978
9. “Seminola” – Fox-trot, B 2052
10. “Broadway Blues” – Blues, B 1690
11. “When My Sugar Walks Down the Street” – Fox-trot, B 2013
12. “Hay! Hay! Farmer Gray” – Fox-trot, B 2063

EXTRAS

Unlimited! See Dance Catalogue

30. Hong Kong: “Police Ball,” *South China Morning Post* (23 January 1926), 12.

This ball included a large number of tourists from the Belgenland ship. Music was provided by the full orchestra of the Hongkong Hotel, an organization that featured a large number of Filipino musicians.

1. Fox Trot – “Collegiate”
2. Fox Trot – “Because They All Love You”
3. Waltz – “Close Your Eyes”
4. Fox Trot – “Sad”
5. Eightsome Reel – “Pipers”
6. Fox Trot – “I Take You Back When You Want To Come Back”

7. One Step – “Tiny Town”
8. Fox Trot – “Who Is The One That You’re Fooling Now?”
9. Waltz – “Carazon Roto”
10. Fox Trot – “I Miss My Swiss”
11. One Step – “Stop Flirting”
12. Fox Trot – “Lonesome Me”
13. One Step – “Let Me Be The First To Kiss You Good Morning”
14. Fox Trot – “Everybody Stomp”
15. Boston Two Step
16. Fox Trot – “By The Light Of The Stars”

31. Calcutta: “Palais de Danse,” *The Statesman* (27 March 1926), 4.

The Palais de Danse printed a full program for a dance. The entire program by the Savoy Orpheans, was advertised to feature the “latest dance music from England by mail.”

Foxtrots:
“Indian Dawn” A foxtrot orchestration of an Indian melody creation.
“Just Drifting” Orchestrated by the Leader of the Savoy Orpheans
“The Two Of Us”
“The Peaceful Valley”
“Clap Hands Here Comes Charlie”
“Rhythm Rag”
“Spanish Shawl”
“Some One’s Stolen My Baby”
“In Your Green Hut”
“Tin Can Fusiliers”
“Ukulele Lullaby”
“What Did I Tell Ya?”
“Headin’ For Louisville”
“Wait Till To-Morrow Night”
“I Am On My Way To Dreamland”

Tangos: “Porque,” “Mimosa,” “Cigarette”

Valse: “Dear Old Pal Of Mine”

32. Singapore, 6 March 1930: Claude Oliveiro oral history, Reel 3 Singapore National Archives oral history collection. Accession number 001085.

Oliveiro was a Portuguese Eurasian pianist who, at this time, led a band of eight Filipino musicians at the Adelphi Hotel. This dance program was for a dance at Singapore’s Government House.

Foxtrot: “Red Skins”
Waltz: “The Pagan Love Song”

Foxtrot: “The Black Ragdoll”
Slow Foxtrot: “Singing in the Rain”
Foxtrot: “He Pulled Her Up to Him”
Waltz: “Sleepy Valley”
Foxtrot: “Let Somebody Else”
Slow Foxtrot: “Wedding of the Painted Doll”
Foxtrot: “You Wouldn’t Fool Me”
Waltz: “Dark Red Roses”
Slow Foxtrot: “I Want to Best”
Last: “I’m Doing What I’m Doing for Love”

Appendix K: Examples of Manila-based Composers, 1895-1930

This list includes the names of composers who were selling compositions in Manila between 1895 and 1930. I developed this list based on sheet music from the following archives in Manila: The Cultural Center of the Philippines Library, The Filipinas Heritage Library, The Lopez Memorial Museum and Library, The National Library of the Philippines, and the Music Library of the University of the Philippines-Diliman. The names below also include musicians who advertised their pieces in Manila periodicals such as *The Manila Times, The Philippines Free Press*, and *The Independent*. This list is by no means comprehensive. It is merely meant to show that several dozen composers were selling their pieces in Manila. Keep in mind that not all of these composers were Filipino (e.g., Adams was American, Trápaga had Basque parents).

1. Clifford Adams
2. T. Araullo
3. Nicanor Abelardo
4. Mr. Abong
5. D. Andres
6. Al D'Arcy
7. M. Anunciacion
8. Luis de Barrio
9. P. C. Bermachea
10. Francisco Bernardo
11. Luis Borromeo
12. Armando Buencamino
13. Francisco Buencamino
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15. F. Canlas
16. Pedro Castaneda
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20. S. Chofre
21. R. L. Corpus
22. Jose L. Cortes

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29. Adolfo Lopez Guerrero
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32. Amelia Hilado
33. Leon Ignacio
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35. M. C. Jhocson
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37. Pablo Mallare
38. Jaime Mallary
39. Ramon Madrigal
40. J. Nakpil
41. D. C. Naval
42. Mr. Nazario
43. Vicente Nery
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47. Dolores Paterno
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