The Manila Americans (1901-1964)

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is, but through unofficial channels rather than through official dialogue. Thus much can be accomplished, he believes, through the ecumenical attitude of educators toward the INK youth whom they serve, or through the impartiality of Christian employers toward qualified INK employees. Catholic schools should encourage their students to study INK doctrine critically, and Catholic priests and other ministers should cultivate friendly relationships with ministers of the INK. Catholic lay leaders of other churches can do the same vis-à-vis the lay leaders of the Iglesia. Friendly relationships of professionals of the churches with professionals of the INK can also help bridge the present ecumenical gap. The author could have added a suggestion on cooperation with the INK in social action activities and works of charity.

Anyone, however, who wishes to enter into dialogue with INK officials should be forewarned of the real difficulty of such an undertaking. Professor Elesterio is to be highly commended for the thoroughness with which he has handled his subject matter. The abundant footnotes, the sizeable appendix, the graphs, and the bibliography sufficiently attest to this. No doubt this book will be a necessary reference book for those who want to know seriously the christology and ecclesiology of the INK. There must have been many times in the course of the writing of his book that Dr. Elesterio felt very sorely tempted to engage in polemics, but he has admirably tried to be objective in his presentation without being uncritical.

This reviewer wishes to express the hope that sometime in the future, another work may be produced which would study the ecclesiology of the INK implicit in its structures as expressed in the Interior Constitution of the Church of Christ in the Philippine Islands (contained in the Appendix of the present work, pp. 174-96), and implicit also in the praxis of the INK. However, this will be another major task. For the task that he has already completed, and completed very well, Dr. Elesterio deserves the gratitude of all those who wish to understand this Philippine religious phenomenon, the INK.

Teodoro C. Bacani


With this, the most massive of his books, Lewis Gleeck completes the tetralogy which has been appearing over the last several years on the Americans in the Philippines. Gleeck, former Consul-General of the United States in Manila (1962-1968), and now a Manila resident, since the death of A.V.H. Hartendorp has been editor of the Bulletin of the American Historical Collection here. His other books — on American institutions, American con-
tributions to Philippine economic development, and Americans who lived and worked in the provinces — were earlier reviewed in this journal. Though all of them form separate studies, they deserve to be read in conjunction with one another. The volume under review, particularly, presupposes what has been said in the earlier books on institutions and business enterprises, and rather focuses its primary attention on the individuals connected with them, and with their lives as part of the Manila community.

Some preliminary remarks might be made of this work. It is not, first of all, in any sense a history of American influence in the Philippines. It does not concern itself with Washington and its policy, nor even, generally speaking, with the colonial government policy, nor much of the activity of the American embassy in Manila. Individual governors and ambassadors enter the story to the extent that they interacted with — favorably or unfavorably — the resident community of Americans. What interests Gleeck is the more or less permanent resident community rather than transient government officials and U.S. congressional policy.

Secondly, this is not the story of all Americans who lived in Manila, even for long periods of time, but of those who acted and thought of themselves as members of a community with common interests and common ties with their homeland, and a certain sense of responsibility for their fellow-Americans in Manila. As Gleeck notes, some Americans did not identify themselves thus, and it was the eventual death of some, or the departure of other "old-timers" who sold their business interests to Filipinos, that signified the end of the Manila American community as such in the mid-sixties. This focus of the book accounts for the general absence, except for a very few individuals like Archbishop Jeremiah Harty, of the names of American Catholic priests or missionaries, who tended to belong rather to the Filipino community. Sharing a communion of faith with the great majority of Filipinos, they entered as insiders, as it were, and had little relation for the most part with "the American community" from the very nature of the situation. Even American Catholic laymen, Gleeck notes, "in a Catholic country . . . and as adherents of a universalist tradition . . . did not establish their own churches," unlike the Protestant Union Church. A few other Americans too, because they married Filipinos or for other reasons of their own, never really participated in the Manila American community. The book therefore deals with an entity which had a spirit of its own, activities and interests of its own, somewhat apart from the larger Filipino community, though by no means necessarily antagonistic to or scornful of Filipinos. (This point, as one key in Gleeck's thesis, we will return to).

Thirdly, one may characterize the book not as a scholarly history of the Manila American community, though the author is trained in the social sciences and has done scholarly research in various sources (unfortunately for the historian, too rarely footnoted), but rather as what I would call the
collective memoirs of the community. To be sure, the author himself did not live in Manila through the greater part of the period he chronicles, but he has worked since 1963 to plumb the memories of those who did, and to preserve and articulate those memories after their possessors were gone. This is a service not only to the American community, but to Philippine historiography, for which all those who wish to understand and write history of the development of Filipino society in the twentieth century should be grateful. I think we have passed the day when one could write the story of Spanish governors and archbishops, encomenderos and friars, and think that one was writing the history of the Filipino people up to 1898. But conversely, I think no true historian today would claim that we could write the history of the Filipino people during the Spanish regime while totally ignoring the colonial protagonists in the story and their interaction with Filipinos. So too, these collective memoirs of the Manila American community, filtered through the perceptive and searching eyes of its chronicler, will not tell one directly a great deal about the Filipino people in the twentieth century, even the Filipino elite. But neither can this story be neglected, closely entwined as it was, for better and/or worse, with that of the Filipino people, even if only in a minor way. Filipino historians will be grateful for the work of Gleeck in preserving and making available this story.

Gleeck says clearly that "the writer has limited his comments on the events he relates to a minimum, but has had no reservation in interpreting [emphasis his] what occurred. ... Selection has been based on what the members of the then community, rather than the reader, with his present preoccupations and biases, might have preferred" (p. xii). The method of presenting the story, except for the concluding chapter, is generally to give in each chapter a narrative overview of the four or five year period, then an essay on some sector of the community or one of its institutions, and thirdly, some "thumbnail biographies." Naturally, the institutional essays and the biographies cover much longer periods than the chapters into which they are inserted, looking both backward and forward. The procedure does lead to a certain amount of repetition, and on certain topics there are casual remarks which fascinate the historian, but are not further developed. Nonetheless, it is one way of striking a balance between strictly chronological narrative and a purely topical organization of the book. Personally I found some of the biographical and institutional sketches both interesting and informative, often in a way the author himself may not have intended, and not a few point the way to further research.

Because the author does not pretend to have written a definitive history of the period, even of the community he chronicles, it is difficult to find fault with what he has chosen to emphasize or deemphasize. Gleeck would be the first to admit that not all, perhaps nobody, will agree with everything he has to say or with all of his interpretations. And one cannot justly fault
him for what he does not claim to do. Still, I may be permitted to comment on a few points.

Perceptively, he shows on a number of occasions that the "segregation policy" for which the American community in prewar years was often castigated, was frequently due not to racism but to different language, customs, and cultural norms in the Filipino and American communities—particularly in the early years—or to different needs. But on the other hand, it is also clear that racist attitudes did exist on the part of many, perhaps most, of the American community in those years. That "community" was made up of different kinds of people, and some were very obnoxious racists, just as were many back in the United States. Gleeck too would admit this, but I feel that while making a valid point about the accusation of racism being too freely applied, his treatment of the whole question is occasionally too apologetic and defensive, about something which was at times very real and fully unjustifiable, even given the historical circumstances in which it occurred.

Those who are not familiar with the prewar American community will find, as I did, a host of names which means nothing to them. Some chronicle falls into the trivial at times. And many will disagree with his interpretations of the Filipino-American irritants related to economics and nationalism in the post-independence period. This part of the book seems to me the weakest, because it moves out of the category of memoirs into that of a wider history without having all the resources of an objective historical study at hand, and there are a few unsubstantiated generalizations (pp. 322-23, 345). Indeed, one may raise the question, should a distinctive American community have continued to exist at that point in an independent Philippines? Is there any place in an independent nation for an ethnic group which is neither aiming at integrating itself into the national society nor willing to consider itself simply as individuals who are friendly guests of the Filipino people, with no privileges beyond what Filipino hospitality may bestow?

Be that as it may, Lewis Gleeck deserves to be congratulated, both for a book which will interest many—Americans and Filipinos, historians and general readers. Not the least of its contributions, as in his earlier volumes, is the large number of photographs of life in the Manila of days gone by. It is a fitting conclusion to the tetralogy.

John N. Schumacher, S.J.


Exodus, a fundamental book in the Old Testament dealing with the historical and religious origins of Israel as God's people, has been the topic of three