

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

**Peripheral Pockets of Paradise:
Perceptions of Health and Geography
in Early Twentieth-Century Manila and its Environs**

Michael D. Pante

Philippine Studies vol. 59 no. 2 (2011): 187–212

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies@admu.edu.ph. or info@philippinestudies.net.

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>

MICHAEL D. PANTE

Peripheral Pockets of Paradise

Perceptions of Health and Geography in Early Twentieth- Century Manila and its Environs

By constantly blaming Manila's low-lying topography and tropical climate, the "health-conscious" American colonial state revealed the significance that geography played in its perception of health. At the same time, this peculiar perception also revealed a flipside. As this article argues, the colonial state and the elite envisioned "a geography of health" typified by the breezy, elevated, sparsely-populated suburbs east of Manila that seemed "familiar" to the colonizers. As the districts of Santa Mesa and San Juan del Monte became representations of these ideals, the two areas underwent a process of suburbanization in the early twentieth century with the aid of transport "modernization."

KEYWORDS: AMERICAN COLONIALISM · PHILIPPINES · TROPICAL ENVIRONMENT · SUBURBAN LIVING · URBAN TRANSPORTATION

Various studies have analyzed the anxiety of the American colonial state over sanitation and health in the Philippines. Warwick Anderson's (2007) and Ronaldo Mactal's (2009) works are just a few notable examples. Mactal's is of particular interest because of the role geography plays in his analysis of colonial health policies. Focusing on the experience of Manila, he reveals the bias of the colonial state against the geography of the city. Its physical features, such as its low-lying topography, tropical climate, and overcrowded districts, were constantly blamed for the high incidence of diseases and mortality in the capital. As such the colonial state, especially in the early years of colonialism, usually crafted policies based on how it understood the relationship between environment and health. Consequently, the predominant response to health problems was proper sanitation, by making Manila a "livable city" to approximate the "healthful conditions" found in American cities (Mactal 2009, 26–47).

This article attempts to complement Mactal's study. Whereas Mactal describes the Americans' perspective on the "geography of disease" in Manila, this article focuses on the flipside: which areas did they perceive as healthful and sanitary? Whereas Mactal reveals that disease was given a specific "geographical face" in the city—the humid, low-lying, flood-prone, overcrowded, and slum-magnet downtown—this article argues that for the colonizers the "geography of health" was typified by the breezy, elevated, sparsely populated, peripheral areas east of Manila that seemed "familiar" to them. The latter category had two specific areas that represented the espoused ideal: Santa Mesa and San Juan del Monte. This "intertwined perception" of geography and health, together with developments in transport technology in the early twentieth century, was crucial to the rise of these two as elite suburban areas.

The Eastern Peripheries

Santa Mesa is currently part of the City of Manila, although a significant portion of it is now under Quezon City. It is located in the eastern part of the city that borders Quezon City, San Juan, and Mandaluyong (fig. 1). Santa Mesa became a juridical part of Manila in the late nineteenth century after the city boundaries were extended to encompass a number of *arrabales* (suburbs) surrounding Intramuros. At that time, Santa Mesa was a barrio of Sampaloc, one of the *arrabales* included in the enlarged territory of Manila.

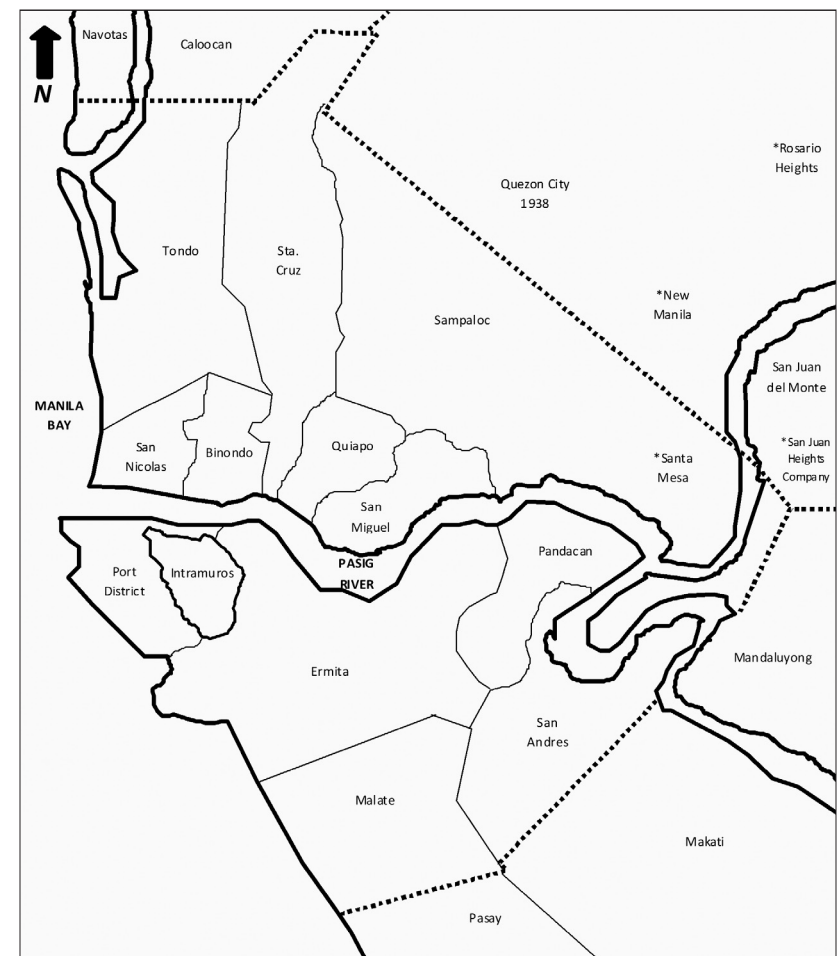


Fig. 1. Map of Manila and adjacent towns, circa 1939

Source: Based on map from Philippine Commission of the Census, 1940 (Manila subsection)

It was located just beyond the Sampaloc Rotonda and south of the barrio of Santol. When the American colonial regime approved the 1901 city charter, the entire arrabal of Sampaloc, including Santa Mesa, was retained as part of the city.

San Juan del Monte, or San Juan, is one of the sixteen chartered cities in Metro Manila.¹ Located on the left bank of the San Juan River (Salonga 1934, 137), it was a former barrio of Santa Ana until it became a separate

municipality in 1738, albeit still under the ecclesiastical domain of Santa Ana until 1863. Afterward it became part of the parish of San Felipe Neri and remained so until 1892 (Artiaga [1950?], 7). In the early years of the American regime, San Juan was under the political jurisdiction of San Felipe Neri (present-day Mandaluyong City). It became a separate municipality only in 1907 (Bureau of Insular Affairs 1908, 573).

Santa Mesa and San Juan lie adjacent to each other at the eastern fringes of Manila. During the Spanish and American colonial periods, both were considered peripheries to Manila's downtown, an area that generally referred to the *arrabales* located at the heart of the city near Manila Bay, such as Binondo, San Nicolas, and Quiapo. In spatial terms Santa Mesa and San Juan were peripheries because of their considerable distance from the downtown (Stevens 1968, 209; Carman 1921a, 23). In socioeconomic terms, the two were peripheral areas due to their low levels of urbanization and economic growth compared with the central districts (ACCJ 1921, 24; Paterno 1969, 8–10), and it is in this sense that both can be classified as suburbs of Manila.

One distinct geographical feature of these suburbs east of Manila was its hilly topography, in marked contrast to the flat terrain of the downtown. Based on a set of first-order levelings compiled in a 1979 publication of the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey, the average elevation in Santa Mesa was 5.160 meters above mean sea level. In contrast, the average in Intramuros and Binondo was 2.848 meters and 2.251 meters, respectively. In a separate set of second-order levelings from the same publication, the average elevation in San Juan was 16.331 meters (Miralles 1979, First Order a, d; Second Order b, c).²

The elevated terrain in the eastern suburbs is also evinced by the place names used in the area. The phrase “*del Monte*” attached to the name of San Juan literally translates to “of the mountain” (Artiaga [1950?], 7). *Altura*, which means “summit” in Spanish, is a street in Santa Mesa purportedly built on the highest ground in Manila. A subdivision in San Juan is called Little Baguio, in reference to its hilly, elevated terrain. During the American colonial period, this hilly topography, along with the considerable distance separating it from the downtown, was a key feature of Santa Mesa and San Juan that made them “ideal” residential areas for many colonizers and native elites.

Imagining the “Healthful Suburbs”

The American colonial state in the Philippines was preoccupied with sanitation and health just like other contemporary Western colonial powers (Savage 1984, 151–52). It exhibited a “holy zeal for sanitation” (Heiser 1936, 2) and health, which in turn was tied to their perception of the environment, at least during the first decade of colonial rule. Westerners in general were sensitive to the state of “healthiness and unhealthiness of place and climate” (Savage 1984, 146) in the tropical regions at the height of imperial expansion. In this “environment-centric” perspective, climatic and topographical elements were factored in how Westerners perceived the state of salubrity, or the lack thereof, of specific locales—perceptions that proved crucial to the displaced traveler (Kennedy 1990, 119–20). For example, many Americans believed that the tropics were unsuited for White settlement and thus dreaded diseases that were supposedly peculiar to the tropics (Reed 1976, 49–59). Contemporary “expert knowledge” buttressed the belief that diseases were due to the mismatch between man and environment (cf. Woodruff 1905), a situation that then aptly described White colonizers in their newly conquered territories.

Despite the paradigm shift in Western medical knowledge toward germ theory in the late nineteenth century (Kennedy 1990, 120), the erstwhile predominant “environment-centric” perspective still persisted among many Americans and other Westerners (*ibid.*, 118–21; Anderson 2007, 144; Packard 2007, 116). In Manila the persistence of this “discredited” paradigm was illustrated by the reaction of the colonizers, and even of some Filipinos, to the geography of the city. For example, colonial officials blamed Manila's precarious health situation on its tropical climate and its flat, low-lying topography (Heiser 1936, 1). As health became practically synonymous with sanitation and given a geographical dimension, the spread of disease was linked with issues such as the dirty Intramuros moat, the overflowing of *esteros* (estuarial creeks) that resulted in floods, the proliferation of unsanitary nipa shacks, congestion in squatter settlements, and the lack of a sewerage system (Mactal 2009, 26–47). And since many of these problems were evident in the downtown area, districts such as Binondo and San Nicolas were usually tagged as the most unsanitary and unhealthy areas. Consequently, proposed solutions to health problems normally involved certain physical changes in the downtown like increasing the elevation of low-lying areas to

minimize flooding or rearranging houses and streets to attain desired levels of temperature and humidity (*ibid.*, 42).

Although there were a few Americans who found the climate of Manila, and of the country as a whole, agreeable (Heiser 1936, 10), the predominant attitude was that the tropical setting was detrimental to the White man (Savage 1984, 152). Just like most Westerners, Americans believed that prolonged stay in hot and humid, low-lying lands reduced their vitality and exposed them to tropical diseases. Contemporary Western “expert knowledge” asserted: “Acclimatization is impossible” (Woodruff 1905, 321). To reduce the negative effects of the tropical environment, the White man turned to the highlands where they enjoyed cooler temperatures. These pockets of highlands were then imagined as places of salubrity (Kennedy 1990, 119; Jennings 2003, 163).

In Manila this fascination with elevated terrain in the tropics was noteworthy as it engendered the reputation of hilly suburbs east of downtown Manila as healthful locations. As early as the seventeenth century, Spanish Dominicans believed that San Juan’s location and “salubrious air” (Robb 1927, 12) made it a suitable site for the speedy convalescence of ailing priests from Manila (Aduarte 1905, 159–61). In the late nineteenth century, wealthy Spanish residents in Intramuros left the Walled City to build “Antillean”³ houses in Santa Mesa and enjoy its “green surroundings and fresh air” (Huetz de Lemp 1998, 166). The reported presence of “fresh air” in Santa Mesa was evinced by the decision to name a street in the area Buenos Aires. Prior to the American occupation, American merchant Joseph Earle Stevens (1968, 208) gave his own testimony regarding the climate in Santa Mesa: “The fresh breeze, which in the evenings and early mornings blows down directly from the lofty mountains, is so cool that often several blankets have been necessary in the sleeping contrivance.”

With the onset of the Philippine-American War after the expulsion of the Spanish regime, even US soldiers sent to the eastern suburbs testified to the cool climate in the area and to the supposed therapeutic benefits it brought. A letter dated 23 March 1899 from an American soldier named Selman revealed a soldier’s view of the suburbs east of Manila: “One good thing about this Camp is, we are somewhat higher than sea level and close to the hills. The result is the air seems purer & the dew is not so heavy” (Harper 1992, 77). In another letter dated 20 March 1899 from an American soldier who was part of a regiment assigned to protect the water reservoir in

San Juan, the writer described his regiment’s location as “most beautiful” because of the view and the breeze: “Our tent is raised on all sides so that the wind can blow through & when there is a breeze it makes it cool & pleasant & keeps the mosquitos from getting too thick” (*ibid.*, 71). Apparently, a number of American soldiers could not even endure the cold nights in these hilly suburbs. When Company E of the First Colorado Infantry was forced to spend a night in Santa Mesa, the men complained: “every man was chilled through and through and our teeth chattered and bodies shook as we hugged the ground in vain endeavors to keep warm.” This was surprising given that these were “men hailing from the Rockies and the chilly Great Plains, and wrapped up as they were in flannel shirts, overalls, underwear, leggings and shoes” (Legarda 2001, 70–71).

It was not just the ordinary infantrymen who believed in the supposed healthful benefits of these hilly suburbs. Looking back at the Philippine-American War, Col. H. B. Mulford wrote in 1907: “the First Nebraska Infantry was ordered into camp at Santa Mesa, supposed to be a very healthful section of the city” (*ibid.*, 25–26). The First Nebraska was sent there to stay for two months reportedly for health reasons because their former quarters in Binondo were deemed unsanitary (*ibid.*, 24). This Santa Mesa camp was probably one of the four military hospitals built in Manila by 1900. At that time, the chief surgeon of the US Army, Philippine Division, stated that: “There has been but little done in the construction of hospitals, partly because the most desirable points for their location are not yet known” (MacArthur 1900, Appendix F–15). Apparently, the location of the military hospital in Santa Mesa was desirable making it the biggest military hospital at that time with a capacity of 1,000 beds (*ibid.*, Appendix F–16).⁴

The reputation of the eastern suburbs remained even after the war. Civilian health officials of the colonial government still took note of the elevated terrain and relatively cool temperatures in the area. In a 1903 report to the Secretary of the Interior, the officer-in-charge of the Philippine Civil Hospital recommended the establishment of a new modern hospital with a “capacity of 500 beds and 40 private rooms.” He proposed that this hospital be located on the bay shore at either Cuartel Malate or Santa Mesa Heights, “where plenty of ground and the elevation insure greater coolness than the city proper” (Stafford 1904, 271).

The state campaign against tuberculosis also revealed the geographical dimensions of colonial health policies because of its strong emphasis on

maintaining a salubrious environment for curing TB. In a comprehensive proposal to fight TB in the country, then Bureau of Health director Dr. Victor Heiser (1909, 91) and Fernando Calderon recommended “that provision be made on an elevated site near Manila for treating a limited number of incipient cases of tuberculosis . . . by requiring their presence only during the night in order that the advantages of the open-air method . . . may be demonstrated.” From this proposal stemmed recommendations to have a night camp in San Juan and a free-air camp in Santa Mesa (*Manila Times* 1909, 4). When the plan was finalized, it was decided to establish the TB camp in the old Deposito grounds at San Juan, which Heiser (1910, 93) described as “an excellent site.” Completed in 1911 the TB camp became known as the San Juan Tuberculosis Hospital, a sanatorium that only admitted tuberculars who were still at the incipient stage (Moralina 2009, 184–85).

Although the San Juan TB Hospital ceased operations in 1916,⁵ a new sanatorium was built in the eastern peripheries of Manila two years later. In 1918 the Santol Sanatorium, this time located in Santa Mesa, “in a high dry land about 5 kilometers away from the heart of the city” (Afable and Cabreza 1927, 207), was inaugurated.⁶ Commenting on the site of the Santol Sanatorium, two Filipino medical officers opined that it was ideal due to its sufficiently high altitude (*ibid.*).

Aside from military and health officials, there were nonstate actors who also held a belief in the therapeutic value of the eastern suburbs. According to an Englishwoman who visited Manila in 1904, Santa Mesa residents believed that their area had significantly lower temperatures and fewer mosquitoes (Dauncey 1906, 138). In addition, a tourist guidebook described San Juan as a town “noted for perpetual breezes, healthful living conditions and exceptionally cool nights” (Anon. [1934?], 36, 39).

The stature of the eastern suburbs was even highlighted in the urban plan that American architect Daniel Burnham designed for Manila. He put premium on the “valuable high ground near Santa Mesa” as seen in his proposal to convert an existing heavy railway line traversing Sampaloc into a “suburban electric railroad” (Burnham and Anderson 1905, 633). He also recommended that “A group of schools forming perhaps a university, would be well placed on Santa Mesa Heights, having the advantages of proper detachment from the city, good air, high ground, and available water for aquatic sports” (*ibid.*, 634). Toward the end of the report, Burnham revealed

his plans for the area: “The low hills near Manila on the east offer possible locations for summer resorts within easy reach of the city” (*ibid.*, 635).

From Suburbs to Suburbia

The reputation of Santa Mesa and San Juan as healthful suburbs was based primarily on a view held by the elites. As such these suburbs were “consumed” primarily by the wealthy classes who wanted to escape the unsanitary conditions of downtown Manila and enjoy good air and high ground. Consequently, the suburbs developed a noticeable elite character (Horn 1941, 22–23; Robb 1930a, 7). According to a 1937 tourist guidebook, the most favored residential areas in and near the capital were Santa Mesa, San Juan, and New Manila, “all of which are higher and cooler than the other districts of Manila and suburbs” (American Express 1937, 16.)

It should also be noted that Santa Mesa and San Juan came into favor especially with foreigners. Even before the American occupation, there were already a handful of British and American residents in Santa Mesa (Legarda 2001, 1–2; Stevens 1968, 209). And in the first decade of American colonial rule, specifically from 1906 to 1908, Santa Mesa became “a favorite residence spot for many of the American and foreign residents” (Manila Merchants Association 1908, 35). As decades passed, more foreigners came to settle in the suburbs east of Manila. In the 1930s Santa Mesa was “devoted almost entirely to the homes of Americans and Europeans,” according to a tourist guidebook (American Express 1939, 11). High-ranking, expatriate officials of the insular government and of the biggest companies and organizations in the country—such as the Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company (Meralco); Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Company (AG&P); Pacific Commercial Company (PCC); and the American Chamber of Commerce—established their residences in the area as well (Rosenstock 1917, 488; Robb 1930c, 9; ACCJ 1940b, 7; Ingersoll 1971, 34).

The popularity of the eastern suburbs with foreigners could be better analyzed by looking at the residential patterns of Americans in the early twentieth century (fig. 2). At the start of the colonial period, Manila Americans were drawn to the central districts of Intramuros, Santa Cruz, and Binondo, while only a few resided outside the city limits probably for security reasons. However, the succeeding decades saw an “exodus” of Americans as majority of them decided to live farther down south (in Ermita and Malate, and in the municipality of Pasay), while a significant number

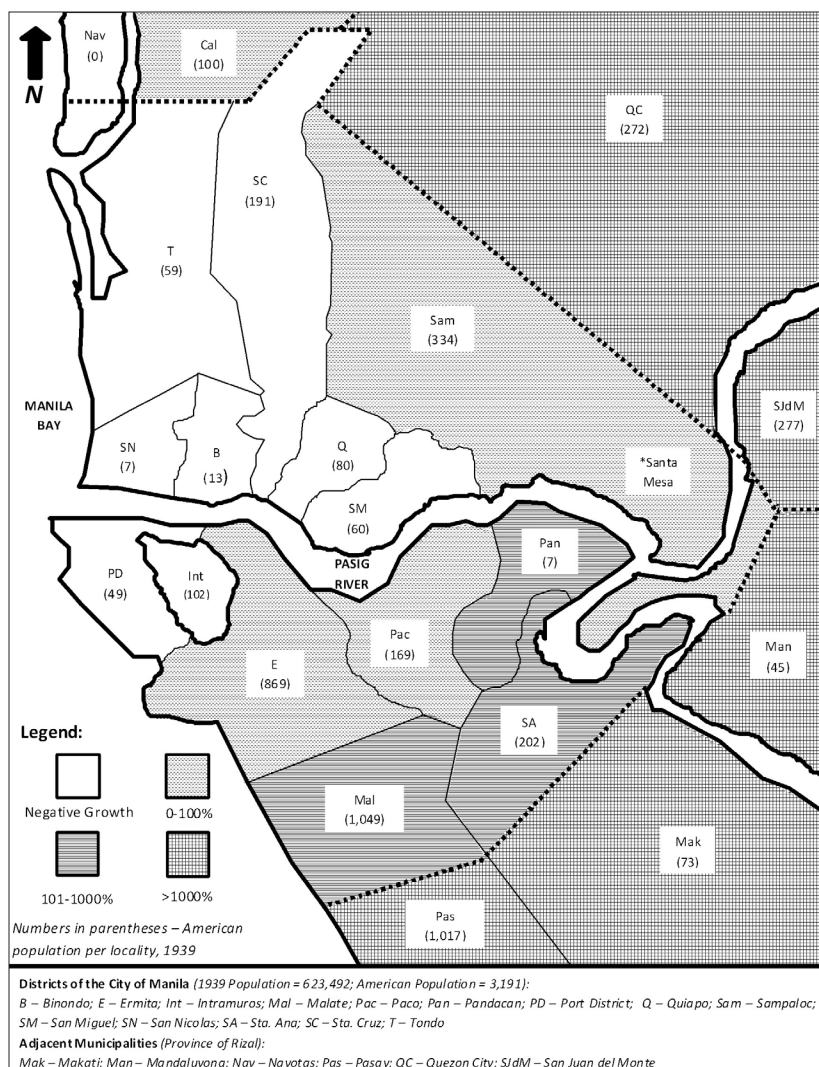


Fig. 2. Changes in the distribution of resident Americans in Manila and environs from 1903 to 1939
 Source: Calculated based on data from U.S. Bureau of the Census 1905, 293–94; 303–04; Philippine Commission of the Census 1940a, Manila–4, Rizal–7

headed to the east (in Sampaloc and Santa Ana, and in the municipalities of San Juan and San Felipe Neri).⁷ Toward the eve of the Second World War, the residential pattern had been reversed: few Americans lived in the central districts whereas many resided farther out into the peripheries.

The “outward migration” of Manila Americans was clear, but why did they move to the peripheries? One major reason was the perceived unsanitary conditions in the downtown and the other central districts. The population density, flat topography, and high temperatures in these areas were constantly tagged as factors behind the spread of disease in areas like Binondo, Tondo, and Intramuros. These elements became push factors that led many Americans to settle in the suburbs. As a result, the contrast between the “healthful” suburbs and the “filthy” downtown was highlighted.

The Americans’ descriptions of the eastern suburbs were usually juxtaposed to the geography of the downtown. According to Walter Robb (1930a, 30), editor of the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal (ACCJ)* in the 1930s: “Though the hills of Santa Mesa Heights are low, they are high enough to effect good drainage and to invite a breeze; days and nights in this favored locality are never sultry, the average temperature is perceptively lower than that of the Manila flats.” Horace Pond (ACCJ 1940b, 7), PCC president and a resident of Santa Mesa, echoed Robb’s sentiments in describing his neighborhood: “This is the only elevated part of Manila; the elevation is but the height of some low hills, yet enough to make a difference of some 4 degrees of temperature, on an average, between Santa Mesa and the downtown district.”

Many Americans were attracted to move into Santa Mesa and San Juan not only because of the supposed favorable conditions but also due to the “familiar surroundings.” In an article published in the ACCJ, Santa Mesa was described as: “a beautiful residential section on top of a hilly district overlooking the city. Fine bungalows and villas surrounded by ample, well-kept grounds adjoin one another. Gardening as an art is practiced here as in no other portion of the city. Americans, Europeans and Filipinos live here side by side” (Lyons 1921, 10).

Descriptions of the hilly suburbs emphasized the lawns and gardens, the existence of modern bungalows, the swimming pools, and tennis courts—amenities associated with American suburbia. Robb (1927, 12) extolled real estate developments in San Juan and nearby San Francisco del Monte,

where “suburban homes [are] surrounded with ample lawns and English or old-world gardens are already seen.” Joshena Ingersoll (1971, 34), wife of Manila judge Frank Ingersoll, described their bungalow in Santa Mesa in the 1910s as:

a six-room, high-ceilinged frame building, entirely guiltless of plaster, paper, and except for the kitchen and bathroom, of doors. Happily, and unusual at the time, the bathroom was equipped with both tub and a shower stall, and best of all, a hot water heater. Another delightful feature of our new quarters was a sixteen-foot veranda which ran around two sides of the house and from which we had a fine view of the surrounding countryside and the distant city of Manila . . . The rooms were large and wide open to the breezes. To be sure, our shelter afforded little more privacy than a gold-fish bowl. This was relatively unimportant, for, perched on a hilltop and surrounded by large shade trees, our home enjoyed the maximum possible degree of coolness.

My husband felt we were in great luck to have secured this bungalow, in a district where all the neighboring villas were occupied by American or European families.

It is also possible that many Americans were attracted to live in the suburbs due to the possibility of constructing houses that conformed more to Western notions of domestic space than to the “less private” *bahay na bato*, the nineteenth-century house of the native elite, in the downtown districts where many of them lived as renters during the first two decades of colonial rule (Rafael 2000, 66–67; Zialcita and Tinio 1980, 6, 19). In the suburbs, many of the houses built were chalets and villas (fig. 3). In fact, a good number of these edifices remain in use to this very day. These suburban developments in the eastern peripheries led an *ACCJ* editor to remark: “Manila suburban property is now rapidly undergoing development in the familiar American manner” (Lyons 1921, 10).

Real estate developers eventually took advantage of the suburbs’ reputation. The area saw a succession of suburban subdivisions built in the late 1910s and the 1920s. In the case of Santa Mesa the result was the emergence of Santa Mesa Heights, a subdivision that catered to foreigners, middle- and upper-class residents. In San Juan the premiere

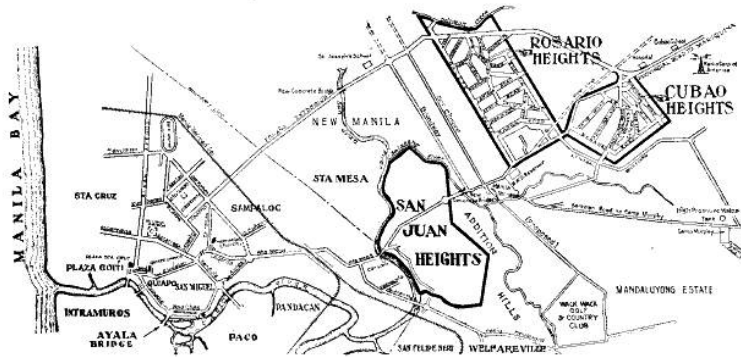


Fig. 3. An example of a single-detached villa in Santa Mesa, circa 1910s
Source: Camara de Comercio de las Islas Filipinas 1920, 39

suburban subdivision was San Juan Heights. The company was founded in 1920 by a group of developers led by Philip Carman and Henry Elser that had purchased 150 hectares of land in San Juan del Monte and subdivided it into smaller lots. Two years later, three-fourths of the lots had already been sold (Lyons 1921, 10; Salonga 1934, 138; Gleck 1975, 78). During this time, the values of its new buildings were already comparable to property values in the districts of Manila (Carman 1921a, 23). Knowing the “geographical advantages” of the location of their subdivision, company officials emphasized these features in promoting San Juan Heights. The elevated terrain was one key element stressed in a magazine ad that posed this question: “Floods are due now any time. Will you be living in the center of a frog pond or in San Juan Heights?” (fig. 4).

The popularity of San Juan Heights among the American and Filipino elite was undeniable. Residents included prominent citizens and even the “very highest officials of the Insular government” (Salonga 1934, 138). The success of San Juan Heights transformed San Juan from a fourth-class to a first-class municipality in a few years. By the 1930s San Juan was home to a significant value of “high-priced buildings”

**Floods are due now any time.
Will you be living in the center
of a frog pond or in San
Juan Heights?**



San Juan Heights Co., Inc.
680 Ave. Rizal—P. O. Box 961—Tel. 21501
Manila

(Philippine Commission of the Census, 1940b, 476–77) and was already “considered a metropolis next to Pasay” (Salonga 1934, 137–38).

The success of these suburban developments even triggered other real estate developments in the adjacent areas that also catered to the elite. Examples were the Del Monte Subdivision in San Francisco del Monte, New Manila, Addition Hills, and Rosario Heights (Lyons 1921, 10; Anon. [1934?], 36, 39). The developers of Addition Hills, which still exists to this day, even boasted that in 1936, they had already sold 206,142 square meters of real estate to Americans and foreigners, and that more “prominent people” chose to buy homes in this subdivision (*Philippine Magazine* 1936b, 414). Furthermore, how these subdivisions were packaged as commodities was patently similar to what had already been described above. For example, Del Monte Subdivision was advertised as: “No Dust, Cool Fresh Air” (Salonga 1934, 140–141). Likewise, Addition Hills was described by such taglines as “Greatest Height, View, and Values” and “Away from the heat, noise, congestion, and floods of the City” (*Philippine Magazine* 1936a, 206). According to a contemporary shopping guide (Anon. 1934, 31), the town of San Juan in the 1930s “includes the new and rapidly growing residential subdivisions of Addition Hills, San Juan Heights, New Manila, Manila Heights, Rosario Heights, and others all on high land noted for perpetual breezes, healthful living conditions and exceptionally cool nights.”

Given all these developments, it was hardly surprising that land values in the eastern suburbs increased in the 1920s. In fact, suburban real estate values rose more rapidly than city values in the 1910s and the 1920s (Carman 1921b, 12). The general success of these suburban real estate developments led to a significant population growth in Rizal Province where all these subdivisions were located (Salonga 1934, 137). So dramatic were the changes that in 1937 the Municipal Board of Manila even proposed to include these parts of Rizal Province under the jurisdiction of Manila (ACCJ 1937a, 37). Although most of the affected real estate developers and brokers protested because they believed this would lead to higher property taxes with no corresponding benefits (*ibid.*, 39–40), it was apparent that these suburbs were de facto components of a greater urban agglomeration (Robb 1927, 12).

The proposal of the Municipal Board was a clear indicator of the “suburban success.” But what accounted for this success? One reason was the competitive prices of suburban real estate. According to Carman

Fig. 4. An ad for the San Juan Heights Company
Source: *Philippine Magazine* 1936, inside front cover

(1921b, 12), “the same money that buys a small lot in the crowded, dusty and noisy city will buy much more spacious site a little further out, with cooler, quieter, cleaner, and more healthful conditions thrown in for good measure.”

Another crucial factor was the support of the native elite (Robb 1927, 12). Whether rich Manileños also subscribed to the notion of salubrity attached to the suburbs is uncertain, but it was apparent that they formed a major consumer market for the subdivisions (Salonga 1934, 138), which were supposedly laid out in “rationalized American lines” but largely intended for Filipinos (Gleeck 1975, 79). San Juan was home to Manila’s cream of the crop, such as senators Jose Veloso, Teodoro Sandiko, and Claro M. Recto, novelist Lope K. Santos, architect Juan Arellano, and entrepreneur Salvador Araneta (Salonga 1934, 193–94). It was also the location of Manila mayor Ramon Fernandez’s “palatial residence” (Lyons 1921, 10).

Filipinos comprised an overwhelming majority of the population in San Juan and Sampaloc where natives made up 94 percent and 96 percent of the population, respectively, in 1939 (Philippine Commission of the Census 1940a, Manila–4, Rizal–7).⁸ Definitely, not all of them enjoyed the suburban lifestyle. A large number of these Filipinos were probably ordinary Filipinos who were highly unlikely to have shared the Americans’ views on the “geography of health.” Peasant households and farms remained in these suburbs up to the 1930s (Lyons 1921, 10; Robb 1930a, 5–7) and probably outlived the American occupation. Surrounding the high-class subdivisions were nipa huts, Chinese tiendas, and slums (Artiaga [1950?], 18, 21, 24; ACCJ 1937b, 41–42). These were flaws in the eyes of advocates of suburban living, such as Robb (1930c, 9) who lamented that Santa Mesa was “affected adversely by the backwash of progress. Good property and pleasant residence neighborhoods lie all around it, but it is something less than middle class and hardly more than poor-class.” “Suburbanization” did not turn the eastern suburbs into homogenous communities.

The Role of Transportation

Another crucial factor behind the specific development of the suburbs east of Manila was Manila’s urban transport system. At the start of the twentieth century Santa Mesa and San Juan were still considerably distant from the downtown. Prohibitive transportation costs discouraged many downtown-based families and individuals from living there. According to an article published in *Manila Freedom* on 2 May 1900 (cited in Mactal 2009, 65),

this problem was aggravated by the lack of an efficient urban transport system in Manila, a situation that worsened sanitary conditions in the downtown:

It appears to a great many who have had occasion to solve problems of this kind before, that the lack of a rapid transportation is the main cause of the density in the city. A laborer cannot very well live out at Santa Mesa and come into town in the morning to work on the wharves. It will take him the greater part of the forenoon to get to work on the poor cannon ball street lines that pretend to accommodate the public. No, he must live down town so that he can be close to his work. This same rule applies to thousands of the inhabitants, and as business increases from time to time, the piling up process continues until in many cases the courts in some of the large tenement houses are used to afford sleeping room. When the rainy season comes, the luxury will not be indulged in and the buildings will become more crowded than ever before.

If Santa Mesa was already distant for the laborer working in downtown Manila, then all the more was this true of San Juan.⁹

The sentiments expressed in the quoted article reflected the general feeling among many Americans, who were irritated at the supposed inadequacy of urban transportation in Manila at the turn of the century. They also believed that the consequent lack of physical mobility was the main culprit behind the overcrowded conditions in the downtown. And overcrowding was almost always linked to a state of unhealthiness.

Although these conditions in Manila were unsettling for both the colonizers and the native elite, the colonial state was convinced of the transformative power that a “modern” urban transport system could exercise on the geography of the city. As early as 1902, the Municipal Board of Manila (1903, 13) was optimistic with the capacity of an electric streetcar (also known as the *tranvia*), which would replace a Spanish-era horse-drawn tram, to effect the desired changes: “All places are rapidly renting and the population is reaching out from the crowded streets to the more healthful suburbs. The installation of an electric railroad, franchise for which is about to be advertised, will develop the outlying portions of the city with great rapidity.” That optimism was still evident a year later (Municipal Board of Manila 1904, 9):

The outlying districts in nearly every direction from the crowded centers are more desirable for residence sites by reason of the higher ground, and it is expected that as soon as the railroad [electric streetcar] is put into operation many of those now paying high rents for small, unhealthy quarters will take advantage of this quick transportation and secure comfortable dwellings in better localities.

The objective of the state clearly went beyond the mere enhancement of physical mobility. State officials saw in the electric streetcar the possibility of hitting two birds with one stone: solving the problem of congestion in the “unhealthy” downtown and encouraging more people to settle in the “healthier” suburbs. Apparently, health issues helped frame transport “modernization” in Manila. Given these underlying objectives, it was not surprising that the routes of the installed electric streetcar stretched into the outlying sections of the city. Although it essentially followed the lines of the horse-drawn tram, the new streetcar extended these lines a bit further. In the case of the eastern suburbs, while the horse-drawn streetcar linked Santa Mesa to the downtown through a line that ended at the Sampaloc Rotunda, the new tranvia maintained that route but extended it up to San Juan Bridge via Calle Santa Mesa (Paterno 1969, 7).

The decision of Meralco, the American company that operated the electric streetcar, to extend their Santa Mesa line despite the low levels of population and urbanization there at the turn of the century was said to be “an act of faith” (ibid., 8). This so-called act of faith was soon rewarded for the Meralco tranvia was an instant success. Its cheap fares made it popular among the masses. The tranvia eventually encouraged nonelite “pioneers” to settle in Santa Mesa and in the “empty hills” of San Juan (ibid., 10).

Aside from the electric streetcar, the automobile was also another critical transport mode in the development of the eastern suburbs. Some even believed that the automobile, which was introduced in Manila in the first decade of the twentieth century, was more influential than the streetcar in terms of the suburbanization process. They explicitly linked automobile use to the growth of the eastern suburbs. For instance, Robb (1930a, 5) commented: “Manila has no solid Buick neighborhood as yet, but Santa Mesa is a solid automobile neighborhood; there seems to be a car or two in the garage at every house, buses ply main thoroughfares only . . . The

automobile made Santa Mesa Heights accessible.” He also applied the same line of analysis on San Juan: “Until ten years ago, nearly all [of Manila’s] inhabitants lived on the flats, as indeed most of them do still. But new roads have made a few of the hills accessible: the automobile has come, to make the roads more practical, and the hills are making homes for thousands of the wealthy and the middle classes” (Robb 1930b, 8).

In the succeeding decades, the necessary infrastructure to support automobile use was built in the eastern suburbs. Wide and well-paved roads were constructed in the area. In 1940 Calle Santa Mesa, one of the critical thoroughfares in the area, was rebuilt. In the process, the stretch of road from Sampaloc Rotunda to Santol was widened to 12 meters on both sides of the center island. This road improvement was explained as not only to serve military ends but also to “make suburban highlands accessible to the main business sections of town and give dreams of cool clean country homes lying within a short drive of men’s downtown offices, new and practical significance” (ACCJ 1940a, 35).

The impact of the general changes in Manila’s urban transport system on the suburban expansion of Manila was evident to commentators like Robb (1927, 12), who attributed the success of the suburban subdivisions to a faster system of conveyance in the city: “In these [real estate] companies a moderate number of Americans and a great number of Filipinos are buying their own homes in districts where transportation into Manila is reliable and the surroundings pleasant and healthful.”

Advertisements for these suburban subdivisions also reflected the impact of rapid transport. Still emphasizing the elevation of its location (supposedly the highest within the immediate area), an ad for San Juan Heights ended with the tagline: “Only 9 minutes from Escolta.” Similarly, an ad for the Del Monte Subdivision described its location as “Located in the hills fifteen minutes from Plaza Goiti over first class road” (Salonga 1934, 141).

These advertisements clearly showed that the choice of the elite to live in the hilly suburbs some distance from the city was premised on an important baseline: accessibility. They were only so willing to enjoy the amenities of suburban living if they could remain comfortably accessible enough to the downtown where they could get their everyday needs. This would probably explain why the points of reference in the ads were almost always the downtown centers (e.g., nine minutes from Escolta, fifteen minutes from

Plaza Goiti). The existence of automobiles and an electric streetcar allowed many, especially the wealthy, to leave the “deteriorating, noisy, and polluted center for suburbia” (Robb 1930b, 8–9).

Before the twentieth century, urban transport in Manila was essentially limited to transport modes that relied on humans or draft animals as motive power. However, with the arrival of “modern” vehicles that were way faster than the preexisting transport modes due to the reliance of the former on “nontraditional” sources of motive power (i.e., electricity and the internal combustion engine), the hilly suburbs became a sort of frontier that was conquered and even “democratized.” An ad for the San Juan Heights articulated this perspective: “San Juan Heights used to be a health and pleasure resort for the very rich only. That was when fast horses and carriages were the only rapid transportation. It was a rare privilege then to live there. Now even the poor may have the privilege of a home in San Juan Heights” (Salonga 1934, 139).

A Domesticated Geography

The contrast between the geography of the downtown and of the eastern suburbs proved crucial to the process of suburbanization in early twentieth-century Manila and its environs. As in the American suburbs, Santa Mesa and San Juan served as oases for those who needed an “escape from the health, housing and environmental problems of the inner cities” (Bourne 2001, 275). Notwithstanding the difficulty of verifying the actual health benefits of living in these hilly suburbs, or the real health risks in residing in the humid and flood-prone downtown, the perceptions of the foreign and native elite proved crucial—and interesting—nonetheless (King 1990, 55).

In relation to this observation, it is interesting to note that the “suburban exodus” happened in the 1910s and 1920s, at a time when germ theory had already gained ground and the climatic burden had become less of a concern (Anderson 2007, 74–103). Despite the “exoneration of the tropical milieu and the racializing of pathogen distribution” (ibid., 75), previously held beliefs regarding the dynamics of health and geography appeared to linger in the minds of Americans and the colonized elite, at least among the “non-medical” sectors (Horn 1941, 27), as seen in how they imagined and appraised the eastern suburbs in the 1920s up to the 1930s. This was most evident among real estate developers like Carman and Robb who took advantage of the suburbs’ reputation as healthful locations to sell houses and lots to prospective buyers.

From one standpoint, the developers’ view on health may hardly matter. What they meant by “healthful” was never elaborated, and their notion of health was probably incongruent with the standard medical definition. Moreover, exaggeration obviously played a part here since potential profit drove them to make the suburbs more appealing through advertising and promotional articles in periodicals. However, from another perspective, what was evident was the prominence of the issue of “health” in the packaging of suburban subdivisions as commodities for Western and (Westernized) Filipino consumers. What was apparent was the preoccupation of both buyers and sellers with “health issues.” What was clear was the influence of elite perceptions of geography and health on the specific path of development that Santa Mesa and San Juan experienced in the early twentieth century.

In this regard, one can assert that the eastern suburbs were “domesticated” twice over. To begin with, San Juan and Santa Mesa metamorphosed from mere suburbs to pockets of suburbia; these areas were no longer just suburbs in the “geopolitical” sense of being peripheries to an urban core, but “suburbs” in the sociogeographical sense, viewed and stereotyped as “a domesticated residential environment” (Bourne 2001, 268). The elite subdivisions that emerged were packaged as “symbols of more-or-less closed societies” (ibid., 260) and imagined as geographical spaces for the social reproduction of affluent households. Secondly, this commodified iconography was the familiar image of suburban America that was transplanted to Manila. The elements that led to the rise of Santa Mesa and San Juan as pockets of suburbia were practically the same elements that were critical in the emergence of American suburbs in the 1920s: urban population boom, increased disposable incomes, and the automobile. The reproduction of images from the metropole to the peripheral colonial city had to be undertaken to make the unfamiliar familiar to the colonizers. As Lewis Gleeck (1977, 146), an authority on the history of Manila Americans, would remark, “Manila was exotic enough to be interesting and familiar enough to be reassuring” to the colonizers. The displaced Americans found reassurance in the familiarity of Santa Mesa and San Juan, peripheral pockets of paradise in a hostile expanse of the unfamiliar.

This process of “colonial domestication” mirrors the historical experience of hill stations in the colonized world. Analyzing the historical geography of Santa Mesa and San Juan, one can see the striking parallelisms between these two areas and the development of Baguio, the lone colonial hill

station in the country. Baguio exhibited a specific geography that attracted Americans. Aside from its climate, it featured landscapes and vegetation that were familiar to the colonizers and “reminded them of the West” (Reed 1976, viii); it was “reminiscent of home” (Heiser 1936, 31). This combination of the “ideal” climate, landscape, and society (Reed 1976, ix–xii; Savage 1984, 149–150) shaped the perceptions of the colonizers as they viewed it as an oasis of health to relieve them of their climatic burden in the tropics. Visiting Baguio purportedly led to renewed vigor and even recoveries from diseases (Reed 1976, vii–viii), and it eventually became a favored site for restorative sanitaria and recreational centers that catered to the elite (ibid., xxiv–xxv). However, being spatially detached from urban centers, the success of Baguio also depended on the development of transport facilities, specifically mountain roads and railways, which allowed the influx of regular visitors and residents from the “lowlands.” In this regard, the Manila–Dagupan Railroad and the Benguet Road were critical in bringing Manila Americans and rich Filipinos to this health resort (Corpuz 1999, 28–56; 141–145; Reed 1976, 76–78). Although its purported curative powers eventually lost credibility (Anderson 2007, 145–46), the reconfigured geography of the hill station was there to stay. While Santa Mesa and San Juan were not exactly hill stations, the reconfiguration of these suburbs was mainly premised on Western-centric ideas on space and largely dependent on concerns (imagined or real) for health and sanitation that also served as the foundation of hill stations. These were also the same ideas that served as mechanisms to maintain the identity of the White man displaced in an alien, tropical environment (Jennings 2003, 160–66).

The transplanting of metropolitan notions of suburban living, along with the fascination of many Americans with the hilly suburbs of Manila and its environs, illustrated an aspect of “imperial aesthetics that allows [Manila Americans] to feel at home while [they are] away from home” (Rafael 2000, 52). With the transformation of the hilly suburbs into patches of suburbia that were perceived, appraised, fashioned, and consumed the “American way,” “[t]he ‘charms’ of the tropics thus [became] signs for the benevolence of conquest” (ibid., 52). The suburbs showcased the Americans’ civilizing mission by “erecting domestic outposts of ‘beneficial republicanism’ on the imperial frontier” (ibid., 56). In this regard, democracy here meant the freedom of both colonizers and colonized to enjoy the suburban lifestyle, limited of course to those who could afford it. As such, early twentieth-century

Manila was a clear example of a colonial city. It was a city that became a locus for the transplanting not only of metropolitan amenities but also of metropolitan cultural norms and perceptions into the conquered population (Jennings 2003, 179; King 1990, 13, 42).

Notes

- 1 Metro Manila, known as the National Capital Region, also includes cities such as Manila and Quezon City.
- 2 The author computed for the average values using all the first-order benchmarks for Intramuros, Binondo (except for one benchmark taken on top of the Jones Bridge), and Santa Mesa. Only second-order benchmarks were available for San Juan. First-order benchmarks are more accurate compared with second- and third-order ones. Miralles’s survey was made available to the author courtesy of the National Mapping and Resource Institute Authority.
- 3 The term “Antillean house” is a misnomer for the *bahay na bato* (which probably explains Huetz de Lemp’s use of quotation marks in his article), an architectural style popular among the urban elites of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Manila (Zialcita and Tinio 1980, 75, 226).
- 4 Sources did not indicate the exact location of the other three military hospitals in Manila at that time. The names of these hospitals were: First Reserve (400 beds), Second Reserve (304 beds), and Number Three (285 beds) (MacArthur 1900, Appendix F–16).
- 5 The reasons for the closing of the hospital are unclear, although Moralina (2009, 203) emphasizes that prior to the closure there was a “departure of a significant number of high-profile health officials” following the policy of Filipinization under the Harrison administration that also coincided with drastic budget cuts for the hospital.
- 6 The Santol Sanatorium is known today as the Quezon Institute.
- 7 The two districts of Ermita and Malate and the municipality of Pasay were home to the biggest number of American residents and were usually depicted as seaside suburbs that catered to the elite.
- 8 Primary sources yielded no population data specifically for Santa Mesa.
- 9 Stevens (1968, 209), however, disputed the “popular belief” that living as far out as in Santa Mesa was expensive. It was probably inexpensive for wealthy merchants like him, but definitely not so for the typical Manilaño at that time.

References

- Aduarte, Diego, O.P. 1905. Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores [1640]. In *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 31, ed. and trans. Emma H. Blair and James Robertson, 23–300. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company.
- Afable, V. S. and J. Cabreza. 1927. Pulmonary tuberculosis among Filipino ex-service men of the United States Army and Navy. In *Proceedings of the First National Congress on Tuberculosis held at Manila, Philippine Islands, December 13–18, 1926*, 191–213. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

- American Chamber of Commerce Journal (ACCJ)*. 1921. Oh ye of little faith [Advertisement for the San Juan Heights Co.]. *ACCJ* 1(7): 24.
- . 1937a. Enlarging the boundaries of Manila. *ACCJ* 17(10): 39–40.
- . 1937b. News of the subdivisions. *ACCJ* 17(10): 41–42.
- . 1940a. The new Quinta Market Bridge. *ACCJ* 20(1): 33, 35.
- . 1940b. Christian centuries. *ACCJ* 20(11): 7, 12.
- American Express. [1937?] *Manila and the Philippines*. Manila: American Express.
- . 1939. *Manila and the Philippines*. Manila: American Express.
- Anderson, Warwick. 2007. *Colonial pathologies: American tropical medicine, race, and hygiene in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Anon. 1934. *Gateway to Manila (Shopping in old Manila): A complete practical guide book to the Orient's most charming city*. [Manila]: n.p.
- Anon. [1934?] *Shopping in old Manila*. Brochure available at the American Historical Collection, Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University. [Manila]: n.p.
- Artiaga, Santiago. [1950?] *Brief history of San Juan del Monte, Rizal*. San Juan: n.p.
- Bourne, L. S. 2001. Reinventing the suburbs: Old myths and new realities. In *The city: Critical concepts in the social sciences*, vol. 1: *The city in global context*, ed. Michael Pacione, 257–81. London: Routledge.
- Bureau of Insular Affairs. 1908. *A descriptive gazetteer and pronouncing geographical dictionary of the Philippine Islands, USA showing the organic changes, economic progress, and social conditions under American administration, as they exist to date*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Burnham, Daniel and Pierce Anderson. 1906. Report on proposed improvements at Manila. In *Sixth annual report of the Philippine Commission, 1905*, part I, Philippine Commission, 627–35. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Camara de Comercio de las Islas Filipinas. 1920. *Yearbook of the Philippine Islands*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Carman, Paul. 1921a. Real estate. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 1(4): 23.
- . 1921b. P. D. Carman describes remarkable growth of Manila since American occupation. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 2(8): 10–12.
- Corpuz, Arturo. 1999. *The colonial iron horse: Railroads and regional development in the Philippines, 1875–1935*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Dauncey, Campbell. 1906. *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*. London: J. Murray.
- Gleeck, Lewis. 1975. *American business and Philippine economic development*. Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann.
- . 1977. *The Manila Americans (1901–1964)*. Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann.
- Harper, Frank, ed. 1992. *Just outside Manila: Letters from members of the First Colorado Regiment in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. Denver: Colorado Historical Society.
- Heiser, Victor. 1909. *Annual report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands, July 1, 1908 to June 30, 1909*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- . 1910. *Annual report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands, July 1, 1909 to June 30, 1910*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- . 1936. *An American doctor's odyssey: Adventures in forty-five countries*. New York: Norton.
- Horn, Florence. 1941. *Orphans of the Pacific: The Philippines*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock.
- Huetz de Lemps, Xavier. 1998. Materiales ligeros vs. materiales fuertes: The conflict between nipa huts and stone buildings in 19th-century Manila. In *The Philippine Revolution and beyond: Papers from the international conference on the centennial of the 1896 Philippine Revolution*, vol. 1, ed., Elmer Ordoñez, 160–72. Manila: Philippine Centennial Commission.
- Ingersoll, Joshena. 1971. *Golden years in the Philippines*. Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books.
- Jennings, Eric. 2003. From Indochine to Indochic: The Lang Bian/Dalat Palace Hotel and French colonial leisure, power and culture. *Modern Asian Studies* 37(1): 159–94.
- Kennedy, Dane. 1990. The perils of the midday sun: Climatic anxieties in the colonial tropics. In *Imperialism and the natural world*, ed. John McKenzie, 118–40. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- King, Anthony. 1990. *Urbanism, colonialism, and the world-economy: Cultural and spatial foundations of the world urban system*. London: Routledge.
- Legarda, Benito. 2001. *The hills of Sampaloc: The opening actions of the Philippine-American War, February 4–5, 1899*. Makati: Bookmark.
- Lyons, Norbert. 1921. The scenic route to Montalban. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 2(6): 9–12.
- MacArthur, Arthur. 1900. *Annual report of Major General Arthur MacArthur, US Volunteers, Commanding Division of the Philippines*. Manila: n.p.
- Mactal, Ronaldo. 2009. *Kalusugang pampubliko sa kolonyal na Maynila (1898–1918): Heograpiya, medisina, kasaysayan*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Manila Merchants Association. 1908. *Manila: The pearl of the orient: Guide book to the intending visitor*. Manila: Manila Merchants Association.
- Manila Times*. 1909. For tuberculosis sufferers, 3 Mar: 4.
- Miralles, Paquito. 1979. *First, second, and third-order leveling in the Metro Manila area*. Manila: Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey.
- Moralina, Aaron. 2009. State, society, and sickness: Tuberculosis control in the American Philippines, 1910–1918. *Philippine Studies* 57(2): 179–218.
- Municipal Board of Manila. 1903. *Report of the Municipal Board of the City of Manila for the period from August 7, 1901, to June 30, 1902*. Manila: Bureau of Public Printing.
- . 1904. *Report of the Municipal Board of the City of Manila for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903*. Manila: Bureau of Public Printing.
- Packard, Randall. 2007. *The making of a tropical disease: A short history of malaria*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Paterno, Roberto. 1969. *66 years of service*. [Pasig City?]: Meralco.
- Philippine Commission of the Census. 1940a. *Census of the Philippines, 1939*, vol. 1. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

- . 1940b. *Census of the Philippines, 1939: Special Bulletin No. 3*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Philippine Magazine*. 1936a. Real estate values are increasing, Apr.: 206.
- . 1936b. The safest and surest of investments [advertisement for Addition Hills], Aug.: 414.
- Rafael, Vicente. 2000. Colonial domesticity: Engendering race at the edge of empire, 1899–1912. In *White love and other events in Filipino history*, 52–75. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Reed, Robert. 1976. *City of pines: The origins of Baguio as a colonial hill station and regional capital*. Baguio City: A-Seven Publishing.
- Robb, Walter. 1927. Why buy a home? We may not be here long. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 7(8): 12–13.
- . 1930a. Santa Mesa Heights. Growth of Manila Series, 6th paper. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 10(7): 5–7.
- . 1930b. A city built on the hills. Growth of Manila Series, 7th paper. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 10(8): 8–9, 11, 26.
- . 1930c. The drab amid the beautiful. *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* 10(11): 8–9.
- Rosenstock, C. W. 1917. *Rosenstock's Manila City directory*. Manila: C. W. Rosenstock.
- Salonga, Isayas. 1934. *Rizal province directory*, vol. 1: *History, government and general information with the full text of the Philippine Independence Law*. Manila: General Printing Press.
- Savage, Victor. 1984. *Western impressions of nature and landscape in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Stafford, H. Eugene. 1904. Report of officer in charge of Philippine Civil Hospital. In *Report of the governor general of the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War, 1903*, Governor General, Philippine Islands, 265–71. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Stevens, Joseph Earle. 1968. *The Philippines circa 1900*, Book Two: *Yesterdays in the Philippines*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1905. *Census of the Philippines, taken under the direction of the Philippine Commission in the year 1903*, vol. 2. Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census.
- Woodruff, Charles. 1905. *The effects of tropical light on white men*. New York and London: Rebman.
- Internet document, <http://www.archive.org/texts/flipbook/flippy.php?id=effectstropical01woodgoog>, accessed 5 Feb 2011.
- Zialcita, Fernando and Martin Tinio Jr. 1980. *Philippine ancestral houses, 1810–1930*. Quezon City: GCF Books.

Michael D. Pante is instructor in the Department of History, Leong Hall, School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Quezon City 1108, Philippines. He teaches Philippine history in undergraduate courses offered by the History Department. He also completed his M.A. in History in the same university, with a thesis that investigates the history of urban transportation in early twentieth-century Manila. <mpante@ateneo.edu>