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# The University of Wisconsin and the Development of Librarianship in the Philippines

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## **The University of Wisconsin and the Development of Librarianship in the Philippines**

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### **Abstract**

The Spanish-American War of 1898 ushered in an era of American rule over the Philippines that formally ended in 1946. An expansive colonial government developed with Americans filling most professional positions early on. There was a slow transition to Filipinos holding those positions, and this process can be seen in the field of librarianship. By the middle of 1924, library leadership and the teaching of library science was firmly in the hands of Filipinos. The University of Wisconsin and those associated with the institution, both Americans and Filipinos, played leading roles in the development of Philippine librarianship. This article explores this special relationship, focusing on the pre-World War II era.

Keywords: Philippines, University of Wisconsin, History of libraries, History of library science, Imperialism

### **Introduction**

In a three-page overview of the University of Wisconsin Library School (UWLS) written in 1964, Director Rachel K. Shenk found it "interesting to note that practically all library activities in the Philippines today stem from the work of five young men who attended the University of Wisconsin Library School in the 1920s, and who returned to their homes to start the first libraries in their native land."<sup>1</sup> Though these students did not in fact start the first libraries in the Philippines, this quotation rightly points to the unique role of the University of Wisconsin (UW) in the development of Philippine librarianship. The UW Information School, as UWLS is now known, traces its origins to the establishment of the Summer School for Library Training in 1895. The summer schools were the primary venue for library training in Wisconsin until full-time courses began with the formal establishment of UWLS in 1906.

Among the distinguished members of the UW faculty at this time was historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who gave special lectures to UWLS students on "Bibliography of American History" from 1906 to 1910. In 1894, Turner published his influential "Frontier Thesis" in which

he stated that “the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development.” After the Spanish-American War of 1898, American territorial expansion crossed the Pacific Ocean with the acquisition of the Philippines. With over seven million inhabitants, America’s Asian colony was as populous as the state of New York and covered twice the land area. War Department official Marion E. Beall evoked the American frontier in stating that America would bring to the Philippines “those modern methods which have in a single century converted a large part of America from a wilderness, the range of savages, to one of the garden spots of the earth.” The conquest of the American West came at a heavy human cost, and so it was with the Philippines. Philippine nationalists declared a Philippine Republic and fought against the American military. The twentieth century began with tens of thousands of U. S. troops fighting in America's first Asian war, the Philippine-American War, which officially ended in 1902. (Kramer, p. 154, 157)<sup>2</sup>

The transition from military rule to civilian rule began in September 1900, when a civilian group of Americans known as the Philippine Commission assumed legislative authority. One of the first laws passed by the Commission established the Philippine Civil Service. An expansive colonial government soon began to take shape, with Americans occupying the overwhelming majority of higher-paying positions in the executive bureaus of the government. From July 4, 1901, all executive and legislative power rested with Governor-General William Howard Taft, who reported to the Secretary of War, and the four other members of the Commission. On September 1, the Commission organized government bureaus under the Departments of Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction. Taft added three Filipinos to the Commission, though only American commissioners served as department secretaries until 1908. Among the first Filipino commissioners was T. H. Pardo de Tavera, a European-educated scholar whose bibliography of the Philippines was published by U.S. Government Printing Office in 1903. Taft served as Governor-General for three years but continued to be directly involved in Philippine affairs as Secretary of War (1904-1908) and then President (1909-1913).<sup>3</sup>

American governors led the Islands until the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935, though complete independence did not come until 1946. As with other professional positions in the colonial government, Americans filled most librarian positions early on, but there was a transition to Filipino leadership during the second and third decades of American rule.<sup>4</sup> This article explores the impact on Philippine librarianship of UW, its alumni, and others associated with the university, with an emphasis on the pre-World War II era.

## **Development of Libraries During the Early American Colonial Era**

The history of Philippine librarianship does not begin with American rule. Historian Vicente Hernandez traces its development back over 400 years to the early days of Spanish rule. As in the United States, there were major developments in Philippine librarianship toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and a decade before the Spanish-American War, the Spanish established the *Museo-Biblioteca de Filipinas* in Manila. In 1894, Pedro A. Paterno, a renown Filipino scholar who had lived in Spain for nearly two decades, assumed leadership of the institution. The American authorities closed the facility, and Paterno moved the books to his own house. Writing in 1903, botanist Elmer D. Merrill also lamented the destruction of various scientific collections during the previous six years by accidental fire and during the Philippine-American War.<sup>5</sup>

During the American period, two early laws directly related to Philippine library history were Act No. 96 (March 25, 1901), by which the government acquired the collections of the

American Circulating Library Association of Manila, and Act No. 156 (July 1, 1901), which provided funding for a Bureau of Government Laboratories that would include an “adequate reference library.”<sup>6</sup> The American Circulating Library Association of Manila, led by Georgiana Greenleaf, established a library in 1900 primarily to serve American soldiers and sailors in the Philippines, but it soon served a public library function as “a source of instruction and profitable entertainment for all residents of Manila, whether permanent or transient, or of whatever race or nationality.”<sup>7</sup>

Government control of the library ensured its long-term sustainability, but Taft’s secretary, James LeRoy, noted that some of the “board of ladies” of the library were opposed to opening it to Filipinos. Such prejudice was common among Americans in the Philippines, but it went against America’s policy, set forth by President McKinley, of “benevolent assimilation.” Concordia Sanchez has noted that the library fit into the “American colonial policy [that] was based on the belief that education would be a powerful weapon in the pacification of the people and would also be the surest way to successful government.”<sup>8</sup>

For over a decade, the collection was under the care of Nelly Young Egbert, who was capable but apparently did not have any previous library training. By 1904, the collection had grown to over 21,000 volumes, and a trained cataloger was needed. Around that time, a civil service examination was held in the States for a librarian at the Ft. Leavenworth War College, and the head of the Bureau of Insular Affairs wanted one of the examinees to become cataloger for the American Circulating Library.<sup>9</sup>

Among those taking the examination was Syrena McKee, librarian for the city of Leavenworth and student at three sessions of the UW Summer School for Library Training. According to McKee, “after all the other contestants had presumably scorned the Philippine offer, I gratefully accepted it.” Egbert and McKee were soon joined by Bessie A. Dwyer, who had been a law clerk for the Philippine Bureau of Forestry. Before going to the Philippines, Dwyer had worked at the Library of Congress for ten years and had the distinction of being the first female employee of that institution. By 1908, the library had 10 employees and 27,000 volumes, though 11,000 of these were duplicates or “old text-books of no apparent value.”<sup>10</sup>

Another major development in librarianship was the establishment of the Bureau of Government Laboratories. This bureau resulted from the desire of Philippine Commissioner Dean C. Worcester, who became Secretary of the Interior, to create a centralized bureau for carrying out the government’s laboratory work. Worcester, one of the more controversial American officials in the Philippines, was a strong advocate for the building up of library collections for use by Bureau scientists, whose work included a wide range of scientific investigations beyond the laboratory. In 1903, Mary Polk, the personal secretary of tropical medicine specialist Richard P. Strong, took the Civil Service examination to become the Bureau’s librarian. Polk was a graduate of Indiana University (PhB) and Stanford University (BEd and MA in English). Her successor, Cirilo B. Perez, indicated that “she had no formal library training aside from that given in a summer course in the University of Wisconsin.” She may have taken this course during the summer of 1905, when she was on an extended leave.<sup>11</sup>

Worcester’s desire for greater efficiency led him to designate the library of the Bureau of Government Laboratories as the “central scientific library” of the government in 1904, and with a government reorganization the following year, the Bureau of Government Laboratories became the Bureau of Science. Public health was a major focus of the bureau, but the bureau also “gave a high priority to the location and exploitation of natural resources.” A catalog of the library published in 1905 greatly impressed some in the British colonial scientific community, with a

writer for the *British Medical Journal* stating that “in tropical English colonies few such properly equipped institutions exist.” At this time, the Bureau of Science library used the Dewey classification system, which was also used by the American Circulating Library. However, by 1910, Polk and her assistants were using the Library of Congress classification system, which they found to be more appropriate for scientific collections.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Philippine Library and *The Wisconsin Idea***

A step toward self-rule in the Philippines came in 1907 with the election of the Philippine Assembly. The Assembly served as a lower-house legislative body, while the Philippine Commission maintained executive and upper-house legislative authority. Two years later, Act No. 1935 required “the consolidation of all libraries belonging to any branch of the Philippine Insular Government for the creation of ‘The Philippines Library.’” The American Circulating Library became part of the new entity, and a *Filipiniana* division was created. The library of the Bureau of Science and certain other libraries remained somewhat autonomous.<sup>13</sup>

The first director of the Philippine Library was James A. Robertson. After receiving a bachelors in romance languages from Western Reserve University in 1896, Robertson was a proofreader and indexer for the series *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and Emma Blair. Thwaites had been instrumental in the establishment of both the UW Summer School for Library Training and UWLS. Robertson’s experience with this project led to an opportunity to move to Madison to co-edit with Blair the series *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, which contained translated documents from the period covered. This series, published from 1903 to 1909, established Robertson’s reputation in the U.S. as an authority on Philippine history, and his alma mater awarded him an honorary doctorate. LeRoy, Taft’s secretary in the Philippines, also worked with the series, and LeRoy recommended to now President Taft and the Philippine Superintendent of Education that Robertson lead the Philippine Library.<sup>14</sup>

Although Robertson was not a graduate or employee of the university, he was seen as a member of the UW community. News of his appointment was published in the “Alumni News” section of the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, and in a report of the Manila chapter of the UW Alumni Association, Warren D. Smith noted that Robertson’s “long residence at the university ... and the fact that his wife was a Wisconsin co-ed, entitles him to a place in our ranks.”<sup>15</sup>

While in Madison, Robertson became well-acquainted with Charles McCarthy, who completed his PhD in History under Professor Turner. McCarthy attended a Summer School session with McKee before leading the newly created Wisconsin Legislative Reference Service. UW law professor Eugene A. Gilmore explained the Legislative Reference Service as the “happy combination of an impartial information bureau and an expert [legislation] drafting bureau” which drew upon the expertise of UW faculty. According to McCarthy’s biographer, Marion Casey, “probably no single library in the twentieth century had more influence on the development of its state’s government than did Wisconsin’s Legislative Reference Library during the ‘progressive movement,’” and his influence spread nationally and internationally.<sup>16</sup>

Early in his tenure as director, Robertson was interested in starting such a service in the Philippines. He was part of a group organized by George P. Ahern, director of the Bureau of Forestry, called the Philippine Civic Association (also known as the Round Table Association). Among the 16 members of the association were the President of the University of the Philippines (UP), established in 1908, three members of the UP Board of Regents, and other prominent

members of the government.<sup>17</sup> The group discussed “modern library methods, as adopted in the United States, and introduction of such reforms as were necessary to render the most efficient service to the government, especially to the legislators and others engaged in research work.”<sup>18</sup> The group first met on September 8, 1913, and McCarthy’s book *The Wisconsin Idea*, published the previous year, served as their “guide book” and “inspiration.” In a letter to McCarthy, Robertson referred to the book as “the lever that will move these Philippine Islands.”<sup>19</sup>

Robertson’s successor, Teodoro M. Kalaw, was a member of the association, and he later reminisced that the group had the nickname “the MacCarthy [sic] Men.” Kalaw was a lawyer, journalist, and former assemblyman, who was then serving as Secretary of the Philippine Assembly. Five years earlier, Secretary Worcester had brought a libel suit against Kalaw and Martin Ocampo for an allegorical editorial published in *El Renacimiento* that portrayed Worcester, who was not named directly, as a bird of prey that exploited in the name of science the indigenous Igorot population and the natural resources on their land.<sup>20</sup>

Kalaw’s younger brother Maximo, who has been called “a great pioneer in the study of political science” in the Philippines, went to the United States in 1911 to serve as secretary to Philippine Resident Commissioner Manuel Quezon. He also earned a law degree from Georgetown University and a B.A. from George Washington University. The younger Kalaw met McCarthy while taking a UW “seminar course in legislation” at the Legislative Reference Bureau in Madison in 1915.<sup>21</sup>

## **The Philippine Library and Museum**

The first meeting of the Philippine Civic Association took place a month before the arrival in Manila of Francis Burton Harrison, President Woodrow Wilson’s Governor-General appointee. Harrison was a Congressman from New York who had been recommended for the position by Resident Commissioner Quezon. He pledged a “New Era” in which Filipinos would take on more important roles in government than they had previously. Former President Taft, who had been defeated by Wilson, was critical of the implementation of Harrison’s plans to increase Filipino representation in administrative positions. In November 1915, Taft publicly listed Robertson among the “strong and effective Americans” who “resigned because of cuts in salaries and uncertainty of tenure.”<sup>22</sup>

At the time of Taft’s announcement, Robertson had been in the States for ten months overseeing the Philippine Library’s exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. Robertson left Manila on January 15, 1915, and Manuel Artigas, chief of the Filipiniana Division of the Philippine Library “assumed charge of the library.” After his duties at the exhibition, Robertson apparently took his accumulated leave and officially left the Philippine Civil Service effective April 1 of the following year.<sup>23</sup>

While Robertson was in the States, the establishment of a legislative reference service in the Philippines came to fruition. Speaking of the Round Table Association, Teodoro Kalaw noted that Speaker of the Assembly Sergio Osmeña “took much interest in our activities, [and] requested me to prepare a library reorganization bill which would consolidate all government libraries and embody those reforms conceived by Dr. MacCarthy [sic] which may be applicable to local conditions.” The Assembly passed the bill in early 1916, and Teodoro Kalaw was appointed as the director of the Philippine Library and Museum.<sup>24</sup>

This new entity had a much larger staff than the 23 employees (six Americans and 17 Filipinos) when Robertson left for America in 1915. By the end of 1916, the library had grown to

59 employees (four Americans and 55 Filipinos). The roster for 1916 shows the following divisions and sections: General Staff, Legislative Reference; Documents; Filipiniana; Circulating; Periodical; Catalogue; and Archives, Patents, Copyrights [sic], and Trade-Marks. The Museum Division, which was transferred from the Bureau of Science, soon took shape, and by 1919, there were also four branch libraries in cities outside of Manila.<sup>25</sup> Three years after the formation of the Legislative Reference Division, librarian Francisco Ventura proudly wrote that it “is well nigh approaching the perfection of the Legislative Reference Bureau of Wisconsin.”<sup>26</sup>

On May 25, 1916, Maximo Kalaw wrote to McCarthy to inform him of the creation of the Legislative Reference Division. Kalaw was going to Madison the following month and wanted to get more first-hand information on the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Service. He also provided McCarthy with a copy of his book *The Case for the Filipinos*, which he wrote to influence a major debate in the U.S. Congress about the future of the Philippines.<sup>27</sup> On August 29, 1916, President Wilson signed the Jones Act, which abolished the Philippine Commission and gave Filipinos complete legislative authority, subject to the Governor-General’s veto. The law provided that a Vice Governor appointed by the President would also serve as Secretary of Public Instruction. Since the Vice Governor would likely be an American, the Philippine legislature responded by moving the Philippine Library and Museum from the Department of Public Instruction to the Department of Justice. Teodoro Kalaw stepped down as head of the library in ten months to become the Sub-Secretary of the Interior, though he again led the library from 1929 to 1938.<sup>28</sup>

### **Library Science in the University of the Philippines**

Two years before Robertson arrived in Manila, the Philippine government founded the University of the Philippines (UP). There was already a university in Manila when the Americans arrived, the Dominican-run University of Santo Tomas (founded in 1611), but UP developed into a truly comprehensive university. Within five years, the university had a school of fine arts and colleges of agriculture, engineering, law, liberal arts (including a school of education), medicine, and veterinary medicine. Some colleges had their own small libraries, but students often had to use the resources of the Philippine Library, the Bureau of Science, and other off-campus government libraries. To provide more formal training for the Filipino employees of those government libraries, Robertson sought and received approval from the Board of Regents to teach three library science classes. These six-unit classes would be offered in sequence, one a year, and the first class met on July 13, 1914. Of the seven required textbooks listed in the catalog, three were authored by the American Library Association Publishing Board, two by Charles Cutter, and one each by Melville Dewey and the Library of Congress. Also in 1914, Polk of the Bureau of Science began teaching a course entitled “Library Methods” for students in the College of Medicine and Surgery.<sup>29</sup>

For the library science courses, Robertson and Polk were assisted by Philippine Library employees Emma Elmer, Syrena McKee, and Blanche Shelp. These were experienced librarians, though none had a university degree. When Robertson left the Philippines in early 1915, it fell on Polk to further develop the library science program. In 1916, the Board of Regents approved Polk’s plan for a 136 unit Bachelor of Science in Library Science with seven library science courses, including two semesters of “Library Science 5 (library practice).” As with many other majors in the university, those who completed the first two years were granted a Bachelor of Arts, a practice that the university ended a few years later.<sup>30</sup>

Shelp resigned in May of 1916 and soon enrolled in UWLS. McKee resigned in early 1917, though she returned to the Philippines two years later to begin a fifteen-year career as secretary and treasurer of the Benguet Consolidated Mining Company. Elmer also resigned from the Philippine Library and Museum in 1918 or 1919. Polk was stretched thin since she still had her ongoing work in the Bureau of Science as well. The 1917 edition of the student publication *The Philippinensian* mentioned some guest lecturers, and these special lectures likely continued. Margaret Upleger, formerly of the University of Oregon library, covered Polk's classes while Polk was on extended leave in 1918-1919, though she resigned soon afterward.<sup>31</sup>

It was not until 1922 that the Board of Regents established a university library, and the board declared "that the library of the University be designated as the Department of Library Science." Polk was given the title of "Librarian of the University and Professor of Library Science." As the head of library science, she reported to Maximo Kalaw, who was now "Dean of College of Liberal Arts and Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science."<sup>32</sup> By that time, four of the eleven library science students listed in the 1916 and 1917 editions of *The Philippinensian* had completed studies at UWLS and another was studying for a PhD in Economics from the university.

UP was an American university, and the ambitious nature of Polk's plan becomes evident when viewed within the history of full-time library science programs in the United States. It had been just under 30 years since the establishment of the first library school at Columbia College, and in 1916 there were only 13 library schools in the country that offered "not less than one full school year of training." However, the UP library science program was hindered by a lack of full-time library science faculty throughout the American colonial period and for 15 years into the post-colonial era.<sup>33</sup>

## **Library Science Pensionados and the University of Wisconsin**

Since 1903, the Philippine government had provided funding for select Filipino students, known as *pensionados*, to study in the U.S. in exchange for work in the civil service. A degree from an American university did not ensure that the pensionados would be treated as equals by American civil servants upon their return. Entomologist Leopoldo Uichanco, a UP graduate who earned a DSc from Harvard, later recalled "the humiliating experience" of Filipino scientists being treated as "native assistants" by their American counterparts in the Philippines.<sup>34</sup>

The first Filipino to study at Wisconsin seems to have been Valerio Jahrling, who studied in the pharmacy program starting in 1905. He and those who came after him were subjects of the United States, but they were still considered to be part of UW's "foreign" student population. This ambiguity was representative of the general ambiguity of the status of the Philippines and Filipinos. In 1901, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Downes v. Bidwell*. The court found "that while in an international sense Porto Rico [and by extension the Philippines] was not a foreign country, since it was subject to the sovereignty of and was owned by the United States, it was foreign to the United States in a domestic sense, because the island had not been incorporated into the United States, but was merely appurtenant thereto as a possession." Charles Van Hise, UW president from 1903 to 1918, believed that having such students at UW gave all students, especially those who joined the UW International Club, "the opportunity of absorbing the high ideals of the representatives of many nations," which could "hardly fail to bring to be a factor in promoting the peace of the world." As an ex-officio board member of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission



and guest lecturer in UWLS courses, Van Hise undoubtedly encouraged and supported efforts by UWLS to attract “foreign” students.<sup>35</sup>

Even though a BSLS program was offered in the Philippines starting in 1916, Polk and Lois S. Osborn, whom Vicente Hernandez credits with “the establishment of the first Philippine school library system,” led efforts for a library science pensionado program, which was approved in 1918. Given the strong ties with UW and the high regard of influential people for the work of Charles McCarthy, it is not surprising that the first pensionados were sent to UW. The first library science pensionados were Gabriel A. Bernardo, Jose Munda, Cirilo B. Perez, and Eulogio B. Rodriguez. At the time of their selection, Bernardo and Munda worked in the Catalogue Division of the Philippine Library and Museum, and Rodriguez was a cataloger assigned to the Legislative Reference Division. Perez was one of Polk’s assistants in the Bureau of Science. In a letter to UWLS Director Matthew S. Dudgeon, Polk noted that they “all have practically finished our eighteen unit library course” and that they all “began the work [in libraries] to earn their way through college rather than because they wished to be librarians.” These four enrolled in the UWLS legislative reference course, which led to a certificate, rather than a degree.<sup>36</sup>

Polk’s letter to Dudgeon reveals a sense of inadequacy that Polk felt, not so much about her students’ abilities, but her own. Even though the students had completed library science courses at UP, she would “be glad to have them take all your beginning work in order to get the point of view and fill in any big gaps.” It is unclear if the pensionados were aware of Polk’s request, but Solomon V. Arnaldo, who later worked with Bernardo, noted that “they were all made, not without protest, to repeat the same courses at the Wisconsin Library School. The courses they had taken at the University of the Philippines were not good enough. This was indeed painful to realize.”<sup>37</sup>

Maximo Kalaw wrote to McCarthy in 1919, noting that he [Kalaw] “was in a way responsible for their going to Wisconsin to learn library and legislative reference work.” Kalaw, who was back in the States as Secretary of the Philippine Mission, also expressed confidently that “when the Filipino boys who are being trained in Wisconsin get back to the Philippines, more of your ideas will be put in practice there.” McCarthy replied that “the boys are doing fine here and I am very pleased, indeed, that they came here.” In 1919, another library science pensionado, Ismael V. Mallari, began his studies at UW. Unlike the other four, whose funding came through the Philippine Department of Justice, Mallari was sent by the Philippine Bureau of Education. In addition to getting a certificate in library science, Mallari received a Bachelor of Arts in English and was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa. Mallari was the last of the library science pensionados to study at UW, and only two more library science pensionados were sent to the States. Isidoro Saniel graduated from the New York State Library School, and Isaac Lucero graduated from the University of Illinois.<sup>38</sup>

The five UW library science pensionados were among the founding members of the university’s Filipino Club (later changed to Philippine Badger Club). The organization’s goals included “help[ing] in disseminating correct information to the American people regarding affairs and conditions in the Philippines” and also providing assistance to new students from the Philippines.<sup>39</sup>

Before returning to the Philippines, the first four pensionados had internships in libraries in major U.S. cities. Perez and Rodriguez went to Baltimore, while Bernardo and Munda went to New York. They may have also spent some time in Washington, DC. After returning to Madison, they began the long trip back home on July 18, 1920, and arrived in the Philippines on August 26. Polk must have been especially relieved to have Bernardo and Perez back. Bernardo was assigned

to UP, and Perez assisted her with the Bureau of Science library. Both would take additional classes in UP to earn the BSLS. in 1921, and Munda earned the same degree the following year. It is likely that these pensionados did not experience the same humiliation by colleagues in the profession as Uichanco mentioned above. Polk seems to have been the only remaining American librarian in the civil service, and she was getting ready to retire.<sup>40</sup>

The UP catalog published in December 1921 listed Bernardo as “Assistant Librarian and Cataloguer (with rank of Instructor) in the College of Liberal Arts.” Perez also served as an adjunct instructor, as did Richard C. McGregor, editor of the *Philippine Journal of Science*, and Education assistant professor Lois Osborn. Like Polk and Bernardo, these instructors and others during the pre-war era also had other responsibilities that prevented them from focusing solely on library science courses. Rodriguez and Munda returned to the Philippine Library and Museum, though Rodriguez went back to the U.S. the following year as Acting Director of the Philippine Press Bureau. During that time, he also earned a law degree from National University (now part of George Washington University). Before returning to the Philippines in 1923, he spent five months in Europe to get familiar with libraries and museums on the continent. He wrote to Harrison the following year that he had to give up his position with the Bureau because his “opinions on independence were too radical for our [Filipino] leaders.” Those leaders may have agreed with most of Rodriguez’s views, but they wanted to be more strategic in their messaging.<sup>41</sup>

Rodriguez, who also earned a master’s in Political Science during his time at UW, continued to correspond with McCarthy after graduating. His high regard for McCarthy was such that he wrote to McCarthy in late 1920, a Presidential election year, asking if he was interested in being recommended for the next Governor-General of the Philippines. McCarthy was not interested in the position, and he died the following year at age forty-seven. To the dismay of independence-minded Filipinos like Rodriguez, newly elected President Warren Harding’s choice for Governor-General was Leonard Wood, who had recently co-authored a special report that concluded that Filipinos still required an unspecified period under American tutelage. However, Harding chose one connected to McCarthy for a leading role in Wood’s administration. UW law professor Eugene Gilmore went to the Philippines as Vice Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction. He was no stranger to the Philippines, having spent some time there a few years earlier as a visiting law professor at UP. On January 19, 1918, he gave a speech entitled “The Wisconsin Idea,” which was later published in the *Philippine Law Journal*.<sup>42</sup>

Before Gilmore left Madison, he was the guest of honor at a “farewell and welcome” banquet hosted by the Philippine Badger Club. Among those giving speeches was Eustaquio Aquino, who was studying for a PhD in Economics at UW. Aquino had been one of the first to complete the first version of the UP library science program. He then began working at the Legislative Reference Division of the Philippine Library and Museum while also studying law at UP. He proceeded to get a M.A. in Social Sciences from Yale in 1921 before entering UW. Upon his return in 1923, Aquino worked again in the Legislative Reference Division for over 15 years, and after World War II, he spent over a decade as head of the library of the Philippine Senate.<sup>43</sup>

### **Filipinos in Charge of Philippine Librarianship**

The Philippine Library was *de facto* under Filipino leadership since Robertson left Manila in early 1915, and by 1919, the only American among the 82 library employees of the Philippine Library and Museum was H. Otley Beyer, a respected UP anthropology professor who was in charge of the Museum division. Rodriguez’s first steps toward leading the library came in 1924,

when, after a short time in the Legislative Reference Division, he was appointed as head of the Filipiniana Division. In 1928, Gilmore, who was now Acting Governor-General, appointed him as Acting Assistant Director. A law passed later that year moved the Museum division to the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources and changed the name of the library to the National Library. Rodriguez served as Assistant Director of the National Library, which then had “200,000 pamphlets and over 145,419 bound volumes,” until 1939, when he took the helm from Teodoro Kalaw. Jose Munda also had a long career in the library, serving in 1939 as chief of the General Reference and Reading Rooms Division.<sup>44</sup>

In 1924, Polk died in the Philippines at the age of 60. With the passing of Polk, Bernardo, who had by this time obtained a Masters in English and Bibliography from UP, was appointed University Librarian and Head of Library Science. Five years later, the university sent Bernardo to Germany for a year and a half to work as a guest librarian at Leipzig University and the Prussian State Library and to take courses at the University of Berlin. Fellow pensionado Mallari returned to the Philippines in 1923 after completing an internship at the New York Public Library. He held various positions before joining Bernardo’s staff in 1929. The following year, he was appointed Business Librarian and Assistant Professor, a position he held for over a decade. By 1932, the university library had over 75,000 volumes and over 25,000 pamphlets, and it received over 2,100 periodicals.<sup>45</sup>

Perez was promoted to take Polk’s position at the Bureau of Science library. He served as the first secretary of the Philippine Library Association, founded in 1923. Like Bernardo and Rodriguez, he served as President of the organization. In 1928, he was the official representative of the association at the annual meeting of the American Library Association (ALA) in West Bend, Indiana. Perez also served as a library science lecturer at UP for over a decade. In 1935, the Bureau of Science library held nearly 150,000 “bound and unbound volumes, parts and pamphlets” and received just over 2,500 serials.<sup>46</sup>

The UW alumni enjoyed occasional visits to Manila from faculty of their alma mater. In 1926, Dean of Agriculture Harry L. Russell was the guest of honor at a luncheon with guests that included Dean Maximo Kalaw, the five UWLS alumni, and others. Two years later, journalism professor Willard G. Bleyer and his wife stopped in Manila while on a trip around the world. Bleyer, who also lectured in UWLS, paid another visit in 1933, and in that same year, Rodriguez reported that the five UWLS alumni had enjoyed the visit of Agnes King, an assistant professor of the Library School. In the late 1930s, UW alumni in the Philippines organized a more formal Wisconsin Alumni Club. Guillermo Villanueva, chair of the Committee on Education of the National Assembly, led the club, while Perez served as secretary-treasurer. Also among the members was Bienvenido Gonzalez, who became President of UP in 1939 and Carlos Quirino, a UW journalism graduate who led the National Library from May 1962 to January 1966.<sup>47</sup>

In 1932, Rodriguez wrote an article for *Library Journal* in which he expressed uncertainty about “whether the American flag is here to remain or will some day leave.” Just two years later, the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 provided a clear roadmap to Philippine independence. It called for the creation of a Philippine Commonwealth led by an elected president instead of an appointed governor-general, though the U. S. President maintained ultimate authority. The Commonwealth began in 1935, and the date for independence was set for July 4, 1946.<sup>48</sup>

Five years before the scheduled independence, Joseph R. Hayden, a University of Michigan political science professor and former Vice-Governor of the Philippines, wrote that “the University of the Philippines now has a first-rate department of library science which is swelling the ranks of trained librarians and elevating the profession in the Philippines.” Though he considered the library

of the Bureau of Science to be “the greatest collection of scientific books in the Far East,” he lamented the inadequate collections and number of personnel of the National Library system, the UP Library, and school libraries. In the case of the UP Library, he credited “the unusual ability and devotion of the librarian, Professor Gabriel A. Bernardo, and his staff” for “partially compensating for this deficiency” of personnel. On the eve of World War II, the number of volumes in the National Library system, the Bureau of Science library, and the UP libraries had risen to 400,000 (estimated), 329,502, and 185,488 respectively. The number of private institutions of higher education was increasing, and at least nineteen had “comprehensive holdings maintained by trained librarians and organized according to the new trends.” Five of these offered degrees with large components of library science, usually as part of a Bachelor of Science in Education to meet the demand for trained school librarians. The number of public libraries outside of Manila was increasing, though at a slow pace. Hernandez notes that “historical analysis [of this period] shows a refreshing change of pace: librarianship is fostered by library pioneers, nurtured in library schools, and consolidated through association.”<sup>49</sup>

Most prominent among those library pioneers at the time were Bernardo, Perez, and Rodriguez, and even today three of the Philippine Library Association’s seven awards are named for these UW alumni. Like others in the Philippine Civil Service, these library leaders had to make the difficult decision about how to best serve their compatriots during the three-year Japanese occupation of Manila, which began on January 2, 1942. Perez chose to leave the Bureau of Science and join the resistance, and he was executed by the Japanese around August 30, 1944. Bernardo reluctantly continued his duties in UP while also assisting the resistance, and Rodriguez also led his library through the turbulent war years. Both tried in vain to protect their library’s collections, which were destroyed along with those of the Bureau of Science during the battle to retake Manila.<sup>50</sup>

After the war, the U.S. Congress passed the Philippine Trade Act and the Philippine Rehabilitation Act. Katrina Quisumbing King notes that these laws, along with the Military Bases Agreement, allowed the U.S. to maintain “empire through economic deals, financial assistance, and military presence.” Maximo Kalaw served on Congress’s Filipino Rehabilitation Commission, which was chaired by Senator Millard Tydings. The November 1945 issue of the *Wisconsin Library Bulletin* featured a one-page appeal for “Books for the Philippines” that included a brief damage report by Kalaw and also mentioned UW’s special relationship with Philippine libraries. Similar appeals went out across the U.S. The following year, Bernardo went to the States to serve as an advisor to the Philippine Foundation for these efforts and in the process visited libraries throughout the country.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the donations sent to the National Library and public libraries were “discarded American textbooks, old books containing antiquated descriptions of machines, boats, prairie life, etc. [that] were extremely far from the understanding and concern of the public.” The National Library was also “clouded by vague notions as to the real function of the library.” Rodriguez died in 1949, and his successor was Luis Montilla, whose career in librarianship began in the Bureau of Science four decades earlier. When Montilla retired in 1956, the National Library was still in such poor shape that Raynard C. Swank of Stanford University Libraries concluded that UP had “at the moment, the only library in the Philippines of national scholarly significance, and there is little likelihood that any other agency will arise to challenge that status in the foreseeable future.” The UP Library had received donations from the University of Michigan and other colleges and universities, resulting in a collection of about 150,000 volumes in 1954. However, there was a cataloging backlog of over 100,000 volumes.<sup>52</sup>

Swank noted that Bernardo was “deservedly known as the dean of Philippine librarianship.” Bernardo retired in 1957, but he had laid much of the groundwork for a Rockefeller-funded and ALA-administered grant that resulted in the establishment in 1961 of the UP Institute of Library Science. The Institute functioned as a school of UP rather than just a department, and for the first time at UP, there were full-time library science faculty members. Bernardo taught and mentored librarians who served in leadership roles in libraries and library science programs for decades. Among these was Rosa M. Vallejo, who retired as Dean of the UP Institute of Library and Information Science (now the School of Library and Information Studies) in 1994. Speaking at the 28<sup>th</sup> Gabriel A. Bernardo Memorial Lecture Series in 2007, Vallejo urged her audience to find inspiration from Bernardo so as not to forget “the wherefore and the why of our existence, and of our profession.”<sup>53</sup>

## Conclusion

This article has explored the unique influence of UW and its alumni, former students, and affiliates on the development of Philippine librarianship, bringing to light some less-studied aspects of the relationship such as the influence of Charles McCarthy and Maximo Kalaw. In 1919, Kalaw wrote an article for the *American Political Science Review* entitled “The New Philippine Government.” He stated that, “without belittling what America has done for the Philippines, it must be recognized that the progress towards democracy in the Philippines has been due mainly to the materials that America found there.” The same could be said of the progress of librarianship. Perez noted that before Polk’s death, “she intimated to her associates that she would soon retire, as she felt that the work she started was already safe in the hands of the young librarians whom she had trained and developed.” After that time, Philippine libraries and the teaching of library science was almost exclusively in the hands of Filipinos. They conducted themselves with what Anna V. Jennings, a librarian who visited Manila in 1927, called “a professional spirit that is as fine as may be found anywhere.”<sup>54</sup>

The Filipino librarians who studied at UW took pride in their connection to the institution. In 1934, Perez wrote a letter to the UW alumni organization, noting that he did “not know of any group of alumni from any American university whose influence on our social, educational and economic life is so far-reaching.” At the time of Rodriguez’s death, he was serving as president of the Philippine chapter of the UW Alumni Club, and in 1969, Mallari dedicated his last book to “My Alma Mater, the University of Wisconsin, which taught me to see ‘the world in little’.”<sup>55</sup>

## Notes

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<sup>2</sup> Valmai R. Fenster, “The University of Wisconsin Library School, 1895-1921” (PhD, Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin, 1977), 57; Brendan Luyt, “A Golden Age of Library Development: The Social and Political Context of the Philippine Library in Manila in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century,” *Library & Information History* 38, no. 2 (August 2022): 113; Frederick J. Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” In *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1894), 199;

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<sup>4</sup> Fenster, "The University of Wisconsin Library School, 1895-1921," 57; Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 109-111, 323, 353, 424-425.

<sup>5</sup> Vicente S. Hernández, "Trends in Philippine Library History," *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 329-44; Angelica A. Cabanero and Filomena M. Tann, "Libraries and Librarianship in the Philippines," *IFLA Journal* 6, no. 2 (June 1980): 83; Chando P. Morillos, *Treasures of the National Library: A Brief History of the Premier Library of the Philippines* (Manila, The National Library, 1998), 4; Elmer D. Merrill, *Botanical Work in the Philippines* (Manila, Bureau of Public Printing, 1903), 7, 34, 36; Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Division of Insular Affairs, War Department, *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the United States Philippine Commission* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901), 203-204, 333-335.

<sup>7</sup> Syrena McKee, "The American Circulating Library of Manila," *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 2, no. 5 (September 1908): 255; "Circulating Division (American Circulating Library)," *Bulletin of the Philippine Library* 1, no. 2 (October 1912): 19. Almost all references to Georgiana Greenleaf refer to her as Mrs. Charles (R.) Greenleaf. *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans*, vol. 4, ed. Rossiter Johnson (Boston, The Biographical Society, 1904), s.v. "Greenleaf, Charles Ravenscroft."

<sup>8</sup> James A. LeRoy, Race Prejudice in the Philippines, *Atlantic Monthly* 90, no. 537 (July 1902): 102; Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 109, 186; Concordia Sanchez, "Philippines, Libraries In," In *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, vol. 36, suppl. 1, ed. Allen Kent (New York, Dekker, 1983), 401.

<sup>9</sup> "Circulating Division," 19; James F. Smith, "Report Department of Public Instruction." In *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission. 1904*, part 3, comp. Luke E. Wright (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905), 844; Syrena McKee, "American Circulating Library," 255-256.

<sup>10</sup> “News from the Field,” *Wisconsin Library Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (January 1905): 8; McKee, “American Circulating Library,” 255-256; Bessie Agnes Dwyer, “Women Lawyers in the Philippines,” *Woman Lawyers’ Journal* 9, no. 3 (April 1920): 23; McKee, “American Circulating Library,” 256.

<sup>11</sup> Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present* (New York, MacMillan, 1921), 489; Mark Rice, “His Name Was Don Francisco Muro: Reconstructing an Image of American Imperialism” *American Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (March 2010): 50; Bradley Brazzeal, “Science Librarianship in Colonial Philippines: Mary Polk and the Philippine Bureau of Science Library, 1903-1924,” *Science & Technology Libraries* 40, no. 2 (2021): 154-171; Cirilo B. Perez, “Mary Polk: Library Pioneer.” *Library Mirror* 2, no. 1 (April 1931): 25.

<sup>12</sup> Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, 494; Rodney J. Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism: The Philippine Career of Dean C. Worcester* (Ann Arbor, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1991), 118; “The Government Laboratories in Manila,” *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 2348 (December 30, 1905): 1715. Brazzeal, “Science Librarianship,” 6; McKee, “American Circulating Library,” 257.

<sup>13</sup> Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 287; “Law Creating the Philippine Library,” *Bulletin of the Philippine Library* 1, no. 1 (September 1912): 4-6.

<sup>14</sup> A. Curtis Wilgus, “James Alexander Robertson,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (July 1939): 3; Fenster, “The University of Wisconsin Library School,” 44, 427-428; Gloria Cano, “Blair and Robertson’s ‘The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898’: Scholarship or Imperialist Propaganda?” *Philippine Studies* 56, no. 1 (March 2008): 7-12.

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<sup>16</sup> Eugene A. Gilmore, “The Wisconsin Idea,” *Philippine Law Journal* 4, no. 8 (March 1918): 279; Marion Casey, “Charles McCarthy’s ‘Idea’: A Library to Change Government,” *Library Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (January 1974): 29.

<sup>17</sup> “Filipino Civic Association Gives Dinner,” *Cablenews-American* (Manila), September 9, 1913.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Isidoro Saniel, “Forty-Nine Years of the Philippine Library Association.” *Journal of Library History*, 7, no. 4 (October 1972): 302.

<sup>19</sup> “Filipino Civic Association”; Teodoro M. Kalaw, “The National Library: Its Present Organization.” *Library Mirror* 2 (December 1931): 61; James A. Robertson to Charles McCarthy, 22 September 1913, box 5, folder, 1, Charles McCarthy Papers, Division of Library, Archives, and Museum Collections, Wisconsin Historical Society Collection (hereafter cited as McCarthy Papers).

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<sup>21</sup> Remigio E. Appalo, “The Political Science of Dr. Maximo M. Kalaw,” *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 16, no. 31-32 (1990): 21-22; *Men of the Philippines*, vol. 1, s.v. “Kalaw, Dr. Maximo M.”; Maximo M. Kalaw to Charles McCarthy, 25 May 1916, box 12, folder 6, McCarthy Papers.

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<sup>23</sup> H. S. Martin, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction.” In *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1915*, comp. Francis Burton Harrison (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1916), 234; Panama-Pacific International Exposition, *Official Guide of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition-1915*, August ed. (San Francisco, Wahlgreen Company, 1915); Morillos, *Treasures of the National Library*, 145. For a study of Robertson’s involvement with the exposition, see Brendan Luyt and Karryl Kim Sagun. “The American Colonial State on Display: The Philippine Library Exhibit at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition.” *Library & Information History* 37, no. 1 (April 2021): 35-48.

<sup>24</sup> Kalaw, “National Library,” 62.

<sup>25</sup> H. L. Hershey, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1914* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1915), 21; Everett A. Colson, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1916* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1917), 43; Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands July 1, 1916* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1916), 67-68; Philippine Library and Museum, *The Philippine Library and Museum: A Few Facts About Its Work and Activities* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1919), 6, 20.

<sup>26</sup> Francisco Ventura, “The Legislative Reference Division of the Philippine Library and Museum.” *Philippine Law Journal* 6, no. 5 (December 1919): 147.

<sup>27</sup> Maximo M. Kalaw to Charles McCarthy, 25 May 1916, box 12, folder 6, McCarthy Papers; Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Case for the Philippines* (New York, Century, 1916), xi-xv.

<sup>28</sup> Michael P. Onorato, “The Jones Act and the Establishment of a Filipino Government, 1916-1921,” *Philippine Studies* 14, no. 3 (July 1966): 448-449; Bernardo, Gabriel, “The Status of the Popular Library Movement in the Philippines.” In *Gabriel A. Bernardo: Librarian, bibliographer and scholar*, ed. Mauro Garcia (Manila, Bibliographical Society of the Philippines, 1974), 17; Cabañero and Tann, “Libraries and Librarianship,” 86; “First Philippine Cabinet Is Now a Reality,



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<sup>29</sup> Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1925), 513, 609-610; Sanchez, "Philippines, Libraries In," 438; Bernardo, "Status of the Popular," 23; University of the Philippines, *Catalogue 1915-1916, Announcements 1916-1917* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1916), 88-89; Francisco R. Ventura, "History of the Library Science Class." In *The Philippinensian* ([Manila], [Students of the University of the Philippines], 1916), 139; University of the Philippines, *Catalogue 1913-1914, Announcements 1914-1915* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1914), 174.

<sup>30</sup> Ventura, "History of the Library Science Class," 139; Bernardo, "Status of the Popular," 28; University of the Philippines, *Catalogue 1916-1917, Announcements 1917-1918* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1917), 82-83; Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System*, 610.

<sup>31</sup> "More or Less Personal," *Cablenews-American* (Manila), June 11, 1916; Mary E. Hazeltine, "Library School of the University of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Library Bulletin* 12, no. 8 (October 1916): 349; "Impetus Given Mine Industry," *The Tribune* (Manila), Sept. 12, 1930; "More or Less Personal," *Cablenews-American* (Manila), January 1, 1917, 13; "Pioneer Librarian Dies," *Kansas Library Bulletin* 6, no. 3 (September 1937): 2. "The Library Science Class," *The Philippinensian* ([Manila], [Students of the University of the Philippines], 1917), 217; Brazzeal, "Science Librarianship," 162. Elmer is listed in the *Official Roster* for 1918 but not for 1919.

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<sup>33</sup> Arthur E. Bostwick, *The American Public Library* (New York, Appleton, 1923), 344, 380-381; Consuelo Damaso, "Library Education in the Philippines," *Journal of Education for Librarianship* 6, no. 4 (1966): 313.

<sup>34</sup> Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 204; Leopoldo B. Uichanco, "Foreign Aid and Agricultural Science," *Science* 127, no. 3296 (February 28, 1958): 458

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<sup>36</sup> Bernardo, "Status of the Popular," 29-30; Hernández, "Trends in Philippine Library History," 335; Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Island, July 1, 1918* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1918), 55-56, 65; Mary Polk to M. S. Dudgeon, September 5, 1918, box 48, folder "Bernardo, Gabriel," subfolder "Subfolder: Philippines Correspondence," Series 7/20/8, University of Wisconsin, Madison Archives.

<sup>37</sup> Mary Polk to M. S. Dudgeon, September 5, 1918; Solomon V. Arnaldo, "The Essence of Professor Bernardo's Vision and Vitality," In *Gabriel A. Bernardo: Librarian, Bibliographer and Scholar*, ed. Mauro Garcia (Manila, Bibliographical Society of the Philippines, 1974), 149.

<sup>38</sup> Maximo M. Kalaw to Charles McCarthy, 16 May 1919, box 18, folder 4, McCarthy Papers; Charles McCarthy to Maximo M. Kalaw, 19 May 1919, box 18, folder 4, McCarthy Papers; L. S. Osborn, "An Adventure in Dreams." *Library Journal* 52 (November 15, 1927): 1071; *Pan-Pacific Who's Who*, ed. George F. Nellist (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1941, s.v. "Mallari, I.V."; Saniel, "Forty-Nine Years," 303.

<sup>39</sup> Conrado Paras, "The Filipino Club in Madison, Wis.," *Philippine Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1920): 40.

<sup>40</sup> "Students in New York, Baltimore and Washington," *Wisconsin Library Bulletin* 16, no. 4 (April 1920): 44; "U.W. Filipinos Leave for Home," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), July 19, 1920; Cirilo B. Perez to Miss Hazeltine, 17 January 1921, Library School Student Files. Series 7/20/8, box 48, folder: Bernardo, Gabriel, subfolder: Philippines Correspondence. University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, University of Wisconsin-Madison; University of the Philippines, *Fourteenth Annual Commencement* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1925), 21; Perez, "Mary Polk," 25.

<sup>41</sup> University of the Philippines, *General Catalogue 1921-1922* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1921), 50, 96; Joseph Grinnell, "In Memoriam: Richard C. McGregor, Ornithologist of the Philippines," *Auk* 55, no. 2 (April 1938): 168; Bernardo, "Status of the Popular," 29; *Filipinos in History*, vol. 2, comp. Regino P. Paular and Carminda R. Arevalo. (Manila, National Historical Institute, 1990), s.v. "Eulogio B. Rodriguez."; Eulogio B. Rodriguez to Francis B. Harrison, March 6, 1924, in Michael Onorato, "Leonard Wood As Governor General: A Calendar of Selected Correspondence, Part 2," *Philippine Studies* 12, no. 2 (April 1964): 304.

<sup>42</sup> *Filipinos in History*, vol. 2, s.v. "Eulogio B. Rodriguez."; Eulogio B. Rodriguez to Charles McCarthy, 19 October 1920, box 19, folder 8, McCarthy Papers; Charles McCarthy to E. B. Rodriguez, 29 November 1920, box 19, folder 9, McCarthy Papers; Marion Casey, "Charles McCarthy's 'Idea'," 39; Leonard Wood and Cameron Forbes, *Report of the Special Mission on Investigation to the Philippines Islands to the Secretary of War* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1921); Gilmore, "The Wisconsin Idea," 271-284.

<sup>43</sup> "Farewell Banquet Given to Gilmore," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), January 21, 1922; *Cagayan Province and Her People*, comp. E. Rivera Castillet (Manila, [E. Rivera Castillet], 1960), s.v. "Aquino, Eustaquio G."

<sup>44</sup> P. R. Angell, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the Year Ended December 31, 1919* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1920), 25; Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, July 1, 1919* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1919), 62-63; Mario D. Zamora, "Henry Otley Beyer, 1883-1966," *American Anthropologist* 76, no. 2 (June 1974): 361-62; "News of the Day in Pictures," *The Tribune* (Manila), March 1, 1928, 10; *Filipinos in History*,

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