Brains of the Nation
Pedro Paterno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes
and the Production of Modern Knowledge

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Spaniards as the peninsular-born) or dreams of autonomy. Peasant rebels, on the other hand, were not unaffected by "large events" (as shown in the uprisings triggered by the British Occupation and the abolition of the Constitution of 1812)—even the Hermano Pule rebellion was not a case of pure indigenous— but they drew sustenance from a more indigenous body of ideas that, throughout the colonial period, expressed itself in various forms of resistance.

These intersections were remembered. Four decades after Pilapil and Varela, another creole, Jose Burgos, would expand Pilapil's tentative advocacy of the native clergy and invoke Vanda in a brief on native abilities that would, for the first time, enlarge on Filipino as name for a multiracial, proto-national community. Jugo was one of the liberals surveilled by the authorities at the time of the Cavite Mutiny of 1872. Joaquin Pardo de Tavera was Jugo's law partner and Jugo's daughter would figure as benefactress of expatriate Filipinos in Spain. Isabella de los Reyes among them. Rizal would acknowledge Pilapil and Jugo among the nationals' intellectual antecedents. And Pedro Parea would, in his own fashion, live out the ancien régime dreams of Conde Filipino.

Their great wealth and status as "not quite Spanish" exposed the Roxas family to persecution. Domingo Roxas's son, Jose, was a member of the Comite de Reformadores headed by Joaquin Pardo de Tavera in 1872. Domingo's grandson, Pedro, was tagged together with his cousin Francisco and brother-in-law Jacobo Zobel as the highest leaders of the Katipunan in 1896. Pedro's properties were embargoed at the outbreak of the 1896 revolution and he would have been arrested had he not jumped ship in Singapore on his way to Europe. Francisco was arrested in August 1896 and executed by firing squad. The government confiscated his properties. Zobel, a wealthy German pharmacist married to Trinidad de Ayala, Pedro's sister-in-law, was associated with the 1872 reformadores and imprisoned in 1874 for alleged involvement in a separatist plot. He died of a heart attack at the revolution's outbreak in 1896.

The Hermano Pule revolt would inspire other acts of insurrection. And turn-of-the-century ilustrado historians would trace the beginnings of the Philippine revolution (if for reasons of their own) to such events as the Pule revolt. The linkages are tenuous but they would thicken in the decades that followed.
"the education of the Indios is far from backward, if it is compared to that of the lower classes in Europe; almost all Tagals know how to read and write." Maltat added, however, that "as for the sciences properly called, they have made very little progress."

On June 24, 1821, in the wake of the Liberal revolution in Spain, a plan for an all-level public educational system for the colony was approved but the defeat of the Liberals in 1823 aborted the plan's enactment. The plan was revived in 1865 with an educational decree that laid the ground for a colony-wide public school system. The decree prescribed curricula with Spanish as medium of instruction and provided for teacher-training schools. While the decree was never fully implemented, the school system grew. A source published in 1876 stated that there were 1,004 primary schools for boys and 775 for girls, or a total of 1,779 with a combined attendance of 385,907. The same survey, however, gave the less sanguine view that of the primary school attendance in 1876, only 28.46 percent knew how to write, 18.36 percent knew how to read and write, 2.16 percent knew how to speak Spanish, and 51.02 percent knew "nothing at all."

The key factor in the spread of education was social demand rather than government progressivism or ecclesiastical altruism. The expansion of state and civil society made the production of educated citizens both feasible and necessary. Hence the late nineteenth-century surge of educational reforms. In 1865, Madrid decreed the establishment of secondary schools, placing them under the supervision of Universidad de Santo Tomas. San Juan de Letran and Ateneo Municipal were elevated to first-class secondary schools and obligated to offer the same basic curriculum prescribed in Spain. By the 1890s there were seven other first-class secondary schools and more than 178 other secondary institutes, for boys and girls, throughout the Philippines. (First-class secondary schools offered a five-year course leading to the degree of bachiller en arts, a degree conferred after an examination by Santo Tomas, the only degree-granting educational institution in Spanish Philippines.)

Enrollment expanded at Santo Tomas. Between 1861 and 1898, some 40,158 students, mostly Filipinos, attended the university. Eighty-nine percent of these students sought a secular education, particularly in the fields of jurisprudence (54 percent), medicine (22 percent), and philosophy (22 percent). While these students made up less than one percent of lowland Christian Filipinos, the period saw a growing class of educated Filipinos. By this time, too, Filipinos began to seek higher education in Europe in such fields as law, medicine, and engineering.

Religious-run schools were highly disciplined sites where the program of studies was controlled androte learning the rule. The character of the system was such that its reform was a major issue among Filipino propagandists. Yet, despite its constraints, it offered opportunities denied the colonized elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Moreover, it provided an arena in which Filipinos came together and exchanged experiences and ideas (even if much of this took place outside classrooms or school premises).

What is particularly important (and mostly unstudied) is that Filipinos took the initiative in opening private, mostly home-based secondary schools. These schools existed in the early nineteenth century but proliferated after 1865. By 1895, there were around a hundred of these institutes, called "Latinity schools" or escuelas de latinidad. They were authorized by the government, supervised by Santo Tomas, and followed prescribed textbooks and curricula. Typically run by a government-licensed schoolmaster (usually a graduate of Santo Tomas, Ateneo, or Letran) and housed in a private residence, these preparatory schools became training ground for future nationalists. There is scant information on the schoolmasters and what actually transpired in these schools. It has been remarked that, prior to the reforms of 1865, they often had "incompetent teachers—oftentimes university flunkers without any authorization." While this may be true, their native character and relative autonomy suggest there may have been more interaction and openness in these institutes than in the Dominican or Jesuit-controlled classrooms.

At the secondary level after 1865, subjects included elementary Greek, universal history, logic, moral philosophy, French and English. At Santo Tomas, students studied philosophy, physics, chemistry, Spanish literature, history of Spain, colonial legislation, and political economy. Philippine history was taught, as illustrated by schoolbooks like Jesuit Francisco Baraterra's Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas (1877) and Felice Goyanes's Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas (1877) and Lecciones de Geografia Descriptiva de Filipinas (1878). These rudimentary texts dealt with Spain in the Philippines rather than the Filipinos themselves (as the nationalists would point out). Yet they gave students...
the framework of a colonial state in which or against which they could place themselves. It is interesting, for instance, that Baranera’s treatment of precolonial society already contains the themes (aboriginal Acas, primitive monothelism, Malay migrations) that Filipino historians like Paterno and de los Reyes would develop. They would diverge in their interpretation of the “facts” but much of the basic plot remained.

Education was not as expansive as the list of subjects indicates. Something of the period’s pedagogical style can be glimpsed in a primary-school textbook, Ricardo Díaz de Roeta’s La Escuela de Instrucción Primaria (1844), an all-subject compendium of lessons in a tiny book of 334 pages.61 Intended as a teaching crib, it ranges from the Old Testament and Spanish grammar to such subjects as arithmetic, geography, botany, mineralogy, physics, and zoology. It contains the barest information, a litany of dogmatic assertions in question-and-answer format. One-sentence answers are given to a series of questions: What is geometry? What is an angle? What is a circle? On the subject of history, the book offers a short, schematic survey of civilizations, with the focus on Europe and Spain. Its perspective is shown in editorial assertions on Mohammedanism as a religion founded by an “impostor” and on the “anarchy and misfortunes” caused by the French Revolution. Yet the book does illustrate the recognition that “modern” knowledge could no longer be excluded or ignored.

In spite of the nationalist attack on colonial education, the educational system was remarkable. Santos Tomás was the only real university in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia. No country in the region at the time had such a large number of Western-educated native students as the Philippines. Cristianismo and Ilustración bound Spaniards to goals of humanism and enmeshed them in contradictions that undermined their rule. Colonial education constrained but had effects the colonials could neither fully predict nor control. Curricula and textbooks did not account for what students made out of the books they read and their experience in school.

THE ELABORATION of the civil bureaucracy raised the semblance of a rationally organized state, created a demand for new professional and technical skills, and became an arena for the encounter of native and foreign knowledge.62

State and private institutions stimulated an appetite for science and modernity. The utilitarian aspects of science, such as mining and agriculture, received government attention because of their practical benefits in the control and use of the population and environment. The need to promote and regulate the exploitation of natural resources led to the creation of Inspección General de Minas (1837), Inspección General de Montes (1862), and Comisión Agronómica (1884). State agencies undertook scientific research, theoretical and practical training, and publications (like Boletín Oficial Agrícola de Filipinas [1894–1898] and Boletín de la Estadística de la Ciudad de Manila [1895–1898]). Examples of research generated are the pioneering works in geology of José Centeno and Enrique Abella, who headed the Spanish mining bureau in 1876–1886 and 1889–1897, respectively. Significant work was done by Sebastián Vidal, inspector general of the forestry bureau (1871–1889), who established a botanical library and herbarium, communicated with the Kew Herbarium and other European institutes, and published works like Rosario de la Hora del Archipiélag Filipino (1883).

There were agencies like the Meteorological Service (provided by the Jesuit Observatorio, which was declared an official state institution in 1884), Central Commission of Statistics (1877), and Central Administration of Communications (1882), which regulated postal and telegraphic services. Public health was an important area of colonial work. Spaniards introduced hospitals from the beginning of their rule. These included the dispensary (1596), founded for the treatment of poor Spaniards, which evolved into the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, the first general hospital in the Far East. A pioneering effort was Instituto Central de Vacunación (1806), founded as a result of the Francisco Xavier de Balnis expedition (1805) that introduced smallpox vaccination to the Philippines at a time when the merits of vaccines were still being debated in Europe. This institute was later placed under Inspección General de Beneficencia y Sanidad (1834), which performed such functions as the supervision of doctors, midwives, hospitals, and quarantine services. Other innovations included Laboratorio Municipal de Manila, established in 1887 to conduct chemical and bacteriological analyses of food, water, and drugs, in support of public health and legal medicine.

In 1887, the first public library, Museo-Biblioteca de Filipinos, was opened. Antedating it were special libraries like the Spanish Army’s
Biblioteca Militar (1847), the library of Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País (1787), and libraries of private clubs and recreational societies. The more significant libraries were the holdings of the religious orders. Santo Tomás library had the largest library, with 12,000 volumes, and had, in addition, 5,747 specimens in its natural history museum and 330 instruments in its physics laboratory.

The most ambitious attempt by the colonial government to promote science and progress came in the reign of Carlos III when governor-general Jose Basco (1778–1787) launched a series of economic reforms. Basco envisioned two institutions to spur development: Real Compañía de Filipinas, a development company, and Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, an association that would generate ideas and plans to be implemented by Real Compañía. Established in 1785, Real Compañía stimulated cash crop cultivation (particularly, the tobacco monopoly that ran from 1782 to 1882) but, beset by indifference and factional rivalries, it was dissolved in 1834.

Sociedad Económica was an offshoot of the sociedades economicas in Spain and Latin America that were inspired by the example of Europe’s royal academies of science. In Manila, Sociedad was founded by a small group of Spanish peninsulares in 1781. It was active in 1781–1782, stagnated in the years that followed, and stirred back to life after 1820. Focused on promoting the colony’s economic self-sufficiency and value for the Empire, the society held its first public meeting in Manila on May 6, 1781, at which Basco gave a speech in which he invoked the ideals of the Enlightenment in transforming the colony into la perla del Oriente.

Sociedad was divided into five committees: natural history, agriculture and rural economy, industry and manufactures, foreign and domestic trade, and industrial technology and popular education. The society tried to stimulate agriculture and exports by offering awards to outstanding plantation owners and supporting training for artisans. It was, however, beset by factionalism, a sluggish bureaucracy, and competition from cheap manufactures from China and India. The committee on natural history did not function; “there was not a single Spaniard in all Filipinos who could explain to the members what natural history was.” The other committees lacked experts and equipment for the few skills training programs they managed to conduct in towns around

Manila, Sociedad became “little more than a discussion group” and was moribund by 1787.

There were some achievements. One was Juan de Cuellar’s Scientific Commission to the Philippines (1786–1801), which collected botanical and zoological specimens for Spain’s scientific institutions. While Cuellar attempted to teach chemical botany to some students in Manila, his initiatives in this regard did not seem to have gone far. Revived in the 1820s, Sociedad became more active, sponsoring lectures, distributing free books on grammar and reading, offering prizes for inventions, and supporting the training of Filipinos in dyeing and mechanics. It organized arts-and-trades schools called escuelas patronizadas (i.e., “patronizing” to Spain) in Manila and neighboring towns. With its support a nautical school (1820), school of drawing (1824), museum (1850), agricultural school (1858), and library (1878) were established. It issued the periodicals Registro Mercantil (1824–1833) and Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Filipina de Amigos del País (1882–1884). Sociedad supervised Manilés Jardín Botánico (1861), which was maintained until the end of Spanish rule though it never attained the prominence of botanical gardens in other European colonies.

Sociedad’s training programs expressed a bias for the utilitarian and a particular conception of native abilities. Spanish writers commonly refer to the indio’s abilities in mechanical and mimetic arts, that they make excellent copyists, calligraphers, and illustrators, but that, conversely, they are weak and ill-suited for abstract forms of knowledge, like theology and philosophy. In the eighteenth century, the Franciscan Juan Francisco de San Antonio wrote that the natives were mechanically gifted and such skillful imitators that there were many printers, musicians, and clerks. For San Antonio, this natural disposition (genio) came with an incompetence in intellectual matters: “their understanding appears to be fastened to them (as it were) with pins and is always limited to menialistic subjects because it does not extend to matters of depth.”

Idea what about was suited to the native’s abilities as well as useful—and, one may add, politically harmless—underlie the support given by church and state to artes (like music, embroidery, and drawing) and oficios (like bookkeeping, engraving, and construction). Between 1742 and 1893, fifteen schools in arts-and-trades, agriculture, business, nautical science, and telegraphy were opened. Music and painting were
cultivated, albeit along lines relevant to the liturgical, ceremonial, and page-building activities of church and state. As early as 1742, a Colegio de Hipótesis was established, teaching piano, organ, violin, vocalization and composition in a program patterned after that of the Madrid Conservatory of Music. In 1823, Sociedad established Academia de Dibujo, the country's "first official Philippine art academy," which ran until 1889, mostly administered by Spaniards in the Spanish "academic art" tradition. Government and privately endowed scholarships enabled Filipinos (like Juan Luna, Meeleco Pescull, and Felix Pardo de Vera) to study art in Spain.93

Native arts and crafts figured prominently in the Philippine exhibits organized by the Spanish government in international expositions in London (1859), Philadelphia (1876), Amsterdam (1882), Madrid (1887), and Paris (1889), as well as local expositions like the Expansión Regional de Filipinas in 1895. These events paraded examples of "native ingenuity" (samples of woodcraft, embroidered piña, the books of Paternas and de los Reyes). More important, of course, these exhibitions were designed not just for the practical benefit of scientific and commercial promotion but as ideological showcases for the "enlightened imperialism" of Western nations.

It must be stressed that the transition to modern, scientific institutions was neither immaculate nor sequential. This is shown in the introduction of Western medicine. The lack of doctors, supplies, and facilities was such that the Spaniards either tolerated or relied on the expertise of local healers. Missionaries like Fernando Santa Maria, author of Manual de Medicinas Caseras (1768), compiled data on traditional medicine and made them available for people in places "without doctors or pharmacies." In the absence of doctors, local curanderos were sought to treat Spanish soldiers wounded in battle or allowed to practice in the infirmaries of the Spanish Army and Navy. There are indications that herbalists were even given permits to operate local pharmacies (botiquín), and as late as July 21, 1843, a governor-general's decree granted permits to mediquillos and herbolarios to minister to the native population although they were barred from treating Spaniards and other foreigners.94

Though Europeans dominated activities in knowledge-production Filipinos were involved in these activities. Natives worked for botanical expeditions and such undertakings as the Jesuits' Manila Observatory.

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Blanco's Flora de Filipinas (1877–1883) featured botanical plates executed by twelve gifted Filipino artists (like Lorenzo Guerrer, Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo, and Miguel Zaragoza), some of whom (like the botanist Regino Garcia) had scientific interests as well. The work of artist Damian Domingo (1790–c.1832) and composer Marcelo Adonay (1848–1928) belied Spanish preconceptions about the native's "lower-order" skills. A Tondo-born Chinese mestizo, Domingo did not only direct Academia de Dibujo in its early years, it was his private art school that paved the way for the academy's formation. A musical prodigy from Laguna, Adonay became choirmaster and music teacher in Manila's San Agustin Church and amazed Spaniards with his mastery of Western musical traditions as performer and composer of original music in such forms as the Gregorian chant.95

By the late nineteenth century, Filipinos taught at Santo Tomas, carried out state-sponsored scientific studies (as did T.H. Pardo de Vera), published on scientific and cultural topics, and headed government agencies (as did Pedro Paterno and Anaclito del Rosario, directors of Museo-Biblioteca de Filipinas and Laboratorio Municipal de Manila, respectively). Filipinos participated in professional and civic societies, like Camara de Comercio (1886), Colegio Farmaceutico de Filipinas (1891), and Colegio Naestral (1891). Normal school graduates formed an association called "Academy of Pedagogy" which published Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino (1895–1897), devoted to pedagogical trends and information useful to teachers.96 Filipinos wrote for scientific journals like Boletín de Medicina de Manila (1886–1887), Revista Farmaceutica de Filipinas (1893), La Correspondencia Medica (1893), and Cronica de Ciencias Médicas (1895). In the pages of these journals and elsewhere, Filipino scientists like Fernando Benitez, Leon Ma. Guerrero, and Manuel Zamora published on medicine, chemistry, and botany. An outstanding figure in this group was Anaclito del Rosario (1860–1895) who won the competitive post of director of Manila's Laboratorio Municipal, conducted bacteriological studies, and published scientific reports. Both Rical and Pardo, it must be remembered, also worked in the medical and natural sciences.96

It remains to be studied as to what interactions occurred between indigenous knowledge and early Filipino scholarship in the natural and physical sciences. One may cite the example of Edilberto Evangelista
(1862–1897), a remarkable Tagalog who finished his studies in engineering at University of Ghent in Belgium in 1895, returned to Manila on the eve of the revolution in 1896, and designed and supervised the building of trenches and fortifications for Aguinaldo’s army. More broadly, however, training in the sciences had implications beyond the acquisition of professional and technical competencies. It oriented individuals to a rational, secular view of the world and built confidence in the powers of the mind and the possibilities of progress.

The emancipative effects of scientific knowledge are amply demonstrated in the careers of the physicians Jose Rizal and T.H. Pardo de Taveras. Further illustration is the case of Antonio Luna (1866–1899), who earned a licentiate in pharmacy in Barcelona and a doctorate in the same field in Madrid in 1890. He was the first Filipino to earn the latter degree. It is said that he apprenticed in medical laboratories in Paris, including that of Louis Pasteur, and that he “worked with” such pioneers in bacteriology as Ilya Mechnikov, Shibasaburo Kitasato, and Emile Roux. While these claims may have been inflated, Luna was well-trained. He published a study of malaria, El Hematocinorous del Paludismo (1893), and contributed scientific articles to Siglo Medico and Farmacia Española in Spain and Revista Farmacéutica e Ilustración Filipina in the Philippines. Part of the Propaganda Movement, he wrote for La Solidaridad and published a book of sketches, Impresiones (1891). In 1894, he returned to the Philippines and became “chemist expert” of Manila’s Municipal Laboratory. Though he was not involved in the revolution of 1896, which he denounced after he was taken prisoner, he was shipped off to Madrid where he was imprisoned until 1897. He returned to the Philippines in 1898 to play a leading role in the war against the Americans.

THE RISE OF THE PRESS was among the most important in the ensemble of nineteenth-century cultural transformations. In colonial Philippines, it represented a rationalizing, secularizing force vis-à-vis the religious orders and even the state.

The newspaper made its appearance in the Philippines with Del Superior Gobierno (1811–1812), a government newssheet that carried European news for Manila Spaniards. Though more than a dozen newspapers appeared between 1821 and 1862, these were ephemeral papers dealing mainly in government notices, commercial information, European affairs and intra-Spanish community gossip. By mid-nineteenth century, however, journalism had expanded as a social institution. Retana lists at least 97 newspapers and journals launched between 1875 and 1894. Newspapers like Diario de Manila (1860–1898), El Comercio (1869–1925), La Oceania Española (1877–1899), and La Opinion (1887–1890) were substantial vehicles of news and opinion. With the founding of printshops in the provinces (Cebu in 1873, Bulacan in 1875, Vigan in 1883), provincial journalism also made its appearance (Eco de Vigan in 1884, Bulacan’s Provenir de Visayas in 1884, Boletín de Cebu in 1886, El Eco del Sur in Nueva Caceres in 1893). The field diversified with special interest publications like Revista del Liceo Artístico-Literario de Manila (1879–1881), Revista Filipina de Ciencias y Artes (1882–1883), and El Foro Jurídico (1882–1888).

The establishment of Comision permanente de censura on October 7, 1856 was a response to the increasing availability of printed matter. Subject to censorship were printing presses, periodicals, books for commercial circulation and “personal use,” prints and engravings, and theatrical presentations. Grounds for censorship were often specious and arbitrary: “false” interpretations of the Bible and history, dangerous intellectual tendencies (like “pantheism” and “materialism”), and obscenity. Among works banned were those of Hugo, Dumas, Eugene Sue, and Oliver Goldsmith. A work of Francisco de Quevedo was censored for satirizing the sacrament of marriage. Sue’s El Gitaro suffered the same fate for “containing ideas conducive to fomenting profane love.” Even Cervantes’s Don Quijote was initially banned for portraying “immoral customs in minute detail.” It was later approved with “corrections.”

Printing ceased to be a friar monopoly and, despite censorship, liberal ideas found print in newspapers and other publications. While early journalism was a distinctly Spanish or creole phenomenon, the complexion of ownership, content, and readership was changing, as indicated by the appearance of native-owned, local-language papers, like the partly Tagalog El Pasí (1862); M.H. del Pilar’s Diarioing Tagalog (1882); Pascual Poblete’s Revista Popular de Filipinas (1888); and Isabelo de los Reyes’s El Llocano (1889). Autonomous public spaces opened up since colonial policing of ideas was far from efficient. As early as 1827, a Spanish official expressed con-
cern over foreigners who had entered the country and "clandestinely introduced impious, revolutionary, and obscene books printed in the Spanish language, but pirated in France, with which they have caused atrocious injury in the morals of families there." Censorship, a Spanish author wrote in 1883, only stimulated the traffic in contraband literature:

To ban the books of Victor Hugo, Sue, Dumas, Paul de Kock [novelists of seamy Parisian life] and other French writers, as well as the great majority of Spanish novelists, excepting only [Enrique] Pérez Escrich [popular Spanish novelist] serves no other purpose but to arouse a passion for possessing them. We are reminded of a motto . . . who once showed us his little library. It contained, besides the novels mentioned above, the complete works of Renan, Volney, Voltaire, Rousseau and Talleyrand.100

Rizal said that the works of Dumas, Sue, Hugo, and Schiller were read in the colony though he admitted that most of the books in circulation were "religious and nascotizing in character." His own family home in Calamba had a library of "more than one thousand volumes."101 Rizal wrote that at twelve he had read Spanish editions of Chateaubriand's Les aventures du dernier Américain, Dumas's Le comte de Monte Cristo, and Cesare Cantis's Siemira universal. And Isabelo de los Reyes, though he may have used "quotations from quotations" (as Retana said) to conjure an aura of erudition, had a book-learning remarkable for one who did not study abroad.

The careers of professional literati like Joaquín Tuason (1843–1908), Mariano Perfecto (1853–1912), and Paccual Poblete (1857–1921), attest to the increased traffic of ideas through the medium of print. They were of the petty principality, fairly well educated for their time. (Tuason was the son of a landowner-merchant in Pateros, outside Manila; Perfecto a rich merchant's son in Ligao, Albay; and Poblete a native of Naic, Cavite) They were indefatigable producers of journalistic articles and chapbooks, like romances, religious manuals, and almanacs. Among his numerous works, Tuason published Bagong Robinson (1879), a Tagalog translation of a Spanish edition of Joachim Heinrich von Campe's Daniel Defoe-inspired Robinson der Jungere (1779–1780).102 Perfecto was a pub-

THE FILIPINO ENLIGHTENMENT

isher-bookseller in Iloilo and Nueva Caceres, a newspaperman in Bikol and Hiligaynon, and, with Tuason, the most prolific book author of his time. Poblete was the publisher of around nine newspapers, including El Bello Sexo (a pioneering women's periodical established in 1891) and the more successful Ang Kapàrad na Bayan (1899–1907). Unlike Huseng Siuw and Baltezar (who straddled folk and proto-urban cultures), these men were denizens of a world of print. They represented the aspirations for urbanity in their generation and the strengthening of empirical tendencies in the literature of the period.103 With Spanish as dominant medium, limited literacy, and urban bias, periodical circulations were not large. The influence of newspapers, however, extended beyond readers, they were relay points in the oral transmission of news, rumor, and gossip. Words traveled wide. As Manila papers carried news from Europe and other parts of the world, provincial papers transmitted articles from Manila. Isabelo de los Reyes is a prime example of a writer who reached out to a "national" audience, writing not only for Manila (and Madrid) newspapers but Eco de Panay in the Visayas and El lâcano in Ilocos. In the virtual space of books and newspapers, readers in various parts of the country imagined others like them and created that "imagined community" that was the nation.104

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY saw the formation of modern, voluntary associations. The earliest examples, like Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, were associations of Spaniards rather than Filipinos. In Sociedad, indios figured as workers and apprentices; even the prizes went to Spanish priests and hacendado owners. In Spain, together with the sociedades económicas, the Enlightenment inspired sociedades patrióticas, clubs of political discussion that were open to the public. While the former were dominated by conservatives (moderados) and focused on economic development, the latter were more openly liberal and political.105 In the Philippines, what existed were not sociedades patrióticas but escuelas patrióticas devoted to training natives in arts and crafts.

The most significant association in this period was Freemasonry.106 No institution in colonial Philippines expressed as directly the idea of the European Enlightenment as a moral and political project. Masonic lodges had existed in the Philippines since the late eighteenth century, possibly from the time of the British Occupation (1762–1764), but
these were European in membership. While there may have been creoles and mestizos in these lodges by the nineteenth century, they remained distinctly European until Filipino lodges were introduced in 1891 by Filipino Masons returning from Spain. Banned by the Catholic Church in 1738 and the Spanish Crown in 1812, anathemized as villain in the loss of the Spanish American colonies and various outrages against the Church in Spain, Freemasonry (while legal by the late nineteenth century) had a discontinuous, subterranean existence.

In Spain, Filipinos joined Masonic lodges in the 1880s, usually in lodges that included Spaniards, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans. In 1889-1890, the first Filipino lodges, Revolucion and Solidaridad, were founded. Among the first members were Graciano Lopez-Jaena, M.H. del Pilar, Mariano Ponce, and Jose Rizal. Schumacher remarked: "It is a fact that almost every Filipino nationalist leader of the Propaganda Period was at one time or another a Mason." Almost from the time these expatriate lodges were formed there were efforts to organize similar groups in the Philippines. Through Masons Jose Ramos, Pedro Serrano, and Moises Salvador, the first Filipino lodge in the Philippines, Nilad, was established on January 6, 1891. By 1893, there were 35 Filipino Masonic lodges in the country, nine in Manila and some in Visayas and Mindanao. An auxiliary lodge for women, La Semilla, was organized in 1893 with Rosario Villaturi, the daughter of a mason, as the first Filipino woman initiated to Masonry.

It is easy to see why Freemasonry proved attractive to Filipinos. Masonic lodges were "schools" of Enlightenment thought, forward points of a "modernity" emancipated from traditional forms of authority, resolutely civil and secular, oriented towards ideas of republicanism and constitutionalism ("Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"). Freemasonry was a model for what colonial society was not. As Margaret Jacob says of Freemasonry in Europe, lodges were "microscopic civil politics, new public spaces, in effect schools for constitutional government." They were key sites in the formation of a modern civil society.

Freemasonry's appeal was enhanced by its values of comradeship and exclusivity (initiation ceremonies, mystical symbols), aura of learnedness (meetings routinely invoked Voltaire, Locke, and Montesquieu), and a stress on ethnicity that mystified lodges as "temples" in which "new persons" were formed. While egalitarian in principle, Masonic lodges were distinctly male, educated, and bourgeois despite Freemasonry's historic roots in Europe in guilds of craftsmen and artisans. Freemasonry's original constitutions explicitly excluded women (on such grounds as the view that women were indigent and endangered secrecy) and it was only around 1760 in France that women (typically, spouses, sisters or daughters of Masons) were first accepted into "lodges of adoption" that had to operate under the supervision of a male lodge.

Of particular relevance in the Philippine case was the political utility of Freemasonry. Filipino lodges were cells for nationalism, anti-frat agitation. Lodge meetings were devoted not only to the inculcation of Enlightenment principles but the discussion of Philippine issues (such as representation in the Cortes and the teaching of Spanish). They were centers for diffusing libertarian ideas and, given Freemasonry's international character, vehicles for enlisting the support of foreign lodges and Spanish politicians for Filipino causes. The politically militant character of Filipino lodges is conveyed by Teodoro Kalaw:

Speeches and lectures, letters and circulars, banquets and meetings, newspapers, friendly ties, in short, all the best means of propaganda were utilized, zealously and with great skill. The lofty humanitarian principles of the Fraternity were taken from the realm of thought and applied to the sad Filipino reality.

Freemasonry was so important for staging ideas of rationalism and nationalism that Frat-Masoneria became for friars and conservatives a symbol for all that was morally and politically pernicious, a product of the French Revolution and chief cause of Spain's loss of her American colonies. A Spanish official wrote: "The Masonic lodges gave the Indios the secret and mysterious way of organizing themselves and weaving under cover of darkness their separatist schemes." In the violent fits of repression in the late nineteenth century, Masons or suspected Masons were targets of domiciliary searches, torture, exile, and execution. Masonry's phantomloomed so large that the authorities imagined Masons everywhere. An official report during the revolution said that "along the banks of the Pasig River alone there are 17,000 native Masons."

While Masonic lodges and other associations were important in the formation of a "public sphere," it is crucial to underscore the role of
provisional, informal sites where discussions took place and a "public" germinated. Though John Foreman called nineteenth-century Manila "a dull capital," the city was not a medieval outpost. In the 1870s, Manila and its environs had around ten hotels and pension houses (with names like De Europa and La Fonda Francesa), general stores, two theaters (Teatro Español and Circo de Bibliot), a dance hall (El Kinsko), and the Manila Jockey Club race course. Visitors and locals could repair to cafes and partake of coffee and pastries, pass time at gaming tables, or read the local papers. In a few years, the city would have the beginnings of a telephone system (1890), electricity (1893), and a railroad service (the 120-mile Manila-Dagupan Railway inaugurated in 1891). A cable telegraph service connected Manila to the provinces (1873) and the outside world (1880). In 1891, Manila had thirteen printing presses, nine bookstores, and fifteen newspapers and magazines. 144

As early as the 1870s, there were workers' organizations, gremios or woodcarvers, carpenters, lithographers, and other workers, usually focused on shops or neighborhoods, organized for mutual aid and fraternal purposes. The impresario, in particular, gathered persons not alone kinship and ethnic lines but shared intellectual and technical interests. As an axis for the circulation of ideas and information, it was a forward point in intellectual change. It is not surprising that printers, lithographers, and bookbinders were the first to form trade guilds in the Philippines. There were other sites. In military arsenals, tobacco factories, and shipyards, workers shared aspirations and expressed grievances in strikes and work stoppages. The first of these stoppages (which William Henry Scott calls the country's "first proletarian strike") took place on September 2, 1872, just months after the Cavitie Mutiny, when 1,189 workers of the Cavitie arsenal did not report for work. Unraveled authorities had the strike leaders promptly arrested. Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo voiced concern that the strike was the sign of a vast socialist conspiracy, warning that "the International has spread its black wings to cast its nefarious shadow over the most remote lands." He was thinking of the International Working Men's Association the Spanish Cortes declared illegal on November 10, 1871. 145

Events like a religious procession, theatrical performances, or cockfight, and groups like orchestras and theatrical troupes, were sites where people gathered and traded news, opinion, and gossip. While much

"political" talk took place at the edges to escape surveillance and censorship, the medium presented by public gatherings was crucial in the production and circulation of ideas. In Rizal's novels, scenes like a boat ride or cockpit assembly provide us with a historic sense of how ideas traveled in colonial society.

In the Philippines, unlike countries in Europe, the boundaries between public and private were much more porous. Home-based gatherings (from wakes and baptisms to literary soirees or tertulias) were important in cultivating civic consciousness. Tertulias were gatherings at which patriotic poetry was recited and political discussions took place. Masonic meetings and much of the organizing work of the Katipunan were done in the privacy of homes. To avoid surveillance, Masons posted lookouts, used secret passwords, and seldom met in the same house twice. A dance or card game was usually held as a cover and furnishings of the Masonic "temple" were kept simple so they could be removed quickly. Family members provided "cover" and women presided over the amenities of setting and refreshments. Not quite the ritualized Parisian salonniere, the Filipina kept to the margins of male discourse (though not completely out of it) even as her presence as the invisible hostess symbolized the harmonious sociability important to these meetings. That the home was important in the spread of nationalist thought is suggested by the prominence of kinship ties in political mobilization. Rosa Sevilla (1879-1954), for instance, recalls that she had her first lessons in patriotism listening to discussions held in her aunt's house by young men headed by M.H. del Pilar. She would later join the revolution as one of only two women staffers in Antonio Luna's La Independencia. Sevilla became a leading educator, suffragist, and civic leader in the early twentieth century. 146

Informal sites and circuits were channels not only for disseminating the ideas of propagandists like Rizal. This was the ground where operated "folk" intellectuals, the vernacular poets and writers who played a major role in the spread of ideas in towns and villages. 147 While there is little information on this "proto-public" realm, its significance can be gleaned from the authorities' anxieties over popular dissidence. As early as 1840, local society was no longer (if it ever was) the genteel, colonial Eden envisioned by such authors of religious conduct books as Modesto de Castro. In 1842, Simbaido de Mac wrote: "... the sera
and government employees were ridiculed in pantomimic dances in Gapan in 1841; a comedy was to have been enacted at the feastday celebrations at Santa Cruz, Laguna, in 1846, in which the alcalde-mayor and his court were to be held up to ridicule, but it was avoided by the arrest of the actors." Mas warned against principales holding meetings (consejos) outside the priest's supervision right in the parish house or even in church during which they plot to discredit the priest and other officials. Spaniards expressed concern over the circulation of "manuscrito newspapers" and the trouble caused by ambitious indios abogados ("little indio lawyers") and apoderaditos ("men with a little power").

In an 1843 report to the governor-general, Juan Manuel de Mata expressed alarm over the colony's restiveness in the wake of the uprisings of Hermano Pule (1841) and the Tayabas Regimen (1843). Recalling the role of priests and lawyers in fostering revolution in Spanish America, he recommended "the suppression of the colleges of Santo Tomas, San Jose, and San Juan de Letran of this capital (Manila), and the conciliar seminaries of the bishoprics, as perpetual nurseries of corruption, laziness, or subversive ideas. . . . From them come the swarms of ignorant and vicious secular priests, and the pettifogging lawyers, who stir up so much trouble among the natives, and cause the provincial chiefs so great inconvenience." He wrote: "Ideas of emancipation are sheltered in many bosoms. Discordant swarms in all places.モンソール scrambled swarms in all places." 112 James LeRoy wrote that Spanish censorship was such that one could "look almost in vain in [local] periodicals prior to 1898 for expressions of the Filipino point of view, or, till the close of 1897, for any frankly expression of liberal political views on the part of Spanish editors." 112 LeRoy—who thought the Americans inaugurated "modernity" in the country—is not entirely correct.

SPANIARDS AND CROELES were the most visible figures in the public sphere by virtue of their advantages of access and education. With the expansion of the state and economy and increased influx of Spaniards, non-clerical Europeans became, vis-à-vis the church, an axis of secular modernity and alternative source of authority. Agents of a "colonial Enlightenment," they built up journalism, promoted scientific knowledge, and popularized new literary and cultural forms. By 1851, for instance, European novels by writers like Alexandre Dumas, Alphonse Daudet,
contribution. Revista de Filipinas displayed the same appetite for modern knowledge. The review carried items on geography, history, law, and science, contributed by Justo Felipe del Pan, Sebastian Vidal, Jose Composto, Federico Casaderums, Fernando Benitez, and others. Articles included Pedro de Goyantes’s “Religion primitiva de los Filipinos”; Jose Felipe del Pan’s “El Darvinismo y las razas Papua y Malaya”; Fr. Ramon Martinez Vigil’s “La escritura propia de los Tagalos”; translations of Pigafetta and Carl Semper; and diverse information on economics, medicine, and geography. A consciousness of location in the Southeast Asian region was conveyed by articles on the Dutch and British experience in Java, Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula.

Further illustration of this type of Spanish patriotism was the launching on May 22, 1891, of Biblioteca Histórica Filipina, an ambitious project to publish rare historical sources on the Philippines. Billed as a “national monument to the glories of Spain,” it was inspired by the arrival in Manila of a new director-general of civil administration, Jose Guirrez de la Vega (1824–1899), a literatur who, as governor of Granada and Madrid, initiated similar literary-civic projects. With the combined support of civil officials and the religious corporations, a subscription drive netted around 2,460 institutional and individual subscriptions from Baranes to Jolo, that included not just the clergy and local officials but a large number of citizens.152 In 1892, the association issued in rapid succession Jesuit Juan Delgado’s Historia General Sacro Profana, Politica y Natural de las Islas del Pionente llamadas Filipinas, Franciscan Francisco de Santa Inés’ Cronica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno, and Augustinian Juan de Medina’s Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinos. Apparently, the project did not survive its first burst of enthusiasm.

These manifestations of “colonial Enlightenment” expressed Spanish patriotism, a colonial elite’s aspirations for modernity, and a new rhetoric of legitimacy vis-a-vis the earlier one of Christianization. Yet these also inspired an appetite for new kinds of knowledge as well as the growing awareness among Spaniards and, in particular, creoles of an intellectual and emotional stake in the land. Creole identification with the land would merge with the increasing self-assertion of indigenes and Chinese migrants to forge a new social consciousness. This is shown in the examples of the peninsular Jose Felipe del Pan and the creole Juan Atayde. A stalwart in Philippine journalism and a man of liberal sympathies, del Pan (1821–1891) actively promoted scholarship on the Philippines. He cultivated a coterie of local adepts (including Isidoro de los Reyes) and left behind a son, Rafael, who would carry his torch with Filipinos in the struggle for Philippine independence. Born in Manila in 1838, of Spanish and Aztec descent, Atayde was a retired Spanish army officer who headed Círculo Hispano Filipino (1882–1883), the first organization of Filipinos in Madrid. He ran a printing house in Manila; financed such papers as La España Oriental, Revista Mercantil de Filipinas, and Ang Filipino Tagalog, and combined in his work as publisher and writer a Bourbon-style Spanish patriotism and a pronounced sympathy for Filipino culture and reformist ideas.153

Further example of the creole’s intellectual evolution is the lawyer Manuel Regidor.154 Born in Manila, the son of a Spanish colonial official, he was in Spain at the onset of the revolution of 1868 and was radicalized by the experience and his links to progressives in the Philippines, among them his brother Antonio Regidor, also a lawyer. In Madrid, he founded the anti-clerical La Discusion (1860) and El Correo de España (1868–1870) and edited El Eco Filipino (1871–1872), periodicals that advocated the secularization of parishes and Filipino representation in the Cortes. Under the Moret ministry, he was named deputy of the Junta consultiva de reformas de Filipinas, in which capacity he made bold proposals for reform. The fall of the Moret ministry scuttled his appointment to the Cortes in 1873 as deputy for Quebradillas (Puerco Rico). When his brother Antonio and other reformadores were exiled to Guam, he was one of the lawyers who worked for the release of the deportees.

Regidor is interesting in a history of thought for a book attributed to him, Raimundo Gelet’s Islas Filipinas: Resta de su organizacion social y administrativa y breves indicaciones de las principales reformas que reclaman (1869), which took up the Philippine cause as a contribution to the debate on liberal reforms in Spain.155 Islas Filipinas is a spirited, anti-friar defense of the capacity of the indio. In an apologia that foreshadows Paterno, Regidor frames the native in a “deep” and dynamic history that includes Hindu occupation (invencion India) and Arab and Chinese migrations. Using modern science in defending the indio, he deploys the race studies of German anatomists Carl Vogt and Friedrich Tiedemann and, in particular, the French surgeon Paul Broca.

438
Brains of the Nation

Broca, founder of the Anthropology Society of Paris (1859), had obtained from Parisian cemeteries a large number of skulls representing the twelfth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, classified according to gender, social status, and chronology. Interested in the relationship between intelligence and brain size, he argued that the brain is larger in superior races (with the white European as the pinnacle), in men than in women, and in higher over lower social classes. Subsequent studies would debunk this racist ranking of mental worth as misguided and highly injurious. In the nineteenth century, however, this was very "modern," authoritative knowledge. Regidor accepts Broca’s basic premises but highlights two facts in his defense of the indio. First, he distinguishes the indio from the aboriginal Aeta by stating that the former are of the “Malay race” and have further intermixed with Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans. And, he pointedly adds, it has been shown that the Malay’s skull measurements are “similar to the European Latins and near that of the Germans.” Second, he invokes Broca’s thesis that brain size increases as the influence of European civilization advances. (Broca asserted inferiority is not a permanent condition, arguing that women and primitives have small brains because of socially enforced undernourishment.) Highlighting this thesis, Regidor argues that even if one admits that the Filipino’s intelligence is inferior, “can this not be the natural result of the stagnation of their intellectual faculties due to the paralyzing of the monastic theocratic element that has reigned there with a force unknown in Spain even under the reign of Philip III?”

Citing craniometric “evidence” that the skull capacity of a “Negro born in Africa is bigger than that of a Negro slave born in America,” he argues that mental inferiority results from conditions of social brutalization. If the Filipino has not reached the level of “the cultured peoples of Europe and America,” this can only be blamed on conditions created by the country’s theocratic element.” Speaking the language of positivist science, Regidor defends the indio’s potential for progress which, despite the lack of incentives, he has already demonstrated in his aptitude for reading, writing, and the arts. The friars indict themselves, he says, when they point to their policy of educating women as proof of their commitment to education. “Science” has shown, he says, that the male skull develops faster than the female with the influence of civilization.

The Filipino Enlightenment

Regidor accepts the assumptions of racistist science, with its class and gender bias, but bends them in a defense of the “Filipino.” This application of European science to Philippine politics, while perverse today, was not peculiar at the time. It was an ammunition for reformists. While Regidor’s book circulated in a very limited way (Spanish officials and friars reportedly tried to stop its publication and then bought the whole edition and had it destroyed), Rizal and Pazmo used the book extensively. Rizal highly recommended the book to Blumentritt, saying: “If only there were 50 Spaniards like Geler, I would give and shed my blood for Spain.”

In other respects Manuel Regidor was marginal to Philippine political and intellectual life and, like his brother Antonio, he stayed more European than Filipino. By the time, however, Islas Filipinas appeared in 1869 the focal site of intellectual work had shifted from Spaniards to more local actors.

A National Intelligentsia was formed in the second half of the nineteenth century. It became a visible formation in the liberal interregnum of 1868-1871 that began with the revolution that toppled Isabel II and ended with the proclamation of King Amadeo in 1871. In the Philippines, this was an opening for more aggressive, public manifestations of discontent that simmered below the surface even before 1868.

The first overt manifestation came with the struggle over the rights of the native clergy. This struggle harks back to the 1820s but came to a head in the 1860s when the intra-Church dispute took on a racial and nationalist character. The “secularization movement” was first led by the creole Pedro Palma (1812-1863), a respected academic and church official, before leadership passed on to Fr. Jose A. Burgos (1835-1872) after Palma died in the great Manila earthquake of 1863. With Burgos, the Ilocos-born son of a Spaniard and Spanish mestiza, the secularization issue went beyond just an institutional debate over policies and prerogatives. As John Schumacher writes:

For Pelés the major question is the rights of the secular clergy being violated by the Friars. For Burgos, there is an even more important point—that parishes were being denied to Filipinos because of their
race and its alleged inferiority to Europeans. Burgos clearly writes as a Filipino, and if he does not preach disloyalty to Spain—indeed he strongly disclaims it—he is clearly conscious of his nationality, and ready to defend his people. 119

Burgos did not leave behind a substantial body of writings—some documents, articles in the Madrid newspaper La Discusión (1870), and Manifesto que a la noble nación española dirigen los leales filipinos (1864), anonymously issued and signed "Los Filipinos." 120 Burgos drew authority from his status as a respected creole priest and his local knowledge as someone of the country. Speaking of nuestra raza, nuestra clase, by which he encompassed creoles, mestizos, and indios, he defended the capacities of the country's inhabitants and criticized the friars for denying them opportunities for advancement. His boldness was not just occasioned by the moment. He was not only trained in canonical jurisprudence but steeped in Enlightenment ideas as shown in his allusions to Montesquieu, Adam Smith, and Benjamin Franklin and studies on race by scientists like Franz Josef Gall and Ludwig Teichmann.

Burgos's Enlightenment rhetoric on nuestra raza, nuestra clase was not his alone. Encouraged by the liberal pronouncements of governor-general Carlos María de la Torre, who assumed office on June 23, 1869, members of the local elite, mainly lawyers, civil servants, businessmen, and priests in Manila and neighboring provinces, surfaced as the Comité de Reformadores that organized "popular manifestations" for reforms. Called "the first Liberal Party in the Philippines," the committee (led by such men as Antonio Regidor, Joaquin Pardo de Taveras, Ambrosio Rizal's Bautista, and Maximo Paterno) included secularization advocates in the clergy (Jose Burgos, Mariano Sevilla) and students (Felipe Buenaventura, Gregorio Santiago, Faciano Ritual). The reformadores were linked to liberals in Spain. Manuel Regidor's La Discusión, the Cuban intellectual Rafael Labra's El Correo de España, and former Philippine resident Federico de Llerena's El Eco Filipino propagandized for such causes as secularized parishes, a liberalized school system, and representation in the Cortes. Copies of these papers were surreptitiously distributed in Manila through such reformadores as Burgos, who was in communication with Regidor and Llerena, and Jose Basa, Llerena's brother-in-law. The students Buenaventura, Sancianco, and Faciano Ritual, helped disperse the papers by concealing copies in bundles of grass and posing as zacates (peddlers of fodder). 121

For the first time, a reform movement emerged that cut across sectoral and racial lines. Two streams of liberalism intersected. One gravitated around Spanish and creole elements in the colony, espousing progressivist Enlightenment principles, often anti-clerical but "patriotic" in their adherence to a modern, reform-minded Spain. The other was a "native" stream of indigenes and Chinese mestizos who shared the reformist principles of progressive Spaniards but were more inward-oriented in their aspirations. It was a wider, more coherent movement than the political actions of 1813–1822, and while it remained assimilationist in its aims it was anchored on a more widely shared, if still inchoate sense of "national" community.

Expectations ran high. De la Torre set up commissions to propose reforms in the colony. In 1870, Overseas Minister Segismundo Moret issued decrees aimed at secularizing Philippine education. Santo Tomas was to be renamed Universidad de Filipinas and placed under state supervision, and the principal secondary schools (Ateneo, San Jose, and Letran) were to be merged as one body called Instituto Filipino. In late 1869, anonymous anti-friar leaflets (pasqua) appeared on the campus of Santo Tomas as a group called Juventud Escolar Liberal criticized anti-clerical methods and called for the use of Spanish instead of Latin as medium of instruction. The disturbance caused the imprisonment of student leader Felipe Buenaventura and the arrest of others, including parents of students. 122

The fall of the Moret ministry and replacement of de la Torre as governor in 1871 unleashed the forces of reaction. The new governor, Rafael Izquierdo, reversed the liberal initiatives of his predecessor and clamped down on the circulation of Spanish liberal papers.

On January 20, 1872, a mutiny of soldiers and workers in the arsenal of Cavite, over what appears to be war-related grievances, was seized upon by the authorities as part of a vast revolutionary conspiracy. All kinds of rumors spread, including talk that two ships flying foreign flags were coming with smuggling arms. Reformers were portrayed as separatists and subjected to house searches, arrested, banished, or executed. The crackdown climaxed with the public garroting, on February 17, 1872, of the three priests, Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto
of Antonio and Juan Luna (the uncle; Andres Novicio, was named leader of the conspiracy). Buenacamino wrote that there were "more than 1,700" of them brought to Lingayen, Pangasinan, for detention.136 The colonial order had cracked and the momentum for change could not be stopped. As governor-general Izquierdo wrote to the Overseas Minister in 1872: "Today the Indiano are not what they once were."137 The generation of 1872 did not only remain active in the years that followed, they sired a new crop of leaders in a remarkable pattern of succession. The connections are multistranded. Rital, Paterno, Pardo, and M.H. del Pilar had parents and elders who were involved in the events of 1872. Rital remarked on this fact of intellectual descent when he said in 1889: "Without 1872 there would not now be a Plaridel, a Jaena, a Sancianco, nor would the brave and generous Filipino colonies exist in Europe." He warned: "Before the catastrophe of 1872 there were fewer thinkers, fewer anti-friars. They sacrificed innocent victims and now you have the youth, women, girls, embracing the same cause. Let the hecatomb be repeated and the executioners shall have sealed their own sentence."138

UNTIL 1872, reformist activities were creole-led, class-based, assimilationist, and opportunistic. A deeper drama was played out in the folk and popular uprisings that made of the Spanish era a state of almost permanent insurrection. These were, however, localized revolts that, at best, aimed at creating ethnic kingdoms rather than a modern nation. In spite of such intriguing signs as the Pule revolt and Camerino episode, folk rebellion and urban reformism were parallel rather than interconnected phenomena.

After 1872, a "national" movement began to emerge. The change is shown in the career of Marcelo H. del Pilar (1850–1896). In 1872, del Pilar was a law student in Santo Tomas though he does not seem to have taken part in Juventud Escolar Liberal. He entered Santo Tomas in 1866 after his secondary studies at San Juan de Letran; earned a bachelor's degree in 1871 and enrolled in Law in the same year. Though little is known of his activities he lived close to the events. Born in Bulacan to a family with roots in old Tagalog nobility, del Pilar was of the native literati; his father Julian was a grammarian-poet and thrice-gobernadorcillo of Bulacan and his uncle Alejo (for whom Marcelo worked as estudiante in
Quiapo) was a noted avant-writer. His elder brother Toribio was a priest associated with Burgos in the secularization campaign and one of those deported to the Marianas in 1872. At Letran, his teacher was Mamoño Natividad, a member of Comité de Reformadores. In Manila, Marcelo reportedly lived with Fr. Mariano Sevilla, another Burgos associate and Marianas deportado. On February 16, 1871, Burgos himself, in one of his last official acts as member of the Santo Tomas faculty, presided over the examination Marcelo took to earn his bachelor's degree. 29 Mariano Ponce related that as a high school student, he was already one of those who gathered around del Pilar to listen to his political ideas. It is said that del Pilar participated in meetings of the reformadores although he escaped notice and prosecution in the aftermath of the Cavite Mutiny. The events of 1872 left del Pilar shaken. He skipped school through much of 1872-1876 and, sometime in this period, spent thirty days in jail after he engaged a priest in a quartel over arbitrary church fees.

He, however, resumed his studies and earned his licentiate in law in 1881. Theoulpistas ushered in a new phase in the reform movement. More young Filipinos left the country for Europe where they pursued their studies and pushed the reform movement forward. Oppositional work remained alive in the colony. Much of this took place outside public notice and has not been closely looked at but we have clues from del Pilar's activities. In 1882, the Tagalog-Spanish Diario tagalog was founded, ostensibly by punitular official Francisco Calvo but it was actually run by del Pilar with the help of Basilio Teodoro, a member of Juventud Escuelar Liberal. The paper lasted less than a year but among the items it published was "El Amor Patrio" (August 20, 1882), contributed by Rizal, newly arrived in Spain, indicating transoceanic contact among a new generation of reformers. Addressed to Filipinos, with the events of 1872 lurking in its subtext, the article affirms amor patrio, "the most heroic and sublime of all loves," as one to which one can dedicate one's life and death. Vivid in its invocation of the "tenacious ghost of home, it is less so in its final statement about how amor patrio now calls not for violence or fanaticism but for the native son to follow "the arid but peaceful and productive paths of Science which lead to Progress." 30

For his part, del Pilar was already engaged in more daring tasks. A vigorous polemicist, he used all opportunities, like fiestas and funeral wakes, to spread liberal, anti-friar ideas. In Malolos, he ran the local cockpit where he propagated among those who frequented it. Using multiple connections (kinship, occupational, personal), he mobilized the entire Malolos principalia in asserting its rights over the town friar. By 1885, this group had grown strong enough to challenge the friar-cura for control of the town's affairs. Linked to Manila progresistas as well as reform-minded individuals in other parts of the province, they held clandestine meetings in private houses and the local town hall, coordinated protest actions, and circulated propaganda materials. As center of reformist activities, Malolos "was undoubtedly one of the best organized and effective in the entire archipelago." 31 Others helped prime the ground for another bold public challenge against the colonial authorities. As in 1869-1872, the opportunity was presented by the ascension in Spain of a new liberal regime that named the Mason Emilio Terrero as governor-general in 1883. The 1880s saw initiatives to strengthen the colonial state. These included the abolition of the tobacco monopoly in 1884, the introduction of a uniform system of personal taxation in 1885 (which abolished the racial and class distinctions of the old tribute system), and the extension to the colony of the Spanish Penal Code in 1887. The moves to strengthen the state, joined to anti-clerical sentiments in Spanish officialdom, created church-state conflicts over jurisdiction and, more importantly, opportunities for Filipinos to exploit the breach and openly advocate reforms. In 1887, the appointment of the Masons Jose Centeno and Benigno Quiroga as Manila civil governor and director of civil administration, respectively, sparked a year of clashes between civil and religious authorities.

As in 1869-1872, Spanish liberals in the peninsula contributed to the agitation. This time, however, Filipino expatriates played the primary role in the debate. A pioneering figure was Gregorio Sancianco (1851-1899). A Tagalog-Chinese mestizo, he was part of Juventud Escuelar Liberal in 1872 but escaped persecution when he left for Spain after the Cavite Mutiny. He earned a doctorate in civil and canon law in Spain and wrote Progreso de Filipinas (1881), a scholarly treatise on economic policies needed to stimulate progress in the Philippines. Addressed to the government and Filipino property owners, it is "assimilationism" in its position but at the same time an angry, well-reasoned rebuttal of the claimed inferiority of the indio, with Sancianco declaring himself "as native as those" who have been impugned by ignorant authors.
months of his return to the Philippines, he was imprisoned for alleged complicity in the Pangasinan "rebellion" of 1884. Released after several months, he served as judge in Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan, hounded by trouble until his death in Nueva Ecija on November 17, 1897, when revolutionary hostilities had begun in that province.163

The situation in Manila came to a boil when Rizal returned to the Philippines on August 5, 1887. Rizal had just published Noli me tangere (1887) which the church declared "heretical, anti-patriotic, and subversive" on August 30 and the Comision permanente de censura banned shortly after. The publication of Noli me tangere was a pivotal moment in Philippine intellectual history. John Schumacher writes: "Until 1887, the Filipinos had asailed the colonial administration and the predominance of the friars in the Philippines in a sporadic, unorganized, and more or less veiled manner.164 No work before it had so directly, fully, and effectively engaged colonial power in the country. It was radically seditive in form and had been written by a native in a manner that actualizes, in Europe's own discursive form, the capacity of the Filipino to comprehend, represent, and hence direct his own society.

Written in Spanish, published in a print run of 2,000 copies in Germany, stymied by distribution problems, banned and confiscated—not many in the Philippines read the novel in the year after it came out. In a generous estimate Leon Ma. Guerrero says that not more than a thousand copies may have reached Filipino readers in Rizal's lifetime.165 Yet, out of sight, people recognized its importance. What effect it had at the time of its appearance owes a lot to the fact that there was a readiness for it that goes back, at least, to 1872 and what happened in the colony in Rizal's absence. Manila was in a state of agitation when Rizal came home. Men like del Pilar worked under and above ground to spread liberal ideas. The secular-minded La Opinion (1887-1890)—before the editorship was taken over by Wenceslao Retana in 1889—tussled with pro-friar papers like La Espaha Oriental (1888-1889) and La Voz Española (1891-1893).

Fearing arrest, pressured by family and friends, Rizal left the country in February 1888. Days later, the popular demonstration of 1888 took place. On March 1, some 300 demonstrators marched through the streets of Manila to the office of governor Centeno and submitted to him for transmittal to the Crown a printedmanifest that petitioned Queen Regent Maria Cristina for the transfer of Archbishop Pedro Payo, suppression of the religious orders, and secularization of parishes. Written in impeccable Spanish, assuming the high-minded stance of reason and respect for the Crown, the manifesto blamed the friars for fostering instability by willfully manipulating the law and obstructing progress. Disclaiming any separatist aspiration, the petitioners accused the friars of treason for driving a wedge between the people and the Crown. Friars denigrated the native clergy, accusing them of "consecrating host made of rice flour," invoking Darwin to make them out to be descendants of the monkey. They denounced as subversive citizens who tried to bring the Enlightenment to the colony. "It is enough to be a man of science, of letters, or speak at least Spanish, to be considered a filibuster."166

The unprecedented anti-friar demonstration shook the authorities. Reaction was swift. Terrero's term, which expired in April, was not extended. Centeno was forced to resign and Quiroga stayed in office only a few months more. La Opinion was forced to close shop. Leading citizens were imprisoned and more were persecuted in the years that followed. The momentum for change could not be stopped. Though the 1888 demonstration focused on friar rule it signified a much wider base of discontent. It was more broadly based than the manifestation of 1872. The 810 manifesto signatories—indios and mestizos from districts in greater Manila—identified themselves as "proprietors, merchants, industrialists, lawyers, and residents." The leader was Donoteo Cortes, a Chinese-Filipino lawyer who had served as gobernadorcillo in Santa Cruz. Spanish authorities suspected that the real author of the manifesto was either del Pilar or the businessman-mason Jose Ramos. Loath to assign any credit to natives, Retana believed that Cortes was just an amanuense and the real author was Centeno. Examining the signatories, Retana debunked the manifesto by saying that 218 of the 810 signatories were fictitious, deceased, underaged, or did not know who they had signed, and that the rest (592) were "fodder cutters, scribes, laborers, fishermen, carpenters, tailors," 384 of whom "do not know Spanish."167 Yet, from the data he presents, Retana chose not to highlight the fact that 305 of the 592 signatories were past or present caballers de barangay and eighteen were or had been gobernadorcillos. While Retana was contemptuous of the social types represented, it is clear that the rural gentry and urban bourgeoisie of greater Manila were well represented.
The Manila petitioners expressed the grievances of Filipinos elsewhere in the country, as indicated in the case of Calamba and Malolos. In Calamba, the town governed by the Dominican owners of the hacienda, the largest in Laguna, over rent and ownership. This escalated after Rizal (whose family was one of the hacienda's biggest leaseholders) helped Calambeteños draw up a petition addressed to the government on January 8, 1888. In Malolos, the crackdown after the 1888 demonstration did not deter twenty young women of the local elite from boldly presenting to the new governor-general, Valeriano Weyler, visiting the town on December 12, 1888, a signed petition seeking permission to open a school where they could learn Spanish under a professor whom they themselves hire. While all seemed harmless (an article lauded them for aspiring to be model “Spanish women”), it was clearly meant to defy the wishes of the local friar and demonstrate the women—and “Filipino”—readiness to take their education into their own hands. Calamba and Malolos were punished for their show of autonomy. On September 6, 1890, troops entered Calamba and evicted about thirty families (including Rizal’s family); by the beginning of 1891 forty heads of families had been deported and 300 families left landless and destitute. On May 15, 1895, the governor-general deported to Mindanao the entire municipal council of Malolos, together with other prominent citizens, on the charge that they were engaged in Masonic activities.

Despite the reform movement’s setback in 1888, intellectuals were convinced that historical change was inevitable. A new power had accumulated and it was not a question of whether change would take place but who would stand at its head and shape it. T.H. Pardo de Tavera was sojourning in Manila as a government-sponsored scientist when the demonstration of 1888 took place. Disturbed by the events, a somber Pardo returned to Paris telling friends he was convinced the colony was headed for a revolution. Rizal wrote at the time: "There is no example whatever in history that says that a people in the process of enlightenment can be made to go backward." 153

THE SENSE that the future is ante is voiced by the old rural sage Taasio in Rizal’s Noli me tangere (1887). Taasio admitted to a friend that "the country today is no longer the same as it was twenty years ago." Though colonial education is mired in narrow scholasticism, young men have been stirred by new ideas. No longer will you find, he said, "the metaphysical youth of our own times, with pretentious learning, who, with brains tortured, died philosophizing in some provincial nook without beginning to understand the attributes of being, without resolving the matter of essence and existence, pretentious concepts which have made us forget what is essential, our own existence and proper self." "Look at the child of today: full of enthusiasm at the sight of broader horizons, he studies History, Mathematics, Geography, Physics, Literature, Physical Sciences, Languages—all subjects which we in our own time listened to with horror as if they were heresies."

Choke Progress, the potent offspring of Time and Action? When was Progress ever choked? Dogma, the galloway and the bonfires, in trying to stifle it, pushed it. "E pur si muove; nevertheless it moves," said Galileo when the Dominicans obliged him to declare the earth did not move; the same phrase can be applied to human progress. Some wills may suffer violence, some individuals may be sacrificed, but it does not matter: Progress will follow its course and from the blood of those who fall now, vigorous shoots will sprout. 154

No decade in Philippine intellectual history has been as productive and consequential as the 1880s. This period saw the appearance of Rizal’s novels, Noli me tangere (1887) and El Filibusterismo (1891), and his critical edition of Morga’s Sueño de las Islas Filipinas (1890); the books of Paterno, Pardo de Tavera, and de los Reyes; del Pilar’s La Soberanía Monacal en Filipinas (1889) and La Fratilización Filipina (1889), Lopez Jaena’s Discurso y Artículo Varios (1891), and an important mass of periodical and ephemeral literature. In 1889, Filipinos launched, in the center of the empire, that remarkable document of anti-colonial literature, La Solidaridad (1889–1895). As Rizal declared in 1884, speaking at the banquet honoring the artists Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo in Madrid: "The patriarchal era in the Philippines is waning . . . . The Oriental chrysalis is leaving the cocoon." 155

Though connected by a sense of a shared undertaking, intellectuals pursued their work independently of each other. It was Rizal who had the clearest sense that they constituted a distinct and strategic forma-
tion, defined not by ethnicity, race, or class but a "nationality" standing in opposition to imperial power.

Rizal saw the importance of a national discourse and repeatedly urged Filipinos to "buy books by Filipinos; mention now and then names of Filipinos like [Pedro] Pelaes, [Vicente] García, [Jose] Burgos, Graciano {Lopez Jaena), etc.; quote their phrases." He told Mariano Ponce: "Try in every number [of Solidaridad] to speak of some ancient or modern Filipino, and to cite their works . . . . Cite Filipil, Pelaes, Burgos, etc., etc." Commending M.H. del Pilar for his articles, he reminded del Pilar that "only when you cite the names of Filipinos you have forgotten much more deserving ones, such as Pelaes, Burgos, García, Jugo, etc." Thanking Filipino priest Vicente García for his defense of Noli me tangere, he wrote: "We have had very great intellects, we have had a Pinpin, a Dr. Pelaes, a Father Pelaes, a Father Mariano García, a Dr. Joxon [pharmacist Feliciano Jocon], etc. "We have to bring forward our first ranks," Rizal repeatedly insisted. He felt that Filipinos may be better known. Reconstructing the earliest examples of local intellectual accomplishments, Rizal even invoked the obscure, seventeenth-century Marcelo Banal as a "great organist, choirmaster" who composed many choral books.115 While Rizal had his preferences, he imagined an inclusive formation that harked back to Pinpin and Pelaes and included creoles, mestizos, and indios, and a mix of professions and vocations.

What Rizal wished to make visible was a formation of Filipino intellectuals stakes out their claim over knowledge and its enabling power, exercising intellectual authority over their country. In 1884, Rizal already proposed that members of Circolo Hispano-Filipino in Spain collaborate to produce a collection of essays on the Philippines. He dreamed of being a professor in the home country where he "would stimulate these Philippine studies which are like the nubes de quorum [know thyself] that gives the true concept of one's self and drives nations to do great things."114 And in 1889 he took the bold, unprecedented step of initiating Asociación Internacional de Filipinos. Its aim, as drafted by Rizal, was to gather Filipino and non-Filipino scholars "to study the Philippines from the historic and scientific point of view" through such projects as conferences, competitions, and the establishment of a Philippine library and museum. He proposed an international roster of officers, with the Austrian Ferdinand Blumenrütte as president, Frenchman

Edmund Piauchut as vice-president, and Anglo-German Reinhold Roat, Filipino-Spanish Antonio Regidoro, German Adolf Meyer, and Dutch J.G.F. Riedel, as counselors. Rizal (calling himself malayo-tagalo) offered to serve as secretary.

It was planned to have the first "international congress" on the Philippines in Paris to coincide with the Paris International Exposition in August 1889. For this purpose, Rizal drew up a program that covered a wide range of historical and ethnological topics. The core was history, with Rizal dividing Philippine history into three broad periods: the precolonial era, the period from 1521 to "the loss of Philippine autonomy and her incorporation in the Spanish nation" in 1808 (referring to the first time the Philippines was granted representation in the Spanish Cortes), and the period from 1808 to the Cavite Mutiny in 1872.115 The conference (and the association) did not push through due to logistical and other reasons but it is clear what Rizal was about. He wanted to create a "voice or authority" apart from the colonial power (as he indicated in the preface to Morga's Sucese, which he published at this time). He recognized the contributions of foreign scholars in this endeavor but repeatedly stressed that Filipinos themselves, mainly and ultimately, had to assume authority over their own country. Addressing Filipinos in Barcelona in 1889, he said: "It is necessary that you study the questions that concern our country. Knowledge of a thing prepares for its mastery: knowledge is power. We are the only ones who can acquire a perfect knowledge of our country because we know both languages [the Spanish and the local] and besides we are informed of the secrets of the people among whom we had been raised."116

It was M.H. del Pilar who gave Rizal's vision a political organization. On October 31, 1888, fearing arrest, del Pilar hurriedly left for Spain. Before he left he made plans to continue the struggle. As early as 1885, del Pilar, with his associate Mariano Ponce, had formed a group with a religious name, Caja de Jesús, Maria y Jose, purportedly to raise money to support bright but indigent students. Whether this was indeed what it was about, it was quickly transformed, on the eve of del Pilar's flight, into what was called La Propaganda or Comitè de Propaganda, which aimed to finance and distribute liberal, anti-fras propaganda. Principal members were Doroteo Cortes (lawyer), Deodoro Arellano (army army clerk), Numeriano Adriano (clerk and notary).
Timoteo Paz (shipping clerk), Pedro Serrano (teacher), Mariano Crisostomo (lawyer), Mamerto Natividad (lawyer), Ambrosio Rizalles Bautista (lawyer), Basilio Teodoro (journalist), and Jose Ramos (businessman). 157

An examination of the lives of these men shows how people were mobilized and ideas circulated in the colony. Natividad was del Pilar's teacher in Letran and, with Rizalles Bautista, a member of the 1872 Comite de Reformadores. Teodoro was from Malolos, a member of Juventud Escuela Liberal in 1872 and del Pilar's associate in Diariiong Tagalog. Adriano met del Pilar while he was working as a clerk of court; he had his notarial office in a building that may have been owned by Cortes. As clerk of court, Adriano's assistant was Apolinario Mabini who would later emerge as the principal ideologue of the revolution. Crisostomo, another clerk of court, was del Pilar's nephew and apprenticed in his law office. Arellano was del Pilar's brother-in-law and had as a helper in distributing propaganda materials the young Gregorio del Pilar, Marcelo's nephew, who would become a revolutionary general. Serrano came from the same Bulacan village as Marcelo. These men participated in the anti-friar demonstration of 1888, joined Masonic lodges, and were variously involved in the Liga Filipina organized by Rizal in 1892, the Katipunan founded in 1892, the Cuerpo de Compromisarios formed in 1894, and the revolution that broke out in 1896. There were tensions as these groups evolved and shifted, but there was remarkable consistency in the personalities and social types involved.

Del Pilar envisioned staying in Spain for a few years to organize the campaign for reforms there and then return to continue the struggle in the Philippines. He already had his "advance party" in Spain in fellow Bulaqueño Mariano Ponce to whom he had been sending articles for publication in Spanish newspapers. (Ponce studied at Letran and Santo Tomas before he left in June 1887 for Spain where he earned a medical degree at Universidad Central de Madrid.) Even while in transit to Spain del Pilar furiously worked on propaganda materials addressed to people at home. These were printed in Barcelona when he arrived in early January 1889 and copies sent to the Philippines for distribution. The same or similar materials were also printed in Hong Kong and smuggled to the Philippines. Transiting in Hong Kong, del Pilar had conferred with Jose Basa, a Marianas deportado who had established residence in the British colony where he acted as key overseas link in Filipino propaganda activities.

These materials included del Pilar's Dasalang at Tocohan (1888), Paasyong Dapat Ipag-aliw nang Puso nang Tawong Bahasa sa Kalipunan nang Fraile (1888), Sagot nang España sa Hikik nang Filipinas (1889), and Avance de los Derechos Parroquiales (1889). These works signified a distinct aspect of nationalist writing. Del Pilar wrote in Tagalog and addressed Filipinos in a manner the likes of Rizal, Paterno, and Pareno did not. He carried folk genres (dulce, dalok) and colonial religious forms (catecismo, pasyon) beyond what Balanzas and de la Merced attempted with these genres by deploying them for overtly political ends. Mining familial sentiments and indigenous antiphonal poetry in Sagot nang España sa Hikik nang Filipinas, del Pilar expresses political ideas hitherto unheard in this type of poetry. Similarly, he appropriates the pasyon in Paasyong Dapat Ipag-aliw nang Puso and the catechism in Dasalang at Tocohan as vehicles of anti-clerical propaganda. A provocateur with a feel for the public nerve, he even translated to Tagalog the official Church schedule of stolen fees for services like baptisms and funerals, Avance de los Derechos Parroquiales, to stoke public indignation over commercialized religion. Printed as small-size libros (like Catholic novenas), or circulated in oral and manuscript form, del Pilar's verses break away from the formal refinement and lachrymose mode of "learned" Tagalog poetry. Epifanio de los Santos writes of del Pilar's poems:

[The surge Tagalog literature of a literary mannerism of long standing, invigorating it with purely popular elements, indigenous to the soil, and endowing it with harmony, number, and measure characteristic of the Tagalog tongue, to the extent that the acidity and mondanity of the tosquish sentences convert the very dung into earth from which springs the beautiful camamitique.]

Del Pilar's writings tapped into a living tradition. Teodoro A. González writes: "Rizal spoke from the pulpit; del Pilar spoke in the cockpit."

Locating the works of del Pilar in a stream of Tagalog poetry that goes back to Balanzas, Epifanio de los Santos writes that the "revolutionary pamphlets and catechisms" of the period 1888–1895 "added greater lustre to the glory of the rich Tagalog tongue and the essays of that
epoch seemed to Rizal himself models of Tagalog satire and grace; in fact, the language was created and established in this sense. This literary underground has not been adequately studied. The patriotic poetry and revolutionary songs that have been preserved from the 1890s and 1900s indicate that popular intellectuals, now mostly anonymous, were active even at an earlier period.

Del Pilar's presence in Spain was a catalyst in the advance of the propaganda movement. Filipinos in Spain were active in cultural and political propaganda since 1880 but their activities were individual and sporadic. Attempts were made in coordinating these activities, as in the formation of Circulo Hispano-Filipino in 1882 under the leadership of Juan Atya; Rizal's aborted project in 1884 to get the expatriates to publish a collective work to make the Philippines better known to the world; and the launching in Madrid of the newspaper España en Filipinas on March 7, 1887. These did not gain much headway. Circulo Hispano-Filipino was "little more than a social club" and its Revista del Circulo Hispano-Filipino (1882) lasted less than a year. España en Filipinas collapsed in a matter of months. Leadership was a problem. Rizal was too focused on his own work to be an organizer. Graciano Lopez Jaena, one of the most politically active Filipinos in Spain, was notoriously unreliable. Pardo stayed at the margins of the movement and Paterno was in a world of his own.

The founding of La Solidaridad (1889—1895) was a turning point. It provided Filipinos a medium for expressing their collective aspirations and the symbol of a "movement," with what this implies of numbers and a shared identity, form, and purpose. Declaring its commitment to democracy and progress, Solidaridad aimed to air liberal ideas in politics, science, arts, commerce, and other fields in so far as these concerned Spanish "overseas provinces" (Cuba, Puerto Rico) and, in particular, the Philippines. Its international outlook is shown in its articles on European and Latin American politics. It lists correspondents in places like Havana, New York, and Saigon. Mainly addressing the colonial power, Spain, it was a major vehicle of Filipino ilustrado thought.

Mariano Ponce had a key role in preparing the ground for the paper. He was in communication with del Pilar and other reformers in Manila on plans to either revive España en Filipinas (which ceased publication on July 7, 1887) or start a new paper. He was involved in organizing the Filipino association in Barcelona called La Solidaridad on January 1, 1889, apparently an effort to mobilize support for the new paper. Del Pilar's arrival in Barcelona in January hastened the appearance of the paper on February 15, 1889 with Lopez Jaena as editor and Ponce as business manager. With Ponce, del Pilar played the main role in sustaining the paper, writing for it, soliciting contributions, and drumming up financial support in Spain and the Philippines. When the paper moved from Barcelona to Madrid in November 1889, he took over as editor.

Solidaridad was envisioned as part of a multi-pronged program of political action that included Asociacion Hispano-Filipina, founded on January 12, 1889, as forum for building alliances with progressive Spanish intellectuals and politicians, and the Comite de Propaganda in Manila. Masonic lodges played a supportive role as nodes of recruitment, training, and communication. They cultivated alliances with Spanish Masons in the metropolis, contributed money to propaganda work, and served as distributing points for propaganda materials. Del Pilar and Ponce were at the core of these activities: they represented the Manila Comite, ran Solidaridad, staffed Asociacion Hispano-Filipina, and were active Masons.

Comite may have been responsible for the large number of anti-friar broadsheets or proclamas that circulated in Manila and neighboring provinces in the 1880s. Materials smuggled in from Spain were shipped via Singapore or Hong Kong to a Chinese house on Plaza Jolo in Manila and distributed from there. Another distributing center was "La Gran Bretanya" bazaar in Intramuros owned by Comite member Jose Ramos, a London-educated Mason. Ramos, who owned a printing press, wrote and printed anonymous anti-friar broadsheets that were secretly distributed on the streets or left at doors of houses. He is said to have been involved as well in Pascual Poblador's El Resumen (1890—1892), a paper with "nationalist" tendencies, and Amigo del Pueblo (1893), a paper Spaniards mocked as "El Petit Mann." Reference is made to issues of Solidaridad being reprinted in an imprentilla clandestina in Nueva Ecija. Isidoro de los Reyes himself was tagged around 1890 as the author of anonymous, pro-reform handbills that provoked the anti-indio Camilo Millan, La España Oriental editor, to launch vicious attacks against natives.

It appears that Comite did not extend too far beyond greater Manila and provincial centers like Malolos. As in 1813—1823, 1868—1872, and 1885—1888, reformist activities remained bourgeois in composi-
tion and aims. What is remarkable nevertheless is the extent to which the various strands of earlier reformist activities came together in a relatively coordinated and self-consciously Filipino political movement. Earlier activities had either been issue-oriented (the rights of the native clergy) or race-based (creole patriotism). But with what is properly called the "Propaganda Movement"—which, if one must mark a beginning, began with the formation of the Comité de Propaganda in 1888—domestic racial categories (indio, mestizo, creole) were subsumed under the identity of Filipino and various issues encompassed by the goal of emancipation (which if expressed in "autonomist" terms was one that opened out to other possibilities).

THE CONTEST over authority is shown in the Spanish reaction to Filipino dissent. Examples are the anonymously published Filipinas ante la razón (1874) and Franciscan Miguel Lucio's didactic novel Si Tandang Basio Macauut (1885), both of which pretended to convey the views of enlightened and "patriotic" indios. Written in response to the clamor for better education, Tandang Basio Macauut attacked natives for seeking an education not proper to their race and status. Authored by the Augustinian Castimiro Herrezo, Filipinas ante la razón was even more vituperative. It deploys a fictional indigene called "Capitán Juan" who visits Manila in 1871 and is distressed by unrest in the capital over issues of "liberty, equality and individual rights." Concerned that this threatened the benefits Spain brought to the islands, he writes a treatise on the "true" meanings of liberty, equality and fraternity; attacks the "monstrous" distortion of these ideas by Lutheranism, evolutionism, socialism, and the French Revolution; and defends the legitimacy of Spanish domination. In a catechism-style primer ("Catecismo racional y social para la utilidad de los indios"), the book characterizes what Filipinos amounted to without Spain: indigenous religion was "an ensemble of ridiculous superstitions," indigenous government was "absolutist and tyrannical," what the precolonial Filipinos had of culture, wealth, and liberty was "what the Manobos of Mindanao and the hilfolk of the Caraballo have today," that Filipinos have advanced only because of "the mercy of God and the coming of the Spaniards."103

Comisión permanente de enseñanza (the same body that censored Cervantes) judged Filipinas ante la razón "excellent" and earnestly rec-

ommended its circulation. Thousands of copies were to be distributed "freely and profusely" but the authorities came to their senses and restricted the book's circulation to the religious communities, fearing it would inflame Filipinos.104

A basic theme in the attack against natives was the racist denigration of their mental and moral abilities. Natives are biologically deficient in the abstract and philosophical forms of knowledge, it was argued. They are adept only in mimetic, mechanical skills and hence make fine clerks, bookkeepers, musicians, embroiders, and cobblers. "They are capable of imitating the most curious works but they can invent nothing, for they lack imagination and fancy, and are very obscure in the abstract sciences because they lack understanding." Thus, an Augustinian questions the investments being made in higher education, asking: "How many scientific notabilities have resulted from the natives up to the present from the university clergion? How many Indian theologues, canons, philosophers, moralists [have graduated] from the conciliar seminaries? Not one, he replies, except for some mediocre canon, lawyer, pharmacist, or physician. "What does this signify," he concludes, "if not that the deficiency exists in the race, and not in the professors or in the books." Raising the race issue even more pointedly, he says that if the native does attain some intellectual distinction it is because he is a mestizo and "it must be because another blood inoculates in his own blood the divine breath of wisdom" that he "advances somewhat when the cross whitens his olive-colored face, has lowered his prominent cheekbones, and elevated his flat nose a trifle."105

It was in this context that Filipino reformists were typically named in the derisive diminutive as petisquillos, ilustradillos, abogadillos, or meriquestes. Spaniards blamed native resistance on deficiency, misguided, and warped native minds. Education has produced filipinos, "no more than ignorant and presuming fellows, pertinacious, intriguing," who, arrogant in their shallow learning, have turned towns into "a workshop of intrigue, and give a numerous contingent to the [Masonic] lodges and to separatism."106

A siege mentality infected the religious corporations. A Dominican warned: "Liberalism is invading us. Secularization is approaching with gigantic steps." The Santo Tomas rector reportedly declared that "medicine and the natural sciences are materialistic and impious studies," and
when a Filipino student proposed a thesis on economic reasoning he was warned that political economy was a "science of the devil."[10] The religious orders, however, responded to counter-charges of authority at the level of institutional change and scholarly discourse and not just extramural propaganda. A confidential report for the Dominican Provincial Chapter of 1886 urged the adoption of the "accidental variations of the century" to offset the challenge of secularization. It recommended, among others, that Santo Tomas offer courses of higher mathematics, upgrade its library and laboratories, hire better trained science professors, and publish a scientific-literary journal for studies in medicine, pharmacy, law and literature. Long tied to a medieval curriculum of philosophy, theology, and canon law, Santo Tomas expanded to include faculties of Medicine and Pharmacy (1871), Notary Public (1878), Philosophy and Letters (1896), and Sciences (1896). It also opened schools for midwives (maternas) and medical aides (practicantes) in 1877 and 1879, respectively.[11]

The contentious mood of the times is indicated in the lectures that opened the academic year at Santo Tomas. Themes of harmonizing science and religion, the dangers of positivism, and the role of Thomism as answer to the errors of the age run through these discourses. Started in 1866, these discursos de apertua featured Dominican professors (it was not until 1907 that the series began to have lay speakers) and took the character of Catholic apologetics against the threat of philosophers like rationalism, utilitarianism, and materialism.[12] Examples are the lectures by Manuel Puebla ("Catholic instruction is the only sure and easy way for scientific progress in all its forms," 1872), Jose Garcia Navacerrada ("The great advantage of Christian principles over rationalist principles concerning the fundamental problems of philosophical science," 1879), Evastico Fernandez Arias ("The doctrine of positivism is absurd and anti-scientific because its principles contradict sound reason and deny the sources of all science," 1885), and Gabriel Martin Tembleque ("Theology is the only science that offers a firm and sure solution to the great philosophical and social problems," 1893). In the 1901 lecture, professor Florencio Llanos, reporting on a scientific conference in Cambridge, said that the discovery in 1891 of the Pithecanthropus erectus ("Java man") by Dutch physician Eugene Dubois has not proved the theory of human evolution. Llanos praised modern science while (an unfriendly observer writes)

"wiping Darwin, Haeckel, and other such men off the slate with quotations from the Bible and the saints of the church."[13]

These were skirmishes in the wider battle the Catholic Church waged against a European Enlightenment that, particularly in the work of the French Encyclopedists, took a decidedly anti-Catholic cast. Catholic apologists confronted intellectual trends that exalted the powers of science and reason and rejected the traditions of truth represented by the Church. Pope Gregory XVI rejected Liberalism in 1832; Pius IX's Syllabus condemned all errors arising from Enlightenment philosophies; and in 1870 Vatican Council I censured rationalism, pantheism, and naturalism. To establish a philosophical basis for defending the order on which the Church was built, the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas was revived and promoted under the name Neo-Scholasticism or Neo-Thomism. Far from being a closed, medieval system, it was argued, Catholicism was a tradition of thought capable of renewing itself and assimilating modern science.

It is not surprising that Dominican-owned Santo Tomas, in far-flung Manila, saw itself locked in a mighty ideological struggle. The Dominical Order was founded to combat heretics and Aquinas was a Dominican. A Dominican at Santo Tomas, Ceferino Gonzalez (1831-1894), who was in the Philippines in 1849-1866 and had Jose Burgos, Mariano Sevilla, and Toribio del Pilar among his students, would in fact become a leading light in Thomistic philosophy in Europe.[14]

Santo Tomas and other religious schools were buffered by anti-friar policies from the peninsula and unrest within the colony. There was frenzied lobbying on both sides in Spain (the Filipinos and their Liberal allies and the Dominicans and religious orders) on secularizing the university, teaching Spanish, and other reforms. Writing in Solidaridad in 1889, Santo Tomas graduate Jose Panganiban criticized the university's medievalism. Elsewhere in the world, Panganiban wrote, "the principle of freedom of scientific inquiry" has been accepted but Santo Tomas "continues to require candidates for degrees to take the oath, kneeling down, to defend and to remain loyal to Thomistic dogmatism; thus it keeps science chained to the immobility of dogmatism forever." To expect radical reform in Philippine education, he drily concluded, is tantamount to a "meditation on death."[15] The sharpest remark was Rizal's, who wrote in Noli me tangere that Dominican scholastic philosophy was "now dead
for all that Pope Leo XIII may say or do. "There is no Pope who can resurrect what common sense has executed," Rizal acknowledged that the religious corporations had done great work in science but asserted that "science is not progress itself, but only its material components." "It is only the acceptance of its principles which actually constitutes progress."

John Schumacher points out that for all its defects "Philippine higher education was not far behind, or, under certain respects, was even superior to the general level of higher education in Spain, at least outside Madrid." Schumacher argues that "against their explicit desire" colonial educational institutions contributed to the awakening of Filipino national consciousness. Colonial schools bred not just docile colonials and tidy scholars but freethinkers and rebels. Filipino nationalists were not themselves above falsehood and exaggeration nor were they completely free of the intellectual biases of the Spaniards they criticized. Graciano Lopez Jaena and M.H. del Pilar were often distinguishable in their attacks on the friars. The style of nineteenth-century Spanish polemics occasioned rhetorical excess, and one should not in all instances demand from victims disinterested analysis and literary polish. Rizal raised this argument when, responding to Spanish academic Vicente Barrancon's criticism of No sé me tango, he said (with some false modesty), "if it is not the comic, nickel-plated, and polished bullet that an academic can shoot but only a rough pebble picked from the brook, on the other hand it has hit the mark, hitting on the head that double-faced Goliath that in the Philippines is called friarismo and bad government."

There is, however, little excuse for bad faith. This is shown in the case of Graciano Lopez Jaena (1856-1896). Lopez Jaena was an effective polemicist for Philippine causes because of his oratorical and debating talent (of his writings it was said that they were like speeches, they "gesticulates"). He was, however, a politician on the make. Declaring himself "a Spaniard by sentiment, a Spaniard by conviction," he was intent on a career in Spain, addressed a Spanish audience, pandered to liberal, anti-friar sentiments in the metropolis, and advocated colonial reforms as a Spanish republican rather than a Filipino nationalist. He was Paterno's twin except that Paterno, with his wealth, could craft for himself the Olympian image of a Spanish grandee; Lopez Jaena, the penurious college dropout, had to work the fringe of Spanish intellectual life and in the end could not quite parlay his literary gifts for a career in Barcelona politics."

LA PROPAGANDA unraveled as a political network after 1892. Men like Lopez Jaena and Antonio Luna espoused del Pilar's leadership and Rizal succumbed. The purported Rizal-del Pilar rivalry highlighted problems over money and personalities within the Manila Comite itself. Aggravated by financial difficulties, personal and factional differences splintered the movement in Madrid and Manila. Many felt that Solidaridad's campaign for reforms was futile and the time for talk was done. Hounded by a sense of futility, Rizal surprised many with his dashing move to accelerate the reform campaign by bringing it back to the Philippines. In a letter to Filipinos in Barcelona in October 1891, he wrote in Tagalog: Ang gamot ay dapat ilagis sa may sabit... Ang parang na pagdalahehan ay ang Filipino, doon tayo dapat nagtakgawa ("The medicine should be brought close to the patient. The field of struggle is the Philippines; there is where we should meet"). His return was a pivotal moment. A week after he arrived in Manila on June 26, 1892, he founded Liga Filipina in a meeting in the district of Tondo. Under the motto Unus initiat omnium ("One like all"), Liga aimed to unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous, and homogeneous body, foster mutual protection against violence and injustice, encourage instruction, agriculture, and commerce, pursue reforms, and organize "popular councils" in all provinces. It was nothing less than an attempt at forming what amounted to a national political party. It triggered a series of highly consequential events.

Four days after Liga was founded, Rizal was arrested, jailed at Fort Santiago, and sent to the isolated Spanish outpost of Dapitan in Mindanao for an exile that would last four years. Dissolved after Rizal's arrest, Liga was revived in October 1893 but, divided over methods, latticed only until mid-1894 when it was reduced to a 50-man Cuerpo de Compromisarios, a group pledged to raise money to continue Solidaridad's work in Spain. Cuerpo effectively replaced the dormant Comite. In May 1895, Apolinario Mabini, Cuerpo's secretary, wrote to del Pilar asking that shipment of Solidaridad be suspended. A shipment of the paper had been seized; there was ominous talk that "governmental action is under
way; and in Malolos the town's leading citizens had just been arrested for deportation to Mindanao. Mabini wrote, "these are unusual days; although one cannot be sure if they are an omen of a cataclysm or a simple change in atmospheric equilibrium." In August, Mabini wrote del Pilar saying that the decision had been reached to stop the publication of Solidaridad. Intimating that the mood had turned insurrectionary, Mabini wrote that many people have lost hope in the paper and "have transferred it [hope] wholly to another direction."131 (Within a few years Mabini himself would change direction and become the leading theoretician of the Philippine Republic.)

Solidaridad folded up with its issue of November 14, 1895. Del Pilar and Ponce were informed that a meeting would take place in Hong Kong to discuss plans (including Solidaridad's possible revival somewhere outside Spanish jurisdiction). To escape persecution at home and solicit Japanese assistance for the movement, Jose Ramos was already in Japan in August 1895 and was joined there by Doroteo Cortes in May 1896.132 Del Pilar and Ponce were preparing to leave Barcelona for Hong Kong when del Pilar was taken ill. He died in Barcelona on July 4, 1896.

What Mabini meant by "another direction" was the Katipunan. On the night Rizal was arrested, July 7, 1892, Andres Bonifacio, a member of Liga, and others founded Kataantaan Kagaling-galing na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (Highest and Most Respectable Society of the Sons of the People), a secret revolutionary society committed to uniting Filipinos to wage a revolution for Philippine independence. The society did not seem to have been very active until the breakup of the Liga in mid-1894 forced a final split in the movement. In 1894 the Katipunan purchased an old handpress for 650 pesos from a Manila bazaar and fitted it out with type bought from Isabelo de los Reyes and stolen from the shop of Diario de Manila by employees who were Katipunan members. With the press, the Katipunan issued its organ Kalyeana in January 1896 (with a claimed circulation of 1,000) and tried to mislead authorities with a masthead saying it was printed in Yokohama with M.H. del Pilar as editor. Within a year, membership in the Katipunan was estimated at 20,000.

Andres Bonifacio (1863–1897) has been variously described as a vendor of cane and paper fans, warehouseman, and agent or employee of English and German trading firms. His associate Emilio Jacinto (1875–1899), the son of a poor bookkeeper, briefly studied at Sanco Tomas. Though they did not have the education of the likes of Rizal and Paterno, neither were they of the "unlettered folk." They were part of that segment of clerks, artisans, students, and petty merchants who formed the backbone of the first organized groups of Filipino reformers. Their inter-connection in society invested them with entry to both "outside" and "inside" but Katipunan, unlike the reformist associations, was dedicated to addressing the masses (las masas). Isabelo de los Reyes spoke of it as a "plebeian society": "the people speak little and perhaps think little, and I wish to say, perhaps without the artificial complication of a cultivated intelligence, but the little they think is intense, forms their second nature, and that which they believe is their faith is fanaticism in them and works miracles, moves mountains, creates new worlds and other prodigies."133

Later historians would claim an Enlightenment lineage for Bonifacio by suggesting that he read Victor Hugo, Eugene Sue, and works on the French Revolution and U.S. history. Moved by the impulse to "intellectualize" the revolution, the earliest portraits of Bonifacio draw attention to his literateness. These range from the repeated mention of the Katipunan library to Francis St. Clair's disparaging remark that Bonifacio was "a great reader" who, like Don Quixote, "past many a night burning away oil and candles, sacrificing needed sleep in reading, until his brain was turned and his whole mind given up to ideas of revolution."134

Others see Bonifacio in indigenous tradition. It may be closer to the available evidence to locate him in an intermediate cultural zone. Raised in colonial-urban Tondo in a milieu of sailors, artists, merchants, and lower-order bureaucrats, he was the type of person involved in the manifestation of 1888 and addressed by del Pilar's Talaog propaganda and the anonymous broadsides and paquimades of the 1880s. Indeed, the very same that the pagsanyn was not pure indigeneity, the revolutionary poetry and manifestoes attributed to Bonifacio and Jacinto appropriated Spanish-colonial forms (castilla, pagsanyn). Masonic themes, and ilustrado interpretations of history. It is likely, for instance, that such symbols and practices as the pacto de sangre and bayahén may have entered into the Katipunan through the mediation of ilustrado texts rather than directly from folk tradition. What is important of course is that they infused
these forms and symbols with a revolutionary semantic content and affective power.¹⁰³

The discovery of the Katipunan by the authorities on August 19, 1896, precipitated the start of the insurrection. Hostilities quickly spread such that, on August 30, the governor-general declared a state of war in eight Luzon provinces (Manila, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, and Tarlac). Rizal’s execution on December 30, 1896, further inflamed the colony.

For Filipinos, revolution was not just a crash course in warfare, it was a school of learning. The forms of writing and composition corresponded to the exigencies of the time: proclamations, manifestos, improvisatory theater, verses, and songs. The literature produced was not just war propaganda but texts that aimed to constitute a nation. The revolution (as in France) gave rise to the writing of moral “catechisms” and “decalogues” and the framing of constitutions that showed Filipinos quite skilled in the modern discourse on state and republicanism.¹⁰⁴

It was the country’s most complex and politically turbulent period. The revolution stalled with the treaty of Biyak-na-Bato in 1897, gathered new force in 1898 against the background of the Spanish-American War, widened into a war of resistance against the U.S. occupation in 1899–1901, and was suppressed in the years that followed. These events exacted their toll. Marcelo del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena died stranded in Barcelona in 1896, Jose Rizal was executed in Bagumbayan in the same year, Andres Bonifacio and Antonio Luna were killed in 1897 and 1899, respectively, in fratricidal struggles within the revolution. More perished in the war. Others—like Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, and Isabelo de los Reyes—survived and tried, with varying degrees of sense and success, to ride out and direct the changes. A generational change of leaders took place, a new colonial order was established, and the challenge of creating a nation remained.

WRITING ABOUT OURSELVES

WRITING IN 1889, Jose Rizal saw the spread of the Enlightenment within and without the colony as vital in the emancipation of the Filipino. Alluding to “Filipino writers, free thinkers, historiographers, chemists, physicians, artists, jurists, etc.,” Rizal said: “This class whose number is increasing progressively is in constant communication with the rest of the islands, and if today it constitutes the brains of the country (cerebro del país), within a few years it will constitute its entire nervous system and demonstrate its existence in all its acts.”¹⁰⁷

This was both a boast in the face of colonial power and a statement of Enlightenment faith. Rizal was a realist in whom hope and despair fiercely contended; he was acutely conscious of the dangerous powers of unreason. Yet, Rizal and his generation lived in a time when the colony, though fettered, seemed poised to break free.

WHEN RIZAL spoke of “the brains of the nation,” men like Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, and Isabelo de los Reyes had begun their careers as intellectuals. Established in Madrid, Paterno was entertaining the Spanish literati in his home and writing on the “ancient Tagalog civilization.” Pardo

57. See Retana, Cronaca de la Independencia, 2; Canon Taylor, History of the Philippine Press (Manila: no pub., 1927), 10-11; Jesus Z. Valenzuela, History of Journalism in the Philippine Islands (Manila: The Author, 1933), 47-49.


65. "Remarks on the Philippine Islands, 1813-1822" by An Englishman; Calzada, 1828; BR, 1:178-81.

66. Corpus, Roots of the Filipino Nation, 1476-77.

67. Sinulud de la M., Report on the Conditions of the Philippines in 1842 (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1963), 121, 133, 159. This is the confidential third volume of Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (1843). Also see the memoir of Spanish officer Manuel Bernardo Pizarro on April 26, 1825; BR, 1:182-275.

68. The career of Apolinario de la Cueva is the prototype in Reynaldo C. Heneghan's The Philippines: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910 (Quezon City: ADMU Press, 1979).

69. De la Costa, Readings in Philippine History, 188.

70. Iloilo, Ilonggo, Paglin, 15-16.

71. See Almaro, Koon Sinu ang Komatha, 167-72; Iloko, 188.


73. De la Costa, Readings in Philippine History, 187.

74. Teodoro Agoncillo says that Bonifacio and Jacinto implicated the Roxases and other wealthy businessmen through forged documents to punish them for their non-support of the Katipunan and force them to take the side of the revolution. See The Revolt of the Mares (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996, 1st ed., 1956), 146.

75. Jago, Tinio, 264-65.


78. Agustin de la Cava Mendez de Vigo, Historia (Manila, 1876), extract in Abella, Higher Education in the Philippines, 29-30. See Alanoa, History of Education, 97-98. Alanoa provides a different set of figures, saying that by 1877 there were 1,016 state-supported primary schools for boys and 582 for girls, with a combined enrollment of 177,113.

79. See Alanoa, History of Education, 122-45; Villanueva, "University of Santo Tomas," 92, 96-97; Michael Cullinane, "Illustrated Politics: The Response of the Filipino Educated


The role of these schools as relatively autonomous sites is suggested by Retana who notes that professors of Latin and the leading elements of the anti-Marcial movement in the Philippines. See Wenceslaus E. Retana, Fiesta y Clérigos (Madrid: Libertad de Fernando Fre, 1891), 54–55, 118.

81. Francisco X. Baranza, S.J., Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas (Manila: Imprenta de los Amigos del Pais, 1877); Felipe Ma, de Govantes, Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1877); Idem., Lecciones de Geografía Descriptiva de Filipinas (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1878). On history in the curriculum: Bazaco, Education in the Philippines, 337–38, 396.


83. On the nineteenth-century bureaucracy: Robles, Filipinos in the Nineteenth Century. A useful source is Guía Oficial de Filipinas, 1891 (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Choisy y Compañía, 1891), and other volumes in this series.


85. Field Villarreal, O.P., Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1984), 76; Idem., “University of Santo Tomas,” 96.


88. Bueno, Sociedad Económica, 71; Corpus, Economic History, 94.

89. The Philippine Chronicle of Fray San Antonio, trans. F. Poncelet (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1577), 141. Also see Aguir, Compañías de las Islas Filipinas, 99, 101.


93. Alonzo, History of Education, 76–77. In 1893, La Voz Española also published a weekly supplement devoted to the teaching profession (Suplemento destinado al Magisterio Filipino), see La Voz Española, 11 (January 1, 1893) – 19 (February 26, 1893).


95. Filipinos in History, 1:818–84.


98. Retana, Cronaca de Imprentas, 7, 9, 12–13, 22–23, passim.


100. Francisco Javier de Maya, Las Islas Filipinas en 1882 (Madrid, 1883); quoted in de la Concha, Reading in Philippine History, 188.


119. JR, Ll. 60, 95.
120. RR, Ll. 139.
121. See Revista de Filipinos (Manila: Imp. de Ramírez y Giraudet, 1876–1877), I (July 1875–June 1876) & II (July 1876–July 1877); Retana, Periodismo Filipino, 50–73.


126. Raimundo Gelier, Islas Filipinas: Rechaz a su organizacion Social y Administrativa Breves Indicaciones de los Principales Reformas que Reclaman (Madrid: J.E. Moore, 1869). Gregorio Zaida identifies Gelier as Manuel Regidor but Retana is silent on the subject. Rial believed Raimundo Gelier (agram for Manuel Regidor) to be Regidor though Regidor denied it.

See translated excerpt from Geier in Zaide, Documentario Sovers, 7:219–26; also Rial-Blumentritt Correspondence, II:218; Retana, Aparato Bibliográfico, II, no. 1206; Nolasco, "Creoles in Spanish Philippines"; Manuel, Dictionary of Philippine Biography, II:49, 63–66; Leandro Tomo Santos, 1872, trans. A. Molina (Manila: Historical Con-
BRAINS OF THE NATION


128. Ritual-Binmenritr Correspondence, II:205–06.


130. These writings are in Schumacher, Father Jose Burgos. Also see Schumacher, “The Authenticity of the Writings Attributed to Father Jose Burgos,” Making of a Nation, 44–70; Fidel Villaroel, O.F., Father Jose Burgos: University Student (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1971).


135. Artigas, Events of 1872, 105–06.


137. Quoted in Schumacher, Father Jose Burgos, 253.

138. Jose Rizal, Political and Historical Writings (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1972), 91.

THE FILIPINO ENLIGHTENMENT


140. The article also appeared in La Solidaridad, II:42 (October 31, 1890), 722–29.

On Diario Ti角色go Bertha, Periodismo Filipino (1991), 81–82.


143. Artigas, Events of 1872, 29–31; Angeles S. Santos, Ang Malolos (Malabon: Dalabasang Epifanio de los Santos Press, 1975), 133–34.


150. Rial, Political and Historical Writings, 92.


152. Rial, Political and Historical Writings, 8.

153. Epistolario Ritualtino (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931–1933), II:273, 302, 308; III:137; Rial’s Correspondence with Felix Ruminan, 273, 302, 308, 514. Rial’s reference to Bunol (who is not cited by name) is in Antonio de Moraga, Suecios de las Islas Filipinas... nuevasamente conducida a la luz y adornada por Jose Rial (Manila: Cornition Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rial, 1961; 1st published in 1890), 331 n.


155. Ritual-Binmenri Correspondence, II:1, 229–32.

518

519
156. Ritual's Correspondence with Fellows Reformer, 254.


158. Epifanio de los Santos, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Andrés Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto (Maynila: Kapisanan Pangkasyayan ng Pilipinas, 1937), 64.

159. In del Pilar, Monarca Supremo, 1.


164. Filipinos ante la Razon del India, Obras Comuestas por el Indigena Capitan Juan para Utilidad de sus Paisanos y Publicadas en Castellano por el Espolon R. Caro (Madrid: Imprenta de A. Gomez Fuenteirobo, 1874); Miguel Lacayo y Bustamante, Si Tambang Bahis Macuac (Manila: Cap. de Amigos del País, 1885). See Retama, Comunica de imprenta, 37–40.

165. Filipinos ante la Razon del India, 259–93.


That conceptions of grades and categories of intelligence were dominant is shown in the fact that Graciano Lopez-Jaua, in urging the establishment of more arts- and- trades schools in the Philippines, conceded that the Filipinos are inferior to the Europeans in “speculative science” due to “the climate, temperament and the influence of other physical and moral causes.” See Graciano Lopez-Jaua, Speeches, Articles and Letters, trans. E. Alonza (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1974), 94–97.


native to Tondo-Sampaloc in 1889–1893 were in white-collar jobs (e.g., clerk), commerce (agents, dealers, storekeepers), skilled production trades (printers, machinists, blacksmiths), skilled construction trades, transport, and others (tailors, artisans, cigar workers). See Daniel F. Doepner & Peter Xerou, eds., Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Filipinos (Querón City: ADMU Press, 1998), 165, 256.


189. Guillane, "Ilustrado Politics," 35, 42, 44. Also see Antigas, Events of 1872, 160; Majul, Mohikini and the Philippine Revolution, 51.


196. De los Reyes, Filipinos. Independencia y Revolución, 118–36. De los Reyes' plan for Aurora Nuñez was announced in Bohol de la Aurora Nuñez, a special section of Filipinos en Europa, on April 10, 1900.


199. See Arthur S. Riggs, The Filipinos Drama (1905) (Manila: Intramuros Administration, 1981); Amelia Lapeto-Bonifacio, The "Outdoors" Tagalog Playwrights: Early AmericanFilipino Enlightenments


204. Felipe G. Calderon, El ARCh... del Ciudadano Filipino (Manila: Imp. de Quiapo, 1905); idem., Mis Memorias Sobre la Revolución (Segunda Etapa) (Manila: Imp. de El Renacimiento, 1907).


207. Quoted in Kalaw, "First Filipino Law School," 17.

208. Felipe G. Calderon, Discursos leídos en el día de la apertura del curso escolar de 1903 a 1904 (Manila: Imp. de Quiapo, 1903); Manuel, Felipe G. Calderon, 53.


