

'The salvational currents of emigration': Racial theories and social disputes in the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century

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This article analyses the changing significance of racial theories in the writings of Spanish emigrants in the late nineteenth century Philippines. Works by Antonio Cañamaque, Pablo Feced (Quioquiap), and Antonio Barrantes show how racialised understandings of colonial society in the Philippines evolved, from an initial dismissal of hybridism and rejection of mestizos to assertions of the innate superiority of the 'white race' and advocacy of a rigid separation between local communities. These developments are considered in the context of the rising popularity of biological determinism alongside an influx of Spanish emigrants into the Philippines. The Spanish settlers used biological determinism to proclaim their role as the sole purveyors of both 'progress' and of a kind of egalitarianism. This article describes these debates and arguments, analyses their inconsistencies, and addresses the Filipino elite's responses to the settlers' racial theories. These responses are read not simply as part of the development of Filipino nationalism, but as reflective of rivalries within the Spanish colonial community in the Philippines, where the locally born found additional reasons to support anticolonialism.

Recurring disputes within the Spanish community in the Philippines among the so-called *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain) and the *insulares* ('insulars': the creoles and the *mestizos* of Spanish origin born in the islands) had two distinctive features during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the increasing number of Spanish immigrants to the Philippines intensified rivalries. On the other, the immigrants' extensive use of malleable racialist theories to vindicate their role in the Philippines extended beyond the Spanish community. Although this

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racial theorising was initially addressed to a Spanish audience, it led to impassioned local disputes with the *ilustrados*, the proto-nationalist group of urban and cosmopolitan Filipinos.¹

This article thus considers late nineteenth century racial theories in relation to rivalries within the Spanish community, which were to play a role in the ending of Spain's colonisation of the Philippines. As such this study seeks to contribute to the literature on the Philippines by emphasising the importance of racialism in these historical processes. The role of these disputes as part of the history of the Spanish community of the Philippines has received little historiographical attention. Studies of this community have focused mostly on missionaries, their internal rivalries, and their struggles against the *hacenderos*. Recently, attention has expanded to the whole of the community, covering also the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.² The leadership, internal diversity and connections of this settler community with the rest of Philippine society via creoles, *mestizos* and the many Filipinos who considered themselves to be Spanish, however, and the processes of inclusion and exclusion, need more attention, particularly in the wake of Jean Taylor's and Ann Stoler's studies on the Dutch East Indies and French Indochina.³

The impact of racial ideas on the end of Spanish colonisation in the Philippines also demands further research. There is a broader discussion about the role of the reforms set forth by the Madrid administration to renovate colonisation in the Philippines. While some scholars dismiss these changes as mere 'neo-mercantile forces', others argue for their significance.⁴ Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, for instance, with reference to the combined governance of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, argues that these changes represented 'a new colonial project without historical precedence in the history of Spanish colonialism'.⁵ Yet the legitimacy granted to these colonial reforms by racial theories has not received much attention, especially

1 Authors who have most recently addressed this include Paul A. Kramer, *The blood of government: Race, empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), pp. 35–82; Raquel A.G. Reyes, *Love, passion and patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine propaganda movement, 1882–1892* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), pp. 85–90, 200–202; Norman G. Owen, 'Masculinity and national identity in the 19th century Philippines', *Illes i Imperis* 2 (1999): 25–32.

2 See Ruth de Llobet, 'Orphans of empire: Bourbon reforms, constitutional impasse and the rise of Filipino Creole consciousness in an age of revolution' (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2011); Isaac Donoso, *Ennoblecce: Historia de las instituciones de la Comunidad Española en Filipinas* (Manila: Sociedad Española de Beneficencia, 2015); Florentino Rodao, 'De colonizadores a residentes: Los españoles ante la transición imperial en Filipinas', in *Filipinas: Un país entre dos imperios*, ed. Maria D. Elizalde and Josep M. Delgado (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2011), pp. 251–63; and F. Rodao, *Franquistas sin Franco: Una historia alternativa de la Guerra Civil española en Filipinas* (Granada: Comares, 2012).

3 Jean G. Taylor, *The social world of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Ann L. Stoler, *Race and the education of desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the colonial order of things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 107–8, and *Carnal knowledge and imperial power: Race and the intimate in colonial rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). See also Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: A history of creolization and empire, 1500–1920*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008).

4 Kramer, *The blood of government*, pp. 35, 74.

5 Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, 'Imperio y crisis colonial', in *Mas se perdió en Cuba: España, 1898 y la crisis de fin de siglo*, ed. Juan Pan-Montojo (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2006), p. 38.

in Spanish language scholarship. This neglect has had various consequences and has prompted the criticism of under-theorisation.⁶ With regard to the Philippines, however, accusations of the ‘racism’ of the administration and of a range of individuals from the conservative pro-friar Wenceslao Retana to the progressive liberal Pablo Feced (also known as Quiquiap), are simplistic.⁷ Research questions have been limited to the reasons behind the emergence of extreme racism in certain texts, and the debate generally has been acrimonious and lacking in theoretical innovation.⁸

Nor has the impact of racial thought on the Philippine Revolution of 1896–98 received much attention. Exceptions include the work of Filomeno V. Aguilar, who emphasises the influence of new racist ideas on the growing Philippine national consciousness. Aguilar argues that the *ilustrados* ‘had assimilated the European concept of civilization, modernity, and its racial hierarchy’.⁹ John D. Blanco merges racialism with other social developments, noting the originality of the ‘interface’ that the Filipino national leader, José Rizal, ‘establishes between scientific and religious understandings of enlightenment, which allowed folk Christianity to absorb and reinterpret the colonial legacy’.¹⁰

This article analyses the role of racial ideas in intra-Spanish disputes in the late nineteenth century Philippines by comparing the accounts produced by the well-known contemporary authors, Francisco Cañamaque y Jiménez (Gaucín, Málaga, 1851–91) and Pablo Feced y Temprano (Aliaga, Teruel, 1834–1900), and to a lesser extent, Vicente Barrantes Moreno (Badajoz, 1829–98). Cañamaque and Feced were opinion-makers among the Spanish emigrants. Their writings appear to have provoked strong allegiances and disputes, both in Spain and within the Spanish community in the Philippines. Barrantes worked at the Ministerio de Ultramar (Overseas Ministry) and at the Civil Government in Manila (1866–69), and was elected as a deputy in the Cortes (1851–63). Rizal referred to him as the worst example of a

6 See Ruth Hill, ‘Between black and white: A critical race theory approach to caste poetry in the Spanish New World’, *Comparative Literature* 59, 4 (2007): 270. In the case of Spain, academic contributions are rare, as shown in the most recent history of Spain, written by some of the most prestigious historians. According to the indexes, the terms ‘race’ or ‘racism’ are not used at all. Ramón Villares and Josep Fontana, eds., *Historia de España*, 12 vols. (Barcelona-Madrid: Crítica-Marcial Pons, 2007–17). This lack of domestic interest has been partly compensated by international authors such as Max S. Hering, Joshua Goode and David Marcilhacy.

7 See Kramer, *The blood of government*, p. 40; Schmidt-Nowara, ‘Imperio y crisis’, p. 61; Reyes, *Love, passion*, p. 87; Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, *Un imperio en la vitrina: El colonialismo español en el Pacífico y la Exposición de Filipinas de 1887* (Madrid: CSIC, 2003), p. 162.

8 See John D. Blanco ‘Race as praxis in the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century’, *Southeast Asian Studies* 49, 3 (2011): 358, 360. Glória Cano dismisses the influence of racism on the grounds that Spanish conservatives were more critical of Filipinos than Spanish liberals were and, as such, criticisms of the *ilustrados* were ‘more politically than racially motivated’ (Glória Cano, ‘Review: Luis A. Sánchez Gómez, *Un imperio en la vitrina*’, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36, 2 [2005]: 332), while Sánchez Gómez puts on the same level both parties’ perceptions of the Filipinos and stresses the need to distinguish racism from dismissiveness (Sánchez Gómez, unpublished response to the author).

9 Filomeno V. Aguilar, ‘Tracing origins: *Ilustrado* nationalism and the racial science of migration waves’, *Journal of Asian Studies* 64, 3 (2005): 631.

10 Blanco, ‘Race as praxis’, p. 388.

Spanish official. These authors were regularly attacked in the main publication of Filipinos in Spain at this time, *La Solidaridad*.¹¹

My argument is that the malleable and contingent use of racial ideas in these writings can be read from two perspectives. First, they can be approached as indicators of profound changes in the internal balances of the Spanish settler community and its discourses of difference. Second, they can be understood as aspects that played in favour of the anticolonial movement, contributing both to reinvigorate the *ilustrados*' rejection of Spanish rule and to stimulate adherence to the anticolonial cause of other members of the wider Spanish community (*mestizos*, creoles and of course, *peninsulares*) who, horrified at their leaders' drifting radicalisation, came to accept the idea that Spanish rule in the Archipelago was coming to an end. This article uses the term 'peninsulares', as well as emigrants and settlers, depending on the context, and 'insulares' to refer both to the small creole population and to the wider group of Spanish *mestizos*. The text first analyses the changing views on 'race' in the Philippines during the Spanish period. It then turns to the Spanish migrants' expectations, and to the evolution of supremacist discourses in the works of Cañamaque, Feced and Barrantes. Finally, the article describes the appropriation, circulation, and impact of their texts in the Philippines, in an attempt to evaluate parallels with the Cuban independence process.

Context of Spanish racialism

Racialism as a social construction around the human body had long met with obstacles in the Hispanic world. Catholicism, the main global vision for understanding this world, had little interest in classifying populations using biological information, and within each society, the importance of 'race', 'lineage', and 'caste' changed throughout time and space, as had considerations of 'blood'. The Philippines is an example of a site in which the term 'race' was used in divergent ways. In Spain, biological information was used to stigmatise specific groups and entire populations. The term 'raça', which appears in the first Spanish language dictionaries, had a twofold meaning as 'sunbeam' as well as 'defective textile' — something with irregularities which permit sunlight to pass through. From tailoring jargon, *raça* came to mean a stain, or fault (*mácula*), that could be transmitted to descendants and provided a general framework for punishing biological heterodoxy. Many institutions restricted access to high positions according to this framework, demanding certificates under the so-called *limpieza de sangre*, the blood purity laws.¹² Over time, the Spanish notion of the transmission of 'impurities' through lineage lost credibility, and racial theories imported from outside of Spain gained prominence. Environmental or territorial explanations of variations in human behaviour rose and declined, the blood

11 Besides Cañamaque, Feced and Barrantes, Rizal refers routinely to Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, OSA (1651–1724) and to Sinibaldo de Mas (1809–68). Antonio Cortijo Valdés, *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Vicente Barrantes* (Madrid: Julián Peña, 1873), pp. 29–30.

12 Juan Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia, sangre española: El debate de los estatutos de limpieza (siglos XV–XVII)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011), p. 20.

purity laws disappeared, and different theories around the human body gained popularity.¹³

In the Spanish Empire, the context for racialism was different. The human body barely featured among justifications for conquest. The Spanish monarchy, like the Portuguese, had historically legitimised its conquests through dynastic iterations of a political theology. Furthermore, there was a lower likelihood of inheriting impurities through undesirable strains of blood in the colonies than on the Iberian Peninsula, partly because the restrictions on the emigration of Jews and *conversos* (those whose ancestors had converted to Christianity) offered little space for genealogical references. In fact, the first systematic classification of world populations to emerge in Spain, written by the Jesuit José de Acosta in 1590, was organised according to social and cultural information, such as the existence of calendars or writing systems, and did not engage in comparisons of physical characteristics.

The human body, however, fulfilled a role in establishing hierarchies inside the colonial societies of Latin America and the Philippines, although the rankings changed not only between territories but over time, and administrative procedures allowed changes in classification for those able to afford it.¹⁴ Social hierarchy was legitimised by economic status and the level of ‘Hispanisation’, but lineage, blood, and phenotype became increasingly prominent, and legal and social constructs overlapped with biological constructs to create what Max Hering has defined as a ‘pigmentocracy’.¹⁵ The Christian worldview left its mark on ‘race’, which tended to be amalgamated with other typically religious notions relating mainly to blood, although the blend was different in each territory.

Nineteenth-century liberalism encouraged the subordination of the colonies to the population of the metropolis, and biological determinism appeared in Spanish discourses on human difference, as in other countries. The constitutions drafted in this period demonstrate this. The initial drafts of the first constitution of Spain promised to unite every Spaniard in the Americas and in Europe under the same government, but this egalitarian promise was never fulfilled and the final text of the 1812 Cádiz Constitution did not include it. The Spanish Constitution of 1837 followed the example of other European metropolises in regard to their colonies by representing them as Spain’s ‘possessions’, and excluding them from political rights. Alongside this disappearance of early-modern conceptions, the first references to the human body appeared.¹⁶ During the 1876 Restoration Constitution, again under the Bourbon dynasty, only the Caribbean colonies gained representation in the Spanish Cortes.

13 Verena Stolcke, *Racismo y sexualidad en la Cuba colonial* (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), p. 47.

14 Hill, ‘Between black and white’, p. 272; Robert Richmond Ellis, *They need nothing: Hispanic–Asian encounters of the colonial period* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. 9.

15 Max S. Hering Torres, ‘Cuerpo, Misoginia y Raza: España y América en los siglos XVIII y XIX’, in *Desvelando el Cuerpo: Perspectivas desde las ciencias sociales y humanas*, ed. Josep Martí, Yolanda Aixelà et al. (Barcelona: CSIC; Institución Milà i Fontanals, 2010), p. 152.

16 Xosé-Manoel Núñez, ‘Nation-building and regional integration: The case of the Spanish Empire’, in *Nationalizing empires*, ed. Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2015), pp. 211, 215–16.

The Philippine Islands also maintained a peculiar relationship with ‘race’, especially because of the role played by Chinese settlers. Peninsular Spaniards were theoretically at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the *criollos* (creoles) and *mestizos*, with a middle rank occupied by the Christianised native population, and the lowest positions occupied by the frontier ‘savages’ and non-European settlers such as Africans and Chinese.¹⁷ However, the difficulties associated with using native labour in the Hacienda system and missionary protests limited the arrival of lay migrants. The resulting scarcity of peninsular Spaniards allowed the social rise of the creoles — who were also scarce — and of the Spanish *mestizos*.¹⁸ The status of the Chinese minority rose and fell, partly with the level of ‘Hispanisation’ of its own mestizo population, which was more numerous than that of the Spanish *mestizos*, and according to the intensity of migratory flows.¹⁹ Political events occasionally allowed *mestizos* to gain pre-eminence, as Ruth de Llobet has pointed out. The oscillations and unfulfilled promises during the drafting of the 1812 Cádiz Constitution did not provoke moves toward independence as they did in Latin America, but political awareness grew amongst Chinese *mestizos* and the native elite, who gradually assumed the political agency once enjoyed by the creoles. This was partly thanks to the Mexican War of Independence (1810–21), which held more interest for the Chinese *mestizos* and native elite than it did for the Spanish creoles.²⁰ Finally, the fate of the Philippines diverged from that of Cuba and Puerto Rico. While the Constitution of 1837 treated all colonies equally, the 1876 Constitution left the Philippines without representation. The never-proclaimed Federal Constitution of the First Spanish Republic, written three years earlier, gives a clue to understanding this: the Philippines together with the island of Fernando Poo (Bioko, part of present-day Equatorial Guinea), were described as territories which ‘as they progress may be elevated to States by public authorities’.²¹ In some respects, the Spanish Constitution of 1873 was more progressive than the Constitution of 1876. However, both considered the Philippines as a colony, similar to the African territories; both the Spanish left and the right subscribed to this common colonialist framework.

Racialism evolved dramatically during the last decades of the nineteenth century, when biological determinism became dominant. Beginning with the study of skulls, the human body was increasingly understood and laboratories and researchers produced more and more quantifiable data that led many to view the superiority of the ‘white race’ as scientific truth. These conclusions were applied to the understanding of the whole. Social Darwinism anticipated natural selection amongst nations, especially through the mechanism of war. Its theorists divided the world into ‘vital

17 Kramer, *The blood of government*, p. 39.

18 Alicia Arrizón, *Queering mestizaje: Transculturation and performance* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2006), p. 126.

19 Edgar Wickberg’s studies have shown the multiple social levels in which the Chinese minority operated and also its role as an active agent of ‘hispanisation’. E. Wickberg, ‘The Chinese mestizo in Philippine history’, *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, 1 (1964): 99.

20 De Llobet, ‘Orphans of empire’, pp. 6–7.

21 ‘Proyecto de Constitución Federal de la República Española’, http://www.congreso.es/docu/constituciones/1869/cons1873_cd.pdf (last accessed 12 Sept. 2014). Translated in George Aseniero, ‘From Cádiz to La Liga: The Spanish context of Rizal’s political thought’, *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia* 49, 1 (2013): 38.

nations' — those most likely to survive — and those that were not, concluding that the superiority of 'white' societies would be everlasting.

Spaniards and their government were captivated by these new epistemologies. These 'scientific' advances were used by anti-clericals to undermine Church teachings, but, in fact, many Catholics accepted these ideas, as shown by the writings of the main conservative leader during the post-1868 Restoration, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. Cánovas accepted Social Darwinism to a large extent, including the idea that national vitality was to be demonstrated through war.²²

Supremacist narratives of the new Eldorado

Amid this national identity crisis, poverty and expectations of personal betterment led many Spaniards to migrate, including to the Philippine Islands, where so few had travelled before. The demographic revolution, brought about by the lowering of the mortality rate through sanitary improvements, and the revolution in sea transportation, led to a 'mass migration' from the Iberian Peninsula.²³ Between 1882 and 1890, the number of emigrants doubled, and then increased a further 25 per cent in the following decade.²⁴ Many settled in Spanish colonies, mainly in Cuba, where nearly 100,000 people are said to have arrived between 1882 and 1892.²⁵ There is no comprehensive study on the growth of the Spanish population in the Philippines and a concrete figure is hard to establish, however. Comparison of the censuses of 1876 and 1894 shows similar patterns. Religious personnel doubled in this period, and the military (comprising army, navy, customs officials, civil guards, and veteran guards) increased by some 25 per cent, while there is no clear data on the increase in the number of other *peninsulares*.²⁶

Social life within the Spanish communities in the Philippines changed as a consequence of this wave of migration. From the start of the nineteenth century, a number of disputes and alliances had revealed the discontent prevailing among the *creoles* and their readiness to ally with non-white elites against the government. These included elections during the constitutional periods of 1813–14 and 1820–23, the Palmero conspiracy in 1828 studied by Ruth de Llobet,²⁷ and the infamous executions

22 Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *Discurso sobre la nación*, Ateneo de Madrid, 6 noviembre de 1882, Introduction by Andrés de Blas (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1997), pp. 81–2.

23 Consuelo Soldevilla, *La emigración de Cantabria a América: Hombres, mercaderías y capitales* (Santander: Ayuntamiento de Santander, 1996), p. 83.

24 Germán Rueda, *Emigrantes españoles en América (siglos XVI–XX)* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2000), pp. 16, 24.

25 Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, nation, and revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 96–7; Rueda, *Emigrantes españoles*, pp. 57–8.

26 The census of 1876, carried out by the Archbishop of Manila, refers to 'non taxpayers'; civilians (private Spaniards, *peninsulares* and *insulares* resident in the archipelago); functionaries ('civil corporations and their branches'); 'clergy and religious corporations' (including Filipinos) and military personnel (from the army and navy, perhaps not all of whom were Spanish), *Censo de población de las Islas Filipinas perteneciente al año de 1876* (Manila: Real Colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1878), pp. 40, 46. On the census of 1894 for the entire General Philippine Government (that is, including the islands of Micronesia), see *Guía oficial de Filipinas, 1896* (Manila: Secretaría del Gobierno General, 1896), p. 213.

27 On how the first constitutional period set the tone for later political claims by natives and Chinese mestizos, see Ruth de Llobet, 'Chinese mestizo and natives' disputes in Manila and the 1812 Constitution: Old privileges and new political realities (1813–15)', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 45, 2 (2014): 213–35.

of three priests in 1872. At the end of the century, the growing number of lower-class Spaniards in the Philippines began to erode the ascendancy of the Spanish groups. Migration to the Philippines enabled those considered by many in Spain as 'basket-cases' to inhabit the top of the colonial hierarchy; these newcomers adjusted their self-perceptions accordingly.

The Spanish community in the Philippines developed along with its own peculiarities. In the Caribbean, centuries of emigration left little space for new settlers, and in Cuba peasants from impoverished origins became salaried employees but did not rise to the apex of society.²⁸ Emigration to the Philippines required significant funds, however, which meant that the settlers were primarily from the northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Asturias-Santander, the Basque Country and Catalonia, with their better education rates, as indicated by the American census of 1903.²⁹ These migrants perceived the Philippines as a site with exceptional economic potential, like Africa; and unlike Cuba, its government had no debt. No serious threats to Spanish colonisation loomed on the horizon. Most importantly, however, the very small community of creole *insulares* were unlikely to offer strong resistance to the *peninsulares* achieving their ambitions in the islands. Their dreams were boundless.

The texts that probably best define the mix of national frustration, personal ambitions, and intra-Spanish disputes at the turn of the century are those of Francisco Cañamaque and Pablo Feced. The impact of Cañamaque's *Recuerdos de Filipinas* (Memories of the Philippines) is reflected both by its banning by the Spanish Governor of Manila and by his subsequent writings on the Philippines: a second volume that had not been announced in the first, a miscellany, and two articles translated into French.³⁰ The fame of Feced's *Esbozos y pinceladas* (Sketches and paintings) has been often cited among Filipino nationalists.³¹ Feced published in two of the main newspapers in Madrid and the Philippines, *El Liberal* and *Diario de Manila*. Among the texts that reference his book is a chapter by the famous writer Emilia Pardo Bazán.³² Both authors were certainly opinion-makers, but it is difficult to ascertain to what extent their texts represented the ideas of the Spaniards, either in Spain or in the Philippines. Rizal's close friend, Ferdinand Blumentritt, stated that Spanish emigrants tended to follow 'the comfortable [racist] theories of *Quioquiap* [Feced]

28 Rueda, *Emigrantes españoles*, pp. 22, 60, 69–70.

29 See Rodao, 'De colonizadores', pp. 276–7.

30 Francisco Cañamaque y Jiménez, *Recuerdos de Filipinas: Cosas, casos y usos de aquellas islas: vistos, oídos, tocados y contados*, vol. I (Madrid: Librería de Anillo y Rodríguez, 1877), vol. II (Madrid: Librería Simón y Osler, 1879), and *Las Islas Filipinas (de todo un poco)* (Madrid: Librería de Fernando Fe, 1880); hereafter *Recuerdos I*, *Recuerdos II*, and *Las Islas*. Cañamaque reported the sale of 2,000 copies of vol. I (including 150 in Germany), and also the reprinting in the daily press of some chapters in *Recuerdos II*, pp. viii–ix, xiv, and *Las Islas*, pp. 15, 54. Two articles in French using Cañamaque's name although not fully authored by him (on Zambales province and on the territorial dispute in Mindanao) were published by the *Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise* (1881).

31 Pablo Feced, *Filipinas: Esbozos y pinceladas* (Manila: Ramírez y Compañía, 1886), hereafter *Esbozos*.

32 Emilia Pardo Bazán, 'La España Remota' [Faraway Spain], *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* 1, 3 (Mar. 1891): 75–81; http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/nuevo-teatro-critico--27/html/028eedd4-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_78.html (last accessed 15 Sept. 2015).

and company'.³³ It seems Blumentritt is correct, though he did not live in the Philippines, since Feced — as had Cañamaque earlier — expressed the ambitions of many migrants to the Islands, both temporary functionaries and settlers. Feced's publications were widely distributed among foreigners. Barrantes' *El Teatro Tagalo* (Tagalog Theatre), on the contrary, was written as a scholarly book.³⁴ It may be presumed that Barrantes' former position as an official in the Philippines garnered some attention among Spanish readers, but most of its impact came from the strong *Ilustrado* criticism of this book, partly in reaction to its criticisms of José Rizal.³⁵

Cañamaque's and Feced's relations with the archipelago and ways of transmitting their narratives to their fellow Spaniards share many characteristics. The texts are of similar structure and length, around 300 pages each, and narrated in brief chapters suitable for publication in periodicals. Both manuscripts were serialised before and after they were published as books. Each narrative is based on personal experience: Cañamaque arrived in the archipelago on the invitation of some friends and returned after performing various roles in the administration (as he writes, without saying anything more about these friends),³⁶ while Feced took over one of his elder brother's haciendas in Camarines Sur.³⁷ Both maintained intense relations with the Islands upon their return to Spain. Cañamaque discussed Mindanao with the prime minister while serving as a deputy in the Cortes (for Puerto Rico 1881–84 and for Malaga 1886–90), and Feced returned to fight against the Philippine Revolution; Barrantes, too, was a senator (1891–93 and 1896–98).³⁸

Cañamaque and Feced made similar observations about lowland Christian Filipinos.³⁹ Their styles, however, differed. Cañamaque was prone to using terms related to mystery and irrationality,⁴⁰ whereas Feced, who focused on social defects such as 'vanity', 'alcoholism', or 'primitivism', tended to indulge in physical

33 Fernando Blumentritt, *El Noli me Tangere de Rizal* (Barcelona: Imprenta Ibérica de Francisco Fossas, 1889), p. 14.

34 Vicente Barrantes, *El Teatro Tagalo* (Madrid: Manuel Ginés Hernández, 1890).

35 See letter to Blumentritt, Berlin, 19 Apr. 1887, in *The Rizal–Blumentritt correspondence*, vol. II, part 2 (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961) [hereafter *Correspondence*], p. 73.

36 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 6, <http://www.congreso.es/portal/page/portal/Congreso/Congreso/SDocum/ArchCon/SDHistoDipu/SDBuscHisDip> (last accessed 12 July 2014).

37 Feced mentions a letter to him at 'Catlagán', but this location does not appear in the 1903 census; *Esbozos*, pp. 12, 219, and see also pp. 357–8. His brother José wrote a book aimed at helping the Spanish understand how to move through the local administration: José Feced, *Manual del gobernadorcillo en el ejercicio de sus atribuciones* (1867, 1880). Both biographies in *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, vol. 23 (Madrid: Espasa, 1924), pp. 474–5.

38 Aseniero, 'From Cádiz to La Liga', p. 41; 'Pablo Feced', in *Enciclopedia universal*, p. 474.

39 Laziness (Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 163; Barrantes, *Teatro*, pp. 8, 129); submissiveness (*Recuerdos I*, pp. 13, 26–7, 133; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 35, 106, 108, 203–4, 226); indolence (*Recuerdos I*, pp. 59, 134, 163, 283–4; *Esbozos*, pp. 32, 108, 111, 119, 125–7, 137, 140, 212, 221, 226, 261–2, 290, 348); impassivity (*Recuerdos I*, pp. 12, 17, 61, 134, 283–4; *Esbozos*, pp. 8, 168, 191, 262, 290, 326); given to gambling (*Recuerdos I*, pp. 169, 174; *Esbozos*, p. 263); non-intelligence (*Recuerdos I*, p. 116; *Esbozos*, pp. 32, 70–71, 92–3, 110, 113, 126, 214, 261, 279, 296); and non-familial sentiment (*Recuerdos I*, pp. 169, 174; *Esbozos*, p. 263).

40 Mysteriousness (Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 131–2); irrationality (*ibid.*, pp. 46, 206); contradictory (*ibid.*, pp. 141, 109, 206); superstitiousness (*ibid.*, pp. 143–4; 168).

descriptions.⁴¹ Such assessments also give us clues to understanding their differences. Cañamaque tended to balance his criticisms by providing comparisons in which Filipinos and Spaniards are presented as having similar faults.⁴² He compares the Filipinos' tendency toward dealing in contraband, for instance, with similar patterns among the Aragonese and the Andalusians (he was Andalusian himself),⁴³ and the religiosity of some Filipinos with that of 'the pious and ultramontane Spanish'.⁴⁴ Feced, however, does not write of the positive attributes of the Filipinos⁴⁵ and dilutes any positive references — noting, for instance, that sympathy and capacity for enjoyment are traits of the Spanish as well as the Filipino.⁴⁶ Their representations of minorities are scarce, but again show different foci. Cañamaque's descriptions resemble many written earlier, while Feced's tend to introduce new aspects. Cañamaque's descriptions of the highland inhabitants recall the trope of the 'noble savage',⁴⁷ but both writers focused on various highlanders' position towards Spain: Feced opts to focus on their opposition to the 'civilising' work of Spain,⁴⁸ while Cañamaque takes the opportunity to lay claim to the Bangsamoros' Spanish-ness.⁴⁹

The *mestizos* receive the harshest criticisms from both authors. Their disgust is evident not only in characterisations of their presumptuousness and exaggerated desire to imitate Spaniards, but also on delimitating differences.⁵⁰ Cañamaque accuses the 'Indian-Spanish mestizos' (or '*mesticillos*', a derogatory term) of possessing the worst parts of every group to which they belonged;⁵¹ uses old tropes of deterioration due to climate;⁵² and describes at length their physical differences compared with both the 'Indians' and the *peninsulares*.⁵³ Feced focuses on their supposed idolatry and strives to categorise them by their mixed bloodlines, according to their Chinese or Spanish ancestry.⁵⁴ On immigrants, both authors' flattering remarks about European settlers⁵⁵ are balanced by their stereotypical denigrations of the Chinese.⁵⁶ Still, Cañamaque boasts of his balanced views and points out some positive

41 Vanity (Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 64, 113, 199–202, 204, 206, 215); primitivism (ibid., pp. 109, 119, 279, 311); alcoholism (ibid., pp. 106–7); social behaviours (ibid., pp. 110–11, 201, 206, 221); physical descriptions (ibid., pp. 20, 54–6, 68, 77, 90, 193, 203, 296); effeminacy (ibid., pp. 174, 213).

42 Honesty (Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 6, 24, 78, 136, 185–6); skilled (ibid., p. 113); loyalty (ibid., p. 139); lack of attachment to material goods (ibid., pp. 154–7); temperance (ibid., p. 135).

43 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 79.

44 Ibid., p. 144. On societal empowerment through religiosity, see pp. 113, 276–7, 279. In his prologue to *Recuerdos I*, Prados de la Escosura also notes that Cañamaque balances his criticisms of Filipinos with similar observations about his fellow Spaniards (ibid., p. xii).

45 Feced's only description of the Filipinos which was more positive than Cañamaque's is in regard to their cleanliness. Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 68; Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 55.

46 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 8, 55, 176, 214, 226.

47 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 79–80, 159–61.

48 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 192, 269–70.

49 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. xvii–xviii, 215; Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 211.

50 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 247; *Recuerdos II*, pp. 43–4, 100, 103; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 206, 213.

51 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 148, 199, 203–4, 208, 247; *Recuerdos II*, p. 44.

52 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 174–5, 193, 230–8; *Recuerdos II*, p. 14; see also Barrantes, *Teatro*, p. 138.

53 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 208; *Recuerdos II*, p. 201.

54 Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 79; see also pp. 56, 91, 192.

55 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 281, 286; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 39, 131, 280.

56 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 199–201; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 77–9, 129, 192, 206, 253, 350.

aspects of the Chinese.⁵⁷ Feced's criticism of the Chinese follows biological lines and also constructs notions of racial menace, which would be echoed in later 'yellow peril' anxieties.⁵⁸

As for the Spanish community, criticisms of the *insulares* are balanced by praise of the *peninsulares*. The authors criticise the rule of *insulares* over the Philippines, mainly because of their presumed conservative stance against progress on the islands, Cañamaque specifying the lack of culture and political radicalism and Feced pointing to the practice of patronage and neglect of the Spanish poor.⁵⁹ Their main criticisms fell on the *creoles* of Manila, whereas both tended to praise the residents of the provinces.⁶⁰ Cañamaque and Feced concur in pointing to the *peninsulares* as the great hope of the archipelago. The former asserted that new settlers would elevate the Filipinos to a position 'alongside the richest and happiest peoples of the earth'.⁶¹ They would receive 'utterly, and forever, the light of civilisation, no less fecund and beautiful than the light of the heavens'.⁶² Feced is still more elated: the *peninsulares* were 'the salvational currents of emigration' and his descriptions are rife with millenarian terms like 'redemption' and extravagant phrases such as 'eternal Christ of those Lazaruses sleeping in the jungle'.⁶³ Friars, while also *peninsulares*, belonged to an institution Cañamaque and Feced opposed, but they both showed sympathies for monks of lowly social provenance. Feced goes further, praising their patriotism and their openness and calling his readers to imitate their achievements.⁶⁴

Cañamaque and Feced offer slightly different proposals for the Philippines' future, although both advocate reforms.⁶⁵ They defend the imitation of European examples, Feced most radically ('the Colonies for the Metropole, the Anglo-Saxons say; the Metropole for the Colonies we say!') and write of the need to overcome the obstacles of restrictive legislation and Chinese competition.⁶⁶ Beyond this, Cañamaque proposes including updating and reforming the so-called *Leyes de Indias* (Laws of the Indies), the legislation decreed at the start of colonisation in order to regulate both society and economy.⁶⁷ Yet Feced sees nothing useful in these laws, sneering at 'our soft and paternal *Leyes de Indias*' that would allow an easier life in what he called 'the land of Cockaigne' (*tierra de jauja*).⁶⁸ He also, somewhat ironically, attacks those who were concerned with the welfare of the Filipinos as 'philanthropists'.⁶⁹ On Chinese competition, Cañamaque proposes partial solutions while

57 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 201.

58 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 76–7, 80, 82, 205, 215, 272; see also pp. 106–7, 129.

59 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 31–2, 145, 187–8, 192–3, 214, 270; *Recuerdos II*, p. xviii; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 215–16, 241–5.

60 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 254, 278; Cañamaque, *Las Islas*, pp. 14, 240; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 9–10, 220, 348.

61 Cañamaque, *Las Islas*, p. 59.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

63 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 82, 122, 225, 366.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 31, 40–41, 128–9, 148–9, 166–7, 170, 211, 213, 291, 340.

65 Aguilar, 'Tracing origins', p. 626; Wickberg, 'Chinese mestizo', p. 32; Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 210.

66 Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 210.

67 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos II*, p. 29; also *Recuerdos I*, pp. 254, 256, 275, 279–80; *Las Islas*, pp. 57–8.

68 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 129–30; see also pp. 13, 76, 125, 212.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Feced is especially vociferous on this: 'the Philippines is a Chinese colony under a Spanish flag'.⁷⁰

Both declared the 'superiority' of the Spanish, but they had different ideas regarding the Spanish community. For Cañamaque, mobility was possible in both directions, allowing the social rise of the Filipinos in a 'civilising relationship' to a level similar to that of Spaniards, and in turn, the possibility that a Spaniard might 'degenerate' to the 'ignominious state of that of a white 'indian'.⁷¹ However, Feced cannot conceive of this last point. He complains that, in the Philippines, 'a poor *castila* [a Spaniard] is the last word of the creed; he is not even a *castila*'.⁷² This is a central part of his discourse, although expressed in a highly obscure way. It appears to him highly abnormal ('of all the miracles of this Oriental country')⁷³ that in the Philippines 'social categories [...] lose their stature in their relationship with their compatriots that they gain with the indigenous masses'.⁷⁴ That is, Feced complains of the prioritisation of social divisions which would lead to the poor Spanish being further integrated into Philippine society than they were into Spanish society — 'abysses on one side and a certain democratic levelling on the other'.⁷⁵ Finally, their rejection of independence is based on quite different grounds. Cañamaque appealed to patriotism, while trusting in education.⁷⁶ Feced went further by describing Filipinos as grown children.⁷⁷ Some among them, he wrote to Blumentritt, 'wish the Philippines to be viewed as an adult; others, myself included, believe this not to be so, that the Philippines is still a child and as such has to be dressed and attended to'.⁷⁸

Cañamaque and Feced had much in common: their rural origins; their personal transformations during their voyages;⁷⁹ their positive attitude towards bureaucrats coming from the Peninsula; their preference for settling in the countryside; their shallow knowledge of the Philippines — despite both having spent a number of years there; and their broad opposition to the Chinese, never distinguishing between the *mestizos* and non-*mestizos*.⁸⁰ They both saw that the way to increase their stature in the islands required support from the metropole and the development of this new, exclusionary epistemology, which was proceeding in parallel with efforts in Madrid to overhaul their colonial administration. Both books are dedicated to the strongest proponent of the colonisation of the Philippines, Víctor Balaguer, Overseas Minister in 1871 and 1886–88.⁸¹ Finally, they both gained a level of

70 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 280–83; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 79, 81.

71 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 79, 188, 205.

72 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 243, 350. See Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies*, p. 281, on the laws for repatriating new arrivals who had no means of sustaining themselves in the Dutch East Indies.

73 '*Milagros todos de este país oriental*'. Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 148.

74 *Ibid.* A reference to the 'invincible repugnance toward contact', p. 108.

75 *Ibid.*

76 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, p. 224; also, pp. 128, 227; *Recuerdos II*, p. 22. See also De la Escosura, 'Prólogo', p. xvi.

77 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 8, 110, 127, 200, 213, 215, 343, 360.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 260; also pp. 128, 223, 261–2.

79 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 223–4; Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 11.

80 Aguilar, 'Tracing origins', p. 626; Wickberg, 'Chinese mestizo', p. 32.

81 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 131, 339. Dedications to Minister Balaguer in Cañamaque, *Las Islas*, pp. 5–6, and Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 266–7.

acceptance from the Catholic Church, in spite of their anti-clerical origins.⁸² Cañamaque even discusses his strategy of garnering support from the Church by combining criticism with flattery.⁸³

There are also revealing differences between the two authors. Cañamaque, as noted, prides himself on his balanced views;⁸⁴ Feced on his progressive ideas. Cañamaque chooses to describe the Philippines through picturesque scenes and comparisons with Spain,⁸⁵ while Feced focuses more on the stagnancy of⁸⁶ and differences within the archipelago.⁸⁷ In general, Feced reveals the increasingly radical discourse among *peninsulares* on how to reform and modernise colonisation. Rizal saw Feced as 'somewhat more blunt'⁸⁸ than Cañamaque, Mas, San Agustin and others, and speculated that it was probably because he was 'more sincere'.⁸⁹ There was little sincerity, however, in Feced's praise of the Catholic Church. Cañamaque is more radical, finally, in his statements against the Spanish mestizos.

The nine years between the publication of Cañamaque's book in 1877 and Feced's in 1886 give a clue as to how discourses on human difference were changing. This period saw the growing role of scientific knowledge in colonial governance. Cañamaque simply aimed at a descriptive work (retired military quartermaster Patricio de la Escosura acknowledged in the prologue that Cañamaque had no pretensions about writing a 'classic work'),⁹⁰ and his frequently repeated depictions of Filipinos as mysterious or superstitious suggest that he was not always aiming for elaborate descriptions. Feced, on the other hand, tried to hide his ignorance by offering quantifiable data on Filipinos and by citing more works, some of them related to the contemporary Philippines.⁹¹ Feced's 'scientific' discourse produced descriptions unlikely to be understood by the majority of Spanish speakers of the time, however.

In fact, Feced's arguments were not as novel as he claimed. Perhaps he sensed that scientific terminology provided a better, updated framework for older ideas. His caution against close contact with Filipinos recalls that of a centuries-earlier ban on Jewish women breastfeeding Christian children.⁹² Sinibaldo de Mas had already advocated making social mobility more difficult in the mid-nineteenth century,⁹³ and Cañamaque had also included science in his arguments.⁹⁴ When Feced

82 Cañamaque defines himself as a liberal, *Las Islas*, p. 60. Feced volunteered to fight against the Carlist traditionalists; 'Pablo Feced', in *Enciclopedia universal*, p. 474.

83 Cañamaque, *Las Islas*, pp. 60–61.

84 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 6, 175, 261, 268–9.

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 41, 74–7; *Recuerdos II*, pp. 81, 109.

86 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 12, 300.

87 On the contrast between the richness and fecundity of the land and the poverty of its inhabitants, see for example, *ibid.*, pp. 103, 120–21, 125–6, 199–201, 241, 252, 279, 282, 359.

88 Rizal to Blumentritt, Berlin, 21 Feb. 1887, in *Correspondence*, p. 51.

89 *Ibid.*

90 De la Escosura, 'Prólogo', p. xx.

91 For example, Feced quotes ethnologist A. Fedor Jagor (whom he refers to as Gagor), José Gimeno Agius, author of a book on the liberalisation of the tobacco industry (1878), and a 'professor from Manila', apparently José Moreno Lacalle. He also mentions Indonesia's *adat* (tradition), but he does not specify its meaning. *Esbozos*, pp. 145, 148.

92 Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 108.

93 Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe secreto sobre el estado de las Filipinas en 1842*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Sancha, 1843), pp. 50–52, 250.

94 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 4, 46, 58.

made reference to the ‘adynamism of the [Filipino] physiology and the soul’,⁹⁵ he was, in reality, merely reiterating the old trope of the ‘indolence of the Indians’.

Cañamaque and Feced were both progressive liberals, but again, time seems crucial to understanding their differences. The former, for instance, appears as a typical anti-cleric, showing himself in favour only of the lower ranks of priesthood, such as *frailes de levita*, over their superiors, the *frailes de cerquillo* (so-called because they shaved the upper and lower parts of their heads), whom he accused of not fulfilling their vows of poverty and chastity.⁹⁶ Feced’s progressivism, however, is embedded in novel terminology such as ‘metropolis’, ‘colony’, ‘democratic’,⁹⁷ and other terms from the field of science,⁹⁸ even ‘eugenics’ which had been coined only three years prior.⁹⁹ In fact, Feced apparently shared Rizal’s admiration for men such as Fedor Jagor¹⁰⁰ and the federalist president of the First Spanish Republic, Francisco Pi y Margall, seen in the way he envisioned the future archipelago as a ‘social state which recalls and signifies the vigour of our national genius, the might of our race, and the splendours of our culture’.¹⁰¹ Rizal conceived this ‘social state’ as a decentralised administration close to the interests of citizens, following the ideas of Pi y Margall,¹⁰² but Feced’s progressivism and egalitarianism, in any case, was limited to his fellow settlers, and excludes Filipinos completely.

‘Race’ was crucial to Feced’s proposals, and was his rationale for advocating that Philippine society should be divided. The renewed popularity of ‘race’ in Spain and the new meanings it encompassed helped his ambitions and shaped his goals. To enhance his proposals, Feced demonstrated his awareness of the most recent ‘scientific’ theories,¹⁰³ including the highly controversial discussions of ‘race’; in 1886, Rizal himself looked it up in his Spanish dictionary.¹⁰⁴

‘Race’, certainly, was used to bring discourses of difference in the Philippines up to date. It stressed biology¹⁰⁵ and showed a measure of determinism: ‘the laws of history are as unavoidable as those of nature’.¹⁰⁶ The concept of ‘race’ helped Feced by

95 Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 261.

96 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos I*, pp. 193, 212–13; De la Escosura, ‘Prólogo’, p. xiv; Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 41, 48.

97 The concept of ‘democracy’ had caused a great reaction among Spanish conservatives. It had already been accepted by Pope Leon XIII and had, at the time, already begun to be circulated within the workers’ movement. Javier Fernández Sebastián, ‘Democracia’, in *Diccionario de conceptos políticos y sociales del siglo XIX español*, ed. J. Fernández Sebastián and Juan Francisco Fuentes (Madrid: Alianza, 2002), pp. 225–8.

98 For example, ‘physiology’, ‘ethnology’, ‘anthropology’, ‘criminology’, ‘atrophy’, and ‘a-dynamic’, his principle point of reference being Fedor Jagor. See Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 261, 311, 329–30. See also Luis A. Sánchez Gómez, “Ellos y Nosotros” y “Los Indios de Filipinas”, artículos de Pablo Feced y Graciano López Jaena (1887), *Revista Española del Pacífico* 8 (1998): 316.

99 He uses the term in plural, ‘eugenesias’. Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 354.

100 Rizal’s appreciation of Jagor, Letter to Blumentritt, Berlin, 12 Jan. 1887, in *Correspondence*, p. 39.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

102 José María Portillo Valdés, ‘Estado’, in *Diccionario*, p. 301. See also George Aseniero, ‘From Cádiz to La Liga’, pp. 11–49.

103 Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 140.

104 See Rizal’s comments after having looked up the term in the Spanish dictionary; José Rizal, letter to Blumentritt, Berlin, 30 Dec. 1886, in *Correspondence*, pp. 33–4.

105 Feced, *Esbozos*, p. 353. For other comments on science, see pp. 297–8, 347.

106 Feced, *Esbozos*, n.p. (introd.); Barrantes, *Teatro*, p. 8.

pointing to intrinsic human differences.¹⁰⁷ The discourse of race helped reinforce the advantageous position of Spain: it was natural, permanent, and the boundaries between ‘races’ were impossible to transgress. In any case, the ways of understanding the world were changing. Cañamaque’s vision is more caste-like, a typically dismissive discourse, similar to many written throughout the centuries of Spanish domination, but Feced’s barely-understood ‘scientific racism’ seems to be an instrument aimed at building a new nation in a different territory. It is similar to the examples of utopian societies created in other territories which were opened to European migrants in the twentieth century.

In short, the expectations and experiences of *peninsulares* in the Philippines linked two worlds. Their ambitions went further than the usual colonial settler desires of social mobility, for several reasons: the archipelago appeared wide open to their visions of a bright future; they had higher self-esteem, and better educational and social backgrounds; they disdained the natives, the Chinese and *insulares*; and they drew upon the additional advantages furnished by the trend toward biological determinism. While in the 1870s Cañamaque sought to improve the colonies, the context changed in the following decade, so that Feced and many of his followers seem to have aimed to completely reshape the islands. All that was needed to achieve this transformation, for Feced, were the modern scientific ideas he brought to the islands, backing from Spain, and a cooperative church. But the more radical their ambitions, the more difficult it would be to legitimise their discourse.

Discourse and impact

This comparison between the narratives of Cañamaque and Feced demonstrates the increasing tensions caused by the arrival of a new wave of Spanish migrants to the Philippines. While Cañamaque’s main goal was to delimit settlers by distancing them from *insulares*, Feced sought to reinforce Spanish dominion over the islands. This section of the article will analyse criticisms of their texts, and then explore the processes of adaptation and communication.

The Spanish Governor’s prohibition of *Recuerdos de Filipinas* indicates that there were bitter disputes among the Spanish elites in the Philippines, and that the number and standing of the critics was significant. Cañamaque was forced to apologise.¹⁰⁸ Religion figures as a major reason for the conflict — Cañamaque himself attributed the prohibition of his work to the influence of the Archbishop of Manila, as an instrument of the monastic institutions which ‘unleash their tongues against me’.¹⁰⁹ Besides this, the various concepts of patriotism were in dispute. Cañamaque provides further clues which point to the creoles’ outrage at his book, referring to a ‘Philippine resident’ who criticised him not only for his scant knowledge of the Philippines, but also for being a ‘bad Spaniard’, and De la Escosura, the author of the prologue, for being ‘hardly patriotic’.¹¹⁰ These differing concepts of patriotism seem to be ethnically anchored. Cañamaque identified his critics with assimilation to Philippine culture: those who ‘eat *bibinca*’ (*bibingka*, a dessert made of layers of rice and coconut milk

107 Feced, *Esbozos*, pp. 13, 63, 108.

108 Cañamaque, *Recuerdos II*, p. xvii; p. 13.

109 *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

110 *Ibid.*

from China), and those who ‘chew *buyo*’ which he despises as a ‘mass of lime, areca nut, and the leaves of a tree called the betel (which the Filipinos regard as if it were a candy)’.¹¹¹ In the face of the growing proportion of *peninsulares* in the Spanish community and its institutions, and the pressure for tighter control from the metropolis, Cañamaque traced a line dividing those who were maintaining European lifestyles and those who were not. As in Cuba, the consequences of this kind of narrative for colonisation could be seen in the long-term. The pro-Spanish side should have declined as *creoles* and *mestizos*, derided for their comic imitation of *peninsulares*, may have begun to favour proposals for independence, much earlier than in other colonies. After disputing the meaning of Hispanicity and patriotism, many *creoles* and *mestizos* separated themselves from a motherland in which the space available to them was narrowing. And contrary to what occurred years later in the Dutch East Indies with the followers of Ernest Douwes Dekker, they had the alternative of assimilation into Philippine society, where they also belonged, swinging their allegiances toward the Philippines, and favouring Filipino proto-nationalists.

Feced goes further. Since the notion of biological difference seemed to be the very key to understanding human difference, Feced reflects the efforts of many individuals to adapt to these new epistemologies, just as nations and empires incorporated them.¹¹² In the Spanish colonies, determinism permeated political discourses. In Cuba, for example, the motto of an anti-revolutionary party read *Todo por la evolución, nada por la revolución* (All for Evolution, no one for Revolution). And in the Philippines Ferdinand Blumentritt was surprised at the recurring Spanish allusions to ‘the innate inferiority of the Malayan race’,¹¹³ while James LeRoy recalled that in late nineteenth century Manila there was ‘a worsening of the racist feeling’.¹¹⁴ Racist, deterministic discourses were on the rise.

Esbozos y pinceladas reflects the difficulties in adapting and communicating the new discourses. Lack of legitimacy was the initial obstacle in conveying this determinism to colonised peoples. Feced attempted to legitimise a bid for domination over the archipelago, leveraging widespread faith in science and biological determinism to assert that those coming from Europe were best equipped to lead the Philippines toward progress. But Spain lagged behind in science, making Feced’s attempts to use scientific racism rather unconvincing. He used various strategies to compensate for this, such as magnifying social differences and staking a direct claim to superiority. First, this radicalisation of the discourse was probably a compensatory psychological mechanism, since Spanish emigrants all appear to have sought some form of compensation for their own failures and those of their nation. Since many in Europe doubted

111 Ibid.

112 For the Dutch East Indies, see Ann L. Stoler, ‘Sexual affronts and racial frontiers’, in *Tensions of empire: Colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 214–15.

113 Ferdinand Blumentritt, ‘Race question in the Philippine Islands’, in *Deutsche rundschau* [after July 1898], translated in *Appleton’s Popular Science Monthly* (Aug. 1899), and republished in *Philippine Historical Review* 1, 2 (1966): 235.

114 James LeRoy, ‘The Philippines 1860–1898: Some comment and bibliographical notes’, in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, ed. Emma J. Blair and James H. Robertson, vol. 52 (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1907), p. 164. CD-ROM, produced by Antonio Emmanuel A. Defenso (Quezon City: Bank of the Philippines, 2000).

Spaniards belonged to any kind of ‘superior race’ (some were even of the opinion that they did not belong to the ‘white race’) the colonies appear to have provided ideal scenarios in which such accusations could be disproved. Second, Feced’s frequent use of new scientific terms appears to have been simply another strategy to enhance his credibility. Barrantes, similarly, had identified climate as the reason for Filipino inferiority, noting ‘the influence of what the metaphysicists call the environment’.¹¹⁵ Such obscure phrases steeped in new terminology purporting to be scientific seems to have been an effort to disguise Feced’s ignorance of the issues he discusses.¹¹⁶ Feced’s popularity suggests that many settlers may have proclaimed ideas which they too hardly understood.

Inconsistencies in these arguments proliferated. The claim of Spanish superiority in the Philippines, following determinist theories, simply caused confusion; there was little evidence to support such bold assertions. Fedor Jagor was the only source Feced cited to bolster his arguments. Feced’s discussion of the benefits that Spanish prosperity would bring to the Islands was not only riddled with inconsistencies, it contained flagrant contradictions including, most remarkably, in his use of religion. The advantages of scientific progress were proclaimed using millenarian language and emigrants were called ‘emissaries of the divine law of progress’. While conservatism and patronage were despised, the role of the church was defended.

Finally, Catholicism and Hispanisation complicated the penetration of these new ideas. Old frameworks remained strong, making new hierarchies based on biological determinism difficult to accept even by those who had an interest in their operation. Perceptions of ‘race’, for instance, needed to be framed under a different ‘scientific’ framework since for many the term was associated with lineage or social difference. It would take time to promote the new categories, and to discard the old ones. Furthermore, Madrid had already lost its monopoly in the production of knowledge in the Philippines. Growing international trade and the presence of foreign businesses helped the modernisation of the archipelago in many ways, by favouring personal exchanges, both for Europeans to work in the archipelago and for Filipinos to travel to, and reside in, Spain and other foreign countries. As a consequence, and again unlike the course of other empires, by travelling and living in the metropolis Filipinos were able to test previous images of Spain.¹¹⁷ This allowed *ilustrados* to check and to refute Spanish claims of biological superiority, as articles in journals like *La Solidaridad* show. The ideas transmitted by Feced did not convince many outside the Spanish community, either because of his opaque language or simply because their manipulative intentions were clear.

A contingent discourse

Increasing exports, the improving economic outlook, and the emigration of many *peninsulares* made Spain increasingly covetous of the Philippines. At the same time, the legitimising discourses around the human body evolved dramatically,

115 Barrantes, *Teatro*, p. 138.

116 More examples, in *ibid.*, pp. 226, 283. On Cuba, see Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, pp. 9–12.

117 Reyes, *Love, passion*, pp. 87–90.

from the dismissive arguments expressed by Cañamaque to the new theories of ‘race’ expressed — not entirely successfully — by Feced.

This convergence helps us better understand Spain’s limited capacity to mould the thinking of its colonial subjects. Anti-Spanish nationalists in the colonies flatly rejected Spanish discourses of racial difference. In Cuba, leader José Maceo declared that ‘there are no longer blacks or whites, only Cubans’; Juan Gualberto Gómez and Antonio Maceo defined civilisation as the elimination of slavery and racism, and the national hero José Martí also rejected what he called ‘bookshop races’. In the Philippines, Rizal expressed a similar idea, referring to the publishers of *La Solidaridad* as ‘Young creole men of Spanish descent, Chinese half-breeds, and Malayans; but we call ourselves only Filipinos.’¹¹⁸ Rizal was even responsible for what may be the first mockery of modern racism: ‘It is useless to answer certain objections of some fine writers regarding the skins, more or less brown and the faces with noses, more or less flat [...] Law has no skin, nor reason a nose.’¹¹⁹ After having disputed notions of patriotism and Hispanism, as in Cañamaque’s discourse, the rejection of Feced’s version of biological determinist discourse paved the way for nationalism among Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos.

Anti-racist statements appear to have only been instrumental in the political struggle against Spanish colonialism, however. Old dismissive ideas which had evolved into racist ideas resurfaced after the departure of Spain in Cuba, where Schmidt-Nowara states that ‘the white nationalists considered any debate about race to be a reason for discord and potential treason’.¹²⁰ Rather than defining civilisation as the ‘elimination of slavery and racism’ or the ‘transcendence of race and the perfection of humanity’, as expressed by Ada Ferrer from the ideas of the revolutionary heroes, the most powerful Cuban nationalists under US hegemony opted to define civilisation according to American ideas of ‘refinement, civility, and whiteness’.¹²¹ In the Philippines, similarities abound. Aguilar refers to the contradictions of the *ilustrados* as fighting Spain but accepting many imperialist ideas, entering what he defines as ‘pro-imperial-cum-anticolonial politics’.¹²² Later, under the United States, Filipino elites came to represent themselves as appointed to lead over the people of the highlands. These elites exercised a nationalist colonialism that adopted racist theories to establish racial hierarchies within the archipelago.¹²³ The radical rejection of racist theses under the Spanish regime, was, then, a rejection of the messenger rather than the message itself. During the fight against Spanish colonialism, notions of hierarchy (old and new) among revolutionaries were dormant, but did not disappear. The

118 Rizal, Letter to Blumentritt, Berlin, 19 Apr. 1887, in *Correspondence*, p. 72.

119 José Rizal, ‘The Philippines a century hence’, part III, Barcelona, *La Solidaridad* 1, 21, 15 Dec. 1889, pp. 507–8. Trans. by Guadalupe Fores-Ganzo (Manila: Fundación Santiago, n.d.). For a comparison of Blumentritt’s opinions with those of the *ilustrados*, see Aguilar, ‘Tracing origins’, p. 608.

120 Schmidt-Nowara, ‘Imperio y crisis’, p. 54; Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, p. 191.

121 Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, p. 191.

122 Aguilar, ‘Tracing origins’, p. 631.

123 Kramer, *The blood of government*, p. 73; Michael Salman, ‘Confabulating American colonial knowledge in the Philippines: What the social life of Jose E. Marco’s forgeries and Ahmed Chalabi can tell us about epistemologies of empire’, in *Colonial crucible: Empire in the making of the modern American state*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), pp. 259–70.

peninsulares' bid for power in the Philippines unleashed many reactions, from sympathy to nationalist fervour among *insulares*, to anti-racist arguments from brilliant leaders such as José Rizal and José Martí. It certainly contributed to the successful revolutions that ended much of the Spanish Empire. Although racism resurfaced after Spain's exit in 1898, inconsistencies in the Spanish discourse, its radicalism, and the possibility that adversaries could contest information, led to at least a temporary refutation of racist theories.