

ENGLISH TEXT

IMAGINING A UNITED FUTURE

This project by the Sociedad Española de Acción Cultural en el Exterior (SEACEX) in collaboration with Casa Asia hopes to be the first of many that will present Spanish culture, historical and contemporary, in Asia. It was only logical that the Philippines should be the country chosen to launch this venture in view of our common past and our shared values, so this presentation of a cultural exhibition on Spain in a remote foreign country enables us to reflect on our own history.

At SEACEX we understand Spain's cultural activity abroad as a great enterprise that enables us to reflect on our country's collective memory and propagate it following two chief guidelines: on the one hand, it must reflect the richness and complexity of the history we share with other peoples and, on the other, it must provide the means to boost present relations with these countries. The association between SEACEX and the Philippines is not new, for in 2004 it had the pleasure to organise the exhibition *Philippines. Door to the East. From Legaspi to Malaspina* held at the National Museum of the Philippine People to commemorate the 5th Centenary of the Birth of Don Miguel López de Legaspi. This marked the beginning of a fruitful collaboration with the National Museum of the Philippines that is now furthered by the exhibition *The Colonial Imaginary. Photography in the Philippines during the Spanish Period 1860-1898*, in the framework of the celebration of the Philippines-Spain Year 2006 organised by Casa Asia.

This is the first monographic exhibition on the introduction and development of photography in the Philippines during the nineteenth century. The term imaginary is not only used here as a reference to the symbolic landmarks shared by a given social group, but alludes to the nineteenth-century maker of images—the idea that has inspired this visual account of a history and a memory common to Spain and the Philippines. The show consists of photographs, most of them published here for the first time, from private and public Spanish collections that will be donated to the National Museum of the Philippines at the closure of the exhibition. These pictures evoke colonial society and Spanish cultural heritage in the islands, in particular the end of the Spanish rule and the emergence of policies of national identity that called for independence. More than just

a catalogue, the book published to accompany the show presents abundant documentation and a complete vision of the practice of photography in the Philippines during the nineteenth century. This exhibition is an extension of the previous show entitled *Philippiniana*, organised by the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Casa Asia at Centro Cultural Conde Duque in Madrid, that presented a broad survey of Philippine art and culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The cultural relationship with the Philippines is an essential episode in Spain's projection abroad; the common past of the two countries is the basis for inspiring projects and programmes of international cultural co-operation. Both countries have a rich and diverse cultural heritage made up of singular and plural identities. It is our duty to cherish and develop this heritage together, imagining once again a united future.

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THE COLONIAL IMAGINARY

Juan Guardiola

THE COLONIAL IMAGE

During the nineteenth century and thanks to the invention of photography, the transmission of information and knowledge underwent a revolution. The step from a culture based on the printed word to a culture based on the image would entail a deep and drastic change in how the world was perceived and understood. The appearance in 1839 of the first photographic technique enabled the image to be fixed—the daguerreotype—for the first time after years of experiments with optical devices. Daguerre's invention was soon made public and had worldwide repercussion. In Spain in 1939, "the same year the daguerreotype was presented, three translations of Daguerre's handbook, two appendices in physics treatises and numerous articles were published that discussed the new invention."¹ The first documented shot by Ramón Alabern was taken in Barcelona on November 10 of that year. News of the invention spread throughout the rest of the world as fast as it had begun to spread throughout Europe. European colonial powers would turn to photography as an information medium to spread the news about their dominions overseas. But the way in which the colony, both geographically and in terms of human population, would be perceived by Western audiences would be mediated by the political, economic and cultural interests of the metropolis. In other words, physical and human landscapes were colonised as were their images, thereby creating a collective imaginary that would perpetuate the relations of power and control over the 'conquered' territory.

Photography was introduced in Asia and the Pacific by Western photographers. The first Japanese importation of a daguerreotype camera has been dated back to 1848, and one year later F. Schranzhofer opened his first studio in India. In the decade of 1850 John MacCosh and Captain Linnaeus took photographs in Burma (now Myanmar). In 1860 Felice Beato photographed China and in 1863 he opened a studio in Japan. That same year Samuel Bourne climbed and photographed the Himalaya. Two years later the Scottish photographer John Thomson arrived in Asia and spent several years taking pictures in China, Cambodia, Malaysia and Indochina. Therefore, the first images that were made known of Asia were produced by foreign authors, who provided a picturesque, wild and exotic vision of the continent that would be conveniently consumed by the Western audience through albums and illustrated magazines. The photographic camera was a technology foreign to this local context and its importation was an answer to foreign interests characteristic of the colonial society that invented it. Therefore the photographic practice was a colonial practice that made a functional use of the image to exploit a vision of the world, i.e., of *its* world. The links between colonialism and visual representation are multiple and diverse. Nineteenth-century photographic practice tended to support the political and cultural rhetoric of racial inequality between the West and its colonies. This difference is corroborated in a number of photographic genres and categories, ranging from the 'scientific' discourse of anthropology to commercial photos sold as postcards for tourists. In this way photogra-

phy played a key role in the justification and legitimisation of the colonial ideological discourse.² We will have to wait until the last quarter of the century for photography to be contextualised and indigenised, which means that its habit is naturalised at the hands of native photographers. Similarly, photography was introduced in the Philippines by European photographers, who travelled to the archipelago for different reasons, first of all supplying images and shortly afterwards opening studios. However, I would hazard that in the case of the Philippines the appearance and dissemination of photography responded to very different circumstances to those of the rest of Asia, with the exception of the Indian subcontinent with which it shared certain traits—both geographical areas have long colonial histories, Spanish and British, that had already introduced a Western culture based on the image and representation prior to photography. The perception of a 'natural' and 'realistic' image implied by photography should be studied in the context of the introduction of Western academic art in Asia. The arrival of the Spaniards (and of the religious missionaries) in the Philippines prompted the development of civil and religious art and architecture from the minute the colonial state began to materialise. Christian iconography would be copied, interpreted and thereby transformed by native artisans as early as the sixteenth century, as would also happen in the Portuguese enclaves of Goa and Macao. Art would not be secularised until the second quarter of the eighteenth century. As a result of the establishment of a colonial administration, the Philippines was the only Asian country where the art scene that developed during the nineteenth century could be likened to that of the West with the exception of India, although a local academic art emerged in the last quarter of that century. In 1821 the first Asian private drawing academy opened in Manila, under the protection of the artist Damián Domingo, who created beautiful sketchbooks portraying a range of native costumes. This academy merged with the Drawing School, founded by the Royal Economic Society in 1823, and would soon become the official drawing academy, until its closure in 1834 following the artist's death. Years later, in 1850, the Board of Commerce of Manila opened the Academy of Drawing and Painting that followed the model of the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid (the academies of Madras and Calcutta opened in 1854 and the one in Mumbai opened in 1857). During the second half of the century the teaching of fine arts would spread in the framework of educational institutions, as we see in the photographs *Academia de dibujo. Escuela Normal de Manila* (Drawing Academy. Normal School in Manila) and *Clase de Dibujo. Ateneo Municipal de Manila* (Drawing Lesson. Municipal Athenaeum in Manila), produced by Chofré's photographic studio in 1887 and included in two albums belonging to the National Library. Together with the tradition of religious imagery cultivated by local craftsmen following Spanish and Latin American models that arrived via the commercial and cultural routes established by the Manila galleon, a series of autochthonous pictorial styles of a secular nature began to unfold. Significant among these styles was the painting of *letras y figuras* (letters and figures), originally linked to foreign sailors and merchants who commissioned such works as souvenirs of their sojourn in the country. Over time, thanks to the work by the master José Honorato Lozano, the style developed into an artistic genre in its own right, which indicated social status. *Tipos del país* (country types) and genre scenes and landscapes were other local favourites painted in a naturalist style, detailed and even miniaturist; combined with the use of colour and decorative profusion, they denote the autochthonous sensitivity towards the diversity of Philippine traditions.

In the decade of 1870 several Philippine artists—including Juan de Luna Novicio, Félix Resurrección Hidalgo and Miguel Zaragoza—moved to Europe to further their training. In an 1881 photograph kept in the Benlliure Archive, J. Puerto and the Benlliure brothers, Juan Antonio and Mariano, pose in Rome with Pedro Paterno. Juan Luna y Novicio is the prototype of the turn-of-the-century Philippine artist. Luna cultivated an academic and allegorical painting and would evolve towards nationalism and social criticism. 1884 was a key date for the history of Philippine art, for it was the year in which Luna y Novicio was awarded a Gold Medal at the National Exhibition of Fine Arts held in Madrid for his painting *Spoliarium*, while his fellow countryman Félix Resurrección Hidalgo obtained the Silver Medal for his work *Virgenes cristianas expuestas al populacho* (Christian Virgins Exposed to the Masses). The subject matter chosen for both pictures was seen as a critical allegory of the living conditions of the Filipinos under the oppressive yoke of Spanish colonial power. This official recognition of the skill and superiority of two Philippine artists with regard to their Spanish counterparts in the same metropolis did not take place in any other European colonial country.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE PHILIPPINES

This introduction to the history of art in the Philippines is related to the arrival and dissemination of photography in the country. As we have seen, the photographic image was received in a different social and cultural context to that of the rest of Asia. The first mention of photography in the Philippines appeared in the *Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842*, written by the Spaniard Sinibaldo de Mas in 1843.³ Furthermore, according to existing bibliography,⁴ the daguerreotype was introduced in the Philippines by this same author in 1841, in other words, two years after its first public presentation in France. Sinibaldo de Mas was a unique character in nineteenth-century Spain, a typical Romantic traveller who as well as a poet and an adventurer was a diplomat in Asia in the service of the Spanish government. He arrived in Manila from Bengala (India) early in 1840 and would remain in the Philippines for nearly two and a half years. Short of money and lacking official Spanish support, De Mas was obliged to produce photographic portraits to make his living. “Equipped with a primitive Daguerreotype camera he wanders through the islands photographing natives and foreigners, but he must have looked more like a sorcerer, especially when he hid his head under the black cloth ready to press the magic button.”⁵ If this information were true, alongside India the Philippines would have been one of the first Asian countries to welcome photography in 1841, a few years before the rest of the continent. But where did Sinibaldo de Mas obtain his daguerreotype camera? He must have bought the technical equipment in India, for he had left Spain in 1834 and during 1839, the year the daguerreotype was presented, he was in Bengala. We know that in January 1840 the firm Thacker & Company in Calcutta was advertising daguerreotype cameras in the press. He could also have obtained the camera via Manila through some contact in Spain, where the daguerreotype had appeared in 1839. Even so, was the material needed for taking the shots available in Manila in the early eighteen forties? What is clear is that none of the resulting images have been found, partly because of the difficult conditions of preservation in a tropical climate, and that there are very few testimonies of the use of photography over the following two decades.

The oldest photographic images preserved of the Philippines date back to the decade of 1840, although their precise date is uncertain. They are two daguerreotypes that present a view of the city of Manila, Intramuros, in which we see a flag, and a portrait of the photographer W. W. Wood (although the latter was probably made abroad and taken to the Philippines when the artist set up his studio in the capital).⁶ It was during the eighteen sixties when the use of photography became widespread, first in the city of Manila and shortly afterwards in the rest of the Philippine Islands. Proof of this are the five stereoscopic views dated 1860 that present natives of the Tinguian ethnic group in the province of Abra, in the north of the island of Luzon. The stereoscopic pair, that consists of the simultaneous vision of the same image producing an overlapping effect, would be a very popular technique in Europe from the eighteen fifties to the nineteen thirties. These five images belong to a greater ensemble that shows natives of Polynesia taken by an unidentified French engineer and sold commercially. There are seven other (false) stereoscopic pairs made in the Philippines during these years that contain images of the earthquake that affected Manila in 1863⁷ and that, together with the magnificent views of this disaster, kept in the Royal Palace in Madrid, constitute the few examples of urban views produced during this decade. Something similar occurs in portraiture—the oldest portraits kept in Spanish collections include three photographs dated 1860. Two of them are ambrotypes belonging to the Museo Romántico in Madrid, one of which is the portrait of a Spanish couple and the other presents two young boys in school uniform. The third photograph is an oval portrait of a bourgeois lady probably also of Spanish descent that belongs in a private collection in Madrid. Given that the three pictures are portraits, which reveals how popular photography had become as a medium of representation and social prestige, it is quite likely that the first photographic studios were established in Manila in the eighteen fifties, and continued at a good pace throughout the following decade.⁸

The oldest photographic studio known in the Philippines was active in 1865 and was owned by Albert Honiss, a British photographer resident in Manila. Examples of his commercial work are the visiting cards reproduced here, such as the elegant portrait of the Spaniard Bartolo or the even more attractive portrait of two young schoolchildren; the advertising anagram is stamped on the back of this photo, along with the name of the street where it was based, Escolta. Honiss was also commissioned to photograph the Russell & Sturgis Company, the greatest sugar-cane company of the period, which enabled him to travel through the country and take some of the most beautiful pictures in nineteenth-century Philippine photography. The commission led to the making of the album *Vistas de Manila* (Views of Manila) that shows different areas of the city and of the River Pasig. Albert Honiss was the first photographer in the Philippines who enhanced his images with aesthetic considerations. His studio remained active until his death on August 3 1874, when the establishment passed to the photographer of Dutch origin, Francisco van Camp. An 1875 advertisement of the firm states that as well as portraits they sell views and country types, no doubt from the British photographer's archives. Another pioneer was Manuel Maidin, who practiced portraiture and photographic features. Two other photographic studios are registered in the decade of 1860 under the name of their proprietors, Pedro Picón, who practiced portraiture for visiting cards, and W. W. Woods (subsequently renamed by its heirs as Wood Hijos), who as well as portraits took pictures of the natives of Lyngoyen on the island of Luzon.

The photographic technique and its derived products came mostly from abroad, which explains the initial limitation of autochthonous practitioners and the arrival of foreign photographers. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 shortened the distance and European technology became more accessible, enabling chemists' and drugstores to stock up with the right products and favouring the increase in commercial firms. Zobel's pharmaceutical establishment, set up in 1834 on *calle* Real 13 in Manila, sold Cortecero's photograph handbook and Bouchart's prescription. Other pharmacies selling photographic products were those owned by Pablo Sartorius, Rafael Fernández and Jorge de Ludewig. Six photographic studios and their addresses are listed in the index to the book *Manual del viajero en Filipinas*, published in 1875 and followed by a second edition two years later;⁹ the advertisements of three studios are reproduced at the back of the yearbook. The aforementioned firms were Filipina, Antigua Fotografía de M. A. Honis [*sic*], Meisic, Fotografía Universal and Enrique Schüren.¹⁰ The latter had an establishment on *calle* Escolta and another office on *calle* Dulumbayan in Santa Cruz, "and we know he had studios in Singapore and Bangkok, where he enjoyed the privilege of the Kings of Siam. An excellent portraitist in the German taste, a nationality that could well have been his, he operated lights brilliantly. Schüren was a specialist in large portraits with white dresses, and retouched his works with Indian ink, pencil and watercolours. He worked until the late nineteenth century and made life-size portraits, specialising in shining porcelain."¹¹ Other accredited photographers of the period were C. Bonifás, whose studio was at 20, *calle* Solana, and Valenzuela, whose office was at 8, *calle* Real.

The following decades of 1870 and 1880 corroborated the expansion of photography and witnessed the profusion of commercial studios in the busy *calle* Escolta and its adjoining bourgeois neighbourhoods. A photograph entitled *Continuación de la vista anterior de las casas del sitio de la Escolta, en la margen del río Pasig* (Continuation of the previous view of the houses on the Escolta site, on the bank of the River Pasig), dated around 1870, shows the rear of a photographic studio on the aforementioned street. The funny thing about this image is that the word "Photography" is written in large letters on the outer wall of the studio, as a highly visible advertisement for passers-by on the Bridge of Spain and for all those travelling along the River Pasig.¹² A view of *calle* Escolta looking towards Santa Cruz belonging to Centro Artístico Fotográfico, a firm run by its owner E. M. Barretto, dated around 1885, shows the sign of the Fotografía Inglesa studio on the second floor of the building in the foreground. Other companies operating during these years were Fotografía Española, Fotografía Venus, Fotografía Artística, Fotografía La Paz, La Fotografía Gustosa and the studios Chofré y Cía., Ramírez y Giraudier, Peso y Soler and J. Delgado y Cía., the latter located on *calle* San Roque in the Binondo district, which gives us a good idea of the lively commercial photographic atmosphere of Manila at that time. Francisco van Camp can undoubtedly be considered the most prominent photographer in the Philippines after Albert Honiss. His studio was renowned for its portraits, especially female portraits, and produced one of the most beautiful images in nineteenth-century photography, *Indígena de la clase rica [Mestiza sangley-filipina]* (Native from the Rich Class [Sangley-Philippine Mestiza]) around the year 1875, kept in the Museo Oriental in Valladolid. However, his professional activity transcended the field of commercial portraits and in 1880 he produced a spectacular feature on the destruction caused by the earthquake that affected Manila, which included an image of the damage to the house-cum-studio of the pho-

tographer Antonio Perelló, active in the eighteen seventies as announced in the advertisements published in the aforementioned *Manual del viajero en Filipinas*. These images of violence and devastation reflect an aesthetic interest in the photographic medium that goes beyond the documentary value all photographs entail; an artistic gaze that was shared by three other photographs, Félix Laureano, Manuel Arias Rodríguez and Francisco Pertierra in the last decade of the nineteenth century as we shall see later. At the turn of the century photography went from being a source for illustrations and engravings to a means of communication in itself, once the development of the technique of photogravure enabled photographic images to be introduced in the newspapers and illustrated magazines that flooded the leisure and information market. A fine example of this is the engraving by Capuz, reproduced in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, after a visiting card made at the Wood Hijos photographic studio in Manila. The photograph illustrating the article represents Rosa, "The Centenarian", a humble woman of Malay-Portuguese descent who is presumed to have died at the age of 127 or 128. As we see, photographic portraiture was quite advanced by the decade of 1860, for the author of the article declares he had known the old lady between 1862 and 1866, the year of her death, therefore the picture must have been taken some time during that period.¹³

A NATURAL AND A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

One of the first examples in the Philippines of the use of photography as a source for illustrations can be found in the 1875 publication *Viajes por Filipinas*, the Spanish translation of the book *Reisen in der Philippinen* by the German photographer Feodor Jagor, one of the best travel books on the Philippines written during his journey through the archipelago in 1859 and 1860.¹⁴

Around the second half of the eighteenth century, in keeping with the spirit of the Enlightenment, European monarchies began to finance expeditions designed to carry out scientific studies in different countries. From 1789 to 1794 an expedition led by Alejandro Malaspina travelled throughout northern and southern America and the Asian-Pacific geographical region linked to the Spanish crown, in particular the Philippines. Alongside upliftings for cartographic, hydrographical and astronomical studies, numerous drawings were made in the fields of natural history, botany, landscape and genre. The importance of these drawings lies in the fact that they were the first plastic representations made in the Philippines that were not of a religious or a military nature. These are the precedents of the "exotic" images that Romantic travellers would put into circulation through the illustrated magazines and travel guides that became extremely popular in the nineteenth century. Some of these depictions are real and reliable while others are imaginary, invented.

From a geographical point of view, the Philippines consists of an expanse of sunken mountains that form a part of a great cordillera stretching from the south of Japan to Indonesia. The origin of the archipelago dates back to the collision of the Asian and the Pacific tectonic plates that produced intense volcanic activity. The Philippine territory has a rich and varied natural life that has inspired countless photographers, native and foreign

alike. The aesthetic appreciation of the Philippine people for their natural landscape is diverse. Inscribed in the nineteenth-century Western tendency that saw nature as a source of artistic inspiration, the sketches drawn from life of autochthonous vegetation and traditional architecture—nipa huts—entailed an early recognition of national geography. Parallel to this local realistic gaze we discover a foreign representation that stresses the exotic and paradisaical features.

Some examples of how certain photographers 'constructed' nature in their studios have survived: "The development of landscape photography had to solve technical problems such as the rendering of skies, for the long exposures needed to capture the details of a landscape led to the disappearance of clouds when skies were overexposed. One answer was making two negatives of the same landscape: one of them captured the contours of the terrain and the other, with a shorter exposure time, captured sky and clouds. The two negatives were then superimposed, merged together in the same print. Some photographers even 'enhanced' the views of a given landscape or city with the skies of another remote spot (...) or retouched the negatives with watercolours and inks, sometimes obvious but very often imperceptible for normal viewers, given the skill of the studio work."¹⁵ The private collection photoarte.com in Madrid contains one example of this exchange of clouds—if we compare *Vista de la catedral* (View of the Cathedral) with *Vista del volcán Mayón* (View of the Mayón Volcano) we realise it is the same sky. The popularisation of picturesque views in prints and photographs of volcanoes such as the Albay, the Mayón or the Taal crater, as well as views of waterfalls, mountains or wild beaches, helped to perpetuate an idyllic romantic image of the islands. Albert Honiss has left us beautiful images of the Philippine landscape, such as the view of the *Puente del Capricho [Laguna]* (Caprice Bridge [Lake]) or the *Cascada de Majajjai* (Majajjai Waterfall), both dated around the year 1872. These visions, however, conceal the harsh reality of violent living conditions in a tropical climate ravaged by earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, forest fires or *baguíos*, cyclones and typhoons that continually threaten its coasts, along with the monsoon rains that devastate this natural landscape.

Photography has been a unique witness to this violence, enabling us to capture and store in our memory the ravages caused by these natural disasters. Among the oldest images kept of the Philippines there is a unique feature of great historical importance on the damage resulting from the 1863 tremor, signed by the studio belonging to the photographer of the Spanish Royal Household, Martínez Hébert, at present kept in the Archive of the Royal Palace in Madrid. On June 3 of that year a strong earthquake produced a tremendous impact on most of the civil and religious buildings in the city of Manila. The views of the destruction caused to the façade of the Cathedral, the Former Management of the Tobacco Company in Binondo, the San Fernando Market, the residence of the Danish Consul and the spectacular image of the interior of the Court Hall in the General Captain's Palace are unusual city scenes that went unnoticed by painters and illustrators yet not by photographers.¹⁶ The next great earth tremor in Manila occurred in 1880, on July 14, 18, 20 and 22. Successive seismic tremors destroyed numerous public buildings and caused important damage, as we see in the series of photographs taken by Francisco van Camp in different areas of the city in the days following the earthquake. Manila Cathedral, rebuilt and consecrated a few months before, was severely affected by the tremors of July 18, and

its tower collapsed on July 22. The impressive image of the ruins of the cathedral tower, that had withstood the 1863 tremor, inspired the engraving by Rico which appeared in the review *La Ilustración Española y Americana*.¹⁷ This is a fine example of the use of photography as information on current affairs intended for illustrated magazines, which were a very popular medium of communication in the second half of the nineteenth century. If we compare the two images we see that the engraver is extremely faithful to the photograph in his reproduction of architectural details, and not only took the liberty to include figures to instil a little life and drama in the composition. The views of the streets of Quiotan and Centeno, the Garchitorena coachbuilders or the Luzon bazaar reveal the damage caused in several parts of the city. The rainstorms that followed the earth tremors hampered the arrival of repair material such as nipa or wood, obliging many city dwellers to live outdoors.

The *baguíos* or hurricanes also affect the Philippine Islands, as occurred when not only Manila but the whole island of Luzon was ravaged on October 20 1882. The description made by the correspondent of *La Ilustración Española y Americana* from Santa Cruz de La Laguna was devastating: "The extraordinary phenomenon developed with horrific violence, tearing down houses, snapping trees, pulling up sown fields and, more significantly, causing numerous casualties."¹⁸ Many towns were wrecked and the poor quarters of Ermita or Tondo in Manila were practically destroyed. The photographs by Francisco van Camp, taken to document the effects of the cyclone, reproduced the damage suffered by the sugar refinery belonging to Sociedad Manila Yengari Sugar in Mandalayan and the bleak view of Ermita neighbourhood, both on the outskirts of the capital—graphic proof of the great documentary value of photography and of the harsh living conditions in the Philippines.

MANILA, PEARL OF THE ORIENT

In comparison with rugged, unpredictable natural environment, life in the city is relatively safe. Photography has allowed for the preservation of the historic memory of Manila, which would otherwise be difficult to guess given its current development and urban growth. The city of Manila was established by Miguel López de Legazpi, who took possession of the existing town of Maynilad on May 19 1571. Legazpi is said to have designed the current Intramuros, or walled city, which was preserved until being almost totally destroyed during the American bombardment and siege to liberate the city occupied by the Japanese in the Second World War. Manila, which is located on both banks of the River Pasig, had an enviable geographical position in the middle of a large, beautiful bay that favoured the city's commercial and cultural development. Its port was a point of meeting and exchange for Japan, China, the Malayan archipelago and the west coast of Latin America, which helped place the city in the centre of an emerging global economy. It should be remembered that "before it established itself as an agricultural exporter, the Philippine economy changed from one based on subsistence agriculture to an intermediate economy for Asia, America and Europe."¹⁹

The images of Manila from the second half of the nineteenth century give an idea of its splendour and of why it was called the Pearl of the Orient. The city was surrounded by a great wall which, from the sea, looked like a great fortress. Work on the wall, which

began in 1590 with governor Dasmariñas and was completed in 1594, involved use of the Vauban system. It had moats, covered paths, bastions and redoubts with six doors (Almacenes, Parián, Puerta Real, Santo Domingo, Santa Lucía and Isabel II), and two shutters. *Vista de la Fuerza de Santiago, tomada desde el malecón del sur* (View of the Fort of Santiago, taken from the southern breakwater) shows the condition the fortification was in during the second half of the nineteenth century. It had scarcely been renovated since the time of the last repairs at the end of the eighteenth century, during the reign of Charles III of Spain. The Royal Fortress of Santiago was the city's largest fortification. The compound contained a guardhouse, soldiers' accommodation, stores, a chapel and a magazine. It defended the mouth of the River Pasig and the city's north-western corner, although at the time these photographs were taken it scarcely had any defensive value. Some images have been preserved of the port before the renovation work that began in the eighteenth century and continued in the following decade. *Vista de la entrada del río Pasig* (View of the inlet of the River Pasig) features the river mouth and the entrance to the port, with the lighthouse at the end of the breakwater. Since the Manila inlet was not very safe, in the monsoon season ships on longer voyages around the coast sought shelter in the neighbouring port of Cavite, at the mouth of Manila Bay. Sea traffic had nevertheless been an inseparable part of Manila from the times of the Nao de Acapulco, or Manila Galleon, and its docks bore witness to the constant arrivals and departures of steamships and vessels of all kinds crammed at both banks of the river.

The main entrance to Intramuros, which is how the walled city is now known, was the Parian Gate. This was the site of most official buildings, which were built on wide streets designed in blocks. At one end was the Palace Square, the central garden of which was surrounded by the cathedral, the town hall, the ruins of the old palace of the Governor General and a block of private houses. Manila's current cathedral was built on the land occupied by the cathedral that was destroyed by the 1863 earthquake. Reconstruction work began in 1871 under the supervision of different architects and according to a plan approved by the Royal Academy of San Fernando. It was inaugurated on December 8 1879. There remains a photograph of the interior, taken on January 15 1886 to mark the memorial rites performed after the death of King Alfonso XII. The image shows the catafalque that was designed and built in the central nave by the municipal architect, señor Hervás, who worked in collaboration with the sculptor Tampinco, the painter Fabrés, and master carpenters Caro and Lorenzo del Rosario.²⁰

Every religious community in the Philippines had a convent and a church in Intramuros, the most noteworthy of which belonged to the Augustinians, the Franciscans, the Augustinian Recollects and the Dominicans. Because of numerous natural disasters and the bombardment in the Second World War, only that of Saint Augustine remains. This was built between 1587 and 1607 by the architect Juan Macías and followed the design of the Augustinian churches of Mexico. It is the oldest existing building in the Philippines and has withstood numerous wars, typhoons and earthquakes. It did, however, lose one of its two towers as a result of damage caused by the earthquake that devastated the town in 1880. The Catholic Church's presence is obvious throughout the city and in the surrounding areas, evidence of which can be seen in the images of Santa Cruz, Pambacan, Sampaloc, Malabon, and the ruins of the church of the Company of Jesus. Other significant religious buildings were the Archbishop's

Palace, the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, the University of Santo Tomás, the College of San Juan de Letrán and the unclioistered communities of Santa Isabel and Santa Catalina, not to mention the beautiful circular cemetery in the Paco district.

The main commercial thoroughfare was *calle Escolta* in the Binondo district, which was connected to the old walled city by the Bridge of Spain. Its heyday was around the end of the nineteenth century, after the commercial and economic centre had moved from Intramuros to the other side of the River Pasig, in the middle of that century. Other important streets were La Calzada del General Solano, where the houses of the local bourgeoisie emerged, La Calzada de Malacañang, which led to the residential palace of the Captain-General of the Philippines, La Calzada de San Sebastián and the street known as Sampaloc. Important civil buildings included the Prince Alfonso theatre in Arroceros, the Jesuit Observatory at Ermita, the prison in Bilibid and the tobacco factory at Tondo. Urban development in the nineteenth century yielded diverse and beautiful leisure spots, interesting among which were the avenues of Malecón, Sampaloc, Magallanes and the famous Luneta. These were all outside the walled city, as were the three main roads that were linked to the old city, the Bridge of Spain, the suspension bridge and the Ayala Bridge. The first of these dates from 1630 and was the first bridge to join both banks of the River Pasig. The photograph shows the stone and iron bridge, built to replace that destroyed in the 1863 earthquake, which joined *paseo* Magallanes with the new street in Binondo. The suspension bridge, a work of advanced technological development, was privately owned and to cross it a toll had to be paid. It joined the suburbs of Quiapo and Arroceros. Lastly, the Ayala Bridge, so named after the former Overseas Minister, was opened in 1880 and joined the districts of San Miguel and Concepción. It was made of two sections, the central section of which had supports on the island of San Andrés. Another bridge, the Misericordia Bridge, was made of iron and built using a system patented by the Eiffel company.

These bridges provided access to the city's suburbs many of which were crossed by river estuaries. These included Binondo, Tondo, Ermita, Malate, Paco, Quiapo and Santa Mesa, which was made of picturesque nipa palm houses. An extremely beautiful *Vista de canal con casas reflejadas* (View of a Canal with Reflected Houses) has been preserved, taken by an unknown photographer from around 1865. It provides a notion of this type of urban development on the river. The source of the River Pasig is at what is known as Laguna de Bay, where it separates into four arms that join together at the outlet of the San Mateo River to cross Manila and flow into Manila Bay. As the river crossed the city it flowed by the districts of Binondo, San Carlos, La Escolta and Intramuros. The river was used for transport and could be navigated in small boats, *bancas* or shuttles, as illustrated in the photographs that have been preserved. It was also a source of wealth and, as shown in the photograph by Albert Honiss, fish were caught using the *sarambao* technique, which involved a type of net made from cane and liana and was very popular in the Manila area. River, sea and land traffic continued to be the most widely used forms of transport although in the last quarter of the century the foundations for a new, modern means of transport were established. The first steps to create a railway network for the island of Luzon were taken in 1875 in the shape of a royal decree that established three different lines from Manila to Dugapan, to Bicol and to Batangas. Three years later, the Philippine Light Railway Company was founded and by 1889 it owned four lines that joined Santa Cruz to Tondo, Sampaloc, Intra-

muros and Malate. On July 31 1887 the first stone was laid on the Manila to Dagupan railway, of which there is a photograph taken by Francisco Pertierra. Images of this first line have also been conserved by E. M. Barretto's Centre for Artistic Photography.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS IN COLONIAL RULE

The Spanish colonisation of the Philippines was planned for Spain to have a base on the Silk Road and a platform for her expansion towards Asia. Once the Crown realised that its Asian projection was unfeasible, it decided to remain on the islands. Because of their strategic importance, Spain linked her new territory to the Mexican viceroyalty of New Spain and set up a minimum colonial administration made up of military, civil servants and religious orders. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Philippines went from being an agrarian subsistence economy to an intermediating economy, bridging the gap between Asia, America and Europe by means of the commercial route of the galleon that joined Manila and Acapulco. The impulse of trade, entrepreneurial activity and investments in the archipelago are steadily, above all in the second half of the nineteenth century, thanks to the opening of the Panama Canal and to foreign capital. The Spanish government was incapable of adapting colonial policy to the new situation and of maintaining itself as the preferential market, preserving instead a stagnant administration opposed to autonomist reforms. Nevertheless, in contrast with the negative and unfair outlook that all colonial processes entail, the integration of the Philippines in the Spanish Empire brought about the social cohesion that favoured the construction of a national identity. In addition to the contribution of Catholicism—which exerted a great influence in Philippine society—and to the immersion of the islands in an international economy, the empire also promoted public works such as the building of lighthouses, the Manila Harbour Board and the Hydrographic Committee of the Pacific, and favoured incipient scientific development with the construction of the Manila Observatory.

In contrast with the idyllic picturesque vision of the Philippines we discover a series of much more complex photographs that show us a developing country. Many of these technical advances were captured by photographic cameras; in actual fact this is a global phenomenon. The first photographic feature on public works could very well be the visual documentation produced by Merville on Haussman's urban reforms in Paris. This early relationship between photography and modernity can also be traced in Spain: "During the reign of Isabel II there was a major process of modernisation through large public works which transformed the image of the territory. Engineers played an important part in the renewal of architecture. Stations, bridges, buildings and machines were built with new materials and constructions of that kind brought new viewpoints and new spatial concepts which photographers used to produce their works."²¹ The case of the English photographer Charles Clifford is paradigmatic in this sense; his images of the public works commissioned by the Spanish Crown, particularly the construction of the Channel of Isabel II in Spain, were taken as documentation and as proof of the progress and modernisation of the constitutional monarchy. The same process also took place in the Philippines. The National Library in Madrid contains a wonderful album entitled *Obras del Puerto de Manila* (Works of Manila Harbour), produced in 1887 for the Exhibition of the Philippine Islands

that was held that year in Spain. Later, in 1896, the Board of Manila Harbour published a book of photographs on the situation of the works in the new port which were resumed in 1892, but of minor photographic appeal.²² The first album is the most interesting of all; handmade, it contains thirty photographs that present general views of the different facilities in the port of Manila, craft and the state of the works. The author of the photographic commission is unknown, but his images are stripped of all picturesqueness and portray a new reality, the landscape of the machine. One of them, entitled *Vista general de las canteras de Angono* (General view of the Angono Quarries), shows the drilling of the dioritic stone. The impressive mountain stands out, over and above the machines, making the workmen smaller as a comment on the insignificance of human beings in the face of sublime nature. However, a metaphorical reading of the image reveals how in point of fact the mountain is bare, bereft of its external mantle, showing its open wound, while man stands on it, the designer and the person responsible of this new industrial reality. Another image, entitled *Draga de hierro de rosario central de sesenta caballos de fuerza* (Sixty-horsepower iron dredger from Central Rosario), goes even further, dispensing with all natural references and focusing instead on the vigour, solidity and strength of the machine, emphasising its plastic values as if it were a sculpture.

Through the genre of industrial landscape, "a number of nineteenth-century Spanish photographers tried to negotiate the complex changes that were taking place around them. Their photographs became a bridge between past and future and contained the social contradictions of a period of sweeping change. The aesthetic of the 'technological sublime' allowed two contradictory impulses to live side by side: nostalgia for the past and the hope of a better life promised by future technological progress."²³

Another interesting photographic feature belonging to the Archive of the Royal Palace in Madrid is entitled *Obras públicas: Faros* (Public Works: Lighthouses). This album contains forty-five photographic views of the main lighthouses in operation or under construction in the Philippines on July 19 1893. The photographs began to be taken in 1889 and were signed by the Marion Parisian studio. Once again, we are before a full-scale enterprise, for we should not forget that the Philippine archipelago is made up of over seven thousand islands. Such a mammoth task could be compared to the one undertaken by the Hydrographic Committee of the Pacific a few decades before, that managed to chart the entire Philippine archipelago and handed all the documentation over to the new colonial power when Spanish rule came to an end in 1898. What strikes us in these photographs is again the great symbolism of the images. While it is true that these are documentary shots of the process of construction of the lighthouses, equally significant are the aesthetic beauty and the plastic value they convey, especially the individual shots presenting well-defined, sober (and modern) architectural work that stands out against its surrounding nature. These industrial images of lighthouse building in the Philippines or of the renovation of the port in Manila reveal the ambivalence between tradition and progress, a reflection of the contradictions inherent in all nineteenth-century colonial societies.

Just as photography strove to fix a reality in perpetual transformation, the railway was a catalyst of the new visual order. Train journeys plunged travellers into a hypnotic state that enabled them to perceive an abstract and mechanised vision of landscape. The

establishment of this new means of transport did not only radically change the gaze of nineteenth-century viewers but granted them first-hand knowledge of other non-urban realities. The inauguration of the railway facilitated communications and shortened the distance between the capital and the provinces. Outside of Manila, the colonial administration depended essentially on religious communities, despite the existence of the figure of the regional governor and native local civil servants, the management and control of the provinces was the responsibility of the Catholic Church. The different religious orders divided the territory up between them, giving each one a province or a group of provinces yet preserving their headquarters in Manila. Missioners exerted a great influence in the provinces, for as well as parish priests they were teachers, judges, arbitrators and usually district leaders, for “one of the main effects of evangelisation in the Philippines was socialisation, the creation of new social ties that would lead to the establishment of new urban centres and cities. In order to facilitate evangelisation, missioners persuaded the natives to settle in large communities that were ‘under the bell’, i.e., around a church, in an area from where they could hear the bell toll. Over time, these communities became parishes, some of which later became cities. The only Spaniards that Filipinos from areas other than Manila encountered were the missionaries who settled in these cities; as a result missionaries did not only carry out religious functions but played a civilian role as well.”²⁴ The Spanish missionaries did not only concern themselves with converting the natives of the low lands but spread evangelisation to the mountainous tribes, founding “living missions” in the north of the island of Luzon. While Church and State agreed that Christianisation was the main duty of colonisers, they did not always agree on the way this should be produced. Nevertheless, the evangelisation of the Philippines differed from that of Latin America; it was more peaceful and used the vernacular tongue as a means of disseminating the Christian doctrine but also as a means of repression in the field of education, that remained in the hands of religious orders who, as well as imparting Christian teachings to the children of the principals extended the teaching of the catechism to the rest of the population through the parish schools. While it is true that teaching in the different languages didn’t favour the learning of Castilian and its implications in terms of emancipation and social progress for the native population, colonisation and Christian evangelisation shouldn’t be demonised as the cause of the destruction of the Philippine social fabric and of the degradation of its culture. In spite of the intransigence of most of the missionaries we must not forget that the Philippine revolution rose up against the religious institution, for it embodied the essence of colonial power—all evangelising movements present contrasting aspects. Unlike Latin America, where missionaries imposed the Spanish language as a unifying element, evangelisation in the Philippines encouraged the use of different languages. Thus, each order specialised in the languages of its geographic area, promoting the study and publication of treatises on grammar, vocabulary, dictionaries and catechisms in a variety of languages.²⁵ Their interest in medicine and pharmacology entailed a parallel interest in botany, giving rise to specific studies in the fields of flora, fauna and geography.²⁶ This desire to integrate into the native society is exemplified by the stylistic hybridisation in sculptures of ‘saints’ and ivory works or Baroque Philippine architecture, which reveal Spanish, American, Chinese and native influences.

LIFE IN THE PROVINCES

Many missionaries were able to appreciate the wealth of ethnological heritage and became very knowledgeable about the life, habits and customs of the population.

The album *Provincia de Cagayan* (Province of Cagayan), which was possibly produced between 1874 and 1880 and is kept at the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid,²⁷ is therefore a work of great interest. The album was made by hand and comprises twenty-one images in which photography is used to convey information about agriculture and ethnography. The first image is a picture of Our Lady of Piat, followed by an interesting staged portrait of a group of Dominican missionaries from Piat, and then by pictures of the church, court and school of the town of Tuguegarao. There is then a series of photographs that provide an informative narrative of the different stages involved in tobacco farming. These include harvesting, the processes of sowing and transplanting to spearing, and finally the tobacco’s transfer to the stores for the export and manufacture of cigars. *Vista de la sementera de tabaco en el acto de estar cortando* (View of the tobacco fields during the cutting) is remarkable not only because of the beauty of the composition, but also because of the photographer’s interest in capturing the realism of the act by focusing on the movement of the women farmers. Tobacco was the most important agricultural and commercial activity of the Philippine Islands; the Spanish government had therefore reserved the right to produce it throughout Luzon island but not on the Visayas islands. It should not be forgotten that the General Tobacco Company of the Philippines, one of Spain’s largest companies in the late nineteenth century, helped considerably to consolidate and boost the tobacco industry.

Nevertheless, despite the ever-present control of the religious orders in rural areas, there was also a colonial administrative structure on a local and state level that covered the use of both private and public agricultural resources. Photographs of the Philippine provinces are not always about missionary work, ethnography or the use of natural resources; they often show everyday scenes that reflect Philippine games and traditions. A clear example of images of local customs are the photographs of cockfighting. For the Filipino people this was more than simple fun; it was a great national passion. Fights were staged throughout the islands, people took an interest at an early age and for many it was big business. The cocks came in assorted types and colours and were extremely well cared for by their owners, who took them for walks and even let them sleep in their own rooms. Cockfights were often improvised in the middle of the street, although these fights were banned by the authorities as they were only allowed at *galleras* (cockpits), which were amphitheatres with stands for spectators that opened on public holidays, when substantial amounts were gambled. This entertainment was an important source of public income. There is a beautiful photograph of a cockfight by Félix Laureano that is part of a series of twenty-seven individual photographs kept in the National Library in Madrid.²⁸ This photographer’s interest in the human figure is evident in the photograph entitled *En el baño* (In the Bathroom) and in other group compositions such as *Cuadrilleros* (Labourers) and *Mas Tipos Filipinos* (More Filipino Types). Félix Laureano was one of the few photographers of the time who we know was definitely Filipino, although whether his origins were Creole or

mestizo is unknown. On account of this, and of the fact that the photographer was not based in the capital, but in the provinces (in Iloilo on Panay Island), his work appears even more interesting. Félix Laureano was also the first photographer to publish a book of photographs on the Philippines—the album called *Recuerdos de Filipinas* (Memories of the Philippines) published in Barcelona in 1895. Both the book's prologue and dedication claim that the author was Filipino, although any doubts as to his origin are dispelled in the texts that accompany the photographs. These texts reveal great knowledge of the vernacular and of the habits and customs of the people of the country. In the photograph entitled *Lavando la ropa* (Washing Clothes) and the accompanying text, Félix Laureano presents a river with "Three *dalagas* and a *tauo*, sitting on the green grass beside the river and washing clothes, their minute feet being lapped by the crystal clear current. The *tauo*, who can be identified by his manners, is *binabayi*, *agui*, and has the *balutan* of dirty clothes near him. Here, *binabayi*, means effeminate". Only a local could identify a homosexual in context using local expressions.²⁹ The book features thirty-seven "naturally taken and copied phototypes that are a faithful reflection of the Filipino people".³⁰ Félix Laureano was unique because, unlike his contemporary foreign colleagues based in Manila, he was trained in fine art in the Philippines and in Europe and his work as photographer was a result of his vocation as an artist. He was therefore the first Filipino artist to consciously use photography as a medium for art. This does not invalidate the great aesthetic value of the work of other 'professional' photographers such as Albert Honiss, Francisco van Camp, Francisco Pertierra or Manuel Arias Rodriguez. Despite its name, *Recuerdos de Filipinas* is an album about the town of Iloilo and its surrounding area, a beautiful and unusual graphic testimony that displays the extent to which photography could become an aesthetic expression of national assertion. Both local images and native language are associated to convey a notion of identity that cannot be found in any other mestizo photographer—the work is a true love song to a country and to the artist's home town. In the nineteenth century, both Manila and other cities developed considerably. This was the case of both Cavite and, particularly, Iloilo, the port of which was the second largest after Manila: the dock, the extensive estuary and its wealthy agriculture and textile industry (pineapple, *jussi* and *simamay* fabrics) made the town a centre of commerce. The region's development and wealth became evident in the new industrial and textile city of Jaro, just four kilometres from Iloilo, where a new church with three naves and free-standing bell tower, an Episcopal palace and a seminary were built. *Vista de la Catedral de Jaro* (View of Jaro Cathedral) shows a striking Eiffel tower-like construction, built with *cau-yaan* (bamboo cane) and erected to mark the festival of Our Lady of the Candelaria, the patron saint of the recently established city. Two photographs, signed by L. González, of *Calle Real* in the new town are still preserved in the National Library in Madrid. Moreover, the abundance of cattle on Panay Island prompted an enthusiasm for bullfights from 1880 onwards. Iloilo and Manila were the only cities in the Philippines with bullrings where amateur bullfighters fought yet "neither kill horses nor bring picadors to the floor".³¹ Félix Laureano's camera captured one of the most unique and remarkable images preserved in the Philippines of this unknown enthusiasm for bullfights on the islands. In addition to the images of Panay, in 1897 *La Ilustración Española y Americana* published seventeen photogravures by Félix Laureano, taken from photographs of Manila, Cavite, Iloilo and country types, which were probably produced between 1893 and 1894. This was perhaps the time when he moved to Barcelona to publish his album-book and set up his commercial studio Gran Fotografía

Colón, which was to announce the forthcoming appearance of a second volume with more views of and texts on the Philippine archipelago. This volume, however, would remain unpublished.³²

THE PROBLEM OF MINDANAO

The history of the colonisation and conversion to Christianity of Mindanao and Jolo (Sulu) was unlike that of the islands of Luzon and the Visayas and very different to the rest of the Philippines. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, migratory Islamic convert groups from Indonesia had already settled in the south of the islands. The Spaniards referred to this group as Moros (Moors) given that they were of the same religion as the people of the Maghreb in the south-western Mediterranean. The zone was made up of isolated towns called *rancherías* (settlements), which were organised according to a social and political structure based on *dattos* (local sultanates) composed of principalities or states. Inhabitants paid tribute to their respective *dattos* and operated according to a system of vassalage that included slavery.

Mindanao and the Jolo archipelago particularly were very conflictive zones because of the fierce resistance of these communities, which did not only resist conversion to Christianity, but also attempted to convert the inhabitants of the mountains and inland areas of Mindanao island to Islam. This, together with their continuous attacks on the coast of Visayas, and even Luzon, which they sacked, while killing and enslaving the people, made the Moro problem a constant source of conflict that Spain did not manage to control until the end of its colonial presence. From the sixteenth century onwards, fortifications were built that made Zamboanga the main Spanish military centre in the southern Philippines and in the second half of the nineteenth century Spain began the military enforcement of its rights over Mindanao and Jolo, stepped up military campaigns and built more fortifications. The National Library in Madrid preserves an album of photographs entitled *Recuerdos de Mindanao* (Memories of Mindanao) that illustrates the establishment of missions (in this case Jesuit) in the island's five districts: Zamboanga, Cottabato, Davao, Surigao and the Jolo archipelago. The images show how the work of religious indoctrination is associated with the establishment of a colonial social and administrative structure: photographs of missionaries and churches are alternated with portraits of local governors and labourers, with a backdrop of Spanish military detachments. These initial settlements enabled the missions and the colonial authorities to gradually penetrate inland and extend their influence, even though their efforts were constantly hindered by Moro incursions. The last quarter of the century was especially conflictive, as proven by the campaigns by General Malcampo in 1876 and by the Governor of the Philippines, Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, in 1882. In 1891, Governor Don Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau began the systematic military occupation and fortification of the main strategic sites. The provinces of Surigao, Misamis, Dapitan and Davao were thus incorporated into the Spanish administration, although the area enclosed by the Iliana and Iligan bays, which included River Grande in Mindanao, put up resistance and represented an ongoing source of instability and conflict. Fortification was therefore intensified in this zone and the capital was moved from Zamboanga to Cottabato, a transfer prompted by the area's remarkable strategic value in the region. A

series of photographs entitled *Vistas de las poblaciones de Cottabato, Río Grande de Mindanao, Joló, Liangan, Monungam, ... y de tipos indígenas, así como de tropas españolas en Filipinas* (Views of the towns of Cottabato, River Grande in Mindanao, Jolo, Liangan, Monungam, and of indigenous types, as well as of Spanish troops in the Philippines) which were produced in 1892 provide a very enlightening illustration of these problems.³³ The series comprises seventy-five photographs, grouped together in no apparent order yet accompanied by handwritten captions giving details of the place and of the visit made by the Governor-General of the islands, General Eugenio Despujol y Dussay, Count of Caspe, and his wife to Mindanao and Jolo. The unknown photographer was perhaps a soldier and the intention of the series was undoubtedly to demonstrate the military consolidation of the region. It was in fact an act of propaganda and justification of the conflict to the Crown, for whom the report was addressed. Because of its narrative intention, its documentary and ethnological value and the aesthetic quality of the images, this series of photographs is one of the most beautiful on the Philippine archipelago to have been preserved from the nineteenth century. The photographs feature two routes, one of which followed the coast of Iligan and the River Pulangi, while the other went by Cottabato and the River Grande in Mindanao; the trip also included a visit to Isasi island in the Jolo archipelago, where a picturesque portrait of the Countess of Caspe, surrounded by a group of Muslims, was taken. Although there is no record of where the trip began, it could have set out from Iligan Bay and ascended the River Pulangi, of which there are beautiful general views that give an idea of the striking rugged environment with which the colonists had to battle. There are also shots with a certain everyday and informal quality, uncommon in the photography of the time—these include the image of Spanish soldiers at rest, who appear drinking and talking. This picture is very different to the images taken at the military command of Momungam, where the arrival of General Despujol on May 17 to coincide with the birthday of King Alfonso XIII prompted the celebration of a campaign mass in honour of the young monarch. This was a truly symbolic act of Spanish and Christian self-assertion in a markedly hostile context. The other area featured in the report was located around Cottabato and covered the estuaries and the delta of the River Grande in Mindanao. What is striking is the lack of urban development, with the exception of isolated settlements, which prompted the photographer to focus on the austere, clean architecture of the Spanish fortifications, the geometry and ordered volume of which contrasts with the surrounding organic natural environment. Examples are the pictures of the forest and a spectacular baete tree, the 'Castaños' baete, where Spanish soldiers were often photographed. The photographer's gaze is also curiously focused on different settlers, such as the Tirarais, in a setting where there were logically not a large number of missions, producing images that convey snippets of a particular way of life and the surrounding natural environment. Undoubtedly, "In this magnificent terrain, photography, at the end of the century in which it was introduced, attained an epic scope, considering the technical and transport difficulties involved (no doubt partly solved by the army's disciplined support), and meanwhile also very intensely developed the whole documentary capacity of today's graphic features (...). At the time Jolo and Mindanao (particularly the latter) represented the final throes of Spanish colonialism, precisely the moment when the empire was crumbling. Hence, the sterility and magnificence of the gesture".³⁴ After the campaign by Governor Don Eulogio Despujols y Dusay in Mindanao, the offensive continued until 1894 when Spanish troops, led by General Blanco, eventually forced the 'rebels' to surrender. After the Spanish vic-

tory over the *dattos* and the *principalias*, the local chiefs or sultans were forced to pay their respects to the Spanish Governor, as shown in the images of the visit by Sultan Muhamad Harun Narrasid, accompanied by his son, the Rajakmuda, and the rest of his entourage. This photograph is a graphic example of the power that weapons have to impose compliance and capitulation, shown by that fact that the sultan is wearing a European frock coat and has parted with the sabre and Malay *kriss* (dagger), a very different image from the photographs taken by Francisco Pertierra around 1887, when the Sultan of Jolo travelled personally to Manila, accompanied by chiefs of the sultanate.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND INDIGENOUS CULTURES

Notwithstanding its use for propaganda, the Cottabato album is undeniably of anthropological interest. At the start of this text it was mentioned that the oldest photographs of the Philippines feature a series of stereoscopic views, dated from 1860, of the Tinguian, inhabitants of north Luzon. Until a relatively short time ago it was believed that these were the oldest existing photographs of the Philippines.³⁵ This belief was disapproved by the appearance of at least one daguerreotype taken in the Philippines in the eighteen forties. The album is nevertheless very significant, as it is a record of anthropological photography from as early as the eighteen sixties. This 'scientific' interest in the archipelago was preceded by voyages made by European naturalists, as exemplified by the trip made by the Spanish botanist Juan de Cuellar to draw plants or the eighteenth-century Malaspina expedition on which different research projects were undertaken. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Philippines became a favourite destination for scientists, anthropologists, travellers and assorted adventurers, particularly for the French. Testimony of these 'enlightened' voyages can be found in the texts published by Grégoire Louis Domeny de Rienzi (*Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde revue géographique et ethnographique*, 1836), M. Durmont D'Urville, (*Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*, 1842), Gabriel Lafond (*Voyages autour du monde et naufrages célèbres*, 1844) and Paul Proust de la Gironiere (*Aventures d'un gentilhomme breton aux îles Philippines*, 1857). Although some of these narratives were based on real visits, others featured preconceived ideas about the country and told of imaginary landscapes or included idealised descriptions of human beings. This is the case of Edouard Charton whose *Le Tour du Monde. Nouveau Journal des Voyages* featured a passage of text about the Philippines, illustrated with an engraving in which Igorrot natives are represented as if they were neoclassical figures plucked straight from the manual of a European academy.³⁶

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 drastically reduced distances and prompted more genuine contact between Western travellers and the native Philippine population. The wealth of photographs on the different indigenous cultures reflects the great ethnographical and anthropological opportunities offered to scientists and, consequently, photographers by the varied geography and the heterogeneous population of the Philippine archipelago. From the time of its appearance, photography was quickly and efficiently incorporated into the language of physical anthropology as a 'true' and 'objective' instrument of knowledge. In the second half of the nineteenth century, advances in reproduction techniques led to great progress in the circulation of printed images, which introduced changes

both in the transmission and perception of information. The emergence and subsequent proliferation of illustrated magazines such as *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (Spain), *Le Monde Illustré* (France), *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Germany) or *The Illustrated London News* (Great Britain) played an essential role in this cultural transformation, which gave rise to a true visual industry. Even in the Philippines, the phenomenon appeared early on with the publication of the *Ilustración Filipina* (1859-1860) review. Photography blurred the distinction between reality and representation, an aspect that fascinated anthropologists and allowed for the creation of “photographic museums” of the human races. Previously, scientists had only drawn models with a degree of ‘truthfulness’ that was dangerously influenced by the subjective interpretation of the artist commissioned to produce the portrait of the individual under study. Widespread circulation of photography helped scientists to familiarise themselves with the image of the *other* and gather together a lot of information easily. The appearance of photography meant that anthropologists no longer needed to actually travel in order to observe their study cases. A paradigmatic (and controversial) example is the appearance of the *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album in Photographien*, published in instalments by Carl Dammann in 1873-1874. This brought together over six hundred photographs of human ethnic groups and arranged them by geographical origin. The plates reproduced photographs with information on different types and origin and soon became the most popular source of consultation for anthropologists. A text from the period states how “there is currently a tendency to give ethnological value solely to photographic portraits, and the skill of the researcher lies in choosing individuals who are truly representative of their nations. The great *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album* by Carl Dammann from Hamburg, which was completed a few months ago, is therefore one of the most important contributions of all time to anthropological science.”³⁷ Despite the mistakes, ‘oversights’ or manipulation in many of its images, this album undoubtedly became an essential work tool for many anthropologists. The plate corresponding to the Philippines appears in the fifth issue, alongside Australia and the Malayan archipelago. It is called *Philippinen. Indischer Archipel* and includes eight photographs of individuals of both sexes. The first image, which is accompanied by the caption *Cagayan (Aeta von Tugerao)* that gives an indication of the region, human group and place, is a clear example of how certain types of images were abused for scientific ends. This visually very striking photograph shows a half-naked woman from the Negrito or Aeta group whose body posture and face cause a distinct expressive and gestural impact and display a latent fear of the camera. It is clear that the photographer intended to convey an ‘animality’, supposedly innate in the ‘primitive native’ in question. However, another photograph, *Cagayan (Ariper von Tabang)*, is an elegant and beautiful portrait of a splendidly dressed woman and suggests sophisticated use of adornment and attire. Messages were therefore ambiguous, which is why nineteenth-century anthropology was more subtle than a simple post-colonial approach to Darwinism. Both images correspond to the photographic repertoires available to studios, agencies and professional photographers. These two portraits, together with another two pictures on the page, also appear in the *Provincia de Cagayan* album which, as mentioned above, is kept in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid, entitled *Tipo de mujer aeta, raza aborígenes de Philippines* (Aeta Female Type) and *Calinga del rancho de Aripá perteneciente al pueblo de Tabang en traje de gala* (Calinga from the Aripá ranch belonging to the village of Tabang, in gala costume) respectively.³⁸ Dammann’s album, however, certainly helped to popularise and standardise certain types and thus cre-

ated human clichés. One example can be traced in Federico Ratzel’s book *Las razas humanas*, translated and published in Barcelona in 1888; as an illustration to the section on “The Malayan Islands”, Volume I features the second of these portraits and clearly indicates the photographic source in the caption *Mujer calinga de Luzón, Filipinas [de una fotografía del álbum de Damman]* (Calinga woman from Luzon, Philippines [From a photograph in Damman’s Album]).³⁹ This repertoire of images shows the interest aroused among the Western scientific community in the different indigenous cultures of the Philippine archipelago.

The oldest archaeological remains of the Philippines were found in Cagayan Valley, north of the island of Luzon, although the first human skeleton was discovered on the island of Palawan. Neolithic sites have yielded numerous ceramic remains in funerary caves approximately 5000 years old, alongside evidence of an incipient metallurgical technology. The Malayan emigration that began in 1500 BC led to the Islamisation of the Philippines, especially south of Mindanao and in the Jolo (Sulu) archipelago, while the construction of rice terraces in Ifugao is documented around the year 1150 BC, a date that coincides with the setting up of Chinese commercial enclaves in different coastal locations. Indigenous Philippine culture prior to the arrival of Spanish seafarers was rich and varied, embodied in numerous groups of population and great linguistic diversity. Ethnic division was based on two chief factors: religion and ecology.⁴⁰ The former divided the natives into Christians, Moros and pagans, while the latter distinguished between three types: plainsmen, highlanders and sea nomads. The Negritos inhabited the islands of Negros, Panay and Luzon (where they were known by the names Aeta and Ita), as well as the northwest of Mindanao. They settled in marshy areas—lowlands—and on mountainsides, though never higher than 1500 metres. Until the late nineteenth century there was no great interest in these ethnic groups. Some earlier accounts by Augustine and Dominican missionaries made brief references to them, but the only mission that was set up specifically for them was that of Lupao, in the Pangasinan area. The settlers on the cordillera, formerly called Igorrots, were made up of the Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga and Apayao groups; the Muslims from the south, also called Moros, consisted of five main groups made up of the Tausug, Maranao, Maguindanao, Samal and Badjao; and other more singular cultural groups such as the Yakan, the Tirunay, the Bagobo and the Mangyan and Tagbanua islanders. All these were craftsmen and artists, producers of a rich material culture associated with family, economic, military and religious life that fascinated European anthropologists, who in 1870 began to introduce photography into their fieldwork. In spite of being carried out from a point of view of racial superiority in most cases, this documentation helped to reflect an ethnic variety that today has been decimated and has largely disappeared.

The cultural group that undoubtedly most fascinated anthropologists, especially the Germans, was the Negritos or Aetas. The above-mentioned book by Feodor Jagor, *Reisen in der Philippinen* (translated into English as *Travels in the Philippines* in 1875), which was the product of his journeys around the archipelago in 1859 and 1860, contains an illustration of a group of Aetas reproduced from an existing photograph. This image, entitled *Tipos de Aeta* (Aeta Types), is an identical likeness except that in the illustration, the background and the figure of the old man in the photograph have been removed. This shows the ease with which pictures of the local people could be manipulated and presented out of context

for different reasons. It is obvious in this case that the disappearance of the background is intended to remove all evidence of the curtain and the carpet in the photographer's studio, an extremely obvious indication that the photograph is staged and is not a depiction of this human group in its natural environment.

Jagor's travel book was followed by others such as that published by the Briton John Bowring entitled *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, (translated into Spanish as *Una visita a las Islas Filipinas* in 1876), and by the Frenchman Joseph Montano in his *Voyage aux Philippines* from 1879. An example of trick photography, similar to Jagor's, appears in the shot of three Aetas in Iriga (Bicol), supposedly taken in 1881 by the French naturalist Alfred Marché, that was subsequently published by the same author in the publication *Le Tour du Monde* (1886). Comparison of the illustration with the photograph used as a source for the image, entitled *Negritos del Distrito de Porac* (Negritos from the Porac district), included in the *Álbum de Filipinas. Retratos y vistas* (Album of the Philippines. Portraits and Views) in the National Library in Madrid, shows that not only are the figures the wrong way round and positioned beside the added figure of an old man, but the background has also been changed, again to suggest a natural habitat, very different from the ashlar stone wall that appears in the original shot.⁴¹ This kind of artistic 'license' is plentiful in publications from the period. Another example appears in *Bosquejo geográfico e histórico natural del archipiélago filipino* by Ramón Jordana y Morera, published in 1885. The illustration entitled *Negritos o Aetas* (Negritos or Aetas) not only reduces the number of components who appear in the original photograph, but also shows one of them taking aim with a bow in order to make the rest and serenity shown in the photograph more dramatic.

Although these kinds of 'fakes' were certainly more typical of travel books, they can also be found in the field of science, an example of which is the German anthropologist A. B. Meyer's 1872 study entitled *Ueber die negritos oder aetas der Philippinen* in 1872. Together with the drawing of three skulls and nine descriptive profiles, the book includes a real photograph of an Aeta. Comparison of the image that shows a settlement and indigenous people, reproduced in Jagor's book, with this photographic portrait very quickly shows the degree of information and 'truthfulness' prompted by the use of photography in visual anthropology. This portrait of the Aeta in his natural surroundings is nevertheless just another pose. A visiting card in an album that belongs to the National Library in Madrid portrays the same individual standing up, thus showing that the natural landscape, which surrounded the Aeta in the photograph in Meyer's book, is really a painted set, decorated with real rocks and plants, in the studio of Wood Hijos in the city of Manila. Over and above the documentary manipulation, such methods reveal a lack of images to illustrate their research forced anthropologists to use commercial photographs provided by professional studios in remote geographical areas. There arose a real need, therefore, for photographers to accompany anthropologists in their research and field studies and with the passage of time and decreasing technical costs, anthropologists themselves became photographers and dispensed with professional middlemen. This is the case of Meyer himself who, with A. Schadenberg, published his *Álbum de Tipos Filipinos. Luzón Norte. Negritos, Tinguianes, Banaos, Guinaanes, Silipanes, Calingas, Apoyáos, Quianganes, Igorrotes y Ilocanos* (Album of Filipino Types. North Luzon. Negritos, Tinguianes, Banaos, Guinaanes, Silipanos, Calingas, Apoyaos, Quianganes, Igorrots and Ilocanos) in Dresden in 1891. The

album contains fifty plates, with over six hundred ethnographic types reproduced using phototypography, and is a continuation of that published on Philippine types by Meyer in 1885. All the photographs were taken by Doctor Schadenberg "in the surroundings of the individuals portrayed; although the brief text that accompanies and explains the plates is based on his diary, it is the work of both of us."⁴² Although this is a scientific work that uses photography to reproduce different groups and their habitats as faithfully as possible, readers cannot fail to notice the abundance of naked female torsos. Anthropological photography, like pornography, was one of the few areas in which human nudes were an inherent part of the discipline's 'language' and this provided a perspective that was prohibited in other photographic genres. The concept of anthropological voyeurism must be understood in terms that go beyond an initial erotic and superficial interpretation. In other words, the camera not only shamelessly 'peeks' but also 'steals' from (and thus 'violates') the subject of the portrait. A paradigmatic case can be found in the book *The Islands and their People*, published in 1898 by Dean Conant Worcester. The author, who used photography in his fieldwork, confesses in the prologue that "at that time nothing could have seemed to us more improbable than that the information which we were gathering would ever be of use to our government, or of interest to the general public." Worcester, an American, was in fact to become Secretary of the Interior of the colonial government of the United States and his photographic work (in which the subgenus of 'erotic anthropology' abounds) was to become the most prolific of any foreign photographer. He produced around 5,000 images in a twenty-year period. His book was based on two visits made to the Philippine Islands in 1887-1888 and in 1890-1892, when accompanying the research group of the zoologist J. B. Steere. The author describes how the team "had great difficulty in getting photographs of the Moros. They were unduly influenced by the remarks in the Koran concerning the making of pictures of living things, and furthermore many of them believed that if they were photographed they were sure to die within a year. We were obliged to steal most of our pictures, and we found it difficult and dangerous work; for Moros have *very pointed* ways of emphasising their objections. For a long time we failed to secure any photographs of women." Luckily, a few days later Worcester, and the rest of the group, had the chance to attend a Moro wedding. We "were very anxious to get pictures of the guests, and that evening smuggled in our dismantled camera, together with some magnesium powders and a flashlight lamp. Under pretext of contributing our share to the entertainment, we showed them how to make artificial lightning. Bourns focussed on the guests, I touched off magnesium powders, and in this way we made a number of exposures, only two of which gave us negatives that would print. The pictures thus obtained are reproduced on pages 193 and 199."⁴³ Page 199 does feature a photograph entitled *Moro interior, showing women and children – Sulu*. Regardless of whether Worcester's shot was real or slightly staged, such use of photography in anthropology is completely deceptive.

Artifice is extremely common in visual anthropology—there follows a brief description of some cases in the Philippines. The Cagayan album, mentioned above, features an image called *Un calinga cortando la cabeza de su enemigo vencido* (A Calinga beheading his defeated enemy). The photograph does indeed 'represent' (a word extremely appropriate here) this 'act'. However, one of anthropology's most striking subgenera was undoubtedly the images of the 'native tourist'. There are plentiful examples, such as the visiting card of Captain J. Henry, produced in the photographic studio of Francisco

van Camp in Manila and dated April 12 1883, which shows the captain with two 'savage' natives before front of a painted jungle backdrop. There is also a photograph in the Museo del Ejército in Madrid that portrays two Spanish soldiers who, in order to remember their stay on the islands, are dressed up as natives with spears and shields. The cigar, the long johns, the carpet and their own bodies cannot hide the 'savage' paraphernalia. These anthropological images should not be interpreted from a perspective of racial superiority, but from one of racial humour. Nineteenth-century fascination with 'savages' was such that even the mestizo bourgeoisie felt the attraction. The Museo del Ejército also has a collage photograph in which the figures of some schoolchildren have been cut out and superimposed on an already existing image of a group of indigenous people to create a group portrait. These images are pejorative but they are neither spiteful nor harmful. They are very different from the images that appeared in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* of the few episodes (that appeared in the Spanish press during the 1898 conflict) in which photographic manipulation was used intentionally as propaganda for disinformation purposes. In the collage published in this magazine, accompanied by the photo caption *Indígenas insurrectos y aliados de las tropas norteamericanas* (Insurrectionary Natives and Allies of the American Troops), these same 2. *Tinguianes de Nueva Ecija* (Tinguians of New Ecija) are then referred to as 4. *Tinguianes de Abra* (Tinguians of Abra), geographically over 200 kilometres to the north, and thereafter as 7. *Igorrote antropófago* (Anthropophagous Igorrot). Comparison of these images with the 1886 photograph entitled *Indígenas ibilanes de Nueva Ecija* (Native Ibilians of New Ecija) by Francisco Pertierra shows how the race, geography and period of this cultural group of settlers in the Caraballo Mountains in New Vizcaya have been 'magically' transformed by the 'truthfulness' of photography.⁴⁴

As mentioned, not all anthropological photographs can be classified as scientific documents. Anthropologists understood that by far most racial images were of no use for their studies, and therefore brought in the use of pre-established rules for the taking of photographs in order to standardise information and guarantee comparison. Merging anthropometry, or the study of the human body's proportions and measurements, with photography was one of the methods proposed by anthropologists such as T. H. Huxley and John Lamprey. Alphonse Bertillon, meanwhile, went a step further and used a system for identifying criminals, a practice already used in police photography. On a parallel basis anthropology was backed up by emergent phrenology, a doctrine according to which a person's psychological faculties can be attributed to specific zones of the brain and the morphology of his or her skull. The firm belief that examining a cranium could reveal a person's character and aptitudes sparked off a passion among anthropologists for collecting skulls.

The Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid has an extensive collection of photographs of skulls from the Philippines. These include the striking image of the *Cráneo del célebre tulisán Juan Hernández* (Skull of the famous tulisan Juan Hernández), a native of Malolos (province of Bulacan) who committed twelve murders and was executed by garrotting in 1879. The photograph was sent to the Exhibition of the Philippines in Madrid from the collections of Don Hipólito Fernández, Minister of the Audit Office of the Philippines, who "was a great collector and gathered together a wealth of objects associated with the Natural and Ethnographical history with which he established a Museum. His collections

were acquired by the Central Committee of the Exposition of the Philippines, which when dissolved became the Exposition at the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar. The photographs, which are all mounted on card and measure 10 × 13.5 cm, include skulls from different zones of the archipelago of primitive inhabitants of Luzon Island and of the Mariana Islands, the skull of a Caroline king and the skulls of two famous *tulisans*, as bandits were known there, who had committed several murders and were executed in due course. Most of the photographs also feature details on whom the skull in the photograph belonged to and, where applicable, who collected it and when it was collected."⁴⁵

The photograph of *Vista de la Sección 1ª. Antropología* (View of the 1st Section. Anthropology) of the Exposition of the Philippines held in Madrid in 1887 includes both images of skulls and bones and 'racial' type photographs. A closer look reveals some of the images that had appeared in the albums by Dammann, those of the Tinguian group by Marché, Francisco van Camp's *Indígena de la clase rica [Mestiza sangley-filipina]*, and in the *Álbum de Filipinas. Retratos y vistas [Doncella India]* (Album of the Philippines. Portraits and Views [Indian Maiden]), which has also been mentioned. The exhibitions on the colonies were another means of enabling the scientific community to carry out their anthropological research while allowing the Western public to encounter the image of the *other* for the first time.

AN EMPIRE IN A SHOWCASE⁴⁶

This sort of ethnographic, colonial and universal exhibitions with a commercial component would be frequent in the Western world. Such shows reconstructed villages, brought over natives to be displayed and revealed certain aspects of their culture. As a result of these exhibitions local interest in so-called 'exotic' peoples grew, giving rise to the creation of a number of ethnologic museums in Europe.⁴⁷ In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Philippines took part in several Expositions Universelles, such as those held in London (1851), Paris (1855 and 1867), Philadelphia (1876) and the colonial exhibition in Amsterdam (1883) with pavilions that displayed the country's products. After taking part in the 1887 Madrid exhibition, the Philippines presented its own pavilion at the World Fair held in Barcelona in 1888 and formed a part of the Spanish pavilion in the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. Manila even organised the Regional Exposition of the Philippines in 1895, a show that was supposed to open on November 30 1894 but was postponed because "several companies and industrialists declared it was impossible for them to prepare the installations and take them to the Islands from the Peninsula or from abroad".⁴⁸ The exhibition opened on January 23 1895 and was held in the grounds owned by the State in the poor area of Ermita, where the School of Agriculture was located, that became the Central Pavilion. The programme established six sections: 1. Orography, Hydrography, Geology, Anthropology, Mining, Metallurgy and Meteorology; 2. Hunting, Fishing and Flora; 3. Agriculture; 4. Manufacturing Industry; 5. Trade and Transport; 6. Fine Arts. The fourth section included demonstrations by blacksmiths, locksmiths and specialised textile workers (pine fabric).

This is the context that prompted the idea of organising a colonial exhibition of the Philippines in Madrid, which would be held in the summer of 1887. One of the many rea-

sons given by the Spanish administration to justify this celebration was making known the economic and social reality of this overseas province and, while doing so, favour the unbalanced commercial relationship between the colony and its metropolis. Although a considerable effort was made to co-ordinate and present a global view of Philippine society, the organisation of the exhibition could not conceal an inevitable colonial character. Nonetheless, the model envisaged in Madrid was noticeably different to that of other ethnographic and colonial exhibitions held in Europe and the United States during the same period. The promulgation of a royal decree and its regulations marked the beginning of the process and the Regal Commission was set up in Madrid, presided over by the Minister for Overseas, Víctor Balaguer. The Madrid Commission received, classified and studied all the objects selected and sent by the Central Commission, set up in the Philippines and presided over by the General Governor; the Archbishop of Manila was vice-president and the true organiser of the exhibition. Several provincial and local commissions were also created with the object of compiling information and, above all, articles and goods. Eight sections were organised, in turn divided up into different groups, alongside their respective reports: 1. Nature in the Spanish territories in Oceania; 2. Population; 3. Army and auxiliary armed institutes of the Administration; 4. Navy; 5. Geographic botany of the Archipelago, its flora, forest and fauna; 6. Agriculture, horticulture and livestock resources; 7. Industry, commercial activity and traffic; 8. General culture, public instruction, arts and sciences. The contents of these sections were listed in the officially printed Catalogue, and other publications were a Guide and a History of the Exhibition.⁴⁹

The venue chosen to house the Central Pavilion was the Mining Palace (now the Velázquez Palace), erected in 1883 on occasion of the Exposition of Mining and Metallurgy and located in the area known as Campo Grande in Madrid's Retiro Park. Beside this the Crystal Palace was built, designed as a hothouse to welcome the plants from the Philippines. Inspired by London's Crystal Palace (1851), the original project anticipated its dismantling and subsequent transportation to Manila; it was conceived to house a display of peninsular products planned as a complement to the Madrid exhibition. Its opening was postponed until September 22, which enabled it to be used at the official opening, before the plants and the collections were installed. Similarly, the lake in front of the Crystal Palace was expressly designed and made to display the craft and traditional arts of fishing of the archipelago. Finally, a number of 'ethnographic' constructions were erected around the two palaces, the style of which imitated those of traditional Philippine houses made of cane and nipa: Ploughing, Weaving, Installation of Abaca and Bahay, built by the General Tobacco Company of the Philippines. However, the building that generated greater enthusiasm among visitors was the Igorrot Settlement, that comprised various constructions such as the Court or the habitable tree house. The review *La Ilustración Española y Americana* described these constructions in several issues published while the exhibition was open. Finally, a group of Filipinos from each of the provinces travelled to Madrid and played an active part in the demonstration of the preparation of abaca, the production of tobacco and handmade fabrics, as they had done during the Regional Exposition of the Philippines held in 1895. On June 30 the exhibition was officially opened by Regent Queen Maria Cristina and the Government in full, and was quite an event in the cultural life of Madrid. During the three and a half months during which the show remained open, both the exhibition grounds and the Central Pavilion were illuminated with electric light every night, a spec-

tacle that fascinated the public. The exhibition was officially closed on October 17 although it remained open until the 30 in the main hall of the Central Pavilion that had housed the eighth section. Most of the materials and objects on display would subsequently enter the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, founded after the Exposition of the Philippines.

Even so, the participation of 'naturals', despite generating a host of conflicts would eclipse many of the economic, social and cultural areas of the show, arousing the greatest interest among critics and public alike. Although the Spanish authorities' original intention was that the Philippine participation should have a commercial and cultural purpose, the truth was otherwise. This was partly due to the Dominican Brother Pedro Payo, Archbishop of Manila and "intellectual author of the expositional model with regard to the presence of savage Filipinos in the show, a participation that theoretically and openly intended to 'make known' the ethnic diversity of the archipelago and latently (...) present an 'uncivilised' Philippines that still requires the 'tutelage' of the members of religious orders and a clearly colonial policy."⁵⁰ The extraordinary aspect of the Philippine presence in Spain on occasion of the 1887 exhibition was the fact of their arrival as a group, not as members of the enlightened mestizo elites. In all there were fifty-five Filipinos present in the show, who were housed in the warehouse and aroused the curiosity of the press. During the days prior to the exhibition they rode through the streets of Madrid, were visited by Víctor Balaguer, went to the theatre and were received by the regent queen at the Royal Palace. All the Filipino staff who had travelled received a wage or a reward before, during and after the trip to Madrid, as well as food and health care; although three members of the colony died, none were ill-treated. The presence, participation or 'exhibition' of naturals must be contextualised in the framework of the world fairs and colonial expositions of the period. In this sense, there are significant differences between the Madrid model and the 'ethnographic' shows of an entertaining, commercial or pseudo-scientific nature that proliferated throughout Europe and the United States. The impact these shows had in Spain cannot be compared to the importance they had in other Western countries, as exemplified by the 1883 Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition held in Amsterdam, the sad case of the 1897 Universal Exhibition in Brussels or the even sadder Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in Saint Louis in 1904. Only two other 'anthropological' exhibitions held in Spain after 1887 left photographs: the presentation in Barcelona and Madrid of a large number of individuals from the Ashanti ethnic group who were photographed by Xatart⁵¹ and the exhibition of an Eskimo village in Madrid in 1900, part of a travelling exhibition throughout Europe.⁵²

Nonetheless, it is difficult to reach a pertinent conclusion regarding the complex set of images and discourses formulated around the participation of Filipinos in the Madrid exhibition. The celebration of the show was in itself the culmination of a series of liberally-oriented administrative and legislative reforms applied to the archipelago during the eighteen eighties and early eighteen nineties. Even so, 'primitive' images were seen and interpreted as 'savage' by most of the public, in contradiction with the messages of culture and modernisation proclaimed by the show. Deep down, the exhibition reflected the peculiar paternal model of Spanish colonialism, "Unlike the Spanish case, from the very beginning the pragmatism of the North American administration in the Philippines resorted to ethnology and ethnologists to construct, both symbolically and practically, though

not without difficulty, its colonial presence in the archipelago and, as we have seen, the exhibition format is one of the most prominent channels for its presentation.”⁵³

The 1887 Exposition of the Philippines was profusely documented—as well as the pictures featured in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* two photographic albums were made. The first, in terms of the number and the quality of the pictures it contained, was the royal album, entrusted to the firm Jean Laurent y Cía., and made up of forty-five photographs, external views of the pavilions and internal views of the different sections as well as pictures of Filipinos brought to Spain.⁵⁴ The second, deposited at the Biblioteca-Museo Víctor Balaguer, comprised thirty pictures and seemed less official and more amateurish, for it was made by the Marquis of Bergel and given as a present to the Minister for Overseas. Furthermore, the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid preserves a series of photographs—individual and group portraits of the Filipinos taking part in the exhibition—made by the studio run by Fernando Debas, one of the most famous portraitists of the period. These pictures are noticeably different to the staged photographs of Igorrots in the ‘exoticised’ landscape of the Retiro Park; the respect for the individuals photographed and their dignified poses are the most obvious traits of the group portrait of two Moro couples from Mindanao. Another remarkable image is the one in which Ismael Alzate, a ‘learned’ Igorrot and leader of the Filipino mission, appears lying back, in European dress and a slightly arrogant pose—an attitude that reflects his self-assured superiority over the rest of the Igorrots photographed. Nevertheless, these photographs have been taken from an artistic angle, not an anthropological one, and bear a resemblance to the portraits of Spanish popular types, which is why an exclusively colonial reading of these images, i.e., a reading based on a Darwinian premise of racial superiority, can lead to mistakes and misinterpretations. The body of images preserved of the Exposition of the Philippines conveys an ambiguous, if not confused, meaning, as exemplified by two specific photographs: the first one, entitled *Vista exterior, río con barcas y mestizas galantes con cabaña* [Outdoor view, river with boats and courteous mestizas with a cabin], from the album *Exposición Filipina-Madrid 1887* belonging to the Marquis of Bergel, presents the Philippines as an ideal Arcady; the second one is a respectful group portrait in which the various Philippine representatives appear appropriately dressed in a civilised setting [the stairs that lead to the Central Pavilion].

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

This portrait of the Filipinos taken to Spain for the Exposition of the Philippines illustrates the different degrees of cultural assimilation that had been attained by the native population. Although some human groups did uphold their ancestral habits and customs, it is also true that the mestizo population had become very sophisticated. Proof of this can be found in the written press, the heyday of which, according to sources from the time, was in the last quarter of the century. Around seventy-four publications were being printed which included *Diario de Manila*, *La España Oriental*, *El Comercio*, *Diario de Avisos*, *El Correo*, *Ilustración Filipina*, *La Moda Filipina*, *El Motín*, *El Oriente*, *La Oceanía Española*, *Revista de Filipinas*, *La Opinión*, *La Ilustración de Oriente*, *Manila Alegre*, *El Bejuco*, *El Cometa*, *Manillilla*, *La Mosca*, *The Kon Gotas* as well as a large number of assorted news-

letters, guides and gazettes.⁵⁵ Most were published in Spanish but some were bilingual publications that were also written in local languages. There is therefore evidence not only of a Spanish and Creole elite, but also of an emerging mestizo bourgeoisie of people who had been educated in their own country.

Numerous Filipino and American historians claim that education was introduced by the United States after 1898.⁵⁶ Certainly education was one of the main achievements of this second colonial period, yet to say it was introduced by the United States is an overstatement. What the United States really introduced was its own school system on a massive scale, which involved the imposition of English over and above Spanish and local languages and was not a sign that education had been established in the Philippines at such an early date. Prior to 1863, although legislation on primary schooling was very scant, it was provided everywhere by the Spanish religious orders. In 1598 the Augustinians ordered every parish to set up schools in villages, towns and city districts. In the official orders of 1634 and 1636, Philip IV of Spain requested the archbishops and bishops to educate the indigenous people. In 1682 Charles II ruled that primary instruction should be free; and in 1792 Charles III suggested that schools should be supervised by provincial and local officials. Although repeated recommendations, orders and laws by Spanish monarchs were partly neglected by the local authorities, they were not ignored by the religious communities. Government legislation never established a detailed plan on educational methods for primary schools, even though royal orders placed emphasis on education, particularly with regard to the construction of buildings, the recruitment of divinity teachers and the teaching of Spanish. Parish priests set an example by writing books and readers and, later, grammars and dictionaries.⁵⁶ From 1863 the government took charge of higher education, made official the schools established by the parish priests, awarded qualifications and assigned salaries. Thenceforth, the religious orders gave up some higher education tasks and focused on primary, compulsory education that was free for all children of both sexes. After the Maura decree in 1893, schools became free from inspection by the parish priests and thereafter became the responsibility of the local councils. It has been calculated that around 1898 there were 2,143 state schools, not including private and religious schools, which were attended by 1,091 boys and 1,052 girls.⁵⁷ The National Library in Madrid keeps a photograph from 1887 that presents the pupils of the *Escuela municipal de instrucción primaria de Quiapo* [Municipal School for Primary Instruction in Quiapo], which bears testimony to the existence of free public education.

The same library also has four albums of photographs, also dated 1887, entitled *Álbum de Filipinas. Fotografía y manuscritos de niños* [Album of the Philippines. Photography and Children’s Manuscripts], *Álbum de Vistas de la Universidad y Colegios de Santo Tomás, San Juan de Letrán, San José y Santa Catalina* [Album of Views of the University and Colleges of Santo Tomás, San Juan de Letrán, San José and Santa Catalina], *Álbum de la Escuela Normal de Manila* [Album of the Normal School in Manila] and *Álbum del Ateneo Municipal de Manila* [Album of the Municipal Athenaeum in Manila], featuring a total of sixty-nine photographs of educational institutions and the portraits of over fifty pupils. As mentioned above, in addition to primary education, the religious orders established higher education centres in the country’s main cities. In 1585 San José College was established by Royal Order, intended for the education of the children of Spaniards resi-

dent in the country. The archbishop of Manila began planning Santo Tomás College in 1611. Nine years later it was opened to young Filipino people, regardless of race and in 1644 it was awarded the status of a university, the first in Asia. Other schools that reported to this institution included the College of San Juan Letrán (founded in 1620), which initially gave elementary instruction to poor and abandoned children but from 1690 onwards offered courses in philosophy and theology for students aspiring to the priesthood. The University of Manila had its own Museum of Natural History that, together with the museum of the Municipal Athenaeum, were the only centres of their kind until the project for a colonial museum was drawn up in the last decade of the nineteenth century that didn't materialise. Like other colleges and schools, the building was destroyed during the bombardment of Manila in the Second World War. Girls also had exclusive schools such as the Colleges of Santa Catalina (the first religious institution for Spanish and Filipino women), Santa Isabel, Santa Rosa, and the uncloistered communities of La Compañía, La Concordia and La Consolación. There were also many other institutions that contributed to the cultural, educational and artistic development of the Philippines. These included the Academy of Drawing and Painting, the School of Arts and Crafts, and schools of Navigation, Accountancy, Languages and History, all of which were testimony of the existence of organised education under the Spanish colonial administration.

The different religious orders opened their own education centres in the provinces, which included those of the Franciscans in Camarines, the Recollects in Negros and the Augustinians in Iloilo. Of particular significance were the Jesuits who set up the Municipal Athenaeum in Manila and trained teachers at the Normal School, which was also in Manila. The running of the Athenaeum, which had previously been known as both the Pious School of Manila (1816) and the Municipal School of Manila (1830), was assumed by the Jesuits in 1859 after their return to the Philippines. The name 'municipal' was dropped when the government subsidy was removed in 1901 yet it remained in Intramuros until 1932 when the building was destroyed in a fire. The Athenaeum was well-known for its teaching methods and its approach to students. José Rizal himself was a student there and in his book *El filibusterismo* writes favourably of the centre, whereas he sharply criticises the College of San Juan de Letrán and the University. The chapter entitled "The Physics Class" is particularly interesting as his comments on the classroom and the physics department match the photographs of these areas published in the Album of Manila's Municipal Athenaeum.⁵⁸

MESTIZO IDENTITY

The Municipal Athenaeum in Manila educated a whole generation of enlightened Filipinos who travelled to the metropolis and whose propaganda was channelled into the revolution. The economic and social transformations that took place in the Philippines thanks to the introduction of industrial agriculture and the liberalisation of trade following the opening of the port of Manila to international shipping, heightened the socio-economic differences among the indigenous groups, to the point that some Indian or mestizo families would attain sufficient power to enable them to propound new forms of relations with the Spanish. Their new status was reflected in the construction of small palaces in wood and

stone, the walls of which were covered with painted and photographed portraits of this proud and booming mestizo class that turned to these symbols that celebrated their prosperity—artistic images as a means of social self-assertion. The so-called *ilustrados*, members of the Indian or mestizo elites educated according to Western models, belonged to such families. Considered the first nationalist bourgeoisie of Southeast Asia, they intensified their propaganda activity before the Spanish administration, demanding greater political freedom and Filipino representation in Parliament. Alongside the mestizos were the Chinese or Sangleyes, who were classified separately to the Philippine Indians, were assigned different rights and obligations and were scorned and relegated to trade. However, this did not prevent them from attaining a high economic level or from taking an active part in the propaganda movement.

FROM THE CAVITE MUTINY TO THE CONFLICT IN THE CAROLINE ISLANDS

In 1872 a mutiny in protest for the repression exercised in the colony took place in Cavite, a military citadel at the entrance to the bay of Manila. The uprising was stifled and the Spanish colonial government executed the Philippine priests José Burgos, Mariano Gómez and Jacinto Zamora, who became martyrs of the nationalist cause. Countless sympathisers of the mutiny were imprisoned, deported or exiled out of the country. This episode marked the birth of a current of opposition to colonial rule known as the Propaganda Movement.

Ironically, most of the ideas and encounters that would give birth to the failed attempts to secure Philippine autonomy and representation in Parliament arose in Spain. In Barcelona, the community of exiled Filipinos, headed by Graciao López Jaena and Marcelo H. del Pilar, published *La Solidaridad* newspaper (1889), the mouthpiece of the reformers, many of whom were Freemasons and associated with the anarchist groups in the city. The Philippine plan was rather of a symbolic nature and did not insist on the fact that Philippine representation in Parliament should be proportionate to the number of inhabitants in the country (almost half the Spanish population). The reformist group launched a campaign to obtain just three members of parliament, which was not successful. These problems were posed in the controversial context of Spain's colonies overseas, which included Cuba and Puerto Rico as well as the Philippines. However, the distinctive feature of the latter was due to the wide geographic variety offered by the country's seven thousand islands, as well as to the fact that its population was less homogeneous than those of the other two overseas colonies. A census drawn up in 1894 based on parish registrations shows a population of 6,414,373 inhabitants, to whom we should add another million who were not registered, made up of 'heathen' natives, Chinese, Moros and foreigners. This same census also includes another reference, that of the Regular and Lay Clergy, comprising 2,751 members, while Military Personnel comprised 21,513 individuals, under three thousand of whom were from the Spanish peninsula and the rest were natives.⁵⁹ These figures inform us of the religious and military imperialist régime, dominated by an organised Spanish minority that used all the ideological and coercive resources at its disposal.

Spain maintained an active military presence during the last quarter of the nineteenth century; as well as the Cavite mutiny and the increase in military campaigns in the south of Mindanao and the Jolo archipelago mention should be made of the conflict in the Caroline Islands. This group of islands in Micronesia were given this name in 1686 by Francisco de Lezcano as a tribute to Charles II of Spain. Despite being nominally under Spanish sovereignty, in actual fact the sovereignty was not effective. However, an attempt to seize and occupy the islands by incipient German imperialism led the Spanish government to take possession once again. On August 8 and 10 1885 the General Governor of the Philippines stipulated the departure of two military vessels, the Manila and the San Quintín, with the objective of recovering sovereignty over the islands and make Spanish ownership effective. The incident was settled by means of papal arbitration in favour of Spain, but under the condition that an active administration was set up and the islands' trade was liberated. As a result of this conflict the photographic album *Recuerdo de Manila* (Memory of Manila) was sent to the regent queen. The album is now deposited in La Cumbre palace in San Sebastian,⁶⁰ and what is most interesting about it is the fact that it contains the only known images of this colonial dispute: views of the boarding of troops destined to the Caroline Islands and of the kermesse in aid of the victims of the confrontation. The album was accompanied by a comprehensive photographic display of the different military bodies in the Philippines (Cavalry, Civil Guard, Infantry, Halberdiers, Police Force, Artillery and Engineers) that inform us of the condition of the Spanish army in the colony around the year 1885.

THE KATIPUNAN REVOLUTION

In 1887 the mestizo humanist José Rizal, an *ilustrado*, doctor and member of the intelligentsia, published his book *Noli me tangere* in Berlin, which related the injustices of the Spanish colonial regime. This novel was continued in 1891 in the sequel *El Filibusterismo*, the same year that the Philippine League was founded. Despite being written in Spanish and therefore being incomprehensible to most Filipinos, the two books are historically significant as the source of inspiration of the Philippine Revolution. As a result, Rizal was arrested and exiled to Dapitan in Mindanao, a fact that convinced many Filipinos they had to take more radical actions in their demands for equality. Andrés Bonifacio, an admirer of Rizal's and member of the League, set up a secret society called Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (The Venerable Association of Sons and Daughters of the Nation). The Katipunan, known as the KKK, was founded as a small brotherhood in Manila. In its early days it was associated with Masonic rites and lodges, but subsequently spread throughout the country and during the revolution registered hundreds of thousands of members. Once the Katipunan was discovered in 1896, the colonial government undertook radical repressive measures that included the persecution of a numerous group of Filipinos who were accused of conspiracy.

The conflict blew up in August of that year. During the last days of August and first days of September the revolutionaries managed to occupy practically the whole province of Cavite, with the exception of the capital. In view of how things were developing on August 29 the General Governor, Ramón Blanco, sent a telegram to the Minister for War, Azcárraga,

requesting one thousand men and permission to create the Battalion of Civil Volunteers. In all, eight companies of volunteers from the Spanish peninsula resident in the Philippines were set up, as revealed by the photographs in two albums deposited in the Royal Palace and the General Military Archive in Madrid, comprising fifteen pictures and dated September 1 1896. At the same time, the Cánovas government decided to double the number of troops requested. The dispatch of military contingents was organised in battalions of between three and six companies made up of approximately two hundred men each. The first expeditionary battalion that departed on September 3 for the Philippines consisted of forces of the Marine Corps. Their arrival in Manila on October 3 was quite an event, for they were welcomed at the port by all the civil, religious and military authorities in Manila. Furthermore, the whole city was decked out for the occasion, numerous houses were adorned with national flags and the streets that welcomed the parade were festooned with triumphal arches. A photographic feature kept in the Museo del Ejército in Madrid displayed the arrival, welcome and parade of the Spanish troops; although it is not dated we may assume it to be the same occasion.⁶¹ The second expeditionary battalion was organised in Barcelona and consisted of 1,050 members of Ground Infantry troops who departed for the Philippines on September 7. Between the months of September and December the revolution would spread throughout the country in spite of the attempts made by General Blanco to stop it. In the face of this situation, the government in Madrid surrendered the supreme command of the Philippines to General Camilo Polavieja y del Castillo, who took possession on December 13 1896. The restructuring of the Spanish army with troops from the peninsula impelled to the campaign to recover the province of Cavite; in the framework of the new organisation and distribution of the troops, many orders were given regarding the discipline, health and well-being of soldiers, seeking to improve their performance. Field hospitals are set up and the health system is reinforced with new equipment, as we see in a series of photographs of this period kept in the Museo del Ejército. These images and those in the General Archive of Indias in Seville (the deposit of General Camino Polavieja y del Castillo) form the greatest collection of works on the revolutionary conflict kept in Spanish archives.

The genre of war photography first appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century with reporters such as Fenton, Faccio and Gustave Le Gray. The military showed an early interest in the medium, from the very birth of photography, taking advantage of the propaganda value of images as another tool of power and repression. In the case of Spain, the precedents were the War of Africa (1859-1860), followed by the Carlist Wars and the colonial conflicts in Cuba and the Philippines between the reigns of Isabel II and Alfonso XIII. In all these events, "photography was used as a model by engravers and draughtsmen in the photographic press of the period, but also as the souvenirs that soldiers and officers sent to their closest relatives, thus stressing the importance of the photographic portrait."⁶² Yet not all the war images were made by professionals, many of them were by amateur military photographers whose pictures were sources of information and propaganda. In point of fact this was a long-standing tradition, the precedents of which can be found in the figure of N. Ibáñez, an officer in the Spanish Navy who took part in the expedition to Jolo in 1875; Colonel García Cabrero, who accompanied the General Governor, Primo de Rivera, in the incursion into the northern area of Luzon in December 1880; and the officers Alfonso de Perinat, Alfonso Sanz y Doménech and Luis Roig de Lluís who

took part in the Mindanao campaigns of 1887, 1891 and 1894 respectively. We know of their activity because some of their photographs were published as prints in the review *La Ilustración Española y Americana*—those taken by the Lieutenant of Engineers Martínez de Unciti at the opening of the Regent Queen Fort in Tinunkup, at River Grande in Mindanao, near Cottabato, on February 25, 1896. We have references of photographs taken that same year by the soldier Javier Betegón to illustrate some of the events of the revolution in the Philippines. The conflict did not only cost the lives of revolutionaries, peasants, civilians and military but also of the professional photographers Augusto Morris and Francisco Chofré early in September 1896 on the outskirts of Manila, where they had gone to take pictures of the scenes of the Tagala uprising.⁶³

However, the great photographer of this war was the Spanish Creole Manuel Arias Rodríguez, whose presence and camera could be found at all important events and without whose images our vision of the overseas conflict would no doubt be narrow. We know that he was born into a wealthy family that lived in Intramuros and ran a bookshop in Manila called La Agencia Editorial. He began his photographic work in 1892 as an amateur, initially with scenes from his private life (friends, domestic interiors and gardens) and subsequently with images of his excursions throughout the country, especially to Laguna, a province in the south of Manila. His relationship with the military must have been good, for he is credited as the author of the famous and controversial photo of the execution by firing squad of José Rizal on the morning of December 30, 1896. His camera also captured the conquest and recovery of the province of Cavite, under the offensive of the Lachambre Division which he accompanied from November 7 1896 to December 24 1897, for which he was awarded the Red Cross for Military Merit. Many of these images were published in the Barcelona weekly *La Ilustración Artística*, that would also publish his photographs of the Biak-na-Bato pact, the proclamation of young Emilio Aguinaldo as President of the Philippines after the Malolos conference of 1899, or the chronicle of the journey on the Uranus steamship accompanying Lieutenant Colonel Cristóbal Aguilar y Castañeda with the mission of evacuating Spanish troops from Jolo, Zamboanga, Basilán and Baler after the “disaster of ‘98”.⁶⁴ To return to the military conflict, the uprisings increased, as did the rivalry between ringleaders and their factions. Andrés Bonifacio, the most charismatic of the Katipunan leaders, was accused of rebelliousness and sentenced to death by the new revolutionary government led by Emilio Aguinaldo, that replaced the Katipunan in the fight for independence. The colonial power accused Rizal, who was opposed to armed conflict and defended autonomy, of being “the key figure of the rebellion”. His death sentence and subsequent execution on *paseo* Luneta marked the beginning of a legend which would be used as a symbol of colonial disgrace.⁶⁵

1898

Neither of the two camps, Philippine or Spanish, had sufficient human and economic resources to ensure total victory, as a result of which dialogue was essential. Philippine demands included the establishment of liberal reforms, Philippine representation in Parliament and the expulsion of the religious orders. After the acceptance of some of the requests, the rebels surrendered, their leader Emilio Aguinaldo received compensation and

the revolutionary government went into exile in Hong Kong. The Biak-na-Bato pact was signed on December 14 1897, but the truth is it didn't mean the end of the conflict, merely its adjournment. In 1898 Spain's colonial empire was frankly in decline, her administrative structures were stagnant, she had an important trade deficit and a deteriorated political society. Although the Philippine and Cuban conflicts were generated at the same time, the latter claimed the attention of the American media and ended up tipping the balance in favour of the Philippines. The United States, a young country and a new emergent power, regarded the dubious and/or 'fortuitous' incident of the sinking of its ship Maine in the port of Havana the perfect excuse to declare war on Spain on April 25. The American naval force in the Pacific headed towards the Philippines and on May 1 the battle of Manila was fought. The Spanish fleet anchored in the bay was made up of old wooden boats that were powerless before the superiority and modernity of the American navy. On one single day of war the Spanish naval force was rendered useless and sunk, thus deciding the fate of the country. The Philippine revolutionaries celebrated the event and on June 12 declared the independence of the Philippines in Kawit, a declaration that was not, however, endorsed by the United States. With the American fleet blocking Manila Bay and the Philippine revolutionary masses surrounding the city within walls, General Governor Fermín Jaudenes received orders from Madrid to surrender to the American forces. On August 14 representatives of both countries signed the capitulation agreement, without either the presence or any mention of the Filipinos in the document of surrender. A group of Spanish soldiers isolated in the siege of Baler would continue to fight and would finally be known as “the last to leave,” an expression that became popular in Spain thanks to the film of the same title, *Los últimos de Filipinas* (Last Stand in the Philippines) made in 1945 by Antonio Román. Premiered the same year that marked the end of the Second World War, the film was a metaphor of Spain's contemporary circumstances, a country cut off from the world, fighting tooth and nail to defend the values of National Catholicism promoted by the Franco regime. Yet these were not the last to leave—a photograph kept in the Museo del Ejército shows a group of Spanish prisoners who survived the siege of Tayabas and remained under the jurisdiction of American troops until they were definitively released and repatriated to the peninsula.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CINEMA

However, it is highly significant that the last episode of colonial presence should have been the story line of the only Spanish film made about the Philippines, for after the plastic arts and photography, film was the last cultural influence left by the Spanish colony. Film arrived in the Philippines thanks to the personal enterprise of several Spanish residents in the islands, not to the American initiative as has so often been stated. Not only is it a Spanish import, it also used the Castilian language as a means of expression in subtitles and inter-titles and transferred the stage genre of zarzuela to its first film narratives. Originally, all aspects of cinema emphasised the use of language: the very name *cinema*, the technical terms and those related to them (curtain, box, seat, box office, etc.), even the advertisements had Spanish names. Film in the Philippines was named, known and consumed in Spanish. In the second decade of the twentieth century film programmes in Spanish began to alternate with those in English, while the first Filipino film professionals appeared. This

is how the new medium developed, under the influence of the American entertainment industry. In the nineteen twenties Spanish film gave way to English film, which lost its hegemony in the nineteen thirties. As a result of the massive destruction of film archives in the bombing of the battle of Manila after the Second World War, the cultural legacy of Spanish film was definitively erased from the collective memory of the Filipinos. The identity of film in the Philippines was forged during the years of Spanish and American colonisation. The birth of the medium in 1895 coincided with the Filipino uprising, and its introduction in the archipelago took place in the framework of the country's independence—film and nation were born at the same time, a time of revolution. Therefore, the “study of the early years of cinema in the Philippines, at the time when the world's ruling powers made the country a battle ground, is instructive in its exploration of cinema both as a form of culture and as a form of history.”⁶⁶ The fact that film first appeared in the Philippines barely seven months after it first appeared in Spain meant that it could be considered as much a Spanish as a Philippine medium. The first example of its assimilation is that even before its arrival, cinematography already had a Spanish name: *cinematógrafo*.

Francisco Pertierra, a Spanish photographer living in Paris, was responsible for introducing film in the Philippines. The back of many of his photographs lists his various prizes and titles including the First Class Award in the Exhibition of 1872 and Academician of the San Eloy School of Noble and Fine Arts in Salamanca.⁶⁷ He must have arrived in the Philippines early in 1880, where he set up a photographic studio on *calle Carriedo 2*, and began to work as a portraitist, “commercially associated with Guillermo Stemberg until the late nineteenth century, in competition with M. Huertas and A. Fernández.”⁶⁸ In 1884 Pertierra set out on a photographic journey through the Philippines, as proven by the pictures of the Ibilanes in New Ecija. The following year two engravings by Capuz based on his photographs of the public schools and the cemetery were published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, which leads us to believe that he worked as a correspondent in the Philippines for the popular review. In 1886 another of his photographs appeared in the same publication, taken during his trip to the Jolo archipelago and that same year he also took *Simulacro de la defensa de un barco de Aetas mandado por el Gobernadorcillo y Tenientes de Justicia* (Mock Defence of a Boat of Aetas Commanded by the Governor and Lieutenant Justices) kept in the Museo Oriental in Valladolid. On a visit to Manila in 1887 he made the group portrait of the Jolo Sultanate and took pictures of the Inchausti refinery in Tanduy and of the Manila-Dagupan railway we have already mentioned. So, Francisco Pertierra was probably one of the first accredited press photographers in the Philippines, a forerunner in the genre perfected by Manuel Arias Rodríguez during the years of the revolution. December 1896 marked the arrival of film, and January 1 1897 witnessed the first public screening, just two days after the execution of José Rizal by firing squad. It was announced in *El Comercio* newspaper as “Pertierra's Scientific Spectacle: The Chronophotograph” and screened at Fonógrafo Pertierra, a hall owned by Pertierra himself on *calle Escolta 12* (interior). As had been the case with photography, the busy commercial street was the place chosen to present the new invention. Seven months later another new creation known as the cinematograph was presented, on Escolta 31. Its proprietors, Messrs Leibman y Peritz, hired Antonio Ramos, a Spanish soldier in the troops sent to combat the uprising, as cameraman. Antonio Ramos imported and screened films commercialised by the Lumière brothers; after the war he emigrated to Shanghai, where he

introduced the cinematograph, started producing films and set up the first commercial emporium, which led to the birth of Chinese film. In 1897 Ramos attended the presentation of the cinematograph, barely one year after its first appearance in Paris. The contents of the film sessions were made by known through advertisements published in the local press; we recognise most of the titles from the repertoires of European companies. While the mention of films such as *Pelea de gallos* (Cockfight) suggests that local film production could perhaps have been initiated as early as 1897, no actual copy has been preserved; therefore it is just a hypothesis. On account of the Philippine-American war, after one highly successful year, film disappeared from the Philippines for some time; there would be no news of regular screenings until 1902.

THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR

On September 15 1898 the Revolutionary Congress was held at Barasoain church in Malolos, in the province of Bulacan. Most of the delegates were men from the elite Philippine bourgeoisie, who ratified the Kawit declaration of independence, drew up the agreement of the first Asian democratic constitution, which was proclaimed on January 21 1899, and two days later elected their first president, Emilio Aguinaldo. Parallel to the Malolos congress, diplomatic representatives of the governments of Spain and the United States held peace talks that led to the signing of the Treaty of Paris, according to which the Philippines was sold to the United States for 20 million dollars. The American Senate harshly criticised the acquisition, while President McKinley upheld the “benevolent assimilation” of the Philippines under the precept of Manifest Destiny. However, both the middle classes and the Philippine people were so pervaded with sentiments of nationalism and self-determination that they were prepared to fight against the new colonising power. On February 4 1899 the Philippine-American war began, which would culminate in thousands of deaths in comparison with the Spanish-Philippine conflict. General Aguinaldo, leader of what were now termed the ‘insurgents’, was captured in March 1901 and obliged to acknowledge American sovereignty. This war generated a great deal of propaganda material, most remarkable of which were Thomas Alva Edison's films made in the form of ‘fake’ newsreels. These were the first war films that fictitiously recreated battles filmed in the United States. The narrative outline was at once simple and sophisticated—the Filipinos (represented by Afro-Americans) appeared in the first scene, withdrawing from the American advance until the Stars and Stripes filled the centre of the screen. The Filipinos were thus colonised twice, first in their own land and then in the filmic imaginary. Although the end of the war was officially declared on July 4 1902 and was soon forgotten by the media, the guerrilla warfare continued up until an uncertain date around 1910. The repression of the ‘insurrectionists’, among them Macario Sakay, Aguinaldo's successor and head of the Republic of Katagalugan, led to indiscriminate murders and massacres among Philippine civilians.

But that's another story...

NOTES

1. Juan Naranjo, "Nacimiento, usos y expansión de un nuevo medio. La fotografía en Cataluña en el siglo XIX", in *Introducción a la historia de la fotografía en Cataluña*, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya and Lunwerg, Barcelona, 2000, p. 12.

2. On the relationship between photography and colonialism during the American period, see Benito M. Vergara, *Displaying Filipinos. Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th-Century Philippines*, The University of the Philippines Press, Manila, 1995. The same subject is approached from a broader perspective by Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, Routledge, London, 2002.

3. Sinibaldo de Mas y Sáenz, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, Madrid, 1843.

4. See Antoni Homs i Guzmán, *Sinibaldo de Mas*, Gent Nostra, Caixa de Barcelona, Barcelona, 1990, and John Silva, *Colonial Photographs 1860-1910*, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1987.

5. Information obtained by Antoni Homs i Guzmán from an article entitled "Un iberista catalán" written by Miquel dels Sants Oliver and published in *La Vanguardia* newspaper, Barcelona, November 19 1910.

6. See Jonathan Best, "Early Portraits: Manila's First Photo Studios", in *Philippine Tatler*, February 8, 2003, vols. 2-8, pp. 106-111.

7. The stereoscopic effect was added during the developing and printing of the pictures of the 1863 earthquake in Manila (they were not taken by a stereoscopic camera). For more details see Christian Perez, *Catalogue of Philippine Stereoviews*, We-Print, Manila, 2002, p. 9.

8. However, neither the Museo Romántico nor the private collector to whom these three pictures belong are able to establish their precise date.

9. See Ramón González Fernández, *Manual del viajero en Filipinas*, Anuario Filipino, Manila, 1895. The edition consulted here is that of 1877.

10. Ramón González Fernández, op. cit., p. 279.

11. Quoted in Fernando Manso García, "Nota sobre la fotografía filipina colonial", in *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de la Fotografía Española*, Sociedad de Historia de la Fotografía Española, Seville, 1986, p. 351.

12. I have dated the photographs in the album entitled *Filipinas* (The Philippines) around 1870, for they are repeated in another album entitled *Filipinas. Retratos y vistas* (The Philippines. Portraits and Views) which belonged to Abelardo López de Ayala, who was Minister for Overseas during that decade. Both albums are at present in the permanent collection of the National Library in Madrid.

13. M. Caballero, *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 1873, p. 560.

14. Feodor Jagor, *Reisen in der Philippinen*, Berlin, 1873. The first Spanish translation was published in 1875 under the title *Viajes por Filipinas*.

15. See Juan Carlos Rubio Aragonés, *Retrato y paisaje en la fotografía del siglo XIX: Colecciones privadas de Madrid*, Fundación Telefónica, Madrid, 2001, p. 27.

16. According to statistics of the period, the number of buildings destroyed was 249 and those on the point of collapse were 272. See *Filipinas 1870-1898. Imágenes de La Ilustración Española y Americana*, Museo Oriental and Caja España, Valladolid, 1998.

17. *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 1880, vol. II, p. 185.

18. Quoted by Blas Sierra de la Calle, *Filipinas 1870-1898. Imágenes de La Ilustración Española y Americana*, op. cit., p. 101.

19. María Dolores Elizalde Pérez-Grueso, *España y Filipinas. Las lecturas de la historia*. The lecture was presented in the framework of the Spain-Philippines Tribune held in Madrid in December 2005, the minutes of which were compiled by Lola Balaguer in *Año Filipinas-España 2006*, Casa Asia, Barcelona, 2006, p. 260.

20. See *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 1886, vol. I, p. 179.

21. Juan Naranjo, "The Impact of Photography on Spanish Society in the 19th Century", in *Photography in Spain in the 19th Century*, Fundación "la Caixa", Barcelona, 2003, p. 191.

22. See *Situación de las obras del nuevo puerto en junio 1896*, Junta del Puerto de Manila, Manila, 1896.

23. Daniel Canogar, "Bridges, Trains and Gypsies: Photographing the Industrial Landscape in 19th-Century Spain", in *Photography in Spain in the 19th Century*, op. cit., p. 199.

24. Blas Sierra de la Calle, op. cit., p. 112.

25. The Augustinians, Jesuits and Dominicans wrote grammar books and vocabularies in local languages such as Ilocano, Pampango, Bisaya-Hiligayno, Bisaya-Cebuano and Tagalo. For more information see Blas Sierra de la Calle, "Evangelización e inculturación en Filipinas", in *El sueño de ultramar*, Electa, Madrid, 1998, p. 49.

26. One of the most remarkable of these studies was the encyclopaedic work *La flora de Filipinas*, published in Manila between 1877 and 1883 by the fathers Manuel Blanco, Ignacio Mercado, Antonio Llanos and Andrés Naves.

27. The Museo Nacional de Antropología preserves a series of loose photographs very similar to the pictures in this album.

28. These photographs entered the National Library from the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, the collection of which was originally made up of the works displayed in the 1887 Exposition of the Philippines. Therefore, this picture and the other photographs by Félix Laureano are probably from the same year.

29. Furthermore, the preface to the book states that "Before an artist, Félix Laureano is a Filipino". The *Recuerdos de Filipinas* book-album pays tribute to the artistic talent of Félix Laureano, countryman and friend.

30. As pointed out by Torcuato Tasso in the preface to the book-album, printed in Barcelona by A. Robert in 1895.

31. Félix Laureano, op. cit., p. 73.

32. Gran Fotografía Colón was on Rambla del Centro 36-38, Barcelona.

33. This feature can be found in the permanent collection of the Royal Palace Archive, which leads us to believe that it was offered to Regent Queen María Cristina. However, nothing is known of either the photographer or the commission.

34. María Leticia Ruiz Gómez, "Una visión fotográfica en torno al río Pulangui: La Filipinas musulmana en los albores del noventa y ocho", in *Reales Sitios, Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, Year XXXV, No. 135, 1998, p. 63.

35. The pictures and dates appear in "Philippine Photography in Retrospect", in *Philippine Photography Journal* I, no. 2, January-February 1989; in *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art*, Cultural Center of the Philippines: Manila, 1998; and in Christian Perez, *Catalogue of Philippine Stereoviews*, op. cit.

36. Edouard Charton, *Le Tour du Monde*, Paris, 1886.

37. Edward B. Tylor, "Dammann's Race-Photographs", *Nature*, vol. XIII, January 6 1876, pp. 184-185. For more details see Juan Naranjo, *Fotografía, antropología y colonialismo (1845-2006)*, Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, 2006.

38. One of the other two pictures is also entitled *Calinga del rancho de Aripá perteneciente al pueblo de Tabang en traje de gala* and the other is *Negro del rancho de Dungae perteneciente al pueblo de Bugay*.

39. Federico Ratzel, *Las razas humanas*, vol. I, Barcelona, 1888. This repertoire of images proves the interest of Western scientists in the indigenous cultures of the Philippines.

40. A categorisation made by Pilar Romero de Tejada in *Filipinas: Población, Economía, Familia, Creencias*, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid, 1993, p. 8.

41. This photograph was included in the aforementioned album *Filipinas: Retratos y vistas* (The Philippines: Portraits and Views) in the National Library in Madrid, and therefore must be dated around 1870.

42. A. B. Meyer and A. Schadenberg, *Album of Filipino-Types II. Northern Luzon: Negritos, Tinguians, Banaos, Guina-ans, Silipanos, Calingans, Apoyaos, Kiangans, Igorrots and Ilocanos*, Stengel & Co., Dresden, 1891. Translated into English by Eric Anderson in 1891, p. 5.

43. Dean Conant Worcester, *The Islands and their People*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1898, pp. XI, 193 and 199.

44. *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 1898, vol. I, p. 361.

45. María Dolores Adellac, "Las fotografías filipinas del Museo Nacional de Antropología", in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Antropología*, vol. V, Madrid, 1998, p. 127.

46. Title taken from the excellent survey by Luis Ángel Sánchez, *Un imperio en la vitrina: el colonialismo español en el Pacífico y la Exposición de Filipinas de 1887*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, 2003.

47. For the relationship between the celebration of Expositions Universelles and the emergence of

ethnographic museums see Pilar Romero de Tejada, "Exposiciones y museos etnográficos en la España del siglo XIX", in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Antropología*, vol. II, Madrid, 1995.

48. See the catalogue of the Philippine Regional Exposition, Manila, 1895, p. 35.

49. *Guía de la Exposición de Filipinas, Catálogo de la Exposición de Filipinas* and *Historia de la exposición de Filipinas* were all published in Madrid in 1887.

50. Luís Ángel Sánchez Gómez, op. cit., p. 48.

51. Juan Naranjo, "Fotografía, antropología y colonialismo", op. cit., p. 19.

52. See Ana Verde, "Fotografía y discurso antropológico: Inuit en Madrid 1900", in *Anales del Museo de América*, 1, 1993, pp. 85-98 and "Una página en la historia de los Inuit de Labrador: Esquimales del polo al Retiro", in *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, no. 24, 1994, pp. 209-229.

53. Luís Ángel Sánchez Gómez, op. cit., p. 367. The reference is to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in 1904. For more details see Jose D. Fermin, *1904 World's Fair. The Filipino Experience*, The University of the Philippines Press: Manila, 2004.

54. According to information provided by Carlos Teixidor, head of the department of Photography at the Instituto de Patrimonio Histórico Español, the material author of the feature could have been Alfons Roswag. The glass-plate negatives of the album are preserved in the Ruiz-Vernacci Archive in the same institution.

55. A key source in the study of the Philippines in the nineteenth century is Wenceslao E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino: recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios, políticos y estudios bibliográficos*, vol. IV, Imprenta de la Vda. De Manuel Minuesa, Madrid, 1898.

56. Being unfamiliar with Spanish, most Philippine and American historians are prevented from having access to their own sources and are obliged instead to refer to sources in English. A clear example of this is the bibliography consulted by the American Filipinist James A. LeRoy, who ignored essential publications in Spanish such as those compiled by Wenceslao E. Retana and diverted attention towards other literature. This explains the need for a revision of the nineteenth-century history of the Philippines.

57. See Pedro G. Galende. "Evangelización, cultura y expansión", in *Filipinas, Puerta de Oriente: De Legazpi a Malaspina*, SEACEX, Madrid, 2003, p. 76.

58. This description appears in the chapter entitled "La clase de Física", in Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*, Ghent, 1891. The edition consulted here is the one published by the Spanish Agency for International Co-Operation (Madrid, 1977), that respects the wording and spelling of the first edition printed in Ghent in 1891, pp. 149-150.

59. Data compiled by Pedro Ortíz de Armengol, "Reflexiones sobre el '98 hispano-filipino", in *El sueño de ultramar*, Electa, Madrid, 1998, p. 43.

60. It is striking to note that the boat in the photograph is called Isabel II, which was not one of the two military vessels sent to the conflict of the Caroline Islands. The album is kept at La Cumbre palace, the present seat of the Spanish Government in San Sebastian, probably after having been transferred together with a wide range of material from the former royal family's residence in the city, the Miramar palace.

61. It is unsigned, but could perhaps be attributed to the Creole photographer Manuel Arias Rodríguez.

62. Matilde Rosa Arias Estévez, "El ejército y la aplicación del novedoso invento de la fotografía", in *Descubiertas*, Museo del Ejército, Madrid, 2004, p. 23.

63. The firm Chofré y Cía., produced the albums *Escuela Normal de Manila, Ateneo Municipal de Manila* and *Fotografías y manuscritos de niños*, now kept in the National Library in Madrid.

64. Although the historian John Silva affirms that Manuel Arias Rodríguez was a partisan of the Philippine cause, his abundant photographic documentation of the military conflict from a pro-Spanish perspective should make us reconsider the statement.

65. The execution by firing squad of José Rizal was captured in a photograph attributed to Manuel Arias Rodríguez. However, the picture does not bear the signature MA that appears on most of this photographer's works. There is also some controversy regarding the authenticity of the shot.

66. Nick Deocampo, *Cine: Spanish Influences on Early Cinema in the Philippines*, NCCA, Manila, 2003, p. 6.

67. These details appear on the advertisements printed on the back of his photographs, as can be appreciated in chapter two of this book.

68. Fernando Manso García, op. cit., 351.

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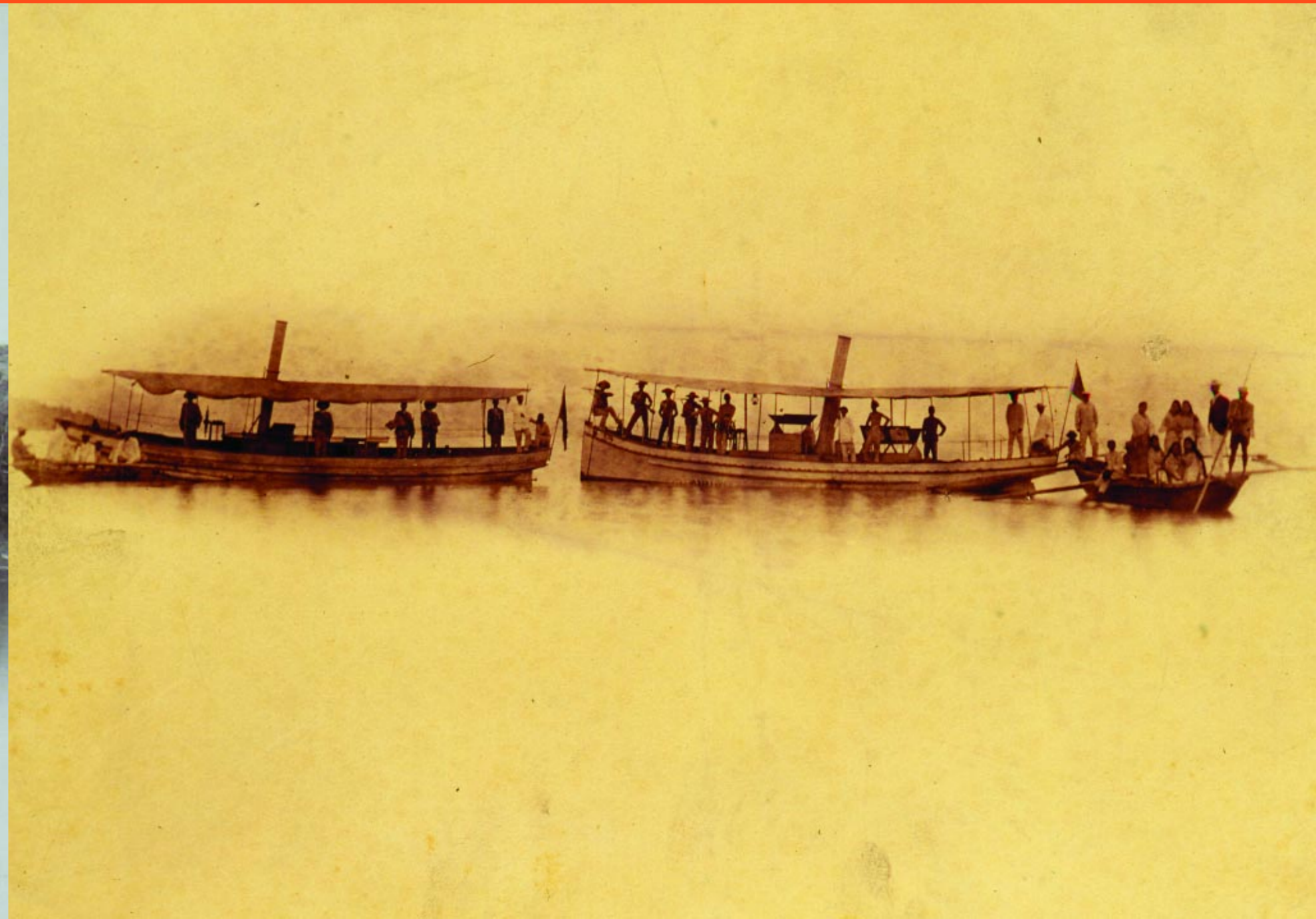
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Río de Malabón (Álbum *Manila*), ca. 1889.
MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, Madrid



Graciano González: Lanchas de vapor artilladas *Marquesa de Polavieja* y *Leónidas Uría*, ca. 1897.
MUSEO DEL EJÉRCITO, Madrid