

## NATIONALISM IN 19TH CENTURY MANILA\*

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Nationalism, in the context of Philippine experience, initially develops as a consciousness of belonging to one people—the Hispanic and Catholic Community all over the Spanish empire. This sentiment was quite limited, based on the political, religious, social and intellectual perceptions of the archipelago as an integral unit co-equal with the other components of the Spanish empire and all united under the monarchy. The people of the Philippines, on the basis of this perception, was one and equal with other peoples of the empire in Spain, America and elsewhere.

The assumed cultural unity, though universalistic in aspirations, was modestly nationalistic in program and goals. It conceived of the unity of the colonies and the mother country, and stressed the Hispanism of all peoples composing the imperial cosmopolitan society. In short the basic concept of nationalism was oneness and identification with a universal and imperial Spanish society. In reality though, when first conceived and disseminated, certain objective facts were gleaned over or ignored. The cultural integration of the Philippines was quite incomplete. Politically and territorially Spanish hegemony was only limited to Luzon, the Visayas and the coastal areas of Mindanao. Even in those places, two problems at least were never resolved by Spanish power—the interior and remote areas peopled by the ethnic Filipinos and the *remontados* who represented a counter-culture were never integrated; and, the administrative dilemma presented by the struggle between localism and centralism continued to pester the Spaniards.

The fissiparous trends and tendencies were further compounded by religious diffusion as the effectiveness of Catholicism was challenged by local conditions—the competing loci of power within the church, failure of missionary or conversion work in the hinterland,

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and failure of indoctrinating the lowland Filipinos as evidenced by the appearance of nativism and folk Catholicism. Socially, the pre-Hispanic racial unity of the Filipinos, already shattered by ethnicity and linguistic differences was further worsened by the infusion of the Spanish mix in the racial cauldron especially in the second half of the 19th century—more manifestly in the struggle between the Spanish regular clergy and the Filipino secular priests.

These objective realities could also be seen in the lack of integration in the other aspects of Philippine life and culture during the Spanish period. And finally the physical isolation of the archipelago, and the disparate islands and interior areas many of which were then inaccessible would give us the complete picture in respect to this defective integration. Yet despite this diffusion and multi-verse, nationalism in its initial appearance assumed a basic unity though it was more apparent than real.

Moreover, the Filipinos, whose consciousness of oneness with the Spanish nation was being aroused were apparently aware of certain objective commonalities among themselves like a well-defined territory, common racial stock, common culture, common parent language, etc. And with the coming of Islam and Christianity, the Filipinos' possession of commonalities amidst their diversities, was enhanced with the foundation of churches with universalistic pretensions. The historical phenomenon led to the formation of an Islamic Community and a Catholic Community.

This separate community consciousness was naturally far from uniting the people of the whole archipelago into a nation since both communities' political and cultural institutions, social and belief systems led to further bifurcations. Though based on certain unities, both communities merely reenacted the earlier Muslim-Christian war drama in the Middle East, Africa, and Europe. In their separate ways the Muslim and Christian Communities developed different identities based on universalism but not nationalism which only developed in the nineteenth century.

Thus the first stage in the evolution of Philippine nationalism was more or less based on the Christian not Muslim experience. It was Hispanic with the object of achieving Spanish nationhood or Hispanism. The next stage was the achievement and community consciousness associated with the concept of "Filipinism" — taken from the term "Filipino" in the sense of a Spaniard born in the

Philippines, or the so-called Creole. Community here was based on the oneness of the idea of being "Filipinos" or Creoles who had been the subject of social, political, and religious discriminations in a Philippine colonial situation. The peninsular Spaniards did the discriminating as actual rulers of the country. The next stage was community of Creole-Indio identity turning the previous concept of "Filipino" as Creole into Filipino as Indio especially among the enlightened and upper class Indios.

In the previous two stages of the evolving nationalism, the dominant ideas that cohered with the national idea were assimilation, liberalism, democracy and imperialism. No attempt was made to create a separate nation. On the contrary, the goal was to achieve Hispanic nationhood. In all the three stages therefore the type of nationalism that developed differed only in degrees but not in substance. It was for this reason that we could call this imperial liberal nationalism. Roughly, we could periodize each stage as follows: for the first stage, 1809 to 1820; the second, 1821 to 1880; and the third, 1880 to 1896.

The fourth and last stage in the evolution of nationalism could be roughly dated from 1896 to the end of the nineteenth century or circa 1912. Here, the imperial nationalism of the three earlier stages was supplanted but not annihilated by a new type of nationalism—radical nationalism. The main national idea preached was an independent and new nation dominated by Indios now transformed into Filipinos. The idea was centered on the concept of *Katagalugan*—in the sense of people living near or surrounded by bodies of water—a nation of Tagalogs. Nationalism thus started out as a concept and as Spanish official policy—Hispanism—which later became "Filipinism" or "Creolism," then assimilationist or coalesced "Filipino-Indio" concept, and finally the idea of *Katagalugan*.

This presentation of nationalism in the Philippines is unorthodox; its periodization is not the usual chronology associated with the beginnings of this sentiment in our history; and finally its definition is historically contextual based on our christian experience. Briefly, the traditional interpretation usually started with a superimposed definition that is separate from our experience allowing the readers much liberty to make their own connection between the intellectual construct and the experience. The consequence was fragmentary exposition that started with an independent and separate definition and a layered causation using the factor-analysis as a tool.

It was somewhat similar to digging tunnels with no exit. The objective realities of a well-defined territory, racial commonality, political integration, religious integration, commonality in languages, etc. had been existing since pre-Islamic and pre-Catholic eras yet nationalism had not taken root if its presence could be discernible that early.

It was not until the first decade of the 9th century that these objective realities were animated by an awareness of national community in the form of Hispanism. This was precipitated by events in Europe when, in the course of Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Portugal, he decided to cross from France to Spain—and stay in the peninsula. He placed his own brother, Joseph, as king of Spain and exiled Ferdinand VII, the absolutist king of the Spanish empire. The Spanish revolution that followed Napoleon's usurpation in 1807 called on the colonies, including the Filipinos, to unite and defend mother Spain.

The Spanish rebels, after establishing a Central Revolutionary Junta at Aranjuez asked, in the form of decree issued in the name of a parliamentary monarchy, the integral units of the Spanish empire to assist in overthrowing the usurper. The decree of 1809 stressed that the old colonies were equal and integral parts of the Spanish monarchy for whom the Aranjuez Junta was acting—and thus must send their representatives to the reinvigorated Cortes, the moribund law-making body of the Spanish government. Another decree embodied further the concept of nationalism. It maintained that a federal empire was to be established in Spain where former colonies would now be treated as provinces at par with Spain and entitled to representation in the Cortes. The peoples in Spain and the provinces were Spanish citizens entitled to the privileges of the citizenship within the federal empire.

The new motherland, according to the decree, was to be the object of loyalty and must be strengthened so that the unity among the component units would remain strong. The former imperial possessions were not to be regarded as factories or colonies. They were, on the contrary, integral and necessary members of the parliamentary monarchy. As rewards for their assistance and loyalty, the provinces would be represented before the royal person of King Ferdinand VII.

The more complete form of the new national idea or Hispanism was more or less detailed in the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812. The

new nation, according to the Constitution, was composed of the united Spanish peoples all over the world. It was the repository of sovereignty and powers of government. The people was free, independent and not the vassal of or owned by any single person or family. Moreover, the form of government was a constitutional monarchy like that of England and autonomy was to be observed in the provincial unit. The liberal contents were expressed in the provisions stressing the sanctity of the individual and his property, and freedom of petition, of the press, and of assembly.

The constitution was promulgated in Manila and other provinces in 1813. Earlier, nationalism was institutionalized when the elections for representatives to the Cortes were held in Manila and the other provinces in 1810. Their oath of office sworn them to defend the Catholic Church and the new Spanish nation, to free the nation from the usurper, to defend the King's possessions and his royal family, and finally to respect the laws of Spain.

In the same year the Spanish Cortes issued a proclamation that showed the nature and character of Hispanism which it wished to spread in the empire. It said that all provinces in "America and Asia" were integral parts of the monarchy and their peoples were "equal in rights and privileges to those of the Peninsula..." The new nationalism was for the first time also disseminated by the first government newspaper that came out in Manila on August 8, 1811—*Del Superior Gobierno*. Its publication, according to Jesus Z. Valenzuela, was motivated by nationalism or Hispanism. Through Hispanism it was held that the Filipinos' loyalty could be maintained at the time Spain was engaged in the war of independence. Primarily therefore, nationalism in the form of Hispanism was made official policy and transplanted in Manila and the Philippines soil from 1808 or 1809 to 1813, nearly coinciding with the Mexican revolution in Spanish America.

At that time the Spanish community in Manila and the provinces had already swelled from a little over 1,000 to 4,000 according to Tomas de Comyn. They were the people, in addition to some *Indio ilustrados*, who imbibed the new nationalism. Their number was further increased by new arrivals from Spain who served as officials in the State or the Church, or by those who escaped the chaotic conditions consequent to the Spanish war of independence. This people was responsible for disseminating Hispanism as government officials who implemented the decrees and the Constitution of 1812.

which embodied these ideas. The impact of Hispanism was both positive and negative. But regardless, it showed that the concept was rapidly spreading among the people who appeared to understand its significance. The Junta which established the Cortes also ordered its assembly in 1810. It also decreed the election of delegates in Manila—Ventura de los Reyes, a 70-year old wealthy merchant of the city was one of them. He was one of the signers of the Constitution of 1812. Moreover he proposed and succeeded in getting approval for the abolition of the monopolistic galleon trade with its obnoxious boleta system and the introduction of plans for the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and navigation in the country.

The extent through which Hispanism became effective was seen in the implementation of the principle of representation. Capitals of the Spanish provinces overseas (the former colonies) were ordered to form a preparatory junta each to issue instructions on the method of election of the *deputados*. The Philippines was then divided into four provinces—Manila, Nueva Segovia, Nueva Caceres and Cebu—each in turn was subdivided into electoral districts with a definite number of district electors. Manila was entitled to twenty-seven district electors who would elect nine deputies and three alternates.

The election was a big affair especially in 1814, and two of those elected were educated *Indios*—Mariano Pilapil and Andres Gatmaytan. The others were most likely *Peninsulares* and *Creoles*: Manuel Cacho, Cayetano Zeferino, Miguel Fernandez de Luna, Roberto Pimentel, Juan de Zuniga, and others. What happened to them was unfortunate. Due to lack of funds, only two deputies were sent and these were not able to hold office because Ferdinand VII returned from exile, restoring absolutism in May 1814.

That year also marked the withdrawal of the effectivity of the Constitution of 1812 in the Philippines, which Ferdinand VII nullified when he abolished the Cortes. The spread of nationalism was however demonstrated by the revolt in Sarrat, Ilocos province in 1815. The *Ilocanos*, 1,500 of them from the lower class, took up arms believing that the *principales* and Spanish officials conspired to withdraw the Constitution. Now that they were Spanish citizens and no longer vassals, the *Ilocanos* thought that they were exempted from *polo y servicio* and the hated tribute.

As late as 1819 the spread of nationalism was evidenced by the observation of an English traveller, Henry Piddington who said that the Creoles were beginning to take courage in openly discussing in the Manila cafes (probably along Escolta in Binondo), the concepts of liberty and democracy of Thomas Jefferson, and the idea of the right of revolution—all components of Hispanism then taking root in Manila and other places in the country.

In addition to the lower classes among the Indios, the upper classes and the *ilustrados* were also affected by Hispanism which began to assume the form of a movement after 1810. The clergy especially among the Indios, Spanish Mestizos and Creoles were starting to assume leadership since they were in a position of power and authority in the parishes. These elements in the Philippine society had been educated since the time of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Sta. Justa in 1774 and 1776 when steps were taken to train Indio secular priests. The power, profit, and prestige the friars possessed went to the Indio secular priests who became the regular clergy's object of ire and envy. These Indio secular priests were increasing in number by the 19th century, causing Comyn to fear that they might eventually undermine the Spanish government. There were, he believed, about 1,000 Filipino secular priests and their increasing number was bad for the government. Hence he recommended the cessation of their ordination and training.

By 1820 tension between the Filipino seculars and Spanish regulars was intensifying—as Piddington observed. The seculars charged that the regulars were enriching themselves at the expense of the people while, the latter looked down upon the former, denying them important posts in the church government. The seculars, according to Judge Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, had already imbibed Hispanism as seen through their assumption of leadership in the conduct of elections in 1813 when the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed. For Bernaldez Pizarro the continued ordination of the Indio secular priests—thus their increasing number—seemed to inspire “revolution” among the masses.

Realities of colonialism in the Philippines soon disabused the minds of the Indios. Hispanism under the artificial and superficial leadership of the peninsulares who were compelled to promulgate the laws and the Constitution as official policy, was severely limited as seen in the interpretation of Governor-General Gardoqui. He told the people that though the Indios were “Spanish citizens” with pri-

vileges and protection under the Constitution of 1812 still they must shoulder the political and economic burdens of the State as Indios.

By the 1820's when the second stage in the evolution of nationalism unfolded, the Indio and Creole secular priests found themselves being selectively victimized and eliminated by the limited interpretation given by the government and church on Hispanism. The Indios, Creoles and Spanish Mestizos were being discriminated in the government, the military establishment and the church. They had to give way to the newly arrived peninsulares in the high government and church posts. The Indio and Spanish Mestizo secular priests were dispossessed of their parishes while at the same time that the avenues toward advancement were also systematically closed. The decrees of 1826, 1849, and 1861 ordered the return of parishes occupied by the seculars to the friars who were also given the parishes in the archbishopric of Manila. The decree of 1861 especially precipitated the secularization campaign of Father Pedro Pablo Pelaez, a Spanish Mestizo who served as interim archbishop of Manila in 1862-1863. The restoration and later suppression of Philippine representation to the Cortes in 1820-1823 and 1834-1837 unsettled conditions further.

The institutionalization of Hispanism further strengthened the concept as the Constitution of 1812 was once again promulgated and elections were held in Manila and other provinces. More importantly, freedom of the press (writing, printing, and publishing without license or prior revision and approval) was decreed in 1821 and proclaimed in Manila only to be abolished in 1934. In the same year (1821) direct and periodic mail service from Spain to the Philippines was also decreed although the service had already began in 1764. Most of those elected in those years were former officials in the country and presumably Peninsulares and Creoles like Jose Maria Arnedo and Manuel Felix Cancio (1820), Francisco Bringas, Vicente Posada and Manuel Taenz de Vizmanos (1820-1823), and Juan Francisco Lecaros and Andres Garcia Camba (1835).

The fortification of the ideas of nationalism and their spread were further assured with the permanent opening of Manila to world commerce in 1834 (earlier Manila had been tentatively opened to foreign trade and businessmen) and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. All the foregoing developments strengthened and guaranteed the strengthening of the nationalistic movement now dominated by the "Filipinos" or Creoles but in coalition with the

Spanish and Chinese Mestizos and upper class *Indios* (including the *cacique*-traders and *ilustrados* among them). The lower classes among the *Indios* were not unaffected by the spreading nationalism as evidenced by the revolt of Apolinario de la Cruz in Tayabas (now Quezon and Aurora provinces) in the 1840's. But the Creoles dominated the scene as demonstrated in the Andres Novales mutiny and other forms of unrest in attempting to gain equality in the government and the church in the 1820's through the 1850's.

In much the same way and manner that witnessed the strengthening of nationalism, reactionary ideas were also enhanced—for the ingress and egress of ideas included the forces of reaction and conservatism. The forces of reaction and reform which saw Spain in the grip of revolution and civil wars during this period had not been completely reflected in Manila. Madrid at the time became convinced, regardless of the government's anti-church policy at home, that the friars were a necessary evil in the Philippines.

Thus for the sake of maintaining Spanish sovereignty, the friars were entrusted with powers of government and with them the suppression of enemy ideas—i.e. nationalism and its component concepts. By the 1860's and 1870's or during the second stage of the nationalistic evolution we called Creolism or "Filipinism," the climax of the movement was reached with the use of the temporary church powers Pelaez held in his campaign for secularization.

Upon his death in 1863, leadership was inherited by Father Jose Burgos. Simultaneously the political phase of the movement was already reaching its climax with the organization of the so-called Liberal Party by activist students in San Jose College and University of Santo Tomas, also in the 1860's and 1870's. This climax was triggered by the Spanish Revolution of 1868 which led to the proclamation of a new Constitution and the coming of Carlos Ma. de la Torre in 1869.

Encouraged by Governor-General de la Torre, the nationalists which included Creoles like Manuel Genato, Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Angel and Andres Garchitorena, Andres Nieto, Jacobo Zobel, Antonio Regidor and others were the dominant leaders participating in several activities involving the reformist governor. The secular priests were led by Fathers Burgos, Mariano Gomez, Jacinto Zamora, Mariano Sevilla, Agustin Mendoza, and Simeon Ramirez. Students who led in the movement were Felipe Buencamino, Sr.,

Paciano Rizal, Gregorio Mapa, Manuel de Leon, Gregorio Sanciano, Ramon Soriano, and others. They campaigned for secularization of the parishes and liberal-democratic rights for the people. They participated in the famous liberty Serenade of July 12, 1869, the September 1869 Liberty Parade and the Red-Ribbon Reception that followed where republicanism and democracy was toasted.

It was not surprising then that these elements headed by the Manila Spaniards—as the Creoles were also called, were the first to suffer martyrdom when they were implicated in the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 during the administration of the reactionary Izquierdo. It was interesting to note the cross-section of the colonial society they represented. Among the businessmen were Jose Ma. Basa, Pio Basa, Maximo Paterno and Balbino Mauricio. The lawyer's group included Pardo de Tavera, Regidor, Jose E. Basa, Mauricio de Leon, Gervasio Sanchez and Pedro Carillo. The priests included Tiburcio del Pilar, Justo Guazon, Pedro Dandan, Anacleto Desiderio, Vicente del Rosario, and others. Most of them were exiled to Guam and other penal colonies while others were executed.

By the 1880's the third stage in the evolving nationalism took the form of "Assimilationist Filipinism" with the coalition now dominated by the *Indio-ilustrados* and the wealthy businessmen all belonging to the burgeoning middle class. They or their parents were the beneficiary of the economic transition to commercial agriculture in late 18th century period of *libre comercio*. The opening of Manila to foreign commerce and the coming of foreign traders who established informal banking and introduced machineries greatly assisted the new middle class in the 19th century.

And their demands for liberalization of trade flow, infrastructures, and other communication linkages like steamships, telephone and telegraph further forced the Spanish government, desiring to make the Philippines a major economic appendage of the empire, to grant more and more concessions. The new wealth out of commercial agriculture was used by the new middle class for luxuries and education of their children. Many of these elements started establishing residence in Manila as middlemen and direct traders; while others as students also gathered in the city from the provinces.

These became the *ilustrados* who imbibed the spreading "Assimilationist Filipinism." This stage of Philippine nationalism was popularly called the Propaganda Movement. But it might as well be

referred to as the revolutionary crisis rather than just a propaganda movement which historical tradition assigned to it. Though it was true that the nature and character of the demands made by the ilustrados were reformatory and assimilationist, what made the movement revolutionary and critical were the hidden and unstated assumptions behind these demands. Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and others were not merely demanding assimilation and democratic reforms. Hidden in their demands were the restructuring of the empire into a federal system instead of the present unitary system.

Corrolary to this assumption was the implication that if the demands went unheeded, a separate and independent State would be established to be administered by the Indios. This State would be established either peacefully or violently—more of the latter depending upon the wishes of Madrid. The Federal System, we could logically speculate, would be established on terms of equality among the members or component units—rather a radical departure from the past policy of assimilation of the colonies as colonies, i.e. as vassals of the king.

Following these assumptions was the logical one that Madrid must trust the Filipino themselves to run their own affairs based on the principle of autonomy for the components of the Federal State. This would call for a radical change in the status quo since Madrid had entrusted the control of the Philippines to the friars. It would also logically follow that not only the friars but also all the Spanish elements would be dispossessed. The Indios, by sheer force of number and participation in the political and religious processes, would dominate the State.

All these assumptions made this stage in the evolution of nationalism different from the earlier stages. The leadership now in the coalition was dominated by the Indios who started to call themselves Filipinos. The attacks against the friar-rulers were more intense than during the earlier period as shown by del Pilar's derogatory reference to the government in the Philippines as a *frailocracy* or monastic sovereignty.

To replace this government, the nationalists of the period would want genuine and meaningful popular sovereignty unlike the similar demand earlier when the concept was only conferred to the Spanish elements. Moreover, the possibility of the appointment of a Filipino governor-general or the Filipinos occupying not merely minor posts

in the government and the church but also higher positions was made a certainty by the large scale participation of the Indios in the political process.

That this type of autonomy was the more plausible assumption, could be seen when Rizal and company participated wholehearted in the political processes in Spain. Graciano Lopez-Jaena even ran as delegate to the Cortes representing a district in Spain. Moreover, loyalty to Spain was dominant in their thinking. This could be seen in the mythology they evolved based on the ancient Filipino custom of *kasunduan* (blood compact). The compact between Legazpi and Sikatuna symbolized as agreement between Spain and the Philippines. The latter fulfilled its part of the bargain but the former had failed because she placed her trust on the friars. Instead of Spain being blamed, the friars were considered the culprits and so must be replaced in the State and the church governments. The further institutionalization of the autonomist thinking was made by Rizal when he founded the *Liga Filipina* in 1892—the concept of a united Philippines which would be the patriach assimilated in the *patria grande* (i.e. the Spanish nation).

Meantime, the coalition among a few peninsulares, many Creoles and Mestizos, and many more Indios as caciques, businessmen, and ilustrados showed signs of breaking up by the early 1890's. The Spanish elements (peninsulares and Creoles) were only reformists in Spain but not in the Philippines where they turned reactionaries. The only link that they had with the coalition was their hatred of the friars and the powerful church. The liberalism in masonry was another link that held the coalition together. But it was beginning to loosen at the seams.

Finally, the last stage in the evolution of nationalism was reached in the founding of the revolutionary *Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang Katipunan ng Mga Anak ng Bayan* or KKK in 1892 in Tondo. While the *Liga Filipina* that Rizal founded earlier seemed to point to an organization of a united people who would logically control affairs in a presumed State under the Spanish Federal System, the Katipunan founded by Andres Bonifacio and company was the new nation that would control an independent State separate from the Spanish empire—federally organized or not.

The coalition in the nationalist movement—in the form of Indio-Filipinism to be more accurate—now broke up as the lower middle

and lower classes, both urban and rural, joined together against the Spanish elements, the Spanish mestizos, and the Indio upper and middle classes. With the objective of independence and the building of a new nation composed mostly of indigenous Filipinos, nationalism in this last stage was naturally radical unlike the conservative nationalism of the earlier three stages.

Furthermore, while the conservative nationalistic movement was tainted with reactionary ideas represented by the restoration of the old 16th century assimilation, the radical nationalism of Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, the acknowledged "brains" of the Katipunan, was a marked departure from the former and more forward-looking. Not only did the Katipunan nationalism aspire for independence and separation, but it also dared to organize a new society which was liberal, democratic, and ethically virtuous based on the brotherhood of all Filipinos—hence the concept of "nation of Tagalogs" or *Katagalugan*. The new nation would be governed by a code of ethics and a set of moral principles contained in Bonifacio's *Decalogue* and Jacinto's *Kartilla*. Its democratic ideas were expounded in Jacinto's *Liwanag at Dilim*.

At least two mythologies discussed the necessity for founding a new nation and for separation from the imperial Spanish nation. One was in Bonifacio's *Ang Dapat Mababid ng mga Tagalog* (*What the Filipinos Should Know*). According to the myth, in pre-colonial times the Filipinos governed themselves, they lived in abundance and prosperity, they had trade with neighboring countries, they had "nobility of heart" and everybody "knew how to read and write" in their own "autochthonous alphabet." When the Spaniards came, they promised, "friendship," "better conditions," and "knowledge." To make their promises binding, the Spaniards followed the usual custom of *kasunduan* by blood compact performed by Legazpi and Sikatuna.

On the Filipinos' part, the promise was to "feed them lavishly" and supply their needs, to spend "our wealth, blood and life itself in their defense" and to "fight" for them. These, the Filipinos more than fulfilled for more than 300 years. The Spaniards, on the other hand, failed to fulfill their part of the *Kasunduan*. The Filipinos' "munificence" was answered with "treachery." Instead of leading the people to "knowledge," the Spaniards "blinded" and "contaminated" them with their "meanness of character. . . . "When the Filipinos

"beg for a little love" the reply was exile and separation from their kins and parents.

"What then must we do?" asked Bonifacio. The answer was by means of reason we could unmask the Spanish hypocrisy and cruelty. There was no other recourse but to "open our eyes" and "voluntarily consecrate our strength" to "what is good" in the hope that "the prosperity of our land... will now come to pass." The other mythology was that of a mother country which, instead of giving love to her "children in the East" gave them "sufferings" and "cruelties." Spain had been a "negligent" and "malevolent mother" and therefore the Philippines were "no longer yours whatever happens..." The mother must now prepare "the grave where many dead bodies will find rest."

Related to both mythologies was the one in the Katipunan's formulary for admission of members. The applicants were to answer three questions: "What was the condition of the Philippines in early times? What is the condition today? What will be the condition in the future?" Properly coached, the newcomers were to answer: that the Filipinos were "happy and independent," that the Spaniards "did nothing to civilize" the people, and that Spanish cruelties "will be remedied in time and freedom will be redeemed."

All the foregoing episodes and the four stages in the evolution of nationalism happened in Manila. The city had been, since she was founded by Legazpi, the Spanish metropolis in Asia. Before that Manila and the nearby areas were a thriving settlement under a sort of confederation ruled by Rahas Matanda, Lakandula, and Soliman. When Legazpi arrived and occupied Manila on May 19, 1571, nearly three hundred ninety five years ago, he found a large settlement already actively engaged in trade especially with the Chinese. He then made Manila the capital of Spanish Philippines but the imperial name of "Distinguished and Ever Loyal City" was given only in 1574 and the coat-of-arms in 1596.

Since then to the last century of Spanish rule, Manila had been and still was a primate city. She was almost immediately after occupation given the status of a city by Legazpi. As such, Legazpi organized on June 24, 1571 an autonomous government called *Cabilao* consisting of two *alcaldes en ordinario* (or two mayors), twelve councilors called *regidores*, and a secretary. Legazpi created the *Cabildo* on June 3, 1571 and laid down the plan for a modern city:

parallel streets at right angles to one another were laid down, spaces for plazas, public buildings like the palace for the governor-general, churches, hospitals and private residences were set aside, and for security, the old fort of Soliman was rebuilt.

At the time however of Legazpi's death Manila had been magically transformed into a Spanish city he envisioned. It took time before even the walls were completed which would surround what later was called Intramuros, a headland south of the Pasig River and the Manila Bay. But Manila without walls was secured by natural barriers in wartime by the Pasig River on the north, Manila Bay on the west, and marshes on the east.

But in time of peace the city was accessible from other settlements on the opposite banks of the Pasig River: on the north banks were Tondo, Lakandula's kingdom; Binondo (Minondok), where the Chinese had their business and residence; Quiapo, a small village then; and, to the south banks were Bagumbayan (now Luneta Park), Ermita, Malate (Maalat), Dilao (Paco), and Lamayan (Santa Ana). These were Manila's suburbs which also included other *arrabales* or nearby places like Santa Cruz, Sampalok, San Miguel, Santa Mesa and Pandacan. By the 19th century, as a result of commercial agricultural developments and the growth of internal commerce, Manila and environs experienced rapid economic growth.

By the middle of the 19th century the economic transition had been rapid from self-contained agriculture and impotence of a city where Chinese goods were transhipped to Mexico, to export-oriented agriculture and changing demography. These pressures compelled the Spanish authorities to expand the city into the province of Manila in a decree of 1886 with jurisdiction over twenty-eight municipalities and *arrabales*.

Manila was perceived differently during the last century of Spanish rule by observers. Rizal likened Manila to a "sickly girl" dressed in her "grandmother's" garments that had seen "better days." Foreman thought the city "a dull capital" where life's monotony was broken only by "the numerous religious processions..." In Intramuros there were the Cathedral and eleven churches and convents serving as headquarters of the monastic orders, the Ayuntamiento, the University of Santo Tomas and different colleges for boys and girls, the garrison, and the stone houses of Spanish residents.

Outside the walls of Manila were the rapidly urbanizing suburbs. Binondo was the "real commercial capital" where shopping centers were located—along Rosario and Escolta streets. Tobacco factories were also found here. In Tondo, excess population from the provinces was accommodated as a pool of laborers for the city and environs. There was in Tondo, the slum section of laborers, sailors, and fishermen. Located here also was the Tutuban Station for the Manila-Dagupan Railroad. In Quiapo, artesians abounded: goldsmiths, sculptors and silversmiths. Santa Cruz was one of the better places where rich merchants lived, together with the mechanics and Chinese mestizos. Sampalok was called the place of the laundrymen and women while San Miguel, where the palace of the governor-general was relocated, was inhabited by the government officials and wealthy families of the Creoles. Santa Mesa was a cool area what with its acacia, kakawati, ylang-ylang and fruit trees. It was then the summer residence of both wealthy Filipino and Spanish families. The principal recreation here was horse-racing held in its hippodrome. Santa Ana's good cool climate made the place the residence of many foreigners like the British, American, French and German. It had beautiful orchards and gardens. Paco was the residence of the middle and lower classes famous for its circular stone "pantyon" or cemetery and the *plaza de toros*. Two other aristocratic areas in addition to San Miguel were Ermita and Malate where Spanish middle class Mestizos and Filipinos lived. It was the center of a cottage industry-embroidery.

Society in the province of Manila was a cosmopolitan one composed of pure Filipinos, pure Chinese, Chinese and Spanish mestizos, Spanish and Creole elements, and non-Spanish foreigners. Its population had reached nearly half a million toward the end of the nineteenth century. This people was served by at least four daily newspapers—*El Diario de Manila*, *El Comercio*, *La Voz de España*, and the *La Correspondencia*. It had a bi-weekly *La Opinion* and a government paper, *Gaceta de Manila*. Modern facilities of communication were already installed: the telephone in 1890, telegraph in 1873 and cable in 1880.

The transportation system was already relatively adequate: weekly steamers plied the Manila Hongkong route and a monthly service to Barcelona, three lighthouses serviced shipping: *batel* and *paráws* abounded linking the different islands to Manila; the railroads to Dagupan had been constructed in 1891, and three kinds of

horse-drawn carriages—*quiles*, *carromata*, and *carruaje* — clogged the streets. There was also a horse-drawn car-system called the *tran-via*.

Banks served the interests of commercial agriculture and domestic trade: Banco Español Filipino with a provincial branch in Iloilo and power to issue banknotes, Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China established in 1873, and the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in 1875. There were numerous informal banks established by traders who lent money to cultivators and owners of land and big haciendas. The water needs of the Manila residents were furnished by the newly established Carriedo Waterworks, wells, public fountains, and San Juan del Monte water reservoir.

This was the Manila which served as the center of religious works, trade, education, nationalist agitation, revolutionary plots, administration and political system. Truly Manila was the Philippines' principal city, the center of all sorts of activities from banking and trading to reactionary and revolutionary movements.