

CHAPTER 7

The New Filipino Newspaper in Barcelona, 1888–1889

Mariano Ponce Opens Negotiations

While Del Pilar was engaged in seeking the downfall of the friars in the Philippines, the nationalist movement in Spain was getting on its feet again after the fiasco of *España en Filipinas*. The antagonisms which had rent the Madrid colony and wrecked the newspaper, however, were still at work, and the main scene of activity shifted from Madrid to Barcelona. Here Del Pilar's influence, acting through his disciple Mariano Ponce, was felt in a new movement that was destined to pass eventually under Del Pilar's control.

Ponce, a native of the province of Bulacan, had been one of a group of students in Manila who became involved in the nationalist ferment from frequent talks with Del Pilar. Even before his departure from the Philippines, he had already been caught up in the enthusiasm for Filipino customs and folklore then being stimulated in Manila, writing articles on the folklore of his home province.¹

In 1887 he left for Spain, arriving in Barcelona in June of that year to continue his medical studies. Here he quickly became active in the nationalist movement. Seeing the languishing state of *España en Filipinas*, he took it upon himself to send copies to Manila, trying to interest his friends there in supporting this Filipino organ. Though the funds arrived too late to save the paper, interest in the project had been aroused in Manila, and Ponce was encouraged to work for the revival of *España en Filipinas*.

1. Ponce, *Ejemplares*, 281.

Infected by the nationalist contagion spread by Del Pilar back in Manila, Ponce seems to have undertaken some journalistic activity on behalf of the Philippines. Beginning in January 1888 articles entitled "Cartas de Filipinas" began to appear in the Barcelona newspaper *La Publicidad*, already known for its sympathy to the Filipino group. These "letters," dealing with Del Pilar's activities in the Philippines and praising Quiroga's efforts at reform, are almost certainly Ponce's work.² He seems to have had little confidence in his own writing ability, however, and soon ceased to write, but remained active in having articles sent him by Del Pilar published. He also took over from Máximo Viola, who was returning to the Philippines, the responsibility of sending copies of Rizal's *Noli* into the country.³

Ponce devoted his main efforts, however, to providing an organ of Filipino opinion in Spain. As a result of his appeal to the Philippines for funds to sustain *España en Filipinas*, interest had been aroused among the group associated with Del Pilar, and Pedro Serrano wrote to Ponce asking that the former staff of the defunct newspaper draw up an estimate of costs for a new or revived paper. At Ponce's request, Lete drew up the estimate and had a circular printed, which was sent to the Philippines for the purpose of soliciting funds for the new enterprise.

Lete naturally assumed that he would again be editor of the paper, but it soon became apparent that the resentments over *España en Filipinas* were yet astir.⁴ In Spain and in Manila, Rizal was generally

2. *Ep. Rizal.*, 2:15. In this letter of 22 June 1888, to Rizal, who had been urging him to write for the newspapers, Ponce speaks of having already published articles in a certain newspaper of Barcelona. The paper with which the Filipinos had already made contact there, through Miguel Morayta, was *La Publicidad*, the organ of the Possibilist Republicans. In this paper appear three articles on the events in Manila, signed by "N.," entitled "Carta de Filipinas" (7 Jan, 18 Mar, 6 Apr 1888). Since these correspond to the period spoken of by Ponce, and since the latter frequently used the pseudonym Naning in his later writings, it seems logical that "N." should be Ponce, who would have received the data in letters from Del Pilar or Serrano.

3. *Ep. Rizal.*, 2:7, letter of Rizal from San Francisco, California, to Ponce in Barcelona, dated 20 Apr 1888. This was the first communication of Rizal to Ponce, acknowledging a letter of congratulations the latter had sent him on his *Noli*. There seems to have been no formal organization in Barcelona, though the Filipino colony sometimes acted collectively, until the foundation of the association "La Solidaridad" on 1 Jan 1889. Viola had simply represented Rizal, and Ponce took over from him.

4. *Ep. Rizal.*, 2:68-69, Ponce to Rizal; 80-81, Lete to Rizal; Ponce, *Efemérides*, 163-64. The latter version, however, glosses over the enmities and struggles involved.

favored as editor. Ponce wrote to him on 6 October 1888 asking if he intended to remain in England. If he were to come to Spain, most Filipinos would want him as editor.

Rizal replied from London, declining the honor, since he wished to devote himself to further study of the Philippines and its history to prepare for writing on the country's problems. Solid scholarly preparation, he stressed, was needed for the struggle which lay ahead, so as to be able not only to carry on the struggle, but "to rout the enemy." For such study there was no better place than the British Museum with its priceless collections.⁵

During October various members of the Madrid colony went to Barcelona to see the exposition then taking place, and conferred with Ponce on the difficulties involved in the question of editorship. Antonio Luna returned to Madrid determined to prevent Lete from assuming the position, and made a new appeal to Rizal to accept it.

When Rizal's reply appeared to leave an opening for acceptance, Luna wrote back assuring him that of the thirty Filipinos who met together in Madrid, at least twenty-five were for him, and the opinions of the other five were unknown. If elected with virtual unanimity, would he accept? If Rizal were unwilling, Luna declared himself ready to elect Llorente, for Lete's triumph would only mean further schisms in the colony. Ponce too, apparently convinced by Luna, wrote that he sensed general opposition to Lete, and urged Rizal to accept,

5. *Ibid.*, 54, 55-56. In explaining his refusal Rizal makes an interesting remark about being "ya comprometido o poco menos a dirigir uno." Just what this other newspaper may have been is somewhat mysterious, though it is possibly what Rizal is referring to in his letter to Blumentritt of 9 Sept 1888, in which he speaks of Ramos as "the one who wished to publish a review" (*ibid.*, 5:302). The most plausible explanation is that Ramos had spoken to Rizal on the subject of a newspaper while the latter was in the Philippines in 1887, but before the negotiations were begun by Ponce from Barcelona for the revival of *España en Filipinas* or a successor to it. Since no further mention is ever made of another paper, it is reasonable to suppose that Ramos had joined with the rest of the Manila supporters of Ponce, who likewise wanted Rizal as editor. Since the latter had been out of contact with developments in Spain and Manila, he would have been unaware that the new organ proposed by Ramos was identical with that being spoken of by Ponce. This is confirmed by the pains that Antonio Luna took in the letter cited below to emphasize that the editorship being offered was of a new paper, not a mere revival of *España en Filipinas*, "aquel desastroso ensayo," which was responsible for the present disunited state of the Filipinos in Spain.

though he realized that his studies in London were of great importance for the Philippines.⁶

In spite of these appeals, Rizal seems to have hesitated, partly because of his desire to continue studying in London, partly because past experience led him to doubt the usefulness of a Filipino paper in Spain or of political activity outside the Philippines in general. He would rather devote himself to the political and cultural education of his people.⁷

Lete, meanwhile, had received a letter from Antonio Regidor in London, telling of disquieting divisions in the various Filipino colonies in Europe over the opposing candidacies of Lete and Llorente, and urging him in the interests of peace to resign in favor of Rizal. Whether this action of Regidor was taken in concert with Luna or whether it was a feeler inspired by Rizal (who was in close contact with Regidor at this time), it seems to have precipitated the crisis. Lete was now fully aware of the opposition to himself. Though he declined Regidor's suggestion, he decided to relinquish the post of editor after conferring with Ponce in Barcelona.⁸

On the other hand, Rizal had become convinced, either through Regidor or through other correspondents in Madrid, like Aguirre, that opposing his candidacy to Lete's would only deepen the divisions in the Filipino colony. Without waiting to hear from friends whose advice he had sought on the matter, Rizal renounced further interest in the editorship.

He refused, however, to name his choice between Lete and Llorente, since the latter was his friend and he resented Lete's refusal to review

6. *Ep. Rizal.*, 2:58-61, 62-65, 69.

7. See the letter of Rizal to Blumentritt on 1 Nov 1888, expressing his doubts and asking advice (*ibid.*, 5:324). Also the sentiments along these lines expressed by Evaristo Aguirre in a letter to Rizal of 26 June 1888; and in one of Valentín Ventura, of 23 Nov 1888 (*ibid.*, 2:16-18, 86-87). Neither of these men took any part in *La Solidaridad* after its foundation, though Ventura was later to put up the funds necessary for the publication of Rizal's second novel, *El Filibusterismo*. From the context of the correspondence, it seems that both men felt that Rizal shared their ideas on the necessity of carrying on the work of propaganda in the Philippines, and the futility of attempting it in Spain (*ibid.*, 2:16-18; 86-87). Earlier, Aguirre had placed more faith in the reform propaganda in Europe, more so than Rizal.

8. *Ibid.*, 2:80-84, Lete to Rizal, 11 Nov 1888. In a note written in 1929, just before the publication of Rizal's letters, Lete, then residing in Madrid, gave a slightly different version (*ibid.*, 92-93, footnote), with further details.

the *Noli in España en Filipinas* and to publish some of his articles. By supporting Llorente against Lete or taking the position himself, he would seem to be spiting Lete. Having made this renunciation, Rizal proceeded to show the depth of his resentment by declaring that if Lete were chosen editor, he would not contribute to the paper, though he would give it moral support.⁹

The divisions within the Filipino colony could scarcely have been sharper or more bitter. Presumably Llorente too refused to accept the editorship of the paper since there is no further mention of him. Early in December, Rizal showed himself somewhat disposed to reconsider his decision on learning that the Filipino colony wanted him in spite of his renunciation. Shortly thereafter he made a short trip to Barcelona, where he met Ponce personally for the first time and renewed contacts with López Jaena, Fernando Canon, and the other members of the Filipino colony there.¹⁰ Undoubtedly the question of the newspaper was among the subjects discussed, judging from the quickening pace of subsequent events.

The Filipino Colony of Barcelona

By Christmas, Rizal was back in London. At the traditional New Year's Eve banquet in Barcelona, a new organization called "La Solidaridad" was founded, with Galicano Apacible as president, López Jaena as vice-president, Manuel Santa María as secretary, Ponce as treasurer, and José Ma. Panganiban as auditor. Rizal was elected honorary president. Rizal's letter accepting the latter distinction shows that the purposes of the society were fairly general, but designed to promote Filipino nationalist interests.¹¹

Previously the Barcelona colony had launched tentative efforts to work for the homeland, particularly in October 1888, when the Colony held a banquet to honor Morayta and Manuel Labra, two Spaniards who had joined a group of Filipinos from Madrid to form the *Asociación Hispano-Filipina* to advocate reforms for the Philippines.

9. Rizal to Antonio Luna, *ibid.*, 73-74; Rizal to Ponce, *ibid.*, 74-75; Rizal to Blumentritt, *ibid.*, 5:339-41.

10. *Ibid.*, 5:362-63, 369.

11. *Ibid.*, 2:102-3, 112-13.

The organizers of the banquet seem to have been Ponce and López Jaena, who had recently made Barcelona his residence. To turn the banquet into a propaganda tool for the ends of the association, leading journalists had been invited. This was a tactic adopted in Madrid in earlier years, and would be resorted to more frequently in the future.

The speeches extolled cooperation between Peninsulars and Filipinos, all sons of a common Mother Spain, and reiterated the need to extend to the Philippines the rights and liberties that belonged to all Spaniards. López Jaena in particular, in what was apparently the principal speech, denounced in impassioned rhetoric the exploitation of the Islands by the horde of functionaries and friars, by whom, he declared, the Filipinos had "for three hundred years been oppressed, degraded, condemned, and tormented." Let the friars be expelled totally from the Islands, and the Philippines will become "the paradise of humanity on earth." Ponce, Canon, Lete, and others asked for reforms in somewhat more moderate tones, declaring that in the Philippines there were no filibusteros, only loyal sons of Spain seeking necessary reforms.¹²

A few days later the Madrid newspaper *La Voz de la Patria* commented sarcastically that it was not strange to find the Masons Morayta and Labra taking part in a banquet directed against the religious orders, but this was hardly to be expected of Filipinos who professed themselves Catholics and loyal sons of Spain. Such is the result, the article declared, of the attitude of certain authorities in the Philippines, who, instead of aiding the patriotic work of the religious orders, apparently propose to assist the rapidly increasing number of filibusteros there to plunge these precious jewels of Spain into a disastrous civil war.

In the next two weeks there were further articles arguing that the friars were necessary for Spain to hold the Philippines. To seek their expulsion was merely the first step of a filibusterismo disguising itself under a cloak of patriotism.¹³ To these efforts to identify all attacks

12. The announcements of the banquet and the account of it are to be found in the "Crónica general" of *La Publicidad*, 27, 28, 29 Oct 1888; and especially the article "Una fiesta familiar," *ibid.*, 29 Oct 1888. It will be recalled that Morayta was a correspondent, and apparently partowner of *La Publicidad*, and this accounts for the substantial amount of publicity given to the banquet and the speeches. The full text of López Jaena's speech is given in *Discursos*, 40-45.

13. 30 Oct 1888, 6 Nov 1888, 12 Nov 1888.

on the friars with an anti-Catholic revolutionary movement against Spain, López Jaena and Morayta replied in *La Publicidad* with further obscuring of the issues, declaring that there was no relation at all between being opposed to friars and being opposed to Catholicism, much less with any sedition against the mother country.¹⁴ This was to be the major point of the journalistic polemic of the succeeding years, into which both sides would submerge many of the other real issues at stake.

Around the end of November or the beginning of December, Benigno Quiroga returned from the Philippines, having been replaced as director of civil administration. His relations with Governor-General Weyler had been strained, but when he was replaced by a new political appointee, he was offered instead the position of intendente. This Quiroga declared himself willing to accept only on condition that he be given a free hand to institute various reforms, among which was the expropriation of the lands of the friars.¹⁵ Most likely he deliberately imposed conditions he knew would not be granted, but in any case he was given a commission for the Peninsula.

On his arrival in Barcelona the Filipino colony held a banquet in honor of Quiroga and of Manuel Gómez Florio, the civil governor of Bulacan who had cooperated with Del Pilar in his antifriar activities in Malolos. López Jaena's speech, the only one preserved, is a violent attack on the friars in the guise of a panegyric on Quiroga. The latter was exalted as a worthy successor to Mendizábal and Antonio Romero Ortiz, and proclaimed the "legendary hero of future Filipino liberties."¹⁶

The Founding of "La Solidaridad"

These banquets marked the return of López Jaena as an active participant in Filipino nationalist activities. Though he showed little ability as a leader or organizer, he was so active in his relations with Spanish republican circles and so charged with fiery eloquence as writer

14. 11 Nov 1888 (*Discursos*, 192–95); 20 Nov 1888.

15. López Jaena, "Discurso pronunciado en el banquete dado en el Hotel Internacional por el ex-Director de Administración Civil Sr. Quiroga Ballesteros," *Discursos*, 46–49.

16. Juan Alvarez Mendizábal, as First Minister in 1836, had confiscated the property of the religious orders; Antonio Romero Ortiz, as Ministro de Gracia y Justicia in 1868, had decreed the abolition of religious orders.

that he was eyed as a possibility when the negotiations for Rizal, Lete, or Llorente as editor of the projected newspaper had failed.¹⁷ At this point Ponce and others of the Barcelona colony seemed to have despaired of resolving the divisions which rent the colony of Madrid, and decided to found a newspaper on their own resources while awaiting the expected funds from Manila.

In early January they started setting up the newspaper, each of the group subscribing a certain number of shares, according to his resources. Ponce and Pablo Rianzares, son of Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista who worked with Del Pilar in Manila, seem to have been the principal supporters. López Jaena, who was without funds, as usual, was to contribute his services as editor.¹⁸ Del Pilar arrived in early January 1889, and quickly joined in the project, working behind the scenes stimulating and inspiring the others.

The first number of the periodical appeared on 15 February, bearing the title *La Solidaridad*, and subtitled itself *Quincenario democrático*. In its first article, "Nuestros propósitos," it defined its program as follows:

to combat all reaction, to impede all retrogression, to applaud and accept every liberal idea, to defend all progress; in a word: one more propagandist of all the ideals of democracy, aspiring to make democracy prevail in all the peoples both of the Peninsula and of the overseas provinces.

Though it would interest itself in the general affairs of the nation, its particular concern would be Spain's overseas provinces, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and especially the Philippines. Since the latter still lacked

17. In October 1888 Antonio Luna was trying to raise money among the Filipinos in Europe for the support of López Jaena, and Ventura was speaking of the possibility of raising enough money each month to enable him to continue his studies. The following month, Ventura on a visit to Barcelona, found him "muy cambiado, con muchas ganas de trabajar" and with expectations that Morayta would get him a post on the staff of *La Publicidad*. In January Ponce wrote to Rizal that he was putting away on deposit twenty-five pesetas sent to López Jaena, lest he squander them, and again be left without resources. He adds in explanation: "conoces el carácter derrochador de este infeliz paisano nuestro." In spite of the turbulent, spendthrift, erratic character of the man, however, he seems to have excited considerable sympathy and a certain admiration from many of his countrymen, at least for his gifts as a speaker and writer.

18. Ponce, *Efemérides*, 164; Artigas, "Los periódicos filipinos," *Biblioteca Nacional Filipina*, 24 May 1910.

parliamentary representation, it most deserved to have its problems and needs exposed to public attention. "That population of eight million souls is not to be, ought not to be, the exclusive patrimony of the theocracy and of traditionalism."

This first issue included an analysis of European and American politics by López Jaena; an article on the teaching of Spanish in the Philippines by Del Pilar, blaming the inadequacy of the present system on the influence of the friars on whom the teachers depended for their livelihood; a section entitled "Ecos de Ultramar"; another for official documents; and still another entitled "Crónica."

The "Ecos de Ultramar" was an account of the request of the young women of Malolos addressed to the governor-general for permission to open a night school in which they might learn Spanish. The official section contained a decree recently published by the overseas minister, Manuel Becerra, ordering full compliance with the decree of 1883 requiring that Spanish be taught in all the schools. The chronicle contained various items on Philippine or Cuban affairs, as well as a notice of recent republican activities in Barcelona.

The following issue showed an increase from eight to twelve pages, but two-thirds of this was devoted to a speech by López Jaena, on the Philippine exhibits in the recent Exposition of Barcelona. Decrying the ineptitude and malice which, he charged, were responsible for the miserable showing, he proceeded to denounce the friars as responsible for the ills preventing a country so rich in resources as the Philippines from being a source of prosperity and pride to Spain. Another article by the same writer on the inaction of the Liberal government now in power, one by Del Pilar refuting the contention that friars were needed to maintain Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, and some minor items completed the issue.

These themes formed the basic pattern of succeeding issues—an article on general Spanish politics, usually by López Jaena, one or more articles attacking the friars by Del Pilar or others, and one on other needed reforms in the Philippine situation.¹⁹ The political arti-

19. The articles of Del Pilar can be identified from the bibliography by Ponce reproduced in De los Santos' biography. López Jaena's are identified by their inclusion in his *Discursos*. The principal reforms discussed by Del Pilar include press censorship, public instruction, civil registration of births, marriages and deaths, municipal government, etc.

cles were generally highly critical of the Sagasta government, as befitted López Jaena's republican affiliation, and the frequent favorable references to republican figures, meetings, newspapers, etc., gave the paper a definitely republican outlook.²⁰

The articles in the first two issues were all unsigned, as those by Filipinos would continue to be for some time.²¹ In the third number began a series of letters from correspondents abroad, beginning with those entitled "Carta de Filipinas" by D. A. Murgas and "Carta de Borneo" by L. O. Crame. Both authors' "names" were Del Pilar's pseudonyms. The "letters" were based on data received from Pedro Serrano and José Ma. Basa. The correspondence with Basa accounts for the frequent reference to articles in the *Hong Kong Telegraph*. These articles were written for the Hong Kong paper, or at least inspired, by Basa, who received material for the articles either from the Philippines directly or from Del Pilar, the articles being translated into Spanish to be published in turn in *La Solidaridad* as representing "foreign opinion."²² Another section which began in the third number, called "Letras y Artes," had a sonnet addressed to the young women of Malolos and an essay on the role of a free press in the development of thought for the benefit of humanity.

A final section "Bibliografía," with its review of the book *Cuestiones filipinas* by Eduardo P. Casal, one of the Filipino collaborators of *España en Filipinas*, showed the marked difference in orientation between the

20. Del Pilar, writing to Serrano after the second issue and discussing the opportuneness of affiliating with one of the Spanish parties, notes that on the appearance of the first number "Ios posibilistas nos llaman 'posibilistas,' y los zorrillistas, 'zorrillistas'; y los autonomistas nos conceptuan 'autonomistas'" (L. O. Crame to P. Ikazama, *Ep. Pilar*, 1: 51). See also the letter, written under the pseudonym Carmelo, where he speaks of the invitations he has had from the *zorrillistas*, to whose party López Jaena belonged, to affiliate with them; and his evasive answer (*ibid.*, 64).

21. All of Rizal's articles bore his name, with the exception of some literary pieces, signed Laong Laan. In a letter of 22 June 1889, he wrote to Del Pilar urging that all sign their names to their articles, so that the Filipinos, seeing their courage, might have more courage themselves to defy their enemies, and that the latter might be frightened at the sight of the young Filipinos' willingness to suffer and even die for the sake of their country (*Ep. Pilar*, 1:184). Beginning with the number of 30 Sept, Del Pilar began to sign his name, but rarely did any of the others follow this example, during this period at least.

22. See *Ep. Pilar*, 1:123, 176.

former Filipino paper and *La Solidaridad*. After a slightly incredulous reference to Casal's thesis that the friar was at least a necessary evil in the present state of the Philippines, the reviewer takes sharp issue with his statements on Philippine culture and with his proposals to teach Philippine languages in preference to Spanish in the schools, refuting him with a quotation from one of his own articles of 1887 in *España en Filipinas*.

New Collaborators

Gradually the group of collaborators with the paper grew. Though the official staff was composed of López Jaena as editor and Mariano Ponce as business manager, Del Pilar did yeoman service in organizing the paper and in writing or coaxing from others an increasing number of articles. Dámaso Ponce appears to have participated for a short time, and José Ma. Panganiban became a regular contributor beginning with the third issue.²³ His series of articles on the University of Santo Tomás, beginning with the fifth number, was a carefully worked out, hostile critique of the University, attacking its inadequate facilities, antiquated methods, and unprogressive system of education.

Rizal had offered his collaboration while the paper was being organized, and sent some of his earlier literary articles and poems to help provide material, promising further serious historical articles based on the studies he was then making in London.²⁴ But before Rizal

23. Dámaso Ponce was a cousin of Mariano. The only article known to be his is one signed by Amado Pecson (the anagram of his name), "Vox populi," *La Solidaridad*, 15 Feb 1889, attacking the friars as false patriots, endangering the love of the Filipinos for Spain. See *Ep. Pilar*, 1:88. Dámaso Ponce later disappeared from Madrid leaving heavy debts, to the shame of the Filipino colony (See Tomas Aréjola-Rizal, 9 Feb 1891, *Ep. Rizal*, 3:160).

Panganiban was a medical student from the province of Camarines, and apparently one of the most diligent and promising students among the Filipinos in Europe. He soon overtaxed himself, and died of tuberculosis in August 1890 (see the obituary article on him "José Panganiban," *La Solidaridad*, 31 Aug 1890; and the series of articles devoted to him, *ibid.*, 30 Sept 1890).

24. *Ep. Pilar*, 1:24; 29; 35; Rizal-Pláridel, 4 Feb 1889, Pláridel-Laong Laan, 17 Feb; Laong Laan-Pláridel, 22 Feb. The poem, "Me piden versos," from 1882 appeared on 31 Mar 1889; "Los viajes," which had appeared in the *Diarióng Tagalog* in 1882, on 15 May 1889, both under the pseudonym of Laong Laan.

could work on these, he was forced to make use of his knowledge of Philippine history in a series of polemic articles against various detractors of the Filipinos or defenders of the friars. Apparently Del Pilar sent him articles which he wanted answered. Though Rizal complied, he expressed distaste for petty polemics. He preferred to take up a subject and treat it in depth, without disdaining an occasional rapier-thrust of erudition against a pretentious opponent.²⁵

Such was his answer to the *El teatro tagalo* of Vicente Barrantes, the Spanish academician who, because of his years in the Philippine administration, passed for something of an authority in Spain on things Filipino. Incensed by Barrantes' denial of all originality in the literature of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos and, indeed, of the Filipinos' possessing intellectual capacity of any kind, Rizal wrote a satiric and devastating critique of Barrantes' work.²⁶ Laying bare Barrantes' ignorance of Philippine history in spite of all his pretensions, Rizal proudly vindicated the values to be found in the indigenous Filipino dramatic work.

For the all-knowing Spanish academician looking down his nose at all that was Filipino, Rizal had only contempt:

The greatest insult of Your Excellency is an honor for my race. . . . Calumniate us, denigrate us, place us in the lowest step of the zoological scale, it makes no difference to us . . . the descendants of those who poured out their blood for Spain, for her flag, for the extension of her domains in the Orient, for the preservation of her colonial empire against Chinese, Japanese, Mohammedans, Dutch, Portuguese, and English. . . . We will continue our path, loyal to Spain, as long as those who direct our destinies have a spark of love for our country, as long as there are ministers who implant liberal reforms, as long as the shouts

25. *Ep. Pilar*, 1:186, Rizal-Del Pilar, 22 June 1889. See also the later letter of 12 Aug 1891: "francamente no me gusta perder el tiempo atacando y luchando con empresas particulares como la del P. Font, Quiquiap y otros. Yo lucho por la nación, Filipinas" (*ibid.*, 248).

26. Barrantes makes such statements as the following: "Pierden el tiempo los que buscan en las historias de Filipinas datos que demuestran la potencia intelectual de la raza tagala" (5); "Razas de aluvión, por decirlo así, pertenecientes a los últimos grados de la escala humana, faltas de virilidad y espontaneidad" (11); "este embrión [of the Tagalog drama], como todos los escasos elementos civilizadores que han podido aclimatarse en tierra tan movediza y exótica, del gran tronco español procede y lleva el sello caballeresco-místico de nuestra raza" (17); and other statements equally ridiculous and insulting to the Filipinos.

of invective do not blot out from our memories the names of Legaspi, Salcedo, Carriedo, and especially those of the Catholic Kings who protected from afar the unhappy Malays of the Philippines!²⁷

Another ardent defender of the Filipinos against the methodical denigrators of their race was Ferdinand Blumentritt, the Austrian professor, who was to become one of the most assiduous collaborators of *La Solidaridad*. Blumentritt had corresponded with various Filipinos who had written something on their country, such as T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Eduardo Casal, Isabelo de los Reyes, José Ma. Panganiban, and particularly Rizal.

The correspondence of Rizal and Blumentritt, begun in 1886, had quickly ripened into close friendship. Blumentritt warmly admired Rizal's talents, and his genuine interest in the Filipino people moved the ardent nationalist to profound gratitude, enriching the intellectual esteem in which Rizal held the Austrian professor. Rizal visited Blumentritt in 1887 at his home in Leitmeritz, Bohemia. Their increased rapport drew Blumentritt irresistibly into the Filipino nationalist struggle.

Before he knew Rizal, Blumentritt had corresponded with some friars and a number of Jesuits in the Philippines, and had nothing but praise for the work of the religious orders there. In an early letter to Rizal, he had admonished him for his religious views and had taken issue with his criticism of the friars. Later, though apparently a good Catholic, he came to accept to a large extent Rizal's views on the friars in the Philippines, and joined in the Filipino campaign. On arriving in Europe Del Pilar began writing to Blumentritt, and soon had the latter contributing articles to *La Solidaridad* also.²⁸

His first article, "Carta de Austria-Hungría: Quioquiap juzgado por un profesor Bohemio," appeared in the fourth number, and was typical in many ways of the articles Blumentritt was to keep writing right up to the death of *La Solidaridad* in 1895. Blumentritt takes his position as the champion of "the noble and valiant Spanish nation" against

27. José Rizal, "Excmo. Sr. D. Vicente Barrantes," 15 June 1889; 30 June 1889. The passage quoted here is from p. 110.

28. Rizal advised Del Pilar to send copies of each issue to Blumentritt, and soon the latter was offering data to Del Pilar for articles. By May, Del Pilar was sending adverse articles from Spanish and Philippine papers to Blumentritt to be answered (*Ep. Pilar*, 1:35, 54, 131).

such degenerate sons as Quioquiap, who, in their ignorance or malice, reject the traditional Spanish colonial policy of assimilation with specious appeals to the efficient policy of the Dutch in Java or of the British in India.

Spain must fulfill her great mission, her duties, her promises dating from the conquest of the Philippines. Spanish legislation detests and abominates the distinction of a dominant race from one which is dominated; the noble and beneficent mother country knows only Spaniards. The Philippines is an integral part of the fatherland, not a possession, and is united by the same religion, the same civilization, the same desires, the same aspirations, an identical patriotism; it only lacks the common language, but this defect is to be attributed to that omnipotent caste which has put obstacles to the ardent desire of the poor farmer: to speak the language of the *castila*.

Since Spain's colonies exist only for the civilization and Christianization of their inhabitants, Spain must not and cannot resort to the system of maintaining the prestige of the master race adopted in the British and Dutch colonies to exploit their resources.

Spain's traditional colonial policy of assimilation was to be a constant theme in Blumentritt's broadsides in *La Solidaridad* against superpatriots like Quioquiap, Barrantes, and Retana. His journalistic sallies against Hispanic chauvinism and racism were formidably supported by historical erudition. Closely related to his recurrent theme was his vigorous defense of the capacity of the Filipino, and of the non-European races in general, against the aspersions of Quioquiap and company. His scholarly studies of the Philippines and of the Orient, as well as his acquaintance with Filipinos like Rizal, Del Pilar, De los Reyes, and others, had disposed him to identify himself with Filipino aspirations. It is hardly surprising to find not only his polemic articles in *La Solidaridad*, but also his private correspondence flashing with indignation at the ignorance and malice of those who asserted the superiority of the white race.²⁹

To answer charges of anti-Hispanic sentiments, Blumentritt mentions his services to Spain through his studies, particularly his defense of the rights of Spain to North Borneo against British occupation and

29. E.g., in one of his letters to Rizal he writes; "Whoever still believes in the innate superiority of the white race, ought to be yoked up with a carabao in front of a plow" (*Ep. Rizal.*, 3:42; also 3:134; 1:296-97).

to the Carolines against Bismarck's claims in 1885. The decorations and honors he has received from various Spanish learned societies recognize his devotion to the cause of Spain, so that if he writes in favor of reforms such as parliamentary representation and the abolition of censorship, it is because of his desire to preserve the Philippines for Spain.

Moreover, in his attacks on the friars, he is careful to emphasize that he is a Catholic; that he submits to the teachings of the Church; that he is not against the friars as such; that he does not advocate their expulsion or the confiscation of their lands. Rather, he opposes only their excessive power and their preventing the spread of knowledge, as contrasted with the enlightened practices of the Jesuits. He contrasts the intolerant Spanish ecclesiastical attitude with that of the Church in countries like Germany, England, and the United States.

Finally, he emphasizes that he is familiar with all that has been written on the Philippines, not only by Spaniards, but by scholars of other countries, while his opponents in Spain and in the Philippines know only what has been written by their countrymen.

The Filipinos were fortunate in having such a redoubtable and dedicated advocate. Not only did the name of a recognized foreign authority on the Philippines lend prestige to their newspaper; his profession of Catholicism helped to bolster their contention that it was not Catholicism as such that they opposed, but only the abuses of the friars. As the papers in Manila and in Spain pressed their attacks against Blumentritt, it was inevitable that most Spaniards would refuse to recognize Blumentritt's qualifications or his devotion to Spain. But the Filipinos were of a different mind. The knowledge that a foreigner was defending the Filipino cause undoubtedly raised the morale of the staff, the collaborators, and Filipino readers of *La Solidaridad*.³⁰

30. On various occasions groups of Filipinos sent gifts to Blumentritt through Rizal to express their appreciation (see, e.g., *Ep. Rizal*, 3:95, Blumentritt-Rizal; also *Ep. Pilar*, 1:231 and 233-34, letters of Luis Habaña and of Nicolas Eigasani from Kalamba). When the Manila newspapers attacked Blumentritt for his articles in *La Solidaridad*, and demanded his expulsion from the Real Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País, the two which had proposed this measure immediately suffered a notable drop in subscriptions from Filipinos (Retana, *Folleto filipino*, vol. 2: *Apuntes para la historia [Aniterías y Solidaridades]* [Madrid: Minuesa, 1890], 50). Retana was one of the writers involved.

Filipino nationalists in Europe and at home had received the first issues enthusiastically. Four hundred copies were sent to the Philippines, a hundred more to Basa, with the request to send on to Manila those he did not need. Soon Serrano was asking for 1,500 copies, despite the difficulties of getting the paper into the country. Although different stratagems were employed to smuggle the paper in, the shipment of the fourth number ran into difficulties. The government had begun seizing copies in the mail and burning them. Some of those seized were recovered by dint of palm-greasing. Before the end of the year even registered mail was being opened to intercept the paper, but the Filipinos were not slow in devising new ways to outsmart the authorities.³¹

In Spain, copies were sent to the cabinet ministers, and soon Del Pilar received word from Centeno that the paper was receiving the attention of the overseas minister, Manuel Becerra, who had called in Quiroga and Centeno for consultations on Philippine policy. From Paris and London came subscriptions from the Filipinos residing there, while Rizal secured financial contributions for the paper from Antonio Regidor in London and from a number of his townsmen back in Calamba.³²

Others soon began contributing articles for the paper, among them Regidor, the Cuban student Juan José Cañarte, the Spanish army officer and writer Colonel Pio de Pazos.³³ By July Antonio Luna joined

31. See the article "Atropello inaudito" (*La Solidaridad*, 31 Oct 1889), protesting the seizure of registered mail, but assuring those who do that *La Solidaridad* will find other means. For some of these attempts, see *Ep. Pilar*, 1:135, 154, 177.

32. *Ibid.*, 150, 120, 124, 34–35, 195.

33. Cañarte wrote "¿Y diga V. . . .?" *La Solidaridad*, 15 Apr 1889; "Los dineros del sacristán," *ibid.*, 15 May 1889. It is not unlikely that Cañarte, being a Cuban wrote two other articles which appeared at this time—the only ones fulfilling *La Solidaridad's* program of concerning itself with all Spain's overseas provinces: Juan, "Se vende Cuba" (31 Mar 1889); Juan, "El canal de Panamá" (15 Apr 1889).

Cañarte had belonged to the Masonic lodge in Madrid with the Filipinos Aguirre and Llorente, and was active precisely at the time of these articles in organizing the Lodge "Revolución" in Barcelona with the Filipinos and a few others.

Under the pen name Padpyvh, Pazos wrote "Blumentritt," (31 Aug 1889); and "Los frailes en Filipinas," (31 Aug, 15 and 30 Sept, 15 Oct 1889). The first is a defense of Blumentritt and his right to write on the Philippines; the second is an attack on the friars, refuting a defense published anonymously in 1869 by Fr. Joaquín de Coria, the

the regular contributors to the paper, writing articles on events in Paris at first, but always with some reference to Philippine problems. It is possible that other members of the Barcelona colony, such as Galicano Apacible, Pablo Rianzares, and Enrique Rogers, wrote occasionally for (or at least helped with) the paper, though none of them did so under his own name.³⁴

Del Pilar Takes Control

While López Jaena was nominally the editor, Del Pilar became increasingly the driving force behind the paper.³⁵ Del Pilar had worked energetically in setting up the paper, but had at first left its actual administration to López Jaena and Ponce. His own plans called for a

Franciscan commissary general in Spain. Coria's book was apparently published with the purpose of persuading the government to permit further missionary colleges in Spain for the Philippines, and insists strongly on the usefulness of the friars for the maintenance of Spanish rule in the Philippines. Pazos' articles were later published in book form: Padpyvh, *Los frailes en Filipinas. Refutación a la "Memoria apologética sobre la utilidad y servicios prestados a España por los religiosos misioneros de Filipinas," redactada por un religioso misionero franciscano; dedicada al serviente filipinólogo y sabio catedrático de la Universidad de Leitmeritz, Dr. Fernando Blumentritt* ("Biblioteca de *La Solidaridad*," no. 2; Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica de Fernando Fossas, 1889). Pazos had been an army officer for many years in the Philippines, where, according to the biographical article "Pazos y Vela-Hidalgo, Pio A.," in *Espasa* (42:109) "distinguióse por su afecto a los elementos avanzados del país." Retana (*Aparato*, 3:2764) wrongly identifies Padpyvh as Del Pilar, but Del Pilar himself, in a letter to his wife, identifies him as Pazos (*Ep. Pilar*, 2:60).

34. Apacible was president of the association "*La Solidaridad*," and active with Del Pilar, López Jaena, and Ponce in much of their political activity in Barcelona. Though there is no mention of his name in the correspondence as writing, it seems likely that he may have helped with the work of the paper or written an occasional article. The same might be said of Rianzares, inasmuch as he had been one of the chief contributors of the capital with which the paper was begun. Enrique Rogers was the subject of much urging by Rizal that he might help with the paper, and it seems that he finally agreed to do so in July (*Ep. Pilar*, 1:198). However, he died on Christmas day, 1889, of tuberculosis, and to judge by the obituary article of Naning (Ponce), he never actually did more than help "por sus consejos" (*La Solidaridad*, Hoja suelta del número, 31 Dec 1889).

35. This is the impression conveyed by Del Pilar's correspondence almost from the beginning, and the proportion of his articles to López Jaena's increases with time. The main source of funds as well as the distribution of the paper were Del Pilar's

newspaper in Madrid, and Serrano was active in raising the capital necessary for such a project. *La Solidaridad* was originally regarded as a preliminary step in the establishment of the real propaganda organ planned for Madrid.³⁶ Before long, however, Del Pilar and Ponce were doing most of the work of the paper, and what was done by López Jaena had to be all but dragged out of him.

Temperamentally incapable of sustained work, he spent his days in the cafes. He could arouse a crowd with fiery rhetoric, but he could not or would not do the careful analysis and marshalling of arguments that went into the articles and pamphlets of Rizal and Del Pilar.³⁷ In spite of his ability to write eloquently on the needs of the Philippines, he had none of that single-minded drive pushing Rizal and Del Pilar on in constant pursuit of their goal. His interest was rather in politics, particularly Spanish politics, often with no reference to the Philippines at all.

Del Pilar gradually took over more and more of the running of the paper. When he finally decided to go to Madrid, the paper went with him. It could not go on without him.

In the latter part of October 1889 Del Pilar and López Jaena went to Madrid, where they were feted by the Filipino colony. That same day Del Pilar wrote to Ponce announcing that he had made a contract with a new press and asking him to come to Madrid with the

collaborators in Manila. Later, when both López Jaena and Rizal were at odds with Del Pilar, the former would write to the latter complaining that Ponce and Del Pilar had kept him in ignorance of everything, so that he had not even known till just recently that such an organization as the Comité de Propaganda existed in Manila. "Yo he sido fundador y Director de *La Solidaridad*, en Barcelona, y más era Director de nombre con responsabilidad ante la Ley, como carne de cárcel, que Director de hecho" (*Ep. Rizal*, 3:252). As will be seen below, this was not without reason on the part of Del Pilar, given the character of López Jaena.

36. Even in his letter of 19 Feb 1889, to Deodato Arellano, Del Pilar speaks of his moving to Madrid (*ibid.*, 33; also, 42, 66).

37. Since there is a tendency among some historians to associate López Jaena with Rizal and Del Pilar as the "political trinity" of Philippine independence, it ought to be emphasized that his contribution to Filipino nationalism and independence was of a very different level. Alejandrino, who was a radical separatist at least from 1891, as his correspondence with Rizal shows, and therefore cannot be suspected of being an opponent of López Jaena for his radicalism, describes him as editor of *La Solidaridad* as follows:

masthead of the paper.³⁸ The first number printed in Madrid was dated 15 November 1889. The December 15th issue announced that owing to his occupations in Barcelona, López Jaena had had to leave the paper and that its editor would henceforth be Del Pilar.

No open break between Del Pilar and López Jaena seems to have occurred although the latter ceased to write for the paper for some time. When the transfer to Madrid was decided, López Jaena apparently did not wish to give up his political contacts in Barcelona, and voluntarily relinquished the post of editor, a turn that suited Del Pilar perfectly.³⁹

Once in Madrid, Del Pilar would gather around him all the organized Filipino activity in Spain, and proceed to expand the movement in the Philippines as well. During the early months of *La Solidaridad's* existence other activities had been going on in Madrid and in Barcelona as the moving spirits of the Filipino campaign set to work getting their *paisanos* to close ranks for an all-out, massive effort.

in order to make him write, most of the time they literally had to starve him out. He had the custom of going to a cafe upon waking up and to remain there as long as he had money to spend, or as long as somebody had money to spend for him. There they had to look for him and promise to pay his expenses provided he would write his articles. Between cups and cups of drinks, they placed before him sheets of paper which he filled up with surprising ease. In this manner were written many articles which contributed to stir up the spirit of our generation which carried out the revolution (Alejandrino, pp. 39-40).

The superficiality which many of López Jaena's articles show is borne out by what Alejandrino says about his willingness to speak without preparation, citing wholly imaginary facts, to the dismay of his fellow Filipinos, and justifying himself afterwards on the grounds that his audience knew even less than he, and so could not catch him in error (p. 39). See also *Ep. Rizal*, 2:207.

38. Marcelo-Naning, *Ep. Pilar*, 1:201.

39. The last certainly identifiable article of his is "A 'La Voz de España'," 15 Oct 1889; though it is probable that "Atropello inaudito," 31 Oct 1889, is also his. He did not return to write for *La Solidaridad* until August 1891.